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PSYCHOSOCIAL ANTECEDENTS OF SEX OFFENDER CRIMINALITY AND
VIOLENCE

By

Sonia Marie Perry Mills
B.S., Purdue University, 1987
M.A., University of Louisville, 2002

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of the University of Louisville
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences
University of Louisville
Louisville, KY

December 2004

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A Dissertation Approved on

November 30, 2004

by the following Dissertation Committee:

Dissertation Director

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my family
Houston Mills, Jr., Adrienne Janel Mills, Brittany Nicole Mills, and Houston Mills, III
without whom the completion of this project would have been impossible.

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I would like first and foremost to thank my dissertation chair, Dr. Robert G. Meyer, for his guidance and patience. Throughout the process he was ever present with words of wisdom and encouragement. I would also like to thank the remaining members of my committee, Dr. Joseph Aponte, Dr. Stephen Edgell, Dr. Edna Ross, and Dr. Mavin Martin, for their support as progress was made toward the completion of this project. Finally, I would like to extend a special thank you to Dr. Riaan van Zyl who stepped in and served on my dissertation committee when one of my original committee members was no longer available.

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ABSTRACT

Psychosocial Antecedents of Sex Offender Criminality and Violence

Sonia Mills

December 2004

Sexual abuse and sexual violence perpetrated against women and children in the United States are social problems that need to be addressed. The United States is one of the most sexually violent societies in the world, having one of the highest rates of any industrialized country of rape and sexual violence (Stewart, 2002). Although any type of sexual victimization is problematic, sexual violence in particular can have particularly devastating effects for the victim.

We urgently need to know why some adults sexually abuse and assault (Cannon, 2001). Examination of the psychosocial antecedents of sex offender criminality and violence will add to the research literature that has explored the predictors of criminality and violence in sex offenders. These results will be useful in developing assessment instruments and treatment programs for sex offenders and developing preventive interventions for individuals who are at risk to commit criminal, violent and sexual offenses.

The major predictors of sexual offense recidivism have been found to be factors related to previous specific sex crimes and to a lesser extent previous crimes in general (Hanson, 2000). Criminal and sexual offense history along with other static predictors of

recidivism among sex offenders have been used by clinicians and researchers to predict the likelihood that a sexual offender will reoffend and if they will reoffend violently. The literature also suggests that exposure to violence and sexual maltreatment in childhood is a major predictor of sexual offending in that it encourages the continuation of abuse to the victims' own children and general members of the public in the form of criminal behavior (Falshaw, Browne, & Hollin, 1996).

There is constant pressure from the legal system for psychologists to make predictions concerning the likelihood for an individual sex offender to reoffend. Legal and ethical considerations mandate that the psychologists' opinions are guided by empirical evidence (Campbell, 2000). In this study, psychosocial antecedents of sex offender criminality and violence will be examined.

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INTRODUCTION

Sexual Offending

In the last decade, the problem of sexual assaults against women and children has been increasingly acknowledged by society. This is an emotionally charged issue and there have been many recent changes in the way that society deals with offenders and protects victims. It is widely accepted that laws are needed to protect children who are not capable of consenting to sexual acts and women who may be forced into nonconsensual sexual activity. There, however, is no widely accepted position on the most effective way to reduce the incidence of sexual assaults against women and children. Researchers, clinicians, and law enforcement professionals have been working to find the most effective methods of identifying, treating, and incarcerating sex offenders. The problem of sexual abuse and assault has also received considerable attention from the media and political arenas in recent years as society continues to search for the best way to protect innocent victims.

While many in society would prefer to lock all sex offenders up and throw away the key, this is not an acceptable solution for a number of reasons. In addition to the legal and ethical problems associated with lengthy incarcerations, the cost of such a solution is extremely exorbitant. While the severe consequences of sexual abuse and rape demand that legal action taken against the offenders, in the interest of decreasing the likelihood of a reoffense, preventive interventions with offenders should be implemented as well. The

reality that the media and the public must come to understand is that many sex offenders are given probation in lieu of time served in prison and are therefore never removed from society. Those who are sentenced to prison terms are generally released when they have served the term of their sentence. It is therefore imperative that preventive measures be implemented with sex offenders in order to reduce the risk of reoffense.

Prevention of sexual violence presents several unique problems. First, there is no widely accepted theory of sexual violence that accurately predicts sexual assault. It is therefore difficult to predict those who are most likely to offend. Secondly, the factors that have been found to lead to sexual violence have not been translated into interventions. Many of the interventions currently in place are not based on empirically validated methodology. Lastly, the interventions that are currently being used have not been widely assessed to determine their effectiveness (Schewe & O'Donohue, 1993). Research is being conducted in these areas, but there still remains much to be done.

In order to implement preventive interventions, those sexual offenders who are at risk to reoffend must first be identified. Expert evaluators are often wrong in their predictions about which sex offenders will offend. Hanson & Bussiere (1998) in a meta-analysis of sexual offender recidivism studies found that accuracy of predicting sexual recidivism is only slightly above chance levels (average $r = .10$). Based on this review of nearly 24,000 sex offenders in 61 recidivism studies, they found that only 13.4% committed a new sexual offense within 4 to 5 years. When they looked at violent offenses, they found that 12% of sex offenders committed a nonsexual violent offense, with rapists violently offending more often (22%) than child molesters (10%). When they considered any criminal reoffense, they found that 36% of the sex offenders

committed a new offense within 4 to 5 years. This review shows that there are trends present in offending behavior that can be evaluated to more accurately predict which sex offenders will reoffend and the types of offenses they are likely to commit. Again, there remains much to be done in this area.

While the literature is progressing with respect to knowledge about sexual offending behavior, there is an immediate public demand for the development and administration of assessment and interventions aimed at reducing the risk for sex offender recidivism (Sjostedt & Langstrom, 2002). The 13.4% of sex offenders who committed a new sexual offense within 4 to 5 years of release (Hanson & Bussiere, 1998) represents a large number of victims who are sexually assaulted. Since these offenders have already been identified, it is imperative that measures be implemented to reduce the likelihood of a reoffense. With the high rates sexual violence in our communities, it is important that researchers continue to build upon the advances that have already been made, in an effort to further develop assessment tools and interventions (Barbaree, Seto, Langton, & Peacock; Glover, Nicholson, Hemmati, Bernfeld, & Quinsey, 2002; McCarthy, 2001). This will help to ensure that sex offenders are properly identified, assessed, treated, and integrated if possible back into society.

Legal Issues

There have been many changes in the laws that pertain to the way in which sex offenders are evaluated, treated, sentenced, and removed from society. The general trend has been toward harsher penalties for sex offenders (Edwards & Hensley, 2001b). It appears that sentences are getting longer and there are increasingly more limitations to the offender's freedom even after they are released from custody. In addition to this,

laws have been implemented that give individual citizens the right to access information about sex offenders that may be living in their neighborhoods.

Civil commitment of sex offenders to treatment facilities after they have completed their criminal sentence is one way that states have attempted to protect society from individuals that they do not consider safe to release back into society. In one of the earlier cases that changed the way that sex offenders are treated within the criminal justice system, a sex offender who had been determined to have a psychopathic personality was civilly committed after his initial term of incarceration. In the case of *Minnesota ex rel. Pearson v. Probate County* (1940), the United States Supreme Court upheld the state of Minnesota's right to civil commitment of a sex offender who had been judged to have a psychopathic personality. The statute had defined psychopathic personality as a person who was emotionally unstable, impulsive in behavior, lacking in the customary standards of good judgment, unable to appreciate the consequences of actions, or any combination of these conditions such as to render the person irresponsible for conduct with respect to sexual matters and thereby dangerous to others. The statute made such persons subject to civil commitment for the treatment and control of their psychopathic personality. The United States Supreme Court rejected the argument that the statute violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment but observed that the Minnesota law was open to serious abuse in its administration. Psychopathic personality traits are not uncommon in prison populations and this judgment opened the doors to possible civil commitment of any one of these individuals.

More recently, the United States Supreme Court upheld the State of Kansas' Sexually Violent Predator Act that defined a sexually violent predator as "any person

who has been convicted of or charged with a sexually violent offense and suffers from a mental abnormality or personality disorder which makes the person likely to engage in the predatory acts of sexual violence.” The United States Supreme Court held that the statute did not violate the federal Constitution due process, double jeopardy, and ex post facto clauses (*Kansas v. Hendricks*, 1997). Justice Thomas in stating the majority opinion held that states could use terms such as “emotionally disturbed, mental abnormality, incompetent, and insane” and did not need to adopt the terms and concepts used in the medical community. This decision gave the courts the right to determine that a sex offender was likely to reoffend and therefore could be civilly committed in order to prevent them from further engaging in “predatory acts of sexual violence.”

States who had laws on the books that allowed for civil commitment of the mentally ill were now able to apply these laws to sex offenders based on their determination of dangerousness. The State of Washington was one of the earlier states to determine that the traditional laws on civil commitment for mentally ill offenders were not suitable to attend to the issue of repeat sex offenders. It created the Washington State Community Protection Act of 1990 in order to address the problem of repeat sex offenders. This statute defined a sexually violent predator as someone who had been charged with or convicted of a crime of sexual violence and who suffers from a mental abnormality or personality disorder that needs to be confined in a secure facility in order to prevent them from engaging in predatory acts of sexual violence (*Seling v. Young*, 2001). This case had been in the courts for several years when the United States Supreme Court ruled in the *Hendricks* case. In light of the ruling in the *Hendricks* case, the United States Supreme Court ruled that the Washington statute was not being applied

to Young criminally. They ruled that once a statute has been ruled to be civil it cannot be held to be punitive in individual cases. The civil commitment of sex offenders was therefore upheld as the appropriate course of action for individuals that were determined to need to be confined in a secure facility in order to prevent them from engaging in predatory acts of sexual violence.

Finally, most recently in the case of *Kansas v. Crane* (2002), the United States Supreme Court ruled that a state did not need to show that an individual whom the state seeks to civilly commit had no control over their behavior but rather that he or she had difficulty controlling their sexually deviant behavior. In addition to this, the Court reiterated that the civil commitment of sex offenders was distinguishable from other dangerous offenders who were handled in the criminal justice system. This decision has opened the door to long-term civil commitment of sex offenders.

The United States Supreme Court's rulings that incarcerated sex offenders completing their prison terms may be civilly committed to a mental health facility has serious consequences. It essentially allows the courts to hold an offender in a treatment facility in order to treat and control their behavior, without the benefit of universally accepted criteria that determine their level of dangerousness to society. The courts have civilly committed sex offenders by stating that they are "sexually dangerous predators" but this label does not have any ties to any diagnosis in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 4th ed.* (American Psychiatric Association, 1994). The terms emotionally disturbed, mental abnormality, incompetent, and insane have been applied to these sex offenders without benefit of clinical expertise to describe the extent to which mental illness explains their assaultive sexual behavior.

In addition to therapeutic treatment programs, sex offenders have been sentenced to medical treatments to reduce the likelihood of their reoffending. California became the first state to enact a law requiring sex offenders convicted of twice molesting a child under the age of 13 to take medication that is designed to lower their sexual urges and thereby make it less likely that they will reoffend. Three additional states, Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana, now have similar “chemical castration” laws in place (Miller, 1998). It is likely that this trend will continue as states attempt to protect potential victims of sexual assault from sex offenders that have been determined to be “sexually violent predators.”

Another way that legislation has attempted to protect potential sexual assault victims is by allowing members of the community to access information about the presence of previously convicted sex offenders living in their neighborhoods. This legislature has been named “Megan’s Law” after the child victim who was killed by a previously convicted sex offender living near her home. In October 1994, the New Jersey legislature enacted the first Megan’s Law in reaction to the sexual assault and murder of seven-year-old Megan Kanka. She was murdered by a twice-convicted sex offender who was living anonymously in her quiet New Jersey neighborhood. Within two years, all jurisdictions within the United States had enacted some version of Megan’s Law (Cote, 2002). Congress enacted the Jacob Wetterling Crimes against Children and Sexually Violent Offenders Act in the same year and the act was amended in 1996 to create a national Megan’s Law that requires states to allow public access to sex offender registry information. The act was intended to allow release of information about sex offenders that is deemed necessary to protect the public.

While these laws were enacted to protect potential victims in the community, there is emerging evidence in the literature for the negative effects of stigma associated with sex offender registration and notification. Reports of offenders being threatened and injured, unable to work or attend school, and unable to find permanent residences are not uncommon (Trivits & Reppucci, 2002). Laws requiring community notification upon the offender's release from prison often do not address or even consider the offender's ability to successfully reintegrate into society by finding housing, employment, and social support (Edwards & Hensley, 2001a). Punishment, rather than rehabilitation has been the tendency. It seems that although the purpose of sex offender registration and notification was to provide protection from these individuals, it has been used to further punish the offenders for previously committed sex offenses.

In the state of Kentucky, released sex offenders are required to register all changes of residence with the police. In addition to this, addresses and photographs of "high risk" offenders are posted on the Kentucky State Police website. This website can be accessed by any citizen who is concerned about the presence of convicted sex offenders living in their neighborhood. These sex offender registration laws, however, are currently being challenged in several cases throughout the state. It is being argued in these cases that Megan's Law has been wrongly applied to offenders who were incarcerated before 1994, has subjected offenders to double jeopardy, and is an evasion of the released offender's right to privacy. In October of 2002, state attorneys went before the Kentucky State Supreme Court to defend the requirement that sex offenders be registered and that their place of residence be made public. The requirement that sex offenders register and notify police of all changes in residence was upheld.

Some states have begun to protect the rights of sex offenders by restricting access to sex offender registration information to concerned citizens and law enforcement agencies in the communities in which they reside. Currently, California is the only state in the nation to distribute CD-ROMs to state and local law enforcement agencies in order to enable interested citizens to look at information about convicted sex offenders in their communities (Cote, 2002). Both California and Tennessee have taken steps to restrict access and dissemination of sex offender registry information (Cote, 2002). One problem with limiting access to sex offender registration information to the communities in which the offender resides, however, is that the offenders do not always stay in those communities.

Another problem with the sex offender registration and notification process is that the sex offenders that are most likely to offend are not strangers living in the community. Unfortunately, the focus of legislation directed at protecting potential victims from sex offenders is focused on these previously convicted strangers living in nearby housing. Research has shown, however, that the primary perpetrators of sexual assault involving children are family members and others that are acquainted with the family. For children 17 and younger who have been sexually assaulted, 34% were by family members, 58% by acquaintances, and 7% by strangers (Snyder, 2000). However civil commitment laws and community notification laws have been designed to target sex offenders whose victims are not known to them.

These and many other legal issues with regard to sex offenders that will continue to be addressed in the courts. It will also continue to be difficult to make decisions that balance public safety concerns and offender rights and freedoms (Webster, Hucker, &

Bloom, 2002). The most important issue is that decisions that affect the safety of our communities and the freedoms of our citizens be based on careful consideration of empirical evidence that can be provided by research in the areas of sex offender characteristics, risk assessment of sex offenders, outcome studies of sex offender treatment programs, and long term tracking of sex offenders to determine which characteristics predict success in treatment and which factors contribute to recidivism.

Rationale for this Study

The belief that the most dangerous sex offenders can be accurately identified and incapacitated is not based in fact. There is much work to be done in this area. Researchers continue to develop instruments that will enable them to identify dangerous sex offenders with a significant degree of reliable accuracy. Judges continue to incapacitate those they consider to be the most dangerous sex offenders using information that does not have a level of accuracy that is considered to be acceptable.

The focus of this study will be on gaining a greater understanding of the antecedents of sex offender criminality and violence in order to provide empirical evidence that will aid the development of effective assessment instruments and interventions. However, a well-developed theory of sexual violence is needed in order to conceptualize the factors that are relevant to risk assessment and to assist in accurate prediction of the different types of treatment needed to reduce the risk of recidivism.

Unfortunately, relatively few offender assessment instruments currently in use have ties to theories of crime and delinquency (Bonta, 2002). Virtually all of the work on assessment of recidivism risk in sex offenders has arisen without the benefit of substantial theoretical foundations (Roberts, Doren, & Thornton, 2002). There is

however a number of etiological perspectives that have been offered with respect to sexually violent behavior.

Theories of Aggression, Crime, and Sexual Violence

The social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) was one of the first theories that was used to explain interpersonal violence. It postulates that behavior is learned through observation. The intergenerational transmission of violence theory (Spinetta & Rigler, 1972) is similar in that it postulates that acceptance and practice of aggression within the family environment provides a child with a model through which to learn violent behavior and believe that aggression is an appropriate method of goal realization. However, it must be noted that not all children who grow up in violent homes become violent themselves. There are obviously other factors that are involved in the development of antisocial, violent behaviors.

Some of the more well-developed, integrated theories of violence contain both social factors and individual characteristics. One example is Gelles' (1983) multidimensional explanation for violence using the principles of both exchange theory and social control theory. Gelles argues that violence and abuse are higher when the rewards for this behavior exceed the costs (exchange theory). In addition, the private nature of some relationships, such as those within families, results in a reluctance to intervene (control theory) and therefore assists in reducing the cost of violence.

Another multidimensional model of violence was proposed by Herron, Javier, McDonald-Gomez, and Adlerstein (1994). At the societal level, they argue that violence is the result of structural inequality in which a pattern of exploitation and domination of

one group by another is established. According to this model, violence against women and children is the result of inequities inherent in the social system.

In addition to the numerous social and behavioral theories that have emerged to explain violent, antisocial, and criminal behavior, a number of researchers have suggested that biology is responsible at least in part for these tendencies. Rowe (2002) suggests that low attention span, sensation seeking, aggressiveness, and poor self control are characteristic of a criminal disposition and goes on to propose that this criminal disposition is inherited. Research has shown that these tendencies have some origin in biology but may also be altered environmental factors.

In a study that examined the roles of psychopathy, neurodevelopmental insults, and antisocial parenting, Harris, Rice, and Lalumiere (2001) found that criminal violence has at least two separate developmental pathways originating very early in life. One path involves neurodevelopmental damage and the other path involves psychopathy. The hypothesis of neurodevelopmental damage is supported by recent results from neuroimaging studies that have show that violent, antisocial men have smaller prefrontal gray matter volumes than other men, although without apparent brain lesions (Raine, Lencz, Bihrl, LaCasse, & Colletti, 2000). The hypothesis of psychopathy as a developmental pathway is supported by the disproportionate number of psychopaths among violent offenders (Hart & Hare, 1997). In the above-mentioned study, Harris, Rice, and Lalumiere (2001) also found that while antisocial parenting had no direct relationship to criminal violence, it was directly related to both neurodevelopmental insults and psychopathy.

Theories specific to sexual violence are beginning to emerge in the literature. Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss, & Tanaka (1991) developed and tested a multivariate model of sexual and nonsexual coerciveness against women. They called their model the confluence model and it can be used to explain sexual violence. The predictor variables of sexual violence were organized into two interacting paths: the hostile masculinity path and the sexual promiscuity path. In the hostile masculinity path, hostile masculinity mediates the path of rape-supported attitudes on sexual violence. In the sexual promiscuity path, a violent and abusive early home environment predicts early delinquency, which leads to association with delinquent peers and criminal activity. Early delinquency leads to early adoption of adult roles, which is then expressed in precocious sexual behavior and sexual promiscuity. Sexual promiscuity in turn predicts sexual violence. Bailey (2001), however, noted that while delineating the developmental pathways of possible minority subgroups of the victim-to-violence cycle may be a significant contribution to the field, it should be considered to be only part of a much wider picture.

Hazelwood and Warren (2000) recently developed a typology of sexually violent offenders. They delineated two types of sexual violent offender. The Impulsive Offender was described as criminally unsophisticated and for the most part reactive in terms of his victim selection and crime scene behavior. This type of offender is characterized by a diverse criminal history and significant levels of violence. The Ritualistic Offender was described as having a pervasive and defining fantasy life and carefully developed and executed crime scene behavior. This typology, however, was

developed using case studies and has not yet been empirically validated using a large group of violent sexual offenders.

After a review of antecedents of sexual offending behavior, Harris & Staunton (2000) concluded that there are so many potentially interlinking factors that a universal theory is not attainable. They instead explored antecedents including family environment, attachments, psychological disturbance, history of sexual abuse, use of pornography, substance abuse, and cultural factors. They stressed that effective prevention of sexual offending behavior requires an understanding of causation. They stressed the importance of exploring multiple causation in order to gain the best possible understanding of sexual offending behavior.

In addition to offender backgrounds and characteristics, it is also important to gain a clear understanding of the types of offenses that are committed by sex offenders. Although the common image of sexual assault is of a rape that is a result of a violent attack by a stranger, this is not typically the case. Most forced sex is perpetrated by individuals known to the victim, such as intimate partners, male family members, acquaintances, and individuals in positions of authority (Watts & Zimmerman, 2002). Child sexual abuse may include rape, but more commonly it is sexual touching, forcing a child to touch another individual sexually, exposure to or participation in pornography, or forcing a child to have sex with another person (Watts & Zimmerman, 2002). In order to better understand sexual offending behavior, it is important to explore the characteristics of offenders who commit rape, incest, and child molestation against children who are not family members.

The problem of sexual assault and abuse is obviously multifaceted and complex. But if prevention efforts are successful in reducing the amount of children who are sexually abused and women who are sexually assaulted, and to the extent there is a cycle of abuse, the cycle will be broken and there will be fewer victims to grow up and create a new generation of victims (Schewe & O'Donohue, 1993). There are several factors that have been determined to be strong predictors of sexual offense perpetration and one of the strongest predictors is a history of sexual offending.

In the absence of a clear theory to explain and predict sexual offending behavior, sexual offending history is one of the primary sources of information used by the courts to determine the level of dangerousness of sex offenders and make decisions about the likelihood that they will reoffend. The offending history and other background factors are typically combined with offender characteristics to make actuarial predictions about the likelihood of reoffending. Traditional psychological tests and test batteries in most instances have limited value in the legal system. They have not been designed to answer specific questions proposed by the courts such as dangerousness and risk of recidivism. In order to provide the courts with information about the likelihood of reoffense, instruments used for risk assessment specific to sex offenders have been developed. These specialized instruments for sex offenders have unfortunately demonstrated limited empirical validity (Lanyon, 2001). There is need for continued research related to risk assessment in order to develop instruments that can adequately predict recidivism in sex offenders. Since sex offense history is the one of the most commonly used variables in the prediction of future offenses, it is probably one of the best places to begin when evaluating the predictive value of sex offender characteristics.

Sex Offense History

Sex offending is by no means a small problem. There are an estimated 234,000 convicted sex offenders under the care, custody, and control of correctional agencies throughout the United States on any given day and approximately 60% of these offenders are under conditional supervision within the community (Greenfield, 1997). These offenders nonetheless are not a homogeneous group; they have extremely varied offending histories. Some are first time sex offenders, some are repeat sex offenders, some have a history of other criminal behavior, some have offended against children and some have only adult victims. Research over the years that has focused on sex offense history has shown that sex offenders tend to have patterns in their offending behavior.

It has been demonstrated in multiple studies that individuals who sexually offend against children tend to reoffend against children rather than against both child and adult victims (Escarla, Francis, & Soothill, 2000; Hall & Proctor, 1987). It has also been found that sex offenders tend to remain stable in their choice of victim from one offense to another in terms of victim age, victim gender, and relationship to the victim (Guay, Proulx, Cusson, Ouimet, 2001). It appears that the choice of a sex offense victim is not random but instead demonstrates a preference on the part of the sex offender to seek out similar profiles in their victims.

The characteristics of the victims are not the only feature of previous sex offending behavior that has been shown to predict future offending. The frequency of offending and the violence associated with the offending behavior has also been shown to predict future offending. A greater number of previous victims and an increased magnitude of force used during the offense have generally been associated with higher

rates of sexual recidivism (Barbaree & Marshall, 1988). This, however, has not always been found to be the case. Mair and Stevens (1994) found that the degree of intrusiveness in a sexual offense was inversely related to the prevalence of sexual offending. They found that sex offenders whose offenses were limited to fondling their victims had committed more acts of sexual offending than sex offenders had intercourse with their victims.

Even within the subgroup of sex offenders who victimize children, differences have been shown in sex offending history. It has been demonstrated that incest offenders have a significantly lower rate of sexual recidivism than extrafamilial child molesters (Rice, Quinsey, & Harris, 1991) do. Incest offenders are also more likely than other sex offender group to have no other criminal or violent offense history (Pritchard & Bagley, 2000) and they tend to do well in therapy (Barnes, 2000). It appears that sex offenders whose victims are limited to children within their family have the best prognosis for successful treatment and reintegrating into society.

Individuals who sexually offend against adult women have a tendency to reoffend against adult women (Hall & Proctor, 1987). They also tend to have had more previous sexual offenses, violent offenses, and nonsexual nonviolent offenses (Rice, Harris, & Quinsey, 1990). Rapists, however, have been found to have a less repetitive pattern of sexual offending than those who did not rape their victims, regardless of whether their victims were adults or children (Mair, 1993) and they have better treatment outcomes than child offenders in terms of sex offense recidivism (Barnes, 2000). Rapists, however, may be the group that has the most difficulty reintegrating into society after their release due to their extensive offense histories in terms of nonsexual violent offenses.

Apart from history of sexual offense convictions, the next most important predictors of sexual offense recidivism have been factors related to criminal history (Hanson, 2000). The predictors of nonsexual recidivism for sexual offenders are primarily the same factors that predict nonsexual recidivism among nonsexual offenders. These factors include a history of juvenile criminal activity, a history of adult criminal offenses, and minority ethnic background (Hanson, 2000).

Juvenile Criminal History

One of the strongest predictors of persistent offending involves an early age at first arrest, with the number of early arrests operating as a significant predictor of chronic criminal offending as well (Ge, Donnellan, & Wenk, 2001). Children and adolescents who first had contact with police prior to age 15 have been found to be at greater risk for both chronic juvenile offending and for a career as an adult offender (Patterson, Crosby, & Vuchinich, 1992). It appears that their offending behavior becomes a set pattern that becomes difficult to alter once it has become set.

Early onset of sexually abusive behavior and early problems with delinquency not related to sexual offending are indicators of increased likelihood of reoffending (Boyd, Hagan, & Cho, 2000). Individuals who show a pattern of sexually deviate behavior at early ages are more likely to persist in their behavior. In order to alter this pattern of behavior before it becomes ingrained it seems only logical that interventions with juvenile offenders may play an important role in the prevention of future offending.

Nearly half of adult convicted sex offenders committed their first offense between the ages of 8 and 18, with 16 being the most common age (Groth, Longo, & McFadin, 1982). A relationship has also been found between age and recidivism. The younger the

offender is at his first conviction, the more likely he will persist (Romero & Williams, 1985). The age at which criminal activity began has also been associated with the level of violence. Elliot (1994) found that serious adult offenders had earlier ages of onset into criminal activity than did other offenders. Again, it would seem imperative that juvenile sex offenders be identified and provided with appropriate sex offender treatment with the goal of discontinuing the offending behavior before the juvenile offender grows up to become an adult sexual offender.

Adult Criminal History

One of the strongest predictors of general and sexual recidivism has been found to be prior criminal history (Hanson & Bussiere, 1998). It appears that previous criminal behavior may lead to continued general criminal activity or may progress to offending that is more violent and sexual in nature. There have been a number of studies conducted that evaluate the offending histories of convicted sex offenders.

In a study of child sex offenders, Pritchard & Bagley (2000) found that the criminal background of the majority of sexually violent men was typically one of multiple offending. Many of the offenders had convictions for assault, battery, and other acts of violence. They found that their violence was more frequently directed against adults than children. It is interesting that that these child sex offenders did not have extensive histories of sexually offending against adult victims, but had histories of other violent acts against adults.

Guay, Proulx, Cusson, & Ouimet (2001), in an examination of the criminal careers of incarcerated sex offenders, found that those who offended against children had committed a mean of 5.1 sex crimes, 1.6 violent crimes, 2.6 property crimes, and 3.4

other crimes. In contrast, those who offended against adult women had committed a mean of 2.3 sex crimes, 4.4 violent crimes, 5.1 property crimes, and 6.7 other crimes. These results show that rapists had a tendency to be more versatile than child molesters in their pattern of offending (Guay, Proulx, Cusson, & Ouimet, 2001). The frequency of sex offending was actually less however for the rapists. The results of this study suggest that child molesters and rapists may have different background characteristics that account for this differential pattern of offending. Numerous studies have explored the influence of background characteristics on criminal offending behavior with differing results.

Ethnic Background

As science has searched for factors that are associated with crime and violence, race or ethnic background has emerged as a factor time and time again. Questions about race and crime are generally regarded as “politically incorrect.” The ties to eugenic philosophy, the view that some groups are genetically predisposed to criminal behavior, are especially troubling. Needless to say, relating race to violence and criminality has resulted in reactions from ethnic minority groups that have ranged from discomfort to outrage. Horne (2001) stated that it is problematic to seek explanations for crime and violence based on race without carefully factoring in socioeconomic conditions. He continued his argument by implying that if science can blame genetic predisposition for increased propensity to commit crimes and behave violently than there would be no need to consider poor education, inability to find employment, limited opportunities, or racism as factors. He further stated that if the “dangerous and simplistic” explanations for violence and criminal behavior based on race were fact, then an argument could be made

for violence initiatives and behavioral interventions including drug therapy, psychosurgery, and incarceration aimed at preventing violence. He went on to urge scientists to continue to consider the nurture side of the nature-nurture controversy relating race to crime and violence.

In order to better understand the factors that affect the relationship between ethnic minority race and criminality and violence researchers should continue to explore this relationship in the context of relevant sociocultural factors. Although criminality and violence are not race specific problems, members of ethnic minority groups are at elevated risk for violence, both as victims and perpetrators (Black, Howard, Kim, & Richardo, 1998). African Americans who live in low-income, urban communities may be exposed to high rates of violence. Research has suggested that being a member of an ethnic minority group may influence violence through greater stress or social isolation experienced by individuals of non-White ethnicity (Gelles, 1993). It must be clarified, however, that crime and violence is a societal problem not just a problem in the ethnic minority communities. According to an analysis of aggressive crime (homicide, sexual assault, aggravated assault) conducted by Pallone & Hennessy (2000), it is simultaneously the case that whites are responsible for approximately three fourths of the episodes of criminal aggression annually in the United States and that African Americans commit these same offenses at more than double their representation in the population. It is generally believed that whites fear criminal aggression by ethnic minorities, but Pallone & Hennessy (2000) found that it is nearly three times as likely that whites will be victimized by other whites than that African Americans will victimize them.

In a study of the relationship between aggression, gender, and ethnicity, Harris (1996) found that sociocultural variables, such as cultural norms and gender role stereotypes, previous experiences with aggression, attitudes toward the aggression of others, and judgments about the justifiability of retaliation were important influences on aggression. Herron, Javier, McDonald-Gomez and Alderstein (1994) cited stereotyping ethnic minority individuals with regard to violence as one of the major obstacles to coming to an understanding of the factors that influence violence. Obviously there are factors in addition to ethnic background that have a role in the expression of aggression and violent behavior. Focusing on race or ethnic background as a factor to the exclusion of other relevant factors is problematic. Adequate prediction of violent behavior requires consideration of multiple risk and protective factors and their interplay (Cicchetti & Stroufe, 2000).

Although the numeric format of risk factors may differ from one method of assessment to the next, most risk assessment instruments cover criminal history, education, employment, and significant relationships in the offender's life (Lowenkamp, Holsinger, & Latessa, 2001). Histories of physical and sexual abuse, however, have been considered some of the most significant and controversial potential risk factors that have been neglected by researchers (Funk, 1999). It seems that victimization in the offender's childhood history is often neglected as a factor in when evaluating the offender's potential to reoffend once they have committed a sex offense. There is sufficient evidence, however, to suggest that an understanding of adverse environment in the offender's family of origin including child abuse, domestic violence, and substance abuse

on the part of the parents may lead to a more accurate prediction of future violent and criminal behavior in the sex offender.

Adverse Family Environment

Family environment factors may explain tendencies toward persistence in criminal behavior and violence following adolescence (Elkins, Iacono, Doyle, McGue, 1997; Fryer & Miyoshi, 1996; Rowe, 2002). Dysfunctional family environments appear to increase the likelihood of aggression and other antisocial activities (Rowe, 2002). One of the more disturbing consequences of childhood physical abuse in particular is the presence of increased violent behavior in adulthood (Wisdom, 1989). It may be just another example of continuing behavior in adulthood that was normalized in the family of origin. Experiencing abuse also increases a child's risk of future criminality (McMahon & Clay-Warner, 2002; Wisdom, 1989). In a review of child rearing and child abuse antecedents of criminality, Haapasalo and Pokela (1999) concluded that abuse in childhood appears to increase the risk for maladaptive outcomes such as aggressive, antisocial, violent, and criminal behavior. Although abuse in childhood is often neglected in assessment instruments used to predict violence and criminal behavior, it has been shown in study after study to be predictive of an increased tendency toward violence and criminality.

Interestingly, the child does not have to be the target of the violent behavior in the home in order for it to influence their tendency toward violent behavior in their adult life. It has been found that witnessing violence can result in a propensity toward later violent behavior (Hecht & Hansen, 2001; Jaffe, Wolfe, & Wilson, 1990), psychological maladjustment (Dube, Anada, Felitti, Edwards, & Williamson, 2002), juvenile sex

offending and criminal offending in general (Caputo, Frick, & Brodsky, 1999; Erwin, Newman, McMackin, Morrissey, & Kaloupek, 2000). There is a widely accepted premise that individuals who are raised in abusive family environments are more likely to use violence as a way of dealing with their problems (Stevens-Simon & Nelligan, 1998). In addition to physical violence both witnessed and endured, sexual victimization has been the subject of a number of studies that explore the characteristics of dysfunctional families.

Although the majority of research conducted that explores sexual abuse in childhood has not been specific to sex offenders, there have been a number of studies that have examined this topic. According to one of these studies, sex abuse perpetrators have been found to have a high proportion of adversities in childhood such as sexual and physical victimization, dysfunctional family relationships, and peer isolation (Vizard, Monck, & Misch, 1995). This same study also noted that the rates of sexual offenders reporting victimization vary from 30% to 70% across a range of studies. Looking at subtypes of sex offenders, the rates of sexual abuse in childhood vary significantly. In a study of incarcerated rapists and child molesters, Seghorn, Prentky, & Boucher (1987) found that rapists and child molesters were fundamentally different with respect to important negative antecedent developmental events. They found that the incidence of childhood sexual assault among child molesters was twice as high as the incidence among rapists. In another study that examined childhood sexual victimization in sex offenders, the age at which the sexual abuse occurred was also found to be related to later sexual offending behavior. In a study of 150 men convicted of sex offenses who attended outpatient treatment groups, Pope (2001), found that 34% reported that they had been

sexually abused as a child, they reported a mean age of 7 years old at the time they were first abused, and 72% reported that their abuser was male. This early sexual victimization was thought to play a significant role in their sexual offending behavior. Nelson et. al (2002) found that self-reported childhood sexual abuse was associated with increased risk for adverse psychosocial outcomes even when controlled for family background. They also found that the greatest risks were associated with childhood sexual abuse involving intercourse. They found that this more intrusive sexual abuse was associated with increased problematic behavior in adulthood.

In addition to witnessing violence and being the victim of physical or sexual assault, problems such as alcohol abuse and drug abuse are commonly considered factors in the home environments of dysfunctional families. A link between parental drug and alcohol abuse and sexual abuse of children has been documented by Seghorn, Prentky, & Boucher (1987) who found that more than three-quarters of the sexually abused children had fathers with a drug or alcohol abuse history, compared with one third of the nonsexually abused children. The use of drugs and alcohol may impair the judgment of the parent and result in sexually abusive behavior that would not have occurred if the drugs and alcohol had not been a factor. These children may in turn grow up to replicate the sexually abusive behavior. In a recent study that explored the relationships between difficulties in early family life and later sexual offending, family dysfunction, physical and sexual abuse, and neglect in childhood were found to be associated in an increase in the likelihood of being a sex offender (Boyd, Hagan, & Cho, 2000).

Multiple studies have also documented an association between childhood abuse and later violent behavior as an adult. In a recent study that explored the relationship

between childhood abuse and subsequent interpersonal violence, however, Cloitre, Tardiff, Marzuk, Leon, & Portera (2001), found that the “violence breeds violence” hypothesis linking childhood abuse to later perpetration of violence is only partially correct. Their findings suggested a more complex pattern of adult violence that included a significant presence of perpetrator and victimization experiences later in life. It seems that an adverse family environment in childhood is only a portion of the picture; continued violence and problematic relationships in adulthood may result in increased risk for violent behavior in adulthood.

Relationship History

An adverse family environment in childhood that includes sexual abuse may lead to a multitude of difficulties in adulthood. Sexual abuse in childhood has been associated with early sexual involvement with peers. This early sexual involvement with peers has in turn been associated with later problematic sexual behavior. In a study of college men, Abbey, McAuslan, & Ross (1998), found that men who have sex at an early age and have more partners are more likely to commit sexual assault than are other men. It appears that the early sexual involvement was predictive of later antisocial sexual behavior.

Similarly, Patterson, DeBaryshe, & Ransey (1989) have suggested that antisocial tendencies, which are developed in the home, create difficulties in maintaining other relationships after the child reaches adulthood. Individuals who grew up in homes where violence, abuse, and substance abuse were common may have difficulties in intimate peer relationships. When these individual are then isolated from prosocial relationships, the likelihood of participation in criminal activity increases.

There is some evidence that sexual offenders have disturbed, interpersonal relationships and that they are more deficient in intimacy and lonelier than other groups (Hudson & Ward, 2000). They have been found to be more likely to be single than individuals who were not sex offenders. Elements of relationship status, such as inability to maintain long-term relationships, have also been found to be associated with violence (Anderson, 1997). It is not fully understood whether the violent behavior makes relationships difficult to maintain or whether the violent behavior is a product of the isolation and loneliness associated with not being in a relationship.

Even when sex offenders are able to maintain relationships, the relationships may be troubled or short in duration. The difficulties in these relationships may result from interpersonal deficits that are present in the offender. Sex offenders have been shown to have empathy defects (Marshall & Cooke, 1995), and one theory for what this is so is that they lack experience within intimate, caring relationships. Many may have grown up in families where violence, abuse, neglect, or substance abuse hindered the development of intimate caring relationships. The offenders then have difficulty as an adult developing intimate, caring relationships when they did not witness this type of relationship during their childhood.

Of those sex offenders who are in or have been in intimate relationships, they are more likely to be short-term cohabitations or marriages. In a study of offenders at an outpatient forensic psychotherapy clinic, Glasser, Kolvin, Campbell, Glasser, Leitch, & Farrelly (2001), found that a significantly higher percentage of child abuse perpetrators reported a cohabitation relationship than of nonperpetrators. It may be that the short-term

cohabitation relationships have been developed in lieu of long-term marriages that require the development of a caring, intimate relationship.

There is evidence in the literature suggesting that the inability to maintain long-term marital relationships may predict sexual offending behavior. In addition to this, there is some data to support the theory that sexually offending against children is more common in individuals that are not able to maintain healthy sexual relationships with adult peers. While the problems with maintaining relationships may result from adverse childhood environments or interpersonal difficulties, there may be other factors that explain the prevalence of short-term relationships. There is some evidence to suggest that the difficulties in maintaining relationships may be due in part to limited ability to contribute financially due to inadequate education or underemployment. It is also the case that limited education and poor work history may also predict violence and offending behavior.

Educational Background and Work History

Individuals who do not achieve in school are more likely than individuals who are successful in school to experience a number of problems in later life. Specifically, these problems may include difficulties with the legal system. Low academic motivation during childhood has been found to be related to legal problems and criminal activity (Flouri & Buchanan, 2002). Low school attainment has been found to be a predictor of increased persistence in crime during adulthood (Farrington & Hawkins, 1991). In addition to this, poor school experience has been found to be related to higher levels of psychopathy in a sample of Scottish adult male offenders (Marshall & Cooke, 1995). Although, limited educational attainment may be associated with criminal activity for a

number of reasons, one study found that early termination of education may influence criminal behavior by limiting job prospects and involvement in socially sanctioned activities (Lynam, Moffitt, & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1992).

In addition to criminal activity in general, limited educational attainment has been associated specifically with sex offending behavior. In a study of offenders at an outpatient forensic psychotherapy clinic, Glasser, Kolvin, Campbell, Glasser, Leitch, & Farrelly (2001), found that child abuse perpetrators had poorer educational qualifications than nonperpetrators. Black, Heyman & Slep (2001) drew similar conclusions in a review of risk and protective factors of child abuse. They found that child sexual abusers, compared to nonabusers, had significantly less education. With regard to the severity of the offense, Tzeng, Robinson, and Karlson (1999) found in a group of alleged child sex offenders that the most severe group of offenders had the largest number of high school dropouts.

Limited education during youth may lead to difficulties obtaining and maintaining employment during adulthood. Unemployment, which is linked to income, has been related to anxiety, depression, and hostility (Liem & Liem, 1988). It is reasonable to assume that problems with anxiety, depression, and hostility would create problems with obtaining employment but also with maintaining employment. Problems with employment have also been associated with criminality. Individuals who are unable to maintain employment are more likely to resort to criminal activity in order to obtain an income.

This association between unemployment and criminal activity has been specifically explored in sex offenders. In a study that investigated the relationship

between demographic variables and perpetration of child sexual abuse, Allen and Pothast (1994) matched child sexual abusers with a control group of nonabusers from the general population. The results of their comparison indicated that compared to the nonabusers, the child sexual abusers were more likely to be unemployed or if they were employed, they had less income than the control group.

The literature suggests that sex offense history, juvenile criminal history, adult criminal history, ethnic background, adverse family background, relationship history, education, and work history may have a role in the prediction of sexual offending behavior. Studies that have incorporated all of these factors in an attempt to better understand the antecedents of criminal and sexually violent behavior in sex offenders are limited. The studies that have been conducted typically do not investigate rapists, incest offenders, and extrafamilial child molesters separately. There is still much work to be done in this area in order to improve the accuracy of sex offender assessments, effectiveness of treatment programs, and competence of community protection programs.

Current Issues in the Literature

There has been continued work by researchers, clinicians, and law enforcement officials to gain a better understanding of sex offending behavior with the aim of protecting women and children from sexual assault. One way of accomplishing this goal has been to group sex offenders based on common characteristics. Researchers have continued to explore ways of classifying sex offenders in order to better understand the characteristics that predict initial sexual offending behavior and recidivism. Sex offenders are typically classified by the age of their victims and by their relationship to their victim. The most common groupings are rapists, incest offenders, and extrafamilial

child molesters. Other ways of differentiating sex offenders, however, have been explored in the literature.

A recent study by Mokros and Alison (2002) attempted to use socio-demographic features such as employment situation and ethnicity or criminal records to predict crime scene behavior in rapists. They, however, were not able to find any linear relationships for any of the comparisons. The specific goal of predicting crime scene behavior may have been difficult to accomplish due to the limited number of previous sex offenses committed by the rapists in this study.

Other studies have been able to observe linear relationships between psychosocial variables and offending behavior when exploring the background characteristics of sex offenders. In an extensive evaluation of court records and investigation reports, Tzeng, Robinson, & Karlson (1999) found that individuals facing charges for sexual offenses against children tend to be male, from ethnic minority groups, poorly educated, and either employed in manual labor or unemployed. They stated that individuals from these “socially disadvantaged” groups may be stereotyped and therefore are most likely to be suspected of child sexual abuse. They found that offenders with such characteristics were consistently charged with more serious offenses and received longer terms of imprisonment. It is not clear whether these groups commit more sexual offenses or if it is the case that they are more likely to be charged with sexual offenses. There is continued need for research to investigate these questions.

Research is needed not only in identifying individuals who are likely commit initial sexual offenses, but also in understanding which sexual offenders are likely to commit additional offenses. With the frequency of sexual offending and reoffending in

the community increasing, clinicians are now under greater pressure to make accurate predictions concerning the likelihood of recidivism in sex offenders (McCarthy, 2001). There is also a need for clinicians to predict which sexual offenders are likely to commit other criminal or violent offenses after release. Identifying variables associated with different types of criminal behavior may have important implications for assessment, treatment, and release planning for sex offenders (Nussbaum, Collins, Cutler, Zimmerman, Farguson, & Jacques, 2002). Identifying variables that can be used in the construction of instruments that can make more accurate predictions about the likelihood of sexual and general criminal recidivism are important not only for the safety and welfare of the public but for the offender as well.

Accuracy of assessment is of the utmost importance because the assessment may be used to determine the level of dangerousness of a sex offender, the success of sex offender treatment, the level of supervision needed after the offender is released, or be used to make many other critical decisions about the course of legal action against the offender. Loss of personal freedom or relationships for the sex offender may result from a Type I error and the public's safety is a concern if a Type II error is made and a high-risk offender is set free to reoffend (Hall, 1990). There is very little room for error and the currently used instruments are no longer acceptable in that regard.

Another issue that is currently being explored in the literature is the prevention of violence. The same variables that predict criminal, violent, and sexual recidivism in sex offenders may be useful in the prevention of these same acts in individuals who have not yet offended. A prevention-based paradigm for violence risk assessment was recent presented by Douglas & Kropp (2002) as a way to prevent violence through the

assessment of relevant violence risk factors and the application of risk management and intervention strategies that flow directly from these factors. They stated that despite the fact that important conceptual developments have fostered a preventive orientation, empirical studies on risk assessment continue to reflect a prediction-based paradigm. They suggested that a prevention-based, rather than a prediction-based paradigm for violence risk assessment clearly achieves greater benefits for the offender and for society. It is clearly more useful to find ways to prevent violent acts than to accurately predict when the violent acts will occur and who will commit them. By systematically identifying risk factors for violence management, strategies can be tailored to prevent violence (Douglas & Knopp, 2002). This ultimately should be the goal for sex offender assessments, treatment programs, and release planning.

With regard to sex offender treatment programs, current studies of treatment outcome tend to concentrate on the reduction of the offending behavior or other variables specific to sex offenses. There has been remarkably little attempt to quantify the psychosocial factors that influence the offender's environment and may be expected to have some impact on post release and post treatment functioning (Vizard, Monck, & Misch, 1995). Exploring psychosocial variables such as history of adverse family environment, ethnic background, education, employment, and relationship history and their relationship offending behavior may be useful in the prevention of offending behavior after the sex offender is released. There is therefore an urgent need for studies that explore these psychosocial factors that may influence offending behavior.

Current Study

There has been a significant amount of progress made in recent years toward the goal of reliable assessment and effective treatment programs for sex offenders in previously conducted studies and currently being conducted research. The development of prevention programs is still in the initial stages. There, however, has been limited work in the area of psychosocial variables and their role in the prediction of sex offending behavior. The investigation of psychosocial variables may be useful in the further development of assessment instruments or treatment and prevention programs but also may provide needed information that can be used for assisting sex offenders who may be transitioning back into the community. Many of the psychosocial factors that predicted the initial sex offending behavior may need to be addressed in order for the offender to successfully integrate back into the community and discontinue their offending behavior.

In this study, the following hypotheses were tested in this study:

- H1: Rapists will have more extensive histories of physical abuse in childhood and more extensive criminal histories than other types of sex offenders.
Rapists will not have more extensive sexual offending histories.
- H2: Rapists will have used significantly more force in their index offense than incest offenders or extrafamilial child molesters.
- H3: Extrafamilial child molesters will have more extensive histories of sexual abuse in childhood and of sexual offending than rapists or incest offenders.

- H4: Members of ethnic minority groups will have more extensive criminal histories than sex offenders who are members of the ethnic majority. Ethnicity is not expected to be a significant predictor of sexual or violent offending.
- H5: Sex offenders who were victims of abuse in childhood will have more extensive criminal histories and will have used significantly more force in their index offense.
- H6: Poor relationship history will be predictive of more extensive criminal histories in sex offenders.
- H7: Limited education will be predictive of more extensive criminal histories in sex offenders. The level of education is also expected to be highly correlated with employment.
- H8: Underemployment will be predictive of more extensive criminal histories in sex offenders.

One area of research that has been neglected in the literature is the influence of psychosocial variables on the severity of the sexual offense. Previous research has found that sexual abuse that occurs often and lasts for years will typically be more enduringly harmful than abuse that happens only sporadically and over time. The exception to this generalization is the one-time violent assault (Kendall-Tackett, Williams, & Finkelhor, 1993). The use of force during the offense has also been shown to increase the severity of reaction to sexual abuse (Elwell & Ephross, 1987). Although sexual abuse and rape is by definition, nonconsensual, at times the abuser may use manipulation, coercion, or threats of force to gain compliance. In other cases, the abuser will assault or physically

restrain his victim. The victim who experiences increased force is more likely to have severe and lasting symptoms (Kendall-Tackett, 2001). In this study, the relationship between psychosocial variables and the degree of force used in the offense is explored. These findings will enable researchers and clinicians to provide more focused attention on the offenders who are likely to generate the most harm and severe adverse reactions in their victims. While all victims are harmed, it may be necessary to focus resources on the most severely problematic offenders.

Studies that have investigated the relationship between psychosocial variables and offending behavior have previously been conducted with groups of men who have never been convicted of a sex offense. Because men who have been convicted of a sexual crime form a small and unrepresentative subgroup of sexually violent men, most research into the etiology of sexual violence has been conducted with students or with men from the general community rather than with identified and convicted sex offenders. In order to develop effective assessment tools and interventions for convicted sexual offenders, however, it is also necessary to investigate factors that have led these men to be sexually violent (Drieschner & Lange, 1999).

In this study, the sexual offense history, juvenile criminal history, adult criminal history, ethnic background, adverse family background, relationship history, educational background, and work history of convicted sexual offenders is examined to determine the extent to which they predict violence in the sexual act for which they are currently being charged. Juvenile criminal history, ethnic background, adverse family background, relationship history, educational background, and work history is also examined to determine the extent to which they predict general criminal offenses, sexual offenses, and

violent offenses as an adult. These investigations are conducted with the sample of sex offenders divided into groups of incest offenders, extrafamilial child molesters, and rapists.

Based on previously conducted research, predictions were made about the outcome of the study before the data was analyzed. It was hypothesized that rapists will have more extensive histories of physical abuse in childhood and more extensive criminal histories than other types of sex offenders. This was based on the theory of the cycle of violence and previous studies that have observed more extensive criminal histories in rapists than in other types of sex offenders.

It was also hypothesized that rapists will have used significantly more force in their index sexual offense than incest offenders or extrafamilial child molesters. This was based on the adult status of the rapist's victims. More force would typically be required to overcome an adult victim than a child victim.

Extrafamilial child molesters were expected to have more extensive histories of sexual abuse in childhood and of sexual offending than rapists or incest offenders. This is based on findings from previous studies that extrafamilial child molesters are apt to have been sexually abused during their childhood. It has also been found in previous studies that extrafamilial child molesters are likely to have a history of sexually abusing children.

Based on the increased likelihood of involvement in criminal activity, members of ethnic minority groups were expected to have more extensive criminal histories than sex offenders who are members of the ethnic majority. A number of previously conducted

studies have found this to be true but those studies did not evaluate groups of sex offenders.

Sex offenders who were victims of abuse during childhood were expected to have more extensive criminal histories and to have used significantly more force in their index sexual offense. Previous studies have shown that experiencing abuse in childhood may lead to increased criminality in adulthood. This was also hypothesized due to the cycle of violence theory that would predict extensive exposure to violence during childhood would lead to violent behavior in adulthood.

With regard to relationship history, it was hypothesized that sex offenders with a history of multiple live in relationships and short marriages would have more extensive criminal histories than sex offenders who were able to maintain long term marriages. Poor relationship history has previously been found to be predictive of more extensive criminal histories in sex offenders.

Limited education was expected to be predictive of more extensive criminal histories in sex offenders. Numerous studies have shown that individuals with poor educational backgrounds are more likely to engage in criminal behavior.

Finally, it was hypothesized that underemployment and unemployment will be predictive of more extensive criminal histories in sex offenders. This was predicted due to previously conducted studies that have demonstrated a relationship between criminal activity and inability to obtain employment.

METHOD

General Design

This study is a retrospective study analyzing an extensive database at the Kentucky State Reformatory in LaGrange, KY. Licensed clinical psychologists employed by the Kentucky Department of Corrections in the Sex Offender Risk Assessment Unit (SORA) collected the data between December 1998 and January 2004. This data was collected as a part of either a presentence or prerelease evaluation that is conducted for all sex offenders in the state of Kentucky. The database consists of demographic information and data obtained from structured risk assessment interviews with the sex offenders, institutional records, presentence investigation reports, official police offense reports, social services reports, victim impact statements, and National Crime Information Center records.

Whenever possible, information provided by the offender was verified using official records. However, self-report data were used and are usually necessary to study behavior. Issues of reliability and validity, however, are normally present, and it is not possible to know with certainty whether the offenders answered the questions regarding previous history and behavior in an honest and accurate fashion. It is assumed that negative aspects of history were underreported rather than over reported.

Participants

The participants in the study were 1756 male sexual offenders in Kentucky Correctional System evaluated in either the presentence or prerelease stage of the legal process in the Commonwealth of Kentucky. The offenders had been convicted of a sexual crime that may have included rape in the first, second, or third degree; sodomy in the first, second, third, or fourth degree; sexual abuse in the first second or third degree; sexual misconduct; indecent exposure; incest; unlawful transaction with a minor in the first degree; use of a minor in sexual performance; promoting sexual performance by a minor; a felony attempt to commit any of the above; or a federal felony offense, a felony offense subject to a court martial of the United States Armed Forces, or from another state or territory if the felony offense is similar to an offense listed above.

The original sample of participants included 58 female sex offenders (3.2 % of the total) who were excluded from this study. Because the rates for nearly all types of crimes including sexual crimes are greater for males than for females, it was expected that the number of females in the sample would be negligible. Females were excluded from this study based on evidence from previous studies that suggests that sexual offending and violent behavior in females is characteristically different than sexual offending in men (Christiansen & Thyer, 2002). The number of female sex offenders in the database was not sufficient to analyze this group separately. It is suggested that in the future that data obtained from the female offenders in this database be combined with data from female sexual offenders in other states in order to obtain a sample size that is sufficient for analysis.

Data was obtained from an existing database and there was no contact with the sexual offenders by the investigator during the course of this study. Consents for use of this information were obtained from the offenders at the time of their assessment. All data is secured at the Kentucky State Reformatory and any publications that result from this study will not include any information that could be used to identify any of the individual offenders.

Data Analysis

ANOVA's were conducted to compare groups of incest offenders, extrafamilial child molesters, and rapists in terms psychosocial variables, criminal histories, and level of sexual violence employed in the most recent sexual offense. Offenders were categorized as rapists if their victim was over the age of 16. They were categorized as incest offenders if their child victim was a biological child, adopted child, stepchild, sibling, niece/nephew, or cousin. They were categorized as extrafamilial child molesters if their child victim was not a relative. Means and standard deviations for these variables were also provided for the entire sample of sex offenders.

The data was explored using a correlational analysis to determine if there are any linear relationships between the psychosocial variables, criminal histories, and level of sexual violence employed by the offenders. The level of violence in sex offense was determined to be one of the following: overtly consensual, manipulation, coercion, threat of force, physical force but no medical attention was required, or physical force but medical attention was required. The level of violence was coded as follows: overtly consensual (1), manipulation (2), coercion (3), threat of force (4), force/no medical attention (5), and force/medical attention (6). This coding system was used to explore the

degree of force used in the most recent offense. Unfortunately, the assigned values for the levels of violence are not scaled in uniform increments. They are however ordered and reflect a progressively more severe level of violence.

ANOVA's were conducted to evaluate the differences in the number of prior felony convictions, number of prior violent convictions, number of contact episodes for prior sex offense convictions, and the level of sexual violence employed in the most recent offense for all sex offenders in the sample for the following variables: victim of physical abuse during childhood, victim of sexual abuse during childhood, physical violence witnessed in home during childhood, history of parental alcohol abuse, history of parental substance abuse, ethnic background, completion of high school, and history of marriage.

Multiple regression with perpetration of criminal activity and sexual violence as the dependent variables and psychosocial life experiences included as independent (or predictor variables) was also used to explore the hypotheses proposed in this study.

RESULTS

The goal of this study was to assess the relationships between psychosocial variables and sex offender criminality and violence. The variables were first explored in groups of rapists, incest offenders, and extrafamilial child molesters.

Table 1 presents the variables that were used to predict the level of violence that the offender used against their victim for their most recent sexual offense. This is the offense for which the presentence or prerelease evaluation was conducted by the Kentucky Department of Corrections.

Table 1

Variables Used to Predict Level of Violence

Independent Variable	Derivation
Victim of Physical Abuse	Report of Physical Abuse During Childhood
Victim of Sexual Abuse	Report of Sexual Abuse During Childhood
Witnessed Violence	Report of Physical Violence in Childhood Home
Parental Alcohol Abuse	History of Parental Alcohol Abuse
Parental Substance Abuse	History of Parental Substance Abuse
Ethnicity	Ethnic Background
Education	Years of Education Completed
Employment	Longest Period in the Same Job
Marriage	Length of Longest Marriage
Cohabitation	Number of Unmarried Live in Relationships
Age First Offended	Age at First Sex Offense Conviction
Juvenile Felony Convictions	Report of Juvenile Felony Convictions
Juvenile Sex Offense Convictions	Report of Juvenile Sex Offense Convictions
Adult Felony Convictions	Number of Adult Felony Convictions
Adult Violent Convictions	Number of Adult Violent Convictions
Adult Sex Offense Convictions	Number of Contact Episodes for Adult Sex Offense Convictions

The data was analyzed for each of the psychosocial variables based on the type of victim the sex offender had offended against in the most recent sexual offense: rapists, incest offenders, and extrafamilial child molesters.

Table 2**Background/Demographic Characteristics**

	Rapists (n=237)	Incest Offenders (n=702)	Extrafamilial Child Molesters (n=797)	All Offenders (n=1756)
Age M SD	32.91 (11.93)	37.31 (12.18)	31.47 (12.07)	34.00 (12.40)
Victim of Phy Abuse				
Mother	1.3%	3.6%	2.0%	2.6%
Father	13.5%	15.0%	12.9%	13.7%
Mother and Father	2.5%	1.9%	1.5%	1.8%
Other	3.0%	5.0%	5.6%	5.1%
None Reported	79.7%	74.6%	77.9%	76.9%
Victim of Sex Abuse				
Yes, By Force	11.9%	18.5%	12.2%	14.8%
Yes, Overt Consent	5.3%	7.0%	4.2%	5.5%
None Reported	82.8%	74.4%	83.6%	79.7%
Witnessed Violence				
Yes	26.4%	29.7%	25.0%	27.0%
No	73.6%	70.3%	75.0%	73.0%
Parental Alcoh Abuse				
Mother	2.1%	4.0%	3.8%	3.6%
Father	25.3%	29.1%	25.5%	26.9%
Both	8.0%	5.8%	4.6%	5.6%
None Reported	64.6%	61.1%	66.1%	63.9%
Parental Subst Abuse				
Mother	1.7%	1.4%	2.1%	1.8%
Father	3.8%	2.4%	2.8%	2.8%
Both	1.3%	1.7%	1.3%	1.4%
None Reported	93.2%	94.4%	93.9%	94.0%

Table 2 (cont.)**Background/Demographic Characteristics**

	Rapists	Incest Offenders	Extrafamilial Child Molesters	All Offenders
Ethnicity				
White	72.2%	93.0%	80.8%	84.6%
African American	26.1%	5.6%	15.5%	12.9%
Asian	-----	-----	-----	0.1%
Latino	1.7%	1.1%	2.8%	1.9%
Other	-----	0.3%	0.8%	0.5%
Education				
M	10.01	10.00	10.30	10.14
SD	(2.62)	(2.83)	(2.60)	(2.70)
Employment				
M	5.16	8.07	5.44	6.46
SD	(6.73)	(7.97)	(6.89)	(7.42)
Marriage				
M	6.64	10.64	6.05	8.04
SD	(8.26)	(9.66)	(7.96)	(9.02)
Cohabitation				
M	1.22	0.88	1.23	1.09
SD	(2.51)	(1.78)	(2.27)	(2.14)
Age First Offended				
M	30.70	34.74	30.39	32.12
SD	(11.53)	(11.62)	(11.62)	(11.78)
Juvenile Felony				
Yes	17.0%	6.4%	9.7%	9.3%
No	83.0%	96.6%	90.3%	90.7%
Juvenile Sex Offen				
Yes	3.8%	1.9%	1.8%	2.1%
No	96.2%	98.1%	98.2%	97.9%
Adult Felony				
M	1.90	0.87	0.91	1.03
SD	(4.49)	(2.13)	(2.08)	(2.58)
Adult Violent				
M	1.09	0.45	0.55	0.59
SD	(1.78)	(1.05)	(1.17)	(1.28)
Adult Sex Offense				
M	3.70	29.40	5.61	14.85
SD	(8.25)	(257.78)	(13.41)	(163.63)
Sexual Violence				
M	4.50	3.53	3.08	3.46
SD	(1.42)	(1.49)	(1.76)	(1.68)

Table 2 shows the demographic and background information for each of the groups of sex offenders. Demographic and background information is also provided for the total population of sex offenders.

Separate one-way ANOVAs were conducted to compare the groups of sex offenders on these variables. A significant difference was revealed for the age of the offender at the time of the most recent offense, $F(2, 1712) = 43.821, p < .001$. Incest offenders ($M = 37.31, SD = 12.18$) were significantly older at the time of their most recent offense than rapists ($M = 32.91, SD = 11.93$) or extrafamilial child molesters ($M = 31.47, SD = 12.07$).

Contrary to the prediction that was made before the data was analyzed, there were no significant differences between the groups with regard to physical abuse victimization during childhood, $F(2, 1733) = .941, p = .391$. It had been expected that rapists would have had more extensive histories of physical abuse in childhood than either incest offenders or extrafamilial child molesters. More than 20% of the offenders in each one of the three groups reported physical abuse during their childhood by either their mother, their father, both parents, or other persons: rapists (20.3%), incest offenders (25.4%), and extrafamilial child molesters (22.1%).

There was however, as predicted, a significant difference between the groups with regard to sexual abuse victimization during childhood, $F(2, 1686) = 9.323, p < .001$. It had been predicted that extrafamilial child molesters would have more extensive histories of sexual abuse in childhood. The analysis nevertheless revealed that incest offenders reported more sexual abuse victimization during childhood (25.6%) than rapists (17.2%) or extrafamilial child molesters (16.4%).

No significant differences were revealed between the groups for witnessing physical violence in their home during childhood, $F(2, 1668) = 2.005, p = .135$, parental alcohol abuse, $F(2, 1732) = 2.171, p = .114$, or parental substance abuse $F(2, 1732) = .116, p = .891$.

A significant difference was found between the groups with regard to ethnic background, $F(2, 1723) = 20.662, p < .001$. Sex offenders in each of the groups were more likely to be White, however, the type of offending that was most probable for each ethnicity varied significantly. White offenders were more likely to be convicted of an incest offense (93.0% of total), than child molestation (80.8% of total) or rape (72.2% of total). African American offenders were more likely to be convicted of rape (26.1% of total), than extrafamilial child molestation (15.5% of total) or incest (5.6% of total). Latino offenders were more likely to be convicted of extrafamilial child molestation (2.8% of total), than rape (1.7% of total) or incest (1.1% of total). Of the sex offenders who did not reported their ethnic background as White, African American, Asian, or Latino and were classified as Other, it was more likely that they had been convicted of extrafamilial child molestation (0.8% of total) than incest (0.3% of total). Only one offender reported his ethnic background as Asian. Data was not reported for this offender because of the possibility that he could be identified.

There were no significant differences in the number of years of education that the offenders had completed, $F(2, 1696) = 2.585, p = .076$, each of the groups had completed approximately 10 years of school, rapists ($M = 10.01, SD = 2.62$), incest offenders ($M = 10.00, SD = 2.83$), and extrafamilial child molesters ($M = 10.30, SD = 2.60$).

Significant differences were found in employment stability between the groups of offenders, $F(2, 1562) = 25.670, p < .001$. Incest offenders had been able to maintain employment for more years ($M = 8.07, SD = 7.97$), than extrafamilial child molesters ($M = 5.44, SD = 6.89$) or rapists ($M = 5.16, SD = 6.73$).

Similarly, significant differences were found in marital stability between the groups of offenders, $F(2, 1565) = 49.759, p < .001$. Incest offenders reported more years in their longest marriage ($M = 10.64, SD = 9.66$), than rapists ($M = 6.64, SD = 8.26$) or extrafamilial child molesters ($M = 6.05, SD = 7.96$).

Significant differences were revealed in cohabitation histories between the groups of offenders, $F(2, 1608) = 5.254, p = .005$. Incest offenders reported significantly fewer live in relationships ($M = 0.88, SD = 1.78$), than extrafamilial child molesters ($M = 1.23, SD = 2.27$) or rapists ($M = 1.22, SD = 2.51$).

With regard to age at the time of first sex offense conviction, there were significant differences between the groups of offenders $F(2, 1709) = 27.953, p < .001$. Incest offenders were significantly older ($M = 34.74, SD = 11.62$), than were rapists ($M = 30.70, SD = 11.53$) or extrafamilial child molesters ($M = 30.39, SD = 11.62$).

There was a significant difference between the groups of offenders with regard to juvenile felony convictions, $F(2, 1693) = 11.666, p < .001$. As predicted, rapists were more likely to have been convicted of a felony as a juvenile (17.0%) than were extrafamilial child molesters (9.7%) or incest offenders (6.4%). However, there was not a significant difference between the groups of offenders with regard to juvenile sex offense convictions, $F(2, 1713) = 2.027, p = .132$. Fewer than 4% of the sex offenders in

each of the groups had been convicted of a sex offense as a juvenile: rapists (3.8%), incest offenders (1.9%), and extrafamilial child molesters (1.8%).

As predicted, there was a significant difference between the groups of sex offenders with reference to the offender's history of adult felony convictions, $F(2, 1556) = 14.385, p < .001$. Rapists had been convicted of significantly more felonies as an adult ($M = 1.90, SD = 4.49$), than extrafamilial child molesters ($M = 0.91, SD = 2.08$) or incest offenders ($M = 0.87, SD = 2.13$). The results of the analysis were similar for adult violent offenses. As predicted, there was a significant difference between the groups of offenders, $F(2, 1560) = 22.122, p < .001$. Rapists had been convicted of significantly more violent offenses as an adult ($M = 1.09, SD = 1.78$), than extrafamilial child molesters ($M = 0.55, SD = 1.17$) or incest offenders ($M = 0.45, SD = 1.05$).

The results of the analysis of differences in the number of previous sex offense convictions was significant, $F(2, 1733) = 4.562, p = .011$, however the outcome was not as predicted. It had been predicted that extrafamilial child molesters would have more extensive histories of sexual offending, however, incest offenders were found to have more contact episodes ($M = 29.40, SD = 257.78$) for the sex offenses for which they had been convicted than extrafamilial child molesters ($M = 5.61, SD = 13.41$) or rapists ($M = 3.70, SD = 8.25$). These results were somewhat distorted by a subgroup of incest offenders ($n = 36$) who had in excess of 100 contact episodes for the sex offenses for which they had been convicted.

Finally, significant differences were found between the groups of sex offenders with regard to the level of violence employed in their most recent sex offense, $F(2, 1679)$

= 70.143, $p < .001$. As predicted, rapists used significantly more force ($M = 4.50$, $SD = 1.42$), than incest offenders ($M = 3.53$, $SD = 1.49$) or extrafamilial child molesters ($M = 3.08$, $SD = 1.76$).

Correlational Analysis

A correlational analysis of the sexual offender's history of physical abuse, history of sexual abuse, witness of violence, parental alcohol abuse, parental substance abuse, level of education, employment history, marital history, cohabitation history, age first offended, juvenile convictions, adult convictions, and level of violence was conducted in order to clarify the strength and direction of the relationships between these variables.

Table 3

Correlational Analysis of Variables

	Phys Ab	Sex Ab	Witn Viol	Par Alcoh	Par Subt
Victim of Physical Abuse	-----				
Victim of Sexual Abuse	.283**	-----			
Witnessed Violence	.590**	.200**	-----		
Parental Alcohol Abuse	.279**	.165**	.396**	-----	
Parental Substance Abuse	.156**	.095**	.147**	.259**	-----
Education	-.049*	.027	-.076**	-.088**	-.004
Employment	-.068**	-.027	-.060*	-.079**	-.115**
Marriage	-.046	-.049	-.049	-.047	-.113**
Cohabitation	.024	-.008	.067**	.064	-.024
Age First Offended	-.046	-.053*	-.029	-.026	-.151**
Juvenile Felony Conv	.042	.002	.087**	.096**	.081**
Juvenile Sex Offense Conv	.076**	.055*	.094**	.083**	.105**
Adult Felony Convictions	.028	-.032	.043	.098**	.002
Adult Violent Convictions	.043	.006	-.029	.107**	.042
Adult Sex Offense Conv	-.066	-.018	-.014	.035	.009
Sexual Violence Employed	-.013	.016	.037	.063**	.008

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 3 (cont.)

	Education	Employ	Marriage	Cohabit
Victim of Physical Abuse				
Victim of Sexual Abuse				
Witnessed Violence				
Parental Alcohol Abuse				
Parental Substance Abuse				
Education	-----			
Employment	-.003	-----		
Marriage	-.097**	.588**	-----	
Cohabitation	-.082**	-.057*	-.108**	-----
Age First Offended	-.139**	.561**	.650**	.049
Juvenile Felony Conv	-.081**	-.135**	-.119**	.039
Juvenile Sex Offense Conv	-.038	-.071**	-.092**	.022
Adult Felony Convictions	-.094**	-.102**	-.054**	.174**
Adult Violent Convictions	-.121**	-.141**	-.095**	.135**
Adult Sex Offense Conv	-.022	.000	.039	-.017
Sexual Violence Employed	-.051*	.007	.008	.002

*p< .05, **p< .01

Table 3 (cont.)

	First Offen	Juven Felon	Juven Sex Of	Adult Felon	Adult Viol	Adult Sex Of	Sexual Viol
Victim of Phys Abuse							
Victim of Sexual Abuse							
Witnessed Violence							
Parental Alcohol Abuse							
Parental Subst Abuse							
Education							
Employment							
Marriage							
Cohabitation							
Age First Offended	-----						
Juvenile Felony Conv	-.169**	-----					
Juvenile Sex Offense	-.189**	.336**	-----				
Adult Felony Conv	-.016	.194**	.079**	-----			
Adult Violent Conv	-.074**	.193**	.091**	.393**	-----		
Adult Sex Offense Conv	.027	-.008	-.008	-.016	.019	-----	
Sexual Violence	-.025	.119**	.072**	.095**	.167**	.025	-----

*p< .05, **p< .01

Table 3 shows Pearson correlations between the demographic, background history, psychosocial, and criminal history variables, as well as the level of violence employed in the most recent sex offense. Understanding the relationships between the variables is essential because these variables will be used as predictors of sexual offending and violence. The table had to be divided into three parts due to the substantial number of variables in the table.

Significant relationships were found between physical abuse victimization during childhood and sexual abuse victimization during childhood ($r = .283, p < .01$), witnessing physical violence in childhood home ($r = .590, p < .01$), parental alcohol abuse ($r = .279, p < .01$), parental substance abuse ($r = .156, p < .01$), and having a history of juvenile sex offense convictions ($r = .076, p < .01$). Significant negative relationships were found between physical abuse victimization during childhood and completion of education ($r = -.049, p < .05$) and maintaining employment ($r = -.068, p < .01$).

The analysis also revealed significant relationships between sexual abuse victimization during childhood and witnessing physical violence in childhood home ($r = .200, p < .01$), parental alcohol abuse ($r = .165, p < .01$), parental substance abuse ($r = .095, p < .01$), and having a history of juvenile sex offense convictions ($r = .055, p < .05$). A significant negative relationship was revealed between sexual abuse during childhood and age at first sex offense conviction ($r = -.053, p < .01$). This indicates that childhood sexual abuse is associated with sex offending behavior at a younger age.

With regard to witnessing physical violence in their childhood home, significant correlations were found with parental alcohol abuse ($r = .396, p < .01$), parental substance abuse ($r = .147, p < .01$), multiple cohabitations ($r = .067, p < .01$), having a history of

juvenile felony convictions ($r = .087, p < .01$), and having a history of juvenile sex offense convictions ($r = .094, p < .01$). Significant negative relationships were found between witnessing physical violence in childhood home and completion of education ($r = -.076, p < .01$) and maintaining employment ($r = -.060, p < .05$).

A history of growing up in a home in which a parent abused alcohol abuse was determined to be significantly associated with parental substance abuse ($r = .259, p < .01$), a history of juvenile felony convictions ($r = .096, p < .01$), a history of juvenile sex offense convictions ($r = .083, p < .01$), adult felony convictions ($r = .098, p < .01$), adult violent convictions ($r = .107, p < .01$), and level of sexual violence employed in the most recent sexual assault ($r = .063, p < .01$). Parental alcohol abuse was found to have an inverse relationship with completion of education ($r = -.088, p < .01$) and maintaining employment ($r = -.079, p < .01$),

A history of growing up in a home in which a parent abused substances was determined to be significantly associated with a history of juvenile felony convictions ($r = .081, p < .01$) and a history of juvenile sex offense convictions ($r = .105, p < .01$). Parental substance abuse was found to have an inverse relationship with maintaining employment ($r = -.115, p < .01$), marital stability ($r = -.113, p < .01$), and age at first sex offense conviction ($r = -.151, p < .01$).

Years of education completed was significantly negatively associated with marital stability ($r = -.097, p < .01$), a history of multiple cohabitations ($r = -.082, p < .01$), age at the time of first sex offense conviction ($r = -.139, p < .01$), a history of juvenile felony convictions ($r = -.081, p < .01$), adult felony convictions ($r = -.094, p < .01$), adult violent

convictions ($r = -.121, p < .01$), and level of sexual violence employed in the most recent sexual assault ($r = -.051, p < .05$).

The analysis revealed significant relationships between employment stability and both marital stability ($r = .588, p < .01$) and age at the time of first sexual offense conviction ($r = .561, p < .01$). Significant negative relationships were revealed between employment stability and multiple cohabitations ($r = -.057, p < .05$), a history of juvenile felony convictions ($r = -.135, p < .001$), a history of juvenile sex offense convictions ($r = -.071, p < .01$), adult felony convictions ($r = -.102, p < .01$), and adult violent convictions ($r = -.141, p < .01$).

Stable marriage was found to be significantly associated with an older age at first sex offense conviction ($r = .650, p < .01$). Marital stability, however, was found to be negatively associated with a history of multiple cohabitations ($r = -.108, p < .05$), a history of juvenile felony convictions ($r = -.119, p < .01$), a history of juvenile sex offense convictions ($r = -.092, p < .01$), adult felony convictions ($r = -.054, p < .01$), and adult violent convictions ($r = -.095, p < .01$).

Significant relationships were found between a history of multiple cohabitations and both adult felony convictions ($r = .174, p < .01$) and adult violent convictions ($r = .135, p < .01$). Significant negative relationships were found between age at the time of first sex offense conviction and a history of juvenile felony convictions ($r = -.169, p < .01$), a history of juvenile sex offense convictions ($r = -.189, p < .01$), and a history of adult violent convictions ($r = -.074, p < .01$).

A history of juvenile felony convictions was revealed to be significantly associated with a history of juvenile sex offense convictions ($r = .336, p < .01$), adult

felony convictions ($r = .194, p < .01$), adult violent convictions ($r = .193, p < .01$), and the level of sexual violence employed in the most recent sex offense ($r = .119, p < .01$). A history of juvenile sex offense convictions was associated with adult felony convictions ($r = .079, p < .01$), adult violent convictions ($r = .091, p < .01$), and the level of sexual violence employed in the most recent sex offense ($r = .072, p < .01$).

An increased number of adult felony convictions was significantly associated with both an increased number of adult violent convictions ($r = .393, p < .01$) and increased sexual violence in the most recent sex offense ($r = .095, p < .01$). Lastly, an increased number of violent convictions as an adult was significantly associated with increased sexual violence in the most recent sexual assault ($r = .167, p < .01$).

Psychosocial Variables and Offending Behavior

The data was analyzed for the following variables: physical abuse in childhood, sexual abuse in childhood, witness of physical violence in childhood home, parental alcohol abuse, parental substance abuse, ethnic background, education, employment history, and marital history. The goal was to determine if there were significantly different levels of criminal and violent behavior for the varying levels of the psychosocial variables.

Table 4**Physical Abuse in Childhood and Criminal History**

	Physical Abuse By Mother (n=45)	Physical Abuse By Father (n=240)	Abuse By Both Parents (n=31)	Abuse By Others (n=89)	No Abuse Reported (n=1350)
Adult Felony Convictions					
M	1.40	1.17	1.30	1.12	0.98
SD	(2.24)	(2.00)	(2.91)	(2.60)	(2.67)
Adult Violent Convictions					
M	0.74	0.74	0.63	0.67	0.56
SD	(1.08)	(1.24)	(0.72)	(1.44)	(1.29)
Adult Sex Offense Convictions					
M	8.18	11.43	7.87	17.03	15.70
SD	(16.46)	(42.80)	(18.42)	(65.21)	(184.96)
Level of Sexual Violence					
M	3.60	3.50	3.33	3.31	3.46
SD	(1.56)	(1.64)	(1.69)	(1.70)	(1.69)

Table 4 shows the number of adult felony convictions, adult violent convictions, contact episodes for adult sex offense convictions, and level of violence employed in the most recent sexual offense for offenders who reported a history of physical abuse during childhood and for offenders who reported that they had not been physically abused. Contrary to the predictions that were made before the data was analyzed, separate one-way ANOVAs revealed no significance between offenders who had been physically abused and offenders who had not been abused. There was no significance between the groups with regard to adult felony convictions, $F(4, 1573) = 0.596$, $p = .665$, adult violent convictions, $F(4, 1577) = 1.158$, $p = .328$, contact episodes for adult sex offense convictions, $F(4, 1750) = 0.072$, $p = .991$, or level of violence employed in the most recent sexual offense, $F(4, 1693) = 0.313$, $p = .869$.

Table 5**Sexual Abuse in Childhood and Criminal History**

	Yes, By Force (n=253)	Yes, With Overt Consent (n=93)	No Sexual Abuse Reported (n=1360)
Adult Felony Convictions			
M	0.82	1.00	1.06
SD	(1.73)	(1.57)	(2.76)
Adult Violent Convictions			
M	0.57	0.70	0.57
SD	(1.28)	(1.13)	(1.26)
Adult Sex Offense Convictions			
M	9.49	8.63	11.64
SD	(18.06)	(17.21)	(53.25)
Level of Sexual Violence			
M	3.59	3.10	3.46
SD	(1.60)	(1.55)	(1.69)

Table 5 shows the number of adult felony convictions, adult violent convictions, contact episodes for adult sex offense convictions, and level of violence employed in the most recent sexual offense for offenders who reported a history of sexual abuse during childhood and for offenders who reported that they had not been sexually abused. Again, contrary to the predictions made before the data was analyzed, separate one-way ANOVAs revealed no significance between offenders who had been sexually abused and offenders who had not been abused. There was no significance between the groups with regard to adult felony convictions, $F(2, 1537) = 0.797, p = .451$, adult violent convictions, $F(2, 1539) = 0.462, p = .630$, contact episodes for adult sex offense convictions, $F(2, 1703) = 0.345, p = .708$, or level of violence employed in the most recent sexual offense, $F(2, 1647) = 2.779, p = .062$.

Table 6**Witnessed Physical Violence in Childhood Home and Criminal History**

	Witnessed Violence (n=456)	Did Not Witness Violence (n=1231)
Adult Felony Convictions		
M	1.21	0.96
SD	(2.39)	(2.65)
Adult Violent Convictions		
M	0.65	0.57
SD	(1.13)	(1.35)
Adult Sex Offense Convictions		
M	11.18	16.33
SD	(39.37)	(193.23)
Level of Sexual Violence		
M	3.55	3.41
SD	(1.65)	(1.69)

Table 6 shows the number of adult felony convictions, adult violent convictions, contact episodes for adult sex offense convictions, and level of violence employed in the most recent sexual offense for offenders who reported a history of witnessing violence in their home during childhood and for offenders who reported that they had not witnessed violence. Separate one-way ANOVAs revealed no significance between offenders who had witnessed violence and offenders who had not witnessed violence. There was no significance between the groups with regard to adult felony convictions, $F(1, 1521) = 2.828, p = .093$, adult violent convictions, $F(1, 1524) = 1.291, p = .256$, contact episodes for adult sex offense convictions, $F(1, 1685) = 0.318, p = .573$, or level of violence employed in the most recent sexual offense, $F(1, 1632) = 2.226, p = .136$.

Table 7**Parental Alcohol Abuse and Criminal History**

	Alcohol Abuse By Mother (n=64)	Alcohol Abuse By Father (n=471)	Alcohol Abuse By Both (n=98)	No Alcohol Abuse Reported (n=1121)
Adult Felony Convictions				
M	1.16	1.45	1.25	0.84
SD	(1.93)	(3.51)	(2.23)	(2.13)
Adult Violent Convictions				
M	0.69	0.75	0.92	0.50
SD	(1.10)	(1.28)	(12.35)	(1.27)
Adult Sex Offense Convictions				
M	7.98	27.27	12.35	10.26
SD	(13.10)	(307.28)	(31.14)	(46.38)
Level of Sexual Violence				
M	3.15	3.63	3.65	3.39
SD	(1.70)	(1.65)	(1.62)	(1.69)

Table 7 shows the number of adult felony convictions, adult violent convictions, contact episodes for adult sex offense convictions, and level of violence employed in the most recent sexual offense for offenders who reported a history of parental alcohol abuse in their home during childhood and for offenders who reported that their parents had not abused alcohol during their childhood. The analysis revealed a significant difference between offenders who had parental alcohol abuse in their home during childhood and offenders who did not have parental alcohol abuse in the home during childhood with regard to adult felony convictions, $F(3, 1574) = 5.843, p = .001$, adult violent convictions, $F(3, 1578) = 6.168, p < .001$, and level of violence employed in the most recent sexual offense, $F(3, 1693) = 3.165, p = .024$. The results indicated that alcohol abuse by the offender's mother, father, or both parents during their childhood increased the likelihood that the offender would commit felonies or violent offenses during

adulthood. The results also indicated that alcohol abuse by the offender's father or both parents during their childhood was associated with an increased level of violence in the most recent sexual offense. There was no significance between the groups with regard to contact episodes for adult sex offense convictions, $F(3, 1750) = 1.242, p = .293$.

Table 8

Parental Substance Abuse and Criminal History

	Substance Abuse By Mother (n=32)	Substance Abuse By Father (n=49)	Substance Abuse By Both (n=25)	No Subst Abuse Reported (n=1648)
Adult Felony Convictions				
M	1.52	1.00	0.91	1.03
SD	(2.42)	(2.24)	(0.97)	(2.61)
Adult Violent Convictions				
M	0.90	0.78	0.85	0.58
SD	(1.40)	(1.58)	(1.53)	(1.26)
Adult Sex Offense Convictions				
M	9.22	6.47	10.44	15.29
SD	(19.23)	(13.08)	(17.07)	(168.85)
Level of Sexual Violence				
M	3.87	3.44	3.48	3.46
SD	(1.520)	(1.67)	(1.78)	(1.68)

Table 8 shows the number of adult felony convictions, adult violent convictions, contact episodes for adult sex offense convictions, and level of violence employed in the most recent sexual offense for offenders who reported a history of parental substance abuse in their home during childhood and for offenders who reported that their parents had not abused substances during their childhood.

No significant differences found were between offenders who had reported a history of parental substance abuse in their home during childhood and offenders who

had not reported a history of parental substance abuse in their home during childhood. There was no significance between the groups with regard to adult felony convictions, $F(3, 1573) = 0.384, p = .765$, adult violent convictions, $F(3, 1577) = 1.200, p = .308$, contact episodes for adult sex offense convictions, $F(3, 1750) = 0.065, p = .978$, or level of violence employed in the most recent sexual offense, $F(3, 1693) = 0.626, p = .598$.

Table 9

Ethnic Background and Criminal History

	White (n=1477)	African Am (n=226)	Latino (n=34)	Other (n=8)
Adult Felony Convictions				
M	0.99	1.49	0.20	0.86
SD	(2.42)	(3.60)	(0.41)	(1.07)
Adult Violent Convictions				
M	0.50	1.25	0.18	0.57
SD	(1.14)	(1.89)	(0.48)	(0.79)
Adult Sex Offense Convictions				
M	16.76	4.60	6.88	2.00
SD	(178.32)	(9.16)	(10.74)	(2.45)
Level of Sexual Violence				
M	3.37	4.04	3.53	3.63
SD	(1.64)	(1.76)	(1.880)	(1.60)

Table 9 shows the number of adult felony convictions, adult violent convictions, contact episodes for adult sex offense convictions, and level of violence employed in the most recent sexual offense for offenders with various ethnic backgrounds. As predicted, the analysis revealed significant differences between offenders of various ethnic backgrounds with regard to the number of adult felony convictions, $F(3, 1623) = 3.533, p = .014$, adult violent convictions, $F(3, 1627) = 23.814, p < .001$, and level of violence employed in the most recent sexual offense, $F(3, 1744) = 11.558, p < .001$. The results

indicated that African American sex offenders had committed significantly more felonies and violent offenses during adulthood than sex offenders in the other ethnic groups. However, the results indicated that Latino sex offenders had committed significantly fewer felonies and violent offenses during adulthood than sex offenders in the other ethnic groups. The results also indicated that African American sex offenders were reported to have used a significantly higher level of violence in the most recent sexual offense than offenders in the other ethnic groups. There was no significance between the groups with regard to contact episodes for adult sex offense convictions, $F(3, 1804) = 0.396, p = .756$.

Table 10

Education and Criminal History

	Did Not Complete High School (n=1098)	Completed High School (n=616)
Adult Felony Convictions		
M	1.19	0.71
SD	(2.64)	(2.43)
Adult Violent Convictions		
M	0.71	0.38
SD	(1.40)	(0.99)
Adult Sex Offense Convictions		
M	16.41	12.75
SD	(201.99)	(60.11)
Level of Sexual Violence		
M	3.52	3.35
SD	(1.68)	(1.67)

Table 10 shows the number of adult felony convictions, adult violent convictions, contact episodes for adult sex offense convictions, and level of violence employed in the most recent sexual offense for offenders for offenders who completed high school and

those who did not. As predicted, the analysis revealed a significant difference between offenders who had completed high school and those who had not with regard to the number of adult felony convictions, $F(1, 1543) = 12.137, p = .001$, adult violent convictions, $F(1, 1547) = 23.257, p < .001$, and level of violence employed in the most recent sexual offense, $F(1, 1656) = 4.284, p = .039$. The results indicated that sex offenders who did not complete high school had committed significantly more felonies and violent offenses during adulthood than sex offenders who had completed high school. The results also indicated that sex offenders who did not complete high school were reported to have used a significantly higher level of violence in the most recent sexual offense than offenders who had completed high school. There was no significance between the groups with regard to contact episodes for adult sex offense convictions, $F(1, 1712) = 0.192, p = .661$.

Table 11

Employment History and Criminal History

	No Employment Over One Year (n=179)	Employment for At Least One Year (n=1401)
Adult Felony Offense Convictions		
M	1.32	0.95
SD	(2.64)	(2.57)
Adult Violent Offense Convictions		
M	0.72	0.56
SD	(1.34)	(1.20)
Adult Sex Offense Convictions		
M	5.47	16.87
SD	(15.12)	(182.74)
Level of Sexual Violence		
M	3.80	3.42
SD	(1.60)	(1.69)

Table 11 shows the number of adult felony convictions, adult violent convictions, contact episodes for adult sex offense convictions, and level of violence employed in the most recent sexual offense for offenders who have previously maintained employment for at least one year and for offenders who have never been able to maintain employment for over one year. Contrary to the predictions that were made before the data was analyzed, the analysis revealed no significance between the groups of offenders who had been able to maintain employment for at least one year and those who had not with regard to adult felony convictions, $F(1, 1431) = 3.127, p = .077$, adult violent convictions, $F(1, 1434) = 2.410, p = .121$, or contact episodes for adult sex offense convictions, $F(1, 1578) = 0.695, p = .405$. However, there was a significant difference between the groups in the reported level of violence employed in the most recent sexual offense, $F(1, 1534) = 8.020, p = .005$. The sex offenders who had not previously been able to maintain employment for at least one year were found to have used significantly more violence in their most recent sexual assault.

Table 12 shows the number of adult felony convictions, adult violent convictions, contact episodes for adult sex offense convictions, and level of violence employed in the most recent sexual offense for offenders have been or are currently married and for offenders who have never married.

Table 12**Marital History and Criminal History**

	Never Married (n=299)	History of Marriage (n=1284)
Adult Felony Offense Convictions		
M	0.80	1.09
SD	(0.44)	(2.74)
Adult Violent Offense Convictions		
M	0.44	0.62
SD	(1.10)	(1.30)
Adult Sex Offense Convictions		
M	6.56	16.51
SD	(18.27)	(186.75)
Level of Sexual Violence		
M	3.29	3.54
SD	(1.75)	(1.64)

Separate one-way ANOVAs revealed no significance between the groups with regard to adult felony convictions, $F(1, 1432) = 2.803, p = .094$ or contact episodes for adult sex offense convictions, $F(1, 1581) = 0.847, p = .358$. However, significant differences were found between the offenders who had never been married and those who had a history of marriage with regard to adult violent convictions, $F(1, 1438) = 5.005, p = .025$ and level of violence employed in the most recent sexual offense, $F(1, 1525) = 5.379, p = .021$. Sex offenders with a history of marriage had been convicted of significantly more violent offenses. Sex offenders with a history of marriage had also used significantly more force when overcoming their victim in their most recent sex offense.

Predictors of Offending Behavior

Finally, the data was analyzed to determine whether the psychosocial variables significantly predict criminal or violent behavior. Age first offended, juvenile felony convictions, and juvenile sex offense convictions were also included as predictors of adult offenses. Age first offended, juvenile convictions, and adult convictions were included as predictors of the level of violence that the sex offender used in their most recent sex offense.

Table 13

Predictors of Age First Offended

	b	SE	t	p
Victim of Physical Abuse in Childhood	-.146	.278	-.525	.600
Victim of Sexual Abuse in Childhood	.322	.349	.923	.356
Witnessed Violence in Childhood	.110	.692	.159	.874
Parental Alcohol Abuse in Childhood	.003	.257	.131	.896
Parental Substance Abuse In Childhood	-1.513	.511	-2.961	.003
African American	-.471	.741	-.635	.525
Latino	-3.775	1.676	-2.253	.024
Other Ethnic minority	.727	3.230	.225	.822
Level of Education	-.423	.090	-4.678	< .001
Employment History	.397	.039	10.149	< .001
Marital History	.650	.033	19.744	< .001
Cohabitation History	.524	.111	4.732	< .001
Constant	27.528	1.948	14.134	< .001

$F(12, 1273) = 107.005, p < .001; \text{Adjusted } R^2 = .497, SE = 8.49$

Table 13 shows the results of a multiple regression model in which physical abuse during childhood, sexual abuse during childhood, witnessing violence in childhood, parental alcohol abuse during childhood, parental substance abuse during childhood, ethnic background, level of education, employment history, marriage history, and

cohabitation history are used to predict the age that a sex offender committed his first sex offense. The overall model is significant for the prediction of the age at which a sex offender would commit his first sex offense, $F(12, 1273) = 107.005, p < .001$. Six of the independent variables are significantly predictive of the age at which a sex offender would commit his first sex offense: parental substance abuse, ethnic background, level of education, employment history, marital history, and cohabitation history. These predictors account for nearly 50% of the variance in age at the time of the sex offender's first sex offense conviction. These findings suggest that sexual offending behavior at younger ages is associated with parental substance abuse during the offender's childhood. Early sex offending is also predicted by Latino background, limited academic achievement and poor employment history. With regard to relationships, sexual offending behavior at an early age is associated with short-term marriages and few live-in relationships. It is interesting that such a large percentage of the variance is accounted for by the psychosocial factors under investigation in this study. Adverse family environment during childhood, however, accounts for a small portion of this variance. Difficulties at school, work, and home during adulthood are found to be the most clearly associated with sexual offending at a young age, or it may be that offenders who began to offend sexually at early ages went on to have difficulty in school, at work, and in interpersonal relationships.

Table 14**Predictors of Juvenile Felony Convictions**

	b	SE	t	p
Victim of Physical Abuse in Childhood	.003	.009	.342	.733
Victim of Sexual Abuse in Childhood	.001	.002	.065	.949
Witnessed Violence in Childhood	.044	.023	1.908	.057
Parental Alcohol Abuse in Childhood	-.015	.009	-1.702	.089
Parental Substance Abuse in Childhood	-.024	.017	-1.431	.153
African American	-.059	.025	-2.403	.016
Latino	.066	.056	1.204	.229
Other Ethnic Minority	-.031	.107	-.294	.769
Level of Education	.008	.003	2.959	.003
Employment History	.002	.001	1.353	.176
Marital History	.003	.001	2.562	.011
Cohabitation History	-.001	.004	-.336	.737
Constant	1.727	.065	26.582	< .001

$F(12, 1263) = 5.039, p < .001$; Adjusted $R^2 = .037, SE = 0.28$

Table 14 shows the results of a multiple regression model in which physical abuse during childhood, sexual abuse during childhood, witnessing violence in childhood, parental alcohol abuse during childhood, parental substance abuse during childhood, ethnic background, level of education, employment history, marriage history, and cohabitation history are used to predict the likelihood that the sex offender would have been convicted of a felony as a juvenile. The overall model is significant for the prediction of conviction for a felony offense as a juvenile, $F(12, 1263) = 5.039, p < .001$. Three of the independent variables significantly are predictive of conviction for a felony offense as a juvenile: ethnicity, level of education and marital history. While only 3.7 % of the variance in the likelihood that the offender committed a juvenile felony offense is accounted for by the psychosocial factors under investigation in this study, it should be noted that African American ethnicity, limited education and short-term marriages significantly predict convictions for felony offenses as a juvenile.

Table 15**Predictors of Juvenile Sex Offense Convictions**

	b	SE	t	p
Victim of Physical Abuse in Childhood	-.007	.005	-1.513	.130
Victim of Sexual Abuse in Childhood	-.001	.006	-.192	.848
Witnessed Violence in Childhood	.017	.011	1.462	.144
Parental Alcohol Abuse in Childhood	-.007	.004	-1.584	.114
Parental Substance Abuse in Childhood	-.009	.008	-1.092	.275
African American	-.017	.012	-1.460	.144
Latino	.016	.027	.596	.551
Other Ethnic Minority	.020	.053	.436	.663
Level of Education	.001	.001	.568	.570
Employment History	.000	.002	.070	.944
Marital History	.001	.001	2.042	.041
Cohabitation History	-.001	.002	-.482	.630
Constant	1.949	.032	60.980	< .001

$F(12, 1277) = 3.058, p < .001$; Adjusted $R^2 = .019, SE = 0.14$

Table 15 shows the results of a multiple regression model in which physical abuse during childhood, sexual abuse during childhood, witnessing violence in childhood, parental alcohol abuse during childhood, parental substance abuse during childhood, ethnic background, level of education, employment history, marriage history, and cohabitation history are used to predict the likelihood that the sex offender would have been convicted of a sex offense as a juvenile. The overall model is significant for the prediction of conviction for a sex offense as a juvenile, $F(12, 1277) = 3.058, p < .001$. Length of marriage is the only independent variable that is significantly predictive of conviction for a sex offense as a juvenile. The analysis reveals that approximately 1.9% of the variance in the likelihood that the sex offender committed a sexual offense as a juvenile is accounted for by the psychosocial factors under investigation in this study. It is probable that the characteristics that resulted in a history

of convictions for juvenile sex offenses also prohibited the development of a long-term marriage.

Table 16 shows the results of a multiple regression model in which physical abuse during childhood, sexual abuse during childhood, witnessing violence in childhood, parental alcohol abuse during childhood, parental substance abuse during childhood, ethnic background, level of education, employment history, marriage history, cohabitation history, age at the time of first sex offense conviction, history of juvenile felony convictions, and history of juvenile sex offense convictions are used to predict the likelihood that the sex offender had been convicted of felonies as an adult. The overall model is significant for the prediction of conviction for a felony offense as an adult, $F(15, 1156) = 6.154, p < .001$. Four of the independent variables are significantly predictive of the conviction for felony offenses as an adult: parental alcohol abuse, employment history, cohabitation history, and history of conviction for a felony offense as a juvenile. The predictors under investigation account for 6.2 % of the variance in number of adult felony convictions for the sex offenders in this study. A history of parental alcohol abuse during the sex offender's childhood is predictive of conviction for significantly more adult felonies. Poor employment history also predictive of a significantly greater number of adult felony convictions. Multiple live in relationships was found to significantly predict adult felony convictions. And finally, a history of felony convictions as a juvenile is a significant predictor of adult felony convictions.

Table 16**Predictors of Adult Felony Convictions**

	b	SE	t	p
Victim of Physical Abuse in Childhood	.049	.089	.548	.584
Victim of Sexual Abuse in Childhood	.135	.113	1.190	.234
Witnessed Violence in Childhood	.014	.221	.064	.949
Parental Alcohol Abuse in Childhood	.170	.083	2.041	.042
Parental Substance Abuse in Childhood	-.127	.166	-.765	.445
African American	.327	.239	1.368	.172
Latino	-.694	.529	-1.313	.189
Other Ethnic Minority	-.299	1.075	-.278	.781
Level of Education	-.046	.030	-1.546	.122
Employment History	-.034	.013	-2.613	.009
Marital History	.007	.012	.570	.569
Cohabitation History	.191	.036	5.273	< .001
Age First Offended	.008	.009	.892	.373
Juvenile Felony Convictions	-1.282	.286	-4.479	< .001
Juvenile Sex Offense Convictions	-.098	.587	-.168	.867
Constant	3.251	1.232	2.638	.008

$F(15, 1156) = 6.154, p < .001$; Adjusted $R^2 = .062$, $SE = 2.61$

Table 17**Predictors of Adult Violent Convictions**

	b	SE	t	p
Victim of Physical Abuse in Childhood	.080	.040	2.004	.045
Victim of Sexual Abuse in Childhood	-.029	.051	-.575	.566
Witnessed Violence in Childhood	.173	.100	1.734	.083
Parental Alcohol Abuse in Childhood	.093	.037	2.494	.013
Parental Substance Abuse in Childhood	.027	.076	.355	.722
African American	.580	.106	5.446	< .001
Latino	-.346	.243	-1.423	.155
Other Ethnic Minority	-.036	.485	-.075	.941
Level of Education	-.051	.013	-3.895	< .001
Employment History	-.015	.006	-2.629	.009
Marital History	-.007	.005	-1.252	.211
Cohabitation History	.068	.016	4.175	< .001
Age First Offended	.007	.004	1.698	.090
Juvenile Felony Convictions	-.310	.129	-2.406	.016
Juvenile Sex Offense Convictions	-.310	.129	-2.406	.028
Constant	2.316	.555	4.174	< .001

$F(15, 1162) = 9.397, p < .001$; Adjusted $R^2 = .097$, $SE = 1.18$

Table 17 shows the results of a multiple regression model in which physical abuse during childhood, sexual abuse during childhood, witnessing violence in childhood, parental alcohol abuse during childhood, parental substance abuse during childhood, ethnic background, level of education, employment history, marriage history, cohabitation history, age at the time of first sex offense, history of juvenile felony convictions, and history of juvenile sex offense convictions are used to predict the likelihood that a sex offender had been convicted of a violent offense as an adult. The overall model is significant for the prediction of violent convictions as an adult, $F(15, 1162) = 9.397, p < .001$. Eight of the independent variables are significantly predictive of the number of violent convictions for the sex offenders in this study: physical abuse during childhood, parental alcohol abuse, ethnic background, level of education, employment history, cohabitation history, history of juvenile felony convictions, and history of juvenile sex offense convictions. The psychosocial predictors under investigation in this study accounted for approximately 9.7% of the variance in the number of felony convictions that the sex offender had received as an adult. It was revealed that physical abuse and parental alcohol abuse in the offender's home during their childhood are significantly predictive of felony convictions as an adult. African American ethnic background, limited education and poor work history are also predictive of adult felony convictions. The analysis revealed that a history of multiple live in relationships predicts an increased number of felony convictions in adulthood. Finally, juvenile felony convictions and juvenile sex offense convictions significantly predict convictions for felony offenses as an adult.

Table 18**Predictors of Adult Sex Offense Convictions**

	b	SE	t	p
Victim of Physical Abuse in Childhood	-.690	1.047	-.659	.510
Victim of Sexual Abuse in Childhood	.639	1.322	.483	.629
Witnessed Violence in Childhood	-3.852	2.615	-1.473	.141
Parental Alcohol Abuse in Childhood	1.104	.971	1.136	.256
Parental Substance Abuse in Childhood	-1.504	1.923	-.782	.434
African American	-4.856	2.798	-1.735	.083
Latino	-2.399	6.284	-.383	.703
Other Ethnic Minority	-9.861	12.073	-.817	.414
Level of Education	-.278	.346	-.804	.422
Employment History	.319	.153	2.077	.038
Marital History	.224	.142	1.574	.116
Cohabitation History	-.283	.421	-.673	.501
Age First Offended	-.099	.108	-.913	.361
Juvenile Felony Convictions	-5.695	3.352	-1.699	.090
Juvenile Sex Offense Convictions	7.315	7.078	1.033	.302
Constant	14.653	14.814	.989	.323

$F(15, 1247) = 1.888, p = .021; \text{Adjusted } R^2 = .010, SE = 31.71$

Table 18 shows the results of a multiple regression model in which physical abuse during childhood, sexual abuse during childhood, witnessing violence in childhood, parental alcohol abuse during childhood, parental substance abuse during childhood, ethnic background, level of education, employment history, marriage history, cohabitation history, age at the time of first sex offense, history of juvenile felony offense convictions, and history of juvenile sex offense convictions were used to predict the number of contact episodes for a sex offender's convicted sex offenses. The overall model was significant for the prediction of number of contact episodes for convicted sex offenses, $F(15, 1247) = 2.075, p = .013$. Only employment history was predictive of the number of contact episodes for convicted sex offenses. The psychosocial variables under investigation in this study only accounted for 1.0 % of the variance in the number of contact episodes that a sex offender had for their sex offense convictions. Interestingly,

longer periods of maintaining employment were predictive of more of contact episodes for convicted sex offenses.

Table 19

Predictors of Level of Violence

	b	SE	t	p
Victim of Physical Abuse in Childhood	-.131	.057	-2.299	.022
Victim of Sexual Abuse in Childhood	-.034	.072	-.478	.633
Witnessed Violence in Childhood	-.207	.143	-1.452	.147
Parental Alcohol Abuse in Childhood	.095	.053	1.785	.074
Parental Substance Abuse in Childhood	-.092	.107	-.865	.387
African American	.430	.154	2.791	.005
Latino	.234	.339	.691	.490
Other Ethnic Minority	.407	.676	.602	.547
Level of Education	.003	.019	.140	.889
Employment History	.005	.008	.570	.569
Marital History	.013	.008	1.751	.080
Cohabitation History	-.025	.023	-1.096	.273
Age First Offended	-.006	.006	-1.066	.287
Juvenile Felony Convictions	-.426	.185	-2.301	.022
Juvenile Sex Offense Convictions	-.141	.371	-.380	.704
Adult Felony Convictions	.024	.020	1.223	.215
Adult Violent Convictions	.135	.044	3.088	.002
Adult Sex Offense Convictions	-.001	.002	-.283	.777
Constant	4.955	.784	6.318	< .001

$F(18, 1113) = 2.957, p < .001$; Adjusted $R^2 = .030$, $SE = 1.64$

Table 19 shows the results of a multiple regression model in which physical abuse during childhood, sexual abuse during childhood, witnessing violence in childhood, parental alcohol abuse during childhood, parental substance abuse during childhood, ethnic background, level of education, employment history, marriage history, cohabitation history, age at the time of first sex offense, history of juvenile felony convictions, history of juvenile sex offense convictions, adult felony convictions, adult

violent convictions, and contact episodes for adult sex offense convictions were used to predict the level of violence employed in the most recent sex offense. The overall model was significant for the prediction of the level of violence employed in the most recent sex offense, $F(18, 1113) = 2.957, p < .001$. Four of the independent variables were predictive level of sexual violence employed in the most recent sexual assault: history of physical abuse during childhood, ethnic background, history of a juvenile felony conviction, and violent felony convictions as an adult. Approximately 3.0% of the variance in the level of violence employed was accounted for by the psychosocial variables investigated in this study. The results of this analysis reveal that experiencing physical abuse during childhood significantly predicts that an increased level of violence was used in the most recent sexual offense. Having an African American ethnic minority background also predicted that the level of violence in the most recent sexual offense was found to be more violent than for offenders with a non African American ethnic background. Finally, a history of felony convictions as a juvenile and having an increased number of violent convictions as an adult is predictive of an increased level of violence in the most recent sexual assault for the sexual offenders in this study.

DISCUSSION

Rapists, Incest Offenders, and Extrafamilial Child Molesters

There were a number of interesting and important findings that resulted from this study with regard to the psychosocial antecedents of sex offender criminality and violence. One result that was surprising was the failure to find significant differences in the histories of physical abuse during childhood between rapists, incest offenders, and extrafamilial child molesters. It had been expected that rapists would have experienced significantly more physical abuse in childhood. Rapists as expected, however, were found to have significantly more extensive criminal histories than incest offenders or extrafamilial child molesters. They were more likely to have been convicted of a juvenile felony. Rapists were also convicted of significantly more felonies and violent offenses as an adult. Not surprisingly, they were also found to use significantly more force in their most recent sexual offense than incest offenders and extrafamilial child molesters.

Another finding that was not as expected was that extrafamilial child molesters did not have significantly more extensive histories of sexual abuse in childhood than incest offenders or rapists. Incest offenders were actually found to have the most extensive histories of sexual abuse during childhood and also to have significantly more contact episodes for their convicted sex offenses than rapists or incest offenders. Thirty-six incest offenders in the sample had in excess of 100 contact episodes for the sex offenses for which they had been convicted. Unfortunately, incest offenders are the

group of offenders that is least likely to be the target of efforts to protect the community from “sexually violent predators.” It could be argued, however, that these offenders have caused pervasive and lasting harm to their victims by the extensive nature of their offending behavior and should be targeted for specialized interventions to reduce the likelihood of continued sexual offending.

Correlational Analysis

The correlational analysis of demographic factors, background history, psychosocial factors, criminal histories, and sexual violence used by the sex offender in their most recent sexual offense yielded a number of significant correlations due to the large number of sex offenders in this study. Many of the correlations, however, were significant but extremely small. Each one of these significant correlations will not be discussed in a detailed fashion. A number of the correlations, nevertheless, were quite large and warrant a detailed exploration. These correlations will be discussed in the context of the various psychosocial variables.

Adverse Childhood Family Environment

A strong relationship was found between the offender witnessing physical violence in their home during childhood and the offender experiencing physical abuse. It is understandable that violence in the home would be directed at multiple members of the family if it were present. The more important issue may be the question of which occurred first and whether the violence could have been prevented. If it were the case that the offender witnessed physical violence before the violence was directed at them, it may have been possible for them to have been removed from the home or the family members provided training in alternatives to violent behavior before the child became the

target of the abuse. In this way, the “cycle of violence” could possibly be broken before the offender went on to direct violent behavior toward others. Other questions that would help to understand the violent behavior in the home include whether the witnessed violence was directed at an adult in the home or at other children and whether the perpetrator of the violence was a parent, a sibling, or other family member. It would also be useful to explore the extent and duration of the violent behavior in the home in order to better understand the development of violent behavior in the sex offender. These are questions that should be explored in future studies with similar populations of offenders.

Witnessing physical violence in the home during childhood was also found to be significantly related to parental alcohol abuse in the home. It is likely that the abusive person in the household was the parent who abused alcohol. The childhood homes of these sex offenders that were headed by alcohol abusing, violent parents are not likely to have provided a foundation that would allow the offenders to develop healthy relationships or socially appropriate patterns of behavior. The adverse environment in the childhood home that may have included violence, physical abuse, and alcohol abuse is probably a factor in the difficulties they were later experienced in adulthood. They are also related specifically to criminal offending and violent behavior.

The reported incidence of abuse in childhood was lower for the sex offenders in this study than in previously conducted studies. Approximately 23% of the offenders reported a history of physical abuse in childhood and approximately 20% reported a history of sexual abuse in childhood. Contrary to the hypotheses that were made before the data was analyzed, physical or sexual abuse victimization in childhood, however, did not directly predict offending behavior as a juvenile or as an adult. The relationship

between abuse and offending behavior in adulthood was more complex than a direct linear relationship. The abuse in childhood reported by the sex offenders was significantly related to alcohol abuse by the parents however and alcohol abuse by parents during childhood was predictive of criminal offending behavior in adulthood. Alcohol abuse by parents during childhood was associated with an increased number of adult felony convictions, violent convictions, and level of violence used in the most recent sex offense for the sex offenders in this study. The problems of abuse in childhood, although not directly predictive of criminal behavior in adulthood, were found to be associated with these problem behaviors.

Ethnic Background

When offender characteristics were evaluated to clarify the relationships between ethnic background and offending behavior, several findings that may be useful in sex offender assessment, treatment, and release planning were discovered. Nearly 85% of the offenders in the sample who were convicted of sex offenses in the Commonwealth of Kentucky during the five-year period over which the data was collected were white. The ethnic minority offenders were primarily African American (12.9 %) and Latino (1.9 %). It was found that when the offenders were divided into groups based on the type of sexual offense committed, white offenders were more likely to have been convicted of an incest offense, African American offenders were more likely to have been convicted of rape, and Latino offenders were more likely to have been convicted of extrafamilial child molestation. It was disturbing to uncover that the African American offenders in this study were found to have rates of violent offense convictions that were more than twice the rates for white offenders and more than six times the rates for Latino offenders.

African American offenders also had significantly higher rates of felony convictions and a higher level of violence used in the most recent sex offense than white or Latino offenders. The increased levels of violent behavior in the African American offenders may be reflective of the environment in community in which they grew up. McGee (1999) concluded from her study of inner-city children exposed to violence and victimization that violence reflects violence in the surrounding community. She reported that given the concentration of violence in the inner city, attention should be given to structural and cultural solutions to reduce violence in these communities. Little information, however, is known about socioeconomic background or community of origin for the African American offenders in this study. Interestingly, Latino offenders were found to have been convicted of significantly fewer felonies and violent offenses as an adult than the other ethnic groups evaluated in this study. Unfortunately, information regarding level of acculturation was not available for the offenders in this study. Information regarding level of acculturation might have aided in the understanding of the differences in sex offending behavior for these ethnic groups.

Adult Functioning

Other significant correlations revealed in the correlational analysis were related to adult functioning. A significant correlation was found as expected between length of marriage and employment. Offenders who were able to maintain long-term marriages tended to be able to maintain stable employment. A significant correlation was also found between age of first offense and length of marriage. Offenders who had their first sex offense conviction at an early age were not likely to maintain long-term marriages. These offenders who had sex offense convictions at an early age were also not likely to

maintain employment for extended periods of time. It appears that entering into the criminal justice system as a sexual offender at an early age was related to multiple problems with adult functioning in the years after release.

The associations between adult relationships and criminal activity for the sex offenders in this study were mixed. Previous studies indicated that offenders with an established stable relationship may be less likely to commit criminal offenses because they have more to lose in the event that their offending behavior is discovered. It was discovered in this study, however, that they might also have an increased access to children living in the home. It was found that incest offenders tended to have maintained longer marriages than other types of offenders. Incest offenders in this study were also found to have more than five times as many contact episodes for their convicted sex offenses than extrafamilial child molesters and more than seven times as many contact episodes for their convicted sex offenses than rapists. It appears that the tendency toward long-term marriage for the incest offenders allowed them to continue their offending behavior for extended periods of time before it was discovered. It was hypothesized before the data was analyzed that poor relationship history would be predictive of more extensive criminal histories. The data however indicated that sex offenders with a history of marriage had significantly more adult violent convictions and used significantly more force in the most recent sex offense than sex offenders who had never been married. The quality of these marital relationships however was not known. On the other hand, a history of multiple cohabitations was found to be associated with an increased number of felony and violent convictions as an adult. Again, the quality of these relationships is not known. Future research should explore the quality of the marriages and cohabitations

and how positive, supportive relationships in adulthood are associated with criminal activity.

As predicted, limited education was associated with increased criminal history in the group of sex offenders in this study. Lower levels of educational attainment were associated with an increased number of felony and violent convictions as an adult. Interestingly, education was also associated with the level of violence in the most recent sex offense. Offenders who had not completed high school were found to have used significantly more force in their most recent sex offense. It is likely that limited educational attainment has resulted in limited opportunities for the offender. The difficulties that have resulted from these limitations may be associated with the increased tendency toward criminality and violence. Educational opportunities are typically available to offenders while they complete the terms of their sentence. With cuts in funding to many institutions, however, many of these educational programs are being eliminated. The importance of educational attainment in the reduction of the likelihood of criminal recidivism should continue to be explored. It appears that providing educational opportunities for convicted offenders may give the offenders tools that would not only benefit them but reduce their risk to the community as well.

Offending and Violence

With regard to a history of criminal convictions, a significant correlation was revealed between juvenile felony convictions and juvenile sex offense convictions. In adulthood, there was a significant correlation between felony convictions and violent convictions. These findings support evidence cited in previous studies regarding versatility in criminal offending among sex offenders. It was shown that one type of

offending was significantly related to other types of offending during the same period. Because an offender who commits one type of offense is at an elevated risk to commit other types of criminal offenses, is not acceptable to limit the focus of treatment interventions to the previously committed offense only. It would be beneficial to provide treatment interventions that would reduce the likelihood of sex offending behavior, violent behavior, or committing other types of felonies. Programs that provide education and job training are typically useful in reducing the rates of reoffending for criminal offenders in general regardless of the nature of their offending.

The amount of variance accounted for in the regression models predicting the age of first offense, juvenile felony convictions, juvenile sex offense convictions, adult felony convictions, adult violent convictions, adult sex offense convictions, and level of violence was modest but significant for each of the models. It was expected that the amount of variance accounted for would be modest considering that criminal behavior and violence are influenced by multiple factors. The psychosocial antecedents of sex offender criminality and violence that were explored in this study, however, accounted for a substantial portion of the variance for each of the models.

The model that had nearly 50% of its variance accounted for by the psychosocial variables under investigation in this study was for the prediction of the age at the time of first sex offense conviction. The predictors in this model that significantly predicted a younger age at the time of first sex offense were parental substance abuse, Latino ethnic background, limited education, poor employment history, short-term marriage, and few cohabitations. This analysis indicates that the conviction for a sex offense at a young age was influenced by not only adverse conditions in the home as a child but also by multiple

adverse situations in adult life. It is evident that sex offender treatment programs should address the offender's difficulties with education, employment, and relationships in order to reduce the likelihood of sexual recidivism. The other models did not have as large a percentage of the variance accounted for by the psychosocial variables under investigation in this study but criminal convictions in these models were significantly predicted by history of physical abuse during childhood, parental alcohol abuse, ethnic background, level of education, employment history, marital history, cohabitation history, and previous criminal convictions. These factors should be considered when conducting sex offender risk assessments, treatment planning, release planning, and when making plans for relapse prevention.

Implications

The findings in this study show that there are layers of antecedents that influence sexual violence and criminality. Physical abuse in childhood, sexual abuse in childhood, witnessing violence in childhood, parental alcohol abuse, parental substance abuse, ethnic background, level of education, employment history, marital history, and cohabitation history were all found to be associated to varying degrees and in diverse ways with criminality and violence. Although many questions about the relationships between the psychosocial antecedents of sex offender criminality and violence were addressed in this study, a number of questions remain. Further research will be needed to answer many of these questions.

This study was limited by the information obtained from assessment interviews with the sex offenders, institutional records, presentence investigation reports, institutional and official arrest records of criminal activities, social services reports,

victim impact statements, and National Crime Information Center records. Information that would have been useful to clarify data was not always available. Although licensed clinical psychologists conducted the assessments, additional information may have been obtained if the investigator had been allowed to interview the sex offenders who participated in this study. However, due to the large number of offenders in this study and the five-year period over which the data was collected this was not possible to achieve.

While many questions remain unanswered, this study has added to the literature in many areas. Previously conducted studies had found that numerous family factors predict violence (Farrington, 2000). In this study, violence in the sex offender's home during childhood was associated with physical abuse, sexual abuse, parental alcohol and substance abuse, difficulties with education and employment, and juvenile offending. When working with families that have a history of violent interactions, it may be necessary to address issues of abuse, alcohol and substance abuse, education and employment, and juvenile delinquency in order to reduce the incidence of violence in the home. It may also be necessary to assist the parents with alcohol and substance abuse issues in order to reduce the likelihood of the child's involvement with the legal system. In addition to answering a number of questions regarding the relationship between psychosocial antecedents of criminality and violence, the results of this study will also add to the empirical evidence that is needed to improve the accuracy of assessment, the success of treatment programs, and improve the quality of release planning for convicted sex offenders.

A tremendous amount of research has been conducted in the past several years in an effort to improve the assessment, treatment, relapse prevention, and release planning for convicted sex offenders. Stalans (2004) in her review of recent assessment strategies and sex offender treatment programs stated that many questions will require continued research to discover the answers. Some of the questions that she proposed queried the appropriate direction to be taken with regard to formalized assessment instruments that are used to predict sexual recidivism, the best methods to engage deniers in treatment, the most effective behavioral treatments for incest offenders, extrafamilial child molesters, and rapists, the defining characteristics of sex offenders who benefit for relapse prevention treatment or biochemical treatment, and which subgroups of offenders are most likely to terminate prematurely from treatment. Additional questions that should be asked may also include the most appropriate ways to reintegrate the offenders into the community during periods of parole or after the offender is released from completing the term of their sentence.

Work continues to be conducted in the area of violence and criminal behavior in an effort to improve the quality of assessment devices that predict the risk of reoffending among incarcerated offenders. Glover, Nicholson, Hemmati, Bernfeld, & Quincey (2002) in their comparison of predictors of general and violent criminal recidivism among high-risk offenders in federal prisons found that predictors of violent and general criminal behavior significantly correlated with each other and with violent and general criminal behavior. The instruments that were investigated in this study, however, are not specific to violent sexual behavior. There continues to be a need for instruments that will accurately predict violent sexual behavior. The data provided in this study should be

useful to researchers and clinicians as they continue to develop instruments that are capable of more accurately predicting sexual offending behavior.

There is constant pressure from the legal community and citizens to provide assessment instruments that will accurately predict sexual offending behavior and treatment that will eliminate sexually deviant behavior. The reason for the urgency is in part that sexual abuse and assault are and will continue to be emotionally charged problems in society. There continues to exist a tremendous amount of pressure from special interest groups and the general public to “do something” about the problem of sexual offending in our communities. The problem must be addressed in the form of prevention, risk assessment, treatment of sex offenders, incapacitation of offenders who can not be successfully treated and returned to the community, and release planning for offenders who are determined to be safe to return to the community. Every effort should be made to provide the offenders the skills that they need to remain in the community without returning to their pattern of sexual offending behavior. This may include psychotherapy to address childhood issues, social skills training, education, and job training in addition to traditional treatments that address the reduction of inappropriate sexual thoughts and behaviors.

Based on the results of this study, it could be argued that existing scales used for the prediction of sexual recidivism neglect many important factors including abuse during childhood, adverse family environment during childhood, difficulties in adult relationships, and underachievement in education and employment. These factors have shown demonstrated predictive power for offending behavior and should be addressed in assessing the potential for sexually violent behavior. They should also be used in

developing treatment plans and assisting the offender in planning ways to reduce the likelihood of relapse after they are returned to the community. These factors should also be addressed in the offender's relapse prevention planning.

Labeling offenders as violent sexual predators and thereby communicating to them and the community in general that they are mentally deficient and unable to control their antisocial conduct may undermine the potential of the treatment they are offered (Winick, 2003). This study demonstrates that there are many factors that predict offending and violent behavior that are within the offender's control. Although the effects of adverse childhood conditions cannot be erased, there are many areas in the offender's adult life that can be addressed in treatment that may reduce their risk of sexual, violent, or general criminal recidivism such as education, employment, and adult relationships.

It appears that the incidence of sexual offending behavior is increasing despite the heightened punishments that are being put into place (Krivacska, Free, Gibb, & Kinnear, (2001). It would seem, therefore, that punishment may not be the most effective method of reducing the rate of sexual offending in our communities. It is apparent from the increasing incidence of sexual offending that society needs to better understand the development of sexual offending and violent behavior in order to prevent it. It would be beneficial if society were to address prevention before the fact, since most offenses are committed by first time offenders (Krivacska, Free, Gibb, & Kinnear, (2001). One place to begin the prevention efforts may be with the children of the sex offenders. These children are at risk for developing the patterns of sexually deviant behavior that they witness in their parents.

It is unfortunately not possible to prevent the occurrence of sexual offending before the first offense for all offenders. It is imperative, therefore, that treatment programs that be provided for offenders that are appropriate for their treatment needs. Treatment programs for violent sexual offenders are offered as a “choice” in many prison facilities. It is questionable whether there is truly a choice involved since completion of these programs may be required to earn early release or “good time” that is earned for appropriate behavior while in a correctional facility. Fox (1999) asserts that the lines between coercion and consent for treatment are blurred because treatment programs for violent offenders are both mandated and freely undertaken. She states that in these programs, the offenders are required to accept constructs of criminal minds, responsibility, victimization, and choice. Offenders are often denied treatment if they do not admit to their sex offenses or do not agree with the theoretical orientation of the treatment program. There is a need for treatment programs that not only attempt to “fix” the offender’s way of thinking but provide the offender with the tools that they may need to improve their ability to maintain employment, provide for their families and develop stable, supportive relationships that will reduce the likelihood that that will return to violent, criminal, or sex offending behavior.

Prisons are filled with offenders who have a history of violence. The offenders who have robbed, stabbed, maimed, or killed other persons leave prison when they have served their time, this is not however always true of offenders whose offenses are sexual in nature. Some have argued that when sex offenders complete their sentences, they have an absolute right to their freedom no matter how offensive society may find them to be (Alexander, 2004). It has also been argued that sex offenders are placed in mental

institutions and prison mental health facilities for the primary purpose of keeping them confined for a period longer than the required sentence. It could be further argued that this confinement should therefore be considered punishment. Alexander (2004) suggests that sex offenders should be convicted if they are guilty, sentenced, and treated while they are serving their prison sentences. He also suggests that offenders whom the courts judge to be dangerous be given lengthy prison terms or life without parole. He argues that the civil commitment laws that now exist would not be needed. Although these arguments may have some validity, the current trend toward civil commitment of sex offenders is not likely to reverse. With severe consequences such as life imprisonment or civil commitment at stake, however, there is a continued need for accurate assessment instruments and effective treatment programs for individuals who offend sexually.

Not all convicted sex offenders are given lengthy sentences or any prison time at all for their offenses. Numbers of convicted sex offenders are sentenced to probation and reside in the community from the time that they are sentenced. It is extremely important, therefore, to develop assessment, treatment, relapse prevention, and supervision strategies that are effective at reducing sexual, violent, and general recidivism in this population of offenders who do not serve time in prison. Continued research that investigates appropriate way to monitor violent, criminal activities in this population is needed.

Unfortunately, research in the area of violence and criminality is limited for both practical and ethical reasons. It is not possible to use a randomized approach to explore many of the questions that have been proposed to investigate the relationships between psychosocial variables and criminality and violence. It is not possible to randomly assign individuals to abusive or nonabusive parents. It is not ethical to assign parents to a

substance abusing or non substance abusing group for experimentation. Adult employment situations and relationships are not subject to randomization. Sentences that are handed down by the judicial system are not subject to experimentation. Without experimentation is more difficult to accumulate empirical evidence about what works and what does not with regard to reducing the rates of violence and sexual offending in our communities. This difficulty, however, is present for many social ills that must be addressed.

There is a growing awareness in the scientific community of the inadequacy of much of the information being used by clinicians and being given to the courts with regard to the likelihood of sex offense recidivism, criminality, and violence. This awareness has produced a number of studies aimed at establishing solid actuarial predictors of recidivism (Conroy, 2003). It is hoped that the results of this study will be used to assist in the development of assessment devices that more accurately predict sex offense recidivism than those that are currently in use. It is also hoped that the relationships between psychosocial antecedents and sex offender criminality and violence explored in this study will continue to advance the progress that has been made in developing successful treatment interventions, implementing quality release plans, providing thorough relapse prevention planning, and aiding in the prevention of the sexual assault and molestation of innocent victims.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

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EDUCATION

1999-present University of Louisville
Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences
Doctoral Student, Clinical Psychology
(APA-approved program)
Anticipated date to receive Ph.D.: December 2004

2002 University of Louisville
Master of Arts in Psychology

1987 Purdue University
Bachelor of Science in Electrical Engineering

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Psychological Association, Student Member
American Psychology-Law Society, Student Member
Association of Black Psychologists, Student Member
Kentucky Psychological Association, Student Member
Midwestern Psychological Association, Student Member
Society of Clinical Psychology, Student Member

ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL HONORS

1999-2003 University Fellow
Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences
University of Louisville

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

August 2001-
Present Research Student of Robert G. Meyer, Ph.D.
Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences
University of Louisville
Responsibilities include maintaining research databases, running statistical analyses, and preparing manuscripts related to forensic psychology and the assessment of sex offenders

August 1999-
August 2001 Research Student of Janet Woodruff-Borden, Ph.D.
Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences
University of Louisville
Research projects included examination of the familial transmission of anxiety and exploration of the relationship between self-focused attention and anxiety

May 1998-
August 2000 Research Student of Barbara Burns, Ph.D.
Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences
University of Louisville
Research projects included projects in the area of cognitive psychology, attention, and the relationship between the process of sharing and allocating attention and anxiety

SUPERVISED CLINICAL EXPERIENCE

September 2003-
August 2004 Doctoral Psychology Internship
Quinco Behavioral Health Systems, Columbus, IN
(APA-approved internship)
Director: Lawrence Ewert, Ph.D., HSPP
Rotations in inpatient adult and child, outpatient adult and child, substance abuse, and rural psychology

September 2002-
August 2003 Psychology Therapy Practicum Student
Kentucky State Reformatory
Supervisor: Tanya Young, Psy.D.
Responsible for co-facilitating a psychotherapy group for incarcerated violent offenders addressing issues such as anger, coping, anxiety, depression, and relationships

- August 2000-
August 2003 Graduate Student Therapist
Noble H. Kelley Psychological Services Center
University of Louisville
Supervisor: Joseph F. Aponte, Ph.D.
Provision of psychotherapy in an outpatient training clinic to children, adults, and couples presenting with diverse psychological issues. Administration, scoring, interpretation, and writing of reports for wide-ranging psychological evaluations
- August 2001-
August 2002 Psychology Assessment Practicum Student
Private Practice, Louisville, KY
Supervisor: Steven Simon, Ph.D.
Responsible for psychological testing of clients presenting with disability claims, conducting clinical interviews, administering psychological tests, interpreting results, and writing psychological reports
- August 1999-
August 2000 Graduate Student Therapist
Noble H. Kelley Psychological Services Center, University of Louisville
Supervisor: Janet Woodruff-Borden, Ph.D.
Provision of psychotherapy services in an outpatient training clinic to children and adults presenting with primary issues of anxiety, including Social Phobia, Panic Disorder, Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder, and Generalized Anxiety Disorder
- March 1998-
August 1999 Mental Health Associate
Charter Behavioral Health Systems, Jeffersonville, IN (Psychiatric Residential and Acute Treatment Facility)
Worked with children, adolescents, and adults with psychological and behavioral disorders to help maintain a structured, therapeutic environment. Responsible for conducting group therapy sessions and charting patient progress

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

- Spring 2002 Graduate Teaching Assistant, Forensic Psychology
Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences
University of Louisville
Instructor: Robert G. Meyer, Ph.D.
- Spring 2001 Graduate Teaching Assistant, Abnormal Psychology
Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences
University of Louisville
Instructor: Suzanne Meeks, Ph.D.

Fall 2000 Graduate Teaching Assistant, Introduction to Clinical Psychology
Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences
University of Louisville
Instructor: Joseph F. Aponte, Ph.D.

COMMITTEE/BOARD EXPERIENCE

April 2003- Present	Member of the Board of Directors Childplace
January 2001- August 2003	Diversity Committee Member Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences University of Louisville
May 2001- August 2003	Diversity Committee, Graduate Student Representative Kentucky Psychological Association

PRESENTATIONS

Aponte, J. F., Shelton, D., Crowe, D. V., Mills, S. P. (2002). Working with African Americans in clinical settings. Presentation at the 2002 annual convention of the Kentucky Psychological Association, Lexington, KY.

Aponte, J. F., Belew, B. L., Brown, M., Crowe, D. V., Mills, S. P., & Stambaugh, J. C. (2001). Ethnic minority issues in mental health services settings. Presentation at the 2001 annual convention of the Kentucky Psychological Association, Louisville, KY

Mills, S. P., Harvison, K. W. & Woodruff-Borden, J. (2001). Self-focused attention, anxiety, and gender as predictors of coping responses. Poster presented at the 2001 annual convention of the Association for Advancement of Behavior Therapy, Philadelphia, PA.

Mills, S. P., Woodruff-Borden, J., and Burns, B. (2001). Self-focused attention, anxiety, and the ability to share and allocate attention. Poster presented at the 2001 annual convention of the Midwestern Psychological Association, Chicago, IL.

Mills, S. P., Brothers, A. J., & Woodruff-Borden, J. (2000). Self-focused attention, anxiety, and avoidance. Poster presented at the 2000 annual convention of the Association for the Advancement of Behavior Therapy, New Orleans, LA.