PROFILES OF PSYCHOPATHY IN INCARCERATED SEXUAL OFFENDERS

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The authors investigated whether psychopathy would contribute to the understanding of the heterogeneity of sexual violence. Using the Psychopathy Checklist–Revised, presence of psychopathy, callous personality (Factor 1), and chronic antisocial conduct (Factor 2) were examined in a diverse sample ($N = 329$) of incarcerated sex offenders and nonsexual offenders categorized according to the nature of their crimes. Mixed rapist/molesters and rapists were more psychopathic than child molesters, although all sex offender groups showed elevated Factor 1 scores. A high proportion (64%) of offenders who had victimized both children and adults were psychopathic, indicative of a criminal whose thrill seeking is directed at diverse sexual victims (appropriately called a *sexual psychopath*). Furthermore, there were different factor scores and an interaction between factor scores and offense type. These profiles have implications for treatment and a comprehensive theory of sexual violence.

With the tremendous increase in reports of sexual crimes in recent years, the problem of sexual violence has never been so clear. Surveys indicate that about one in eight males and one in four females have been sexually assaulted in childhood (e.g., Finkelhor, Hotaling, Lewis, & Smith, 1990), whereas 10% to 25% of women report an

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adulthood rape experience (e.g., Koss, 1993). Reflecting the increasing numbers of disclosures, the rate of incarceration for sexual offenses has been steadily rising. For example, by 1996, 21% of federal offenders in the Canadian correctional system had been convicted of a sexual offense (Motiuk & Belcourt, 1997). This pattern has highlighted the need to better understand sexual violence and develop improved risk-management strategies. Because most sex offenders are conditionally released before the end of their sentences, the accurate assessment of their dangerousness has become an important agenda of corrections. Furthermore, sexual offenders must be screened for their treatment prognosis. Only a small proportion of sex offenders are expected to benefit significantly from treatment (e.g., Furby, Weinrott, & Blackshaw, 1989; Hall, 1995) and, in general, the recidivism rate of sex offenders appears to be high (e.g., Doren, 1998). In this article, we explore how psychopathy might contribute to the understanding of sexual violence.

THE HETEROGENEITY OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

There is a growing recognition that sexual offenders are heterogeneous in their risk, criminal diversity, treatment needs, and personality profiles (e.g., Boer, Wilson, Gauthier, & Hart, 1997). Research has focused on differences between sexually aggressive and non–sexually aggressive men (e.g., Lalumière & Quinsey, 1996), sexual and nonsexual offenders (e.g., Hanson & Scott, 1994), and types of sexual offenders (e.g., Prentky & Knight, 1986, 1991). Within the sex-offender population, the most parsimonious classification system uses victim age, giving a dichotomy of child molesters and rapists. Using

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this typology, several differences within sex offenders have been found. For example, molesters appear to be motivated more by sexual aspects of the offense (e.g., Malcolm, Andrews, & Quinsey, 1993), whereas rapists appear to be motivated more by violence and anger (e.g., Barbaree, Seto, Serin, Amos, & Preston, 1994; Serin, Malcolm, Khanna, & Barbaree, 1994). Molesters have been found to be more socially inept and more unassertive than rapists (e.g., Prentky & Knight, 1991); rapists show more serious antisocial histories and higher rates of general and violent recidivism (Hanson & Scott, 1994; Prentky, Lee, Knight, & Cerce, 1997; Quinsey, Rice, & Harris, 1995). Prentky et al. (1997) found that most crimes by rapists were nonsexual, whereas those of child molesters usually were limited to sexual violence, indicating very different criminal motivations. There are also variations within molester and rapist subgroups. For example, incest offenders show a lower recidivism rate than either extrafamilial offenders or rapists (e.g., Forth & Kroner, 1995). Sex offenders with strong affective (e.g., empathy) deficits appear to use more aggression than those without such deficits (e.g., Lisak & Ivan, 1995; Paris, Yuille, Walker, & Porter, 1999).

Much of this diversity (e.g., criminal diversity, impulsivity, degree of empathy) appears to relate to clinical features of psychopathy leading to the possibility that the disorder may play a role in sexual violence.

THE IMPORTANCE OF PSYCHOPATHY IN UNDERSTANDING CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

A large body of research has demonstrated that psychopathy is an important contributor to criminal behavior (e.g., Hare, 1996). Although showing a prevalence of about 1% in the general population, psychopaths comprise about 15% to 25% of offenders in federal correctional settings (e.g., Hare, 1998). A key feature of the disorder is a profound affective deficit and an accompanying lack of respect for social mores and the rights of others (e.g., Hart & Hare, 1997; Porter, 1996). Accordingly, psychopaths are dangerous individuals who repeatedly victimize others in diverse ways (e.g., Hart & Hare, 1997). Relative to other offenders, they begin committing crimes at a younger

age and go on to commit a wider variety of crimes, including violent crimes (e.g., Forth, Hart, & Hare, 1990; Haapasalo, 1994). Psychopaths also reoffend faster, violate parole sooner, perpetrate a higher degree of violence, and commit more institutional violence (e.g., Cornell et al., 1996; Hare & McPherson, 1984; Hart, Kropp, & Hare, 1988; Serin, 1991). Not surprisingly, psychopathy is one of the best predictors of criminal behavior (e.g., Harris, Rice, & Cormier, 1991; Hemphill, Hare, & Wong, 1998). Furthermore, psychopaths show lower motivation in treatment programs (e.g., Ogloff, Wong, & Greenwood, 1990) and the recidivism rate of treated psychopaths tends not to be reduced following treatment (e.g., Hemphill, 1992; Rice, Harris, & Cormier, 1992). Treatment participation by many psychopaths may be superficial, intended mainly for impression management.

EVIDENCE FOR A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PSYCHOPATHY AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE

A recent review identified psychopathy as a theoretically important factor in understanding and predicting sexual violence (Boer et al., 1997). One line of research has found an association between sadistic sexual arousal and psychopathy (Rice, Harris, & Quinsey, 1990; Serin et al., 1994). Quinsey et al. (1995) followed 178 rapists and molesters (a psychiatric sample) and found that psychopathy functioned as a predictor of sexual and violent recidivism. In both adolescents and adults, higher scores on the Psychopathy Checklist–Revised (PCL-R) (Hare, 1991) are associated with higher levels of violence in the commission of sex offenses (Gretton, McBride, Lewis, O'Shaughnessy, & Hare, 1994; Miller, Geddings, Levenston, & Patrick, 1994). Psychopathy-related traits have been found to predict both sexual and nonsexual aggression in noncriminal samples (e.g., Kosson, Kelly, & White, 1997). Further evidence for a relationship between psychopathy and sexual violence comes from studies of specific risk assessment tools that incorporate psychopathy (see Boer et al., 1997; Hemphill et al., 1998). The Violence Risk Assessment Guide (VRAG), one of the most widely used risk assessment tools, includes psychopathy as its most heavily weighted predictor (Webster,

Harris, Rice, Cormier, & Quinsey, 1994). The VRAG has been shown to have utility in predicting sexual recidivism (Rice & Harris, 1997).

Other evidence indicates a complex relationship between psychopathy and sexual offending. Brown and Forth (1997) found that PCL-R scores in 60 rapists correlated with the number of previous nonsexual offenses (r = .51) but not with sexual offenses. Rapists appear to have a higher prevalence of psychopathy than molesters (Forth & Kroner, 1995; Serin et al., 1994). Forth and Kroner (1995) examined 456 adult sex offenders and found that rapists had the highest base rate of psychopathy (26.1%). Psychopathic rapists had a more extensive criminal history and were more opportunistic than their nonpsychopathic counterparts. However, psychopathy was not closely related to sexual offense history and was negatively related to the total number of sexual victims. Rice and Harris (1997) found that sex offenders who offended against multiple types of victims were the most dangerous, as indexed by their faster rate of violent recidivism. Overall, despite the fairly direct relationship between PCL-R scores and general and violent recidivism (see Hemphill et al., 1998), the relation between psychopathy and sexual violence is complex and requires further attention.

The objective of the present study was to investigate profiles of psychopathy and its two core elements among a large diverse sample of sex offenders. We were allowed the opportunity to study psychopathy in a diverse sample representing 10% of all Canadian federal incarcerated sex offenders and some nonsexual offenders in a common institution. This would permit an examination of profiles of psychopathy in various offender groups. Because psychopaths engage in a wide range of risk-taking and antisocial activities (e.g., Ellis, 1987), it was predicted that they would be overrepresented in offenders who offend against diverse victim types. From clinical experience, it was hypothesized that some offenders are dominant, manipulative individuals characterized by an impulsive, risk-taking and antisocial life-style, who obtain their greatest thrill from diverse sexual gratification and target diverse victims over time. Nonpsychopathic molesters (many with a paraphilia) were expected to be more likely to restrict their offending to one victim type.

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS AND DATA COLLECTION

Since 1996, all psychologists working in the Pacific region of the Canadian federal correctional system must be thoroughly trained in the application of the PCL-R (Hare, 1991). Before conducting assessments for decision-making purposes, all psychologists are required to attend an in-depth PCL-R workshop given by an expert (usually the originator) with periodic follow-up advanced workshops. Within the Correctional Service of Canada, the training is expected to continue by having interrater reliability measured for the first several assessments conducted by the psychologist.

Files on federal offenders are generally extensive, detailed, and multifaceted. A file search was conducted to obtain the results of all available PCL-R assessments from 1995 to 1997 for offenders incarcerated in a common medium-security Canadian prison in Western Canada (Mountain Institution). This institution houses approximately 10% of the entire federally incarcerated adult sex-offender population in Canada. It also holds a number of nonsexual offenders at risk in other institutions, usually relating to drug involvement or an informant history. A PCL-R assessment was available for 80% of offenders (N = 329). (The Canadian correctional system requires that a risk assessment, including a PCL-R, be conducted for all offenders who have committed serious offenses. Most offenders in medium-security institutions will fall into this category.) The PCL-R assessments were usually based on file information plus an interview (there were no differences on PCL-R full or factor scores for file only vs. file plus interview; Fs ranged from .77 to .94, $p > .05$). The validity of file-only PCL-R assessments has been previously demonstrated (e.g., Wong, 1988), yielding very similar scores to assessments that include an interview.

The institutional files of all offenders in the sample were examined for PCL-R total, Factor 1, and Factor 2 scores as recorded in their risk assessment reports. The offense history was examined from the case management files, in particular the Criminal Profile Reports (CPRs), which document each violent or sexual crime in the offender's adult

criminal history. The files were accessed through the computerized Offender Management System. Offenders were classified according to offenses listed on their official criminal record on the Fingerprint Sheet and double-checked against their CPR crime descriptions. An examination of the CPR ensured that a sexual aspect of an offense would not be missed. For example, in some homicide cases, the court will hand down a conviction only on the most serious offense (e.g., first-degree murder) due to plea bargaining or the fact that the maximum sentence available in Canada is 25 years to life. This may not reveal that a sexual assault preceded the homicide. However, a detailed description of all serious offenses in the offender's adult history is available in the CPR file, which also records the age of the victim. The age of 14 was selected as the cut-off for defining a child victim in consideration of previous sexual preference testing research (see Marshall, 1997). Of the 329 offenders, 228 (69.4%) had served time for at least one sexual offense as adults. Based on offense history, an offender was coded as one of the following:

Extrafamilial (EF) Molester: one or more victims of sexual assault 14 years of age or less, and all outside of the offender's family.
Intrafamilial (IF) Molester: one or more victims of sexual assault 14 years of age or less and all within the offender's family. This includes the offender's children or stepchildren, the offender's grandchildren, the offender's younger sibling, the offender's siblings' children or their children's children (i.e., child, stepchild, grandchild, niece, nephew, sibling).
Mixed Intra/Extrafamilial (E/I) Molester: at least one child victim within and one child victim outside of the offender's family.
Rapist: one or more victims of sexual assault older than the age of 14 years with no victims of or younger than the age of 14 years.
Mixed Rapist/Molester: at least one victim older than the age of 14 years and one victim of 14 years of age or less.
Nonsexual Offender: no sexual offenses in adult history.

MATERIALS

The PCL-R has been widely adopted in the study of psychopathy in prison and forensic psychiatric populations (Hart & Hare, 1997). It contains items that fall into two correlated but distinct factors. Factor 1 consists of items that measure the affective and interpersonal features

of the disorder. Complementing this personality style, Factor 2 consists of items describing a chronically impulsive, antisocial, and unstable lifestyle. Although correlated, the factors have distinct associations with clinical, personality, behavioral, and physiological measures, supporting the two-factor conceptualization. Factor 1 items include glibness/superficial charm, grandiosity, pathological lying, lack of remorse, shallow affect, lack of empathy, and failure to accept responsibility. Factor 2 items tap a need for stimulation or a proneness to boredom, poor behavioral controls, promiscuity, early behavioral problems, lack of realistic goals, impulsivity, irresponsibility, juvenile delinquency, and revocation of conditional release. The PCL-R is completed on the basis of a semistructured interview and file information or on the basis of file information alone, provided that the file material is extensive and detailed. The total score, ranging from 0 to 40, is consistent over time, and the psychometric and predictive qualities of the instrument are excellent (e.g., Fulero, 1995; Stone, 1995). The PCL-R measures the extent to which an individual matches a prototypical psychopath. Although the PCL-R gives a dimensional score, a cut-off score of 30 is recommended for a diagnosis (Hare, 1991, 1998).

RESULTS

In terms of ethnicity, the sample was composed of 70.9% Caucasian, 22.7% North American Native, 2.2% Black, 0.6% Asian, and 3.4% "other" or offenders with unknown ethnicity. The 329 offenders had a mean age of 43.6 years (SD = 11.62), with no age differences between the offender groups ($p > .05$). All offenders were male. The break-down of the offenders by offense type was as follows: 48 EF molesters (14.6%), 37 IF molesters (11.2%), 16 mixed E/I molesters (4.9%), 103 rapists (31.3%), 25 mixed rapist/molesters (7.6%), and 100 nonsexual offenders (30.4%).

PREVALENCE OF PSYCHOPATHY AS A FUNCTION OF OFFENDER TYPE

The groups were first dichotomized as psychopaths and nonpsychopaths according to the recommended diagnostic cut-off score of 30

(e.g., Hare, 1991). With the exception of the mixed rapist/molester group, all groups had more nonpsychopaths than psychopaths. As Figure 1 indicates, the child molester groups had low rates of psychopathy. Rapists and nonsexual offenders had moderately high rates, whereas the highest rate by far was evidenced in the mixed rapist/molester group (64.0%).

VICTIMS OF PSYCHOPATHS AND NONPSYCHOPATHS

The types of victims targeted by psychopaths and nonpsychopaths were examined. Of the 95 psychopathic offenders, 38.9% had raped only adult victims, 16.8% had offended against both children and adults, 4.2% had committed only incest, 3.2% had molested children outside the family, and 1.1% had molested children both in and out of the family. Overall, 35.8% of the psychopaths had committed nonsexual offenses only. In contrast, of the 234 nonpsychopaths, 28.2% had raped only adult victims, 28.2% had committed nonsexual crimes only, 19.2% had molested only children outside the family, 14.1% had committed only incest, 6.4% had molested children both in and out of the family, and 3.8% had offended against both children and adults.

A COMPARISON OF FULL PCL-R AND FACTOR PROFILES IN THE OFFENDER GROUPS

To examine possible group differences in overall PCL-R scores and factor scores among the groups, a MANOVA (with offense type as the independent variable and PCL-R scores as the dependent variables) was conducted.[1] The MANOVA was significant, $F(15, 932) = 7.86$, $p < .01$. Follow-up ANOVAs indicated that there were significant differences in overall PCL-R scores, $F(5, 314) = 9.79$, $p < .01$, and Factor 2 scores, $F(5, 314) = 17.98$, $p < .01$. Factor 1 scores did not differ, $F(5, 314) = 1.83$, $p = .107$.

Full PCL-R score differences. The mean PCL-R score for the sample was 24.61 ($SD = 6.80$). The breakdown of the mean PCL-R scores is given in Table 1. To examine where full PCL-R score differences were emerging, Tukey comparisons ($p < .05$) were conducted. Rapists scored significantly higher than both the IF and EF molester groups.

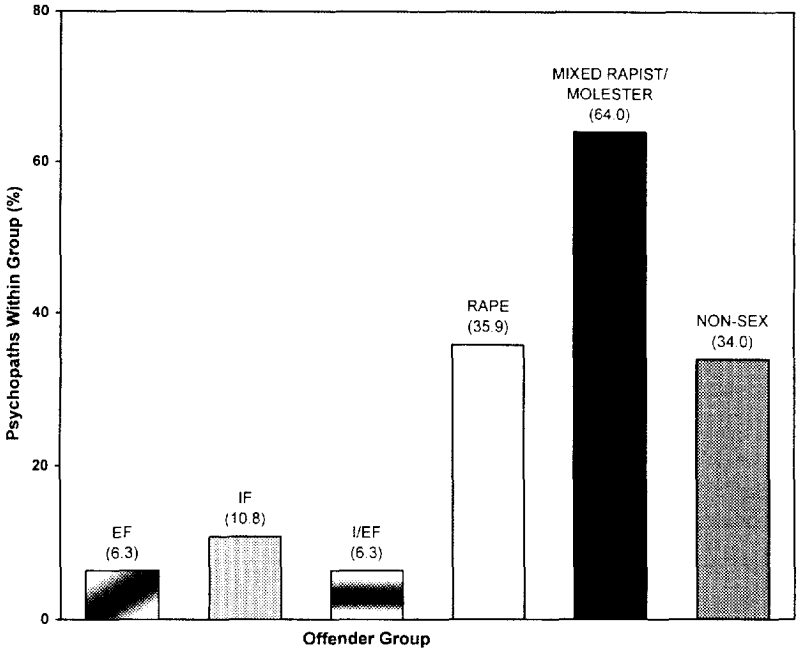

Figure 1: Proportion of Psychopaths Within the Offender Groups.
NOTE: EF = extrafamilial; IF = intrafamilial; I/EF = mixed intra/extrafamilial.

The mixed rapist/molesters scored the highest and significantly higher than the IF, EF, and mixed E/IF molester groups. Finally, nonsexual offenders scored significantly higher than both the IF and EF child molesters. Broken down by ethnic group, the mean PCL-R scores were the following: Caucasian, $M = 24.72$ ($SD = 6.94$); North American Native, $M = 24.83$ ($SD = 6.10$); Black, $M = 23.11$ ($SD = 10.35$); Asian, $M = 18.50$ ($SD = 9.19$); and other/unknown, $M = 23.35$ ($SD = 7.28$). Although the size of the latter three groups precluded mean difference testing, there was no difference in the mean scores of Caucasians and North American Natives, $t(298) = 0.90$, $p > .05$.

Factor 1 score differences. The mean Factor 1 score for the entire sample was 10.04 ($SD = 3.53$). The breakdown of mean scores by offense type is given in Table 1. Because the result of the univariate

TABLE 1: Different Mean Psychopathy Checklist–Revised Scores and Standard Deviations in the Offender Groups

	Full Score		*Factor 1*		*Factor 2*	
Offense Group	M	*(SD)*	M	*(SD)*	M	*(SD)*
a. EF molester	20.93	(6.05)	9.27	(3.61)	8.31	(3.96)
b. IF molester	21.17	(6.38)	10.17	(3.19)	7.59	(4.49)
c. Mixed E/I molester	21.24	(6.23)	10.14	(2.77)	8.16	(4.04)
d. Rapist	25.92	$(5.87)_{ab}$	10.06	(3.36)	12.04	$(3.27)_{abc}$
e. Mixed rapist/molester	29.0	$(6.48)_{abc}$	11.84	(4.21)	12.26	$(2.96)_{abc}$
f. Nonsexual offender	25.75	$(6.99)_{ab}$	9.86	(3.61)	12.46	$(3.69)_{abc}$

NOTE: A letter subscript indicates that the given mean was significantly ($p < .05$) higher than the mean of the group associated with the particular letter. EF = extrafamilial; IF = intrafamilial; E/I = intra/extrafamilial.

analysis was not significant, multiple comparisons were not conducted. However, overall, the mixed rapist/molester group scored the highest and the EF molesters the lowest on this measure of callous personality.

Factor 2 score differences. The mean Factor 2 score for the sample was 10.99 ($SD = 4.14$) and the breakdown of mean scores is provided in Table 1. To examine where Factor 2 score differences were emerging, Tukey comparisons ($p < .05$) were conducted. The rapist group scored significantly higher than the IF, EF, and mixed E/I molester groups. The mixed rapist/molesters and non-sex-offender groups showed similar patterns (each scored higher than the molester groups) but did not significantly differ from each other (or from the rapists). Thus, rapists, mixed offenders, and nonsexual offenders scored significantly higher than molesters on Factor 2.

RELATION BETWEEN FACTOR 1 AND FACTOR 2 SCORES

The above pattern of results suggested a possible interaction effect of factor scores by offender type. The interaction between offender type (sexual vs. nonsexual offender) by factor score (Factor 1 vs. Factor 2) was tested with a 2×2 factorial ANOVA. The ANOVA yielded a significant interaction, $F(1, 317) = 18.56$, $p < .01$. That is, sex offenders tended to have higher Factor 1 than Factor 2 scores, whereas nonsexual offenders showed the opposite pattern.

Correlations between Factor 1 and Factor 2 have been estimated at .50. Over the entire sample, Factor 1 and Factor 2 scores were significantly correlated, $r(322) = .25$, $p < .01$. For the EF molesters, $r(46) = .03$, $p > .05$; IF molesters, $r(37) = .06$, $p > .05$; and mixed E/I molester group, $r(14) = .51$, $p >. 05$, the factors were not significantly correlated. For the mixed rapist/molester group, the correlation was higher but not significant, $r(25) = .30$, $p > .05$. However, for the rapist group, the factors significantly correlated, $r(100) = .31$, $p < .01$. Overall, for the molester groups, the correlation was significant but low, $r(223) = .22$, $p < .01$, and for the non-sex-offender group, there was a significant and higher correlation, $r(99) = .38$, $p < .01$, closer to correlations found in previous research (e.g., Hare, 1998).

DISCUSSION

Given its relation to crime and violence, psychopathy is arguably one of the most important psychological constructs in the criminal justice system. However, the nature of its relationship with sexual violence had not been sufficiently addressed. The results here, building on previous findings (e.g., Brown & Forth, 1997), clearly demonstrate that patterns of psychopathy differ in various sex offender groups. The rapists and mixed rapist/molesters all scored higher on the PCL-R than offenders who had victimized children exclusively. Furthermore, offenders who had sexually victimized both children and adults were between 2 and 10 times as likely as other offenders to be psychopaths.

Our results indicate that there is no clear relationship between molesting and psychopathy except that many molesters score high on Factor 1. In light of the high reoffense rates of molesters in general (e.g., Prentky et al., 1997), psychopathy may add little to the prediction of their sexual reoffending except to reinforce an assessment of elevated dangerousness. In fact, psychopathy is considerably less common in molesters than in the general prison population. As in previous research (e.g., Quinsey et al., 1995), rapists showed a considerably higher prevalence of psychopathy than molesters. They nearly always scored at least in the medium range on the PCL-R, suggesting a "criminal" lifestyle relative to the more specialized molesters.

An examination of factor scores revealed different patterns of interpersonal and behavioral deviance among the sex offenders. All Factor 1 means found in this sample were higher than the 50th percentile rank from the published norms on offenders in general (Hare, 1991). The mixed rapist/molesters' average score was at approximately the 75th percentile, according to the published norms. Substantial differences emerged on Factor 2, reflecting variations in the degree of aggressive and antisocial behavior. The mixed rapist/molesters, rapists, and nonsexual offenders all scored significantly higher than the molester groups. This indicates that the former groups had more chronic and diverse antisocial lifestyles than molesters. There was also a significant interaction between factor scores and type of offending (sexual vs. nonsexual). That is, Factor 2 scores tended to be higher in nonsexual offenders, whereas the opposite trend was evidenced with sex offenders.

An interesting finding came from the examination of factor correlations. For the nonsexual offenders, there was a significant positive correlation between the two factors (similar to previous research). Other than rapists, the sex offender groups (individually) did not show significant factor correlations. This pattern suggests that callousness in many molesters is manifested mainly in sexual offending, dissimilar to the more generalized pattern of rapists and nonsexual offenders. This is in accord with clinical observations that many molesters maintain an otherwise "normal" existence while preying on children.

Most offenders who crossed the line from child to adult victims (or vice versa) were psychopaths. These offenders also had the highest Factor 1 scores, indicating a ruthless and callous personality. This profile is indicative of a very dangerous group of offenders with a potentially high rate of violent reoffending. We speculate that the mixed rapist/molesters are generally psychopathic offenders whose thrill seeking and impulsive propensities include a sexual component (without ruling out a sexual deviancy), offenders who can appropriately be called *sexual psychopaths*. In the absence of empathy or remorse, these offenders can victimize different types of victims when the opportunity arises or when they grow bored.

Exemplifying the sexual psychopath concept, Mr. C. (included in this study) was a middle-aged offender who had been designated a

Dangerous Offender (in Canada, following a conviction for a "serious personal injury offense," either a sexual assault, violent, or otherwise psychologically damaging offense, the Crown prosecution may apply for a hearing to determine whether the offender's level of dangerousness warrants an indefinite period of incarceration) (*Pocket Criminal Code 1999*, 1998). Mr. C.'s most recent offenses included repeatedly sexually assaulting three young teenage girls over a 1-year period, in the context of a "master-slave" relationship. His previous sexual offenses included the serial rapes of adult females, assaults on children, and even bestiality. His pattern was to focus on one victim type for a lengthy period and than move on to another victim type, admittedly "when (I) got bored." He also had been convicted of numerous other serious and sometimes violent offenses. In prison, he was suspected of perpetrating sexual assaults on inmates and was frequently inappropriate with female staff. It was reported in multiple psychological assessments that he was a "textbook psychopath." From our perspective, Mr. C. may have been a sexual psychopath whose excitement or "turn-on" came from victimizing others in a sexual manner.

There are a number of limitations in this study. First, the data were derived from psychological assessments from institutional files. Because the PCL-R assessments were conducted by several psychologists in the 2-year period, it is not known if they were equally proficient in administering the instrument. However, their competence was likely acceptable, given that they had all been similarly trained in PCL-R administration, after which their reliability was tested. Furthermore, because the assessments held considerable consequences (e.g., parole decisions), it can be assumed that the psychologists would be circumspect and motivated to be accurate. However, if for some reason the psychologists as a group scored liberally on Factor 1, it could explain the elevated scores across the sample. Second, the offenders were categorized according to their convictions. It is recognized that many sexual offenses go unreported or unsolved, raising the possibility that some offenders were misclassified. Finally, there are also some features of this sample that may limit generalizations to other sex offenders. These offenders were incarcerated in a medium-security institution where a majority of inmates were sexual offend-

ers. The nonsexual offenders may differ from their counterparts incarcerated in other institutions because many of them were "protective custody" inmates whose lives were in danger at other facilities (some of them were informants, drug dealers, etc.). Given this background, they may have different characteristics from other nonsexual offenders. Indeed, the prevalence of psychopathy was somewhat higher in this sample than in previous samples.

Despite these possible limitations, this research has implications for heightening our understanding of sexual violence. A group of offenders who show a high prevalence of psychopathy and who can be expected to offend persistently and perhaps violently across the life span was identified. Further research on this potentially dangerous group of mixed offenders is needed. It is expected that the offenders in this study will be tracked for the next several years to monitor their institutional adjustment, performance on conditional release, and long-term recidivism rates to examine the predictive utility of psychopathy (and other factors).

The dual focus of most existing sex offender programs is on sexual deviancy and cognitive distortions. Perhaps a better approach would be to develop programs to address the heterogeneity of offenders more effectively, especially in consideration of the features of rapists and mixed offenders. There have been few programs put into place aimed specifically at altering the psychopathic personality (although there are descriptions of proposed programs, e.g., Hare, 1992). To successfully address the problems of both recurrent sexual violence and nonsexual violent crime, increased attention to treatment issues relating to psychopathy is greatly needed.

NOTE

1. One reviewer pointed out that due to the different numbers of offenders within the comparison groups and distribution trends, ANOVA may be problematic (even though ANOVA is robust to departures from normality). In the analyses, all variances of the groups' scores were homogeneous. To further examine the possibility that the ANOVA approach biased the results, nonparametric tests (Mann-Whitney) were also conducted by looking at the data in stages (rapists vs. mixed offenders, etc.). Results were very similar to the ANOVA results, with a few additional significant multiple comparison differences (this is a liberal analysis relative to ANOVA). Thus, it appeared that the ANOVA was an appropriate, albeit conservative approach.

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