

Exploring the Relationship between Criminal Narrative Experience (CNE) and Criminal Thinking, among Sexual Offenders

Abstract

Purpose

The Criminal Narrative Experience (CNE) framework posits that criminals' personal experiences of offending can be differentiated into distinct narrative themes. The current study examined whether CNE themes of sexual offenders (SO) was related to particular cognitive distortions (criminal thinking). Additionally, given previously identified psychological differences between child SO and SO that target adults, the study also compared CNE and criminal thinking styles between these SO groups.

Design

Twenty-six adult male offenders convicted for sexual crimes completed a survey composed of the Psychological Inventory of Criminal Thinking Styles (Version 4) and a Criminal Narrative Experience Questionnaire which identified two narrative themes of sexual offending (The Intrepid Professional-Adventurer, IPA; and The Dejected Revenger Victim, DRV).

Findings

Analyses failed to identify significant relationships between CNE themes and most of the criminal thinking styles. However, offenders reporting the DRV narrative displayed greater fears about the prospect of changing. Additionally, child SO displayed the IPA narrative more than SO that targeted adults.

Practical Implications

The CNE framework can assist practitioners who are working towards a goal of desistance, as the experience of crime from the perspective of the offender is understood through their narrative roles and emotional experience. Identifying an individual's strongest CNE theme could aid practitioners in identifying and planning interventions which challenge the distorted thinking.

Originality

This study is the first to examine the relationship between CNE and cognitive distortions that enable (re)offending.

Introduction

According to the Ministry of Justice, proven reoffending rates for sexual offenders¹ in [England and Wales](#), average at around 13% within the first twelve months (Ministry of Justice, 2023). Whilst this seems low, there are two factors to consider. Firstly, data suggest that recidivism among sexual offenders tends not to occur for several years post release ([Cann et al., 2004](#); [Soothill et al., 2000](#)). Secondly, although 13% may seem low in comparison to other offence types such as theft, which averages at 51% (Ministry of Justice, 2023), it is suggested that sexual offences carry [heightened emotional consequences](#) for the victims (e.g., [PTSD, Elklit and Christiansen, 2010](#)) who arguably may never fully recover from their abuse. More positively speaking, lower reoffending rates demonstrate that sexual offenders have the capacity to desist ([Ward and Laws, 2010](#)).

Sexual offenders require extensive interventions for the prevention of recidivism that go beyond punitive deterrence. The aim of these interventions is not only to prevent future reoffending and minimise the frequency and intensity of harm, but also to improve the quality of life and attitudes to crime and offending within the individual, thus leading to a pro-social, meaningful lifestyle. [An offender's willingness and ability to desist from future offending depends on a range of internal and external factors.](#) The breadth of the literature around 'risk factors' spans many disciplines, but the majority of interventions provided within England and Wales are based upon [Bonta and Andrews \(2017\)](#) 'central eight' risk factors: criminal history, pro-criminal attitudes, pro-criminal associates, antisocial personality pattern, family/marital circumstances, school/work experiences, substance abuse, and leisure/recreation. What is optimistic for practitioners and service users alike, is the [dynamic nature of seven out of the eight risk factors \(Andrews, 2017\)](#).

The primary aim of offending behaviour change programmes (otherwise known as interventions) within [England and Wales](#) is to adopt cognitive behavioural therapy techniques to challenge the pro-criminal attitudes, beliefs and thinking patterns which enable offending (Ministry of Justice, 2022). Alongside this, research suggests that interventions which challenge the cognitive distortions that promote offending behaviour, as well as target the negative affective experiences of the offence (e.g., guilt and shame) will result in lower reoffending risks ([Tangney et al., 2014](#); [Walters, 2012](#)). Through this research, we learn that effective interventions should challenge both the unhelpful thinking and the emotional experiences affiliated to crime.

[Though these factors appear to play a role in criminal offending, research is yet to examine the relationship between the emotional element, or 'experience' of crime and criminal thinking styles.](#) Addressing this empirical gap, the present study examines whether different emotional narratives of offending are linked to particular criminal thinking styles. The subsequent literature first explores a contemporary framework for measuring emotional experiences of crime (the Criminal Narrative Experience framework), before discussing the role of criminal cognition in offending behaviour and the potential relationship between these two variables. Finally, we consider the heterogeneous nature of different sexual offender groups (i.e., child sexual offenders and sexual offenders against adults) and how these groups may vary in relation to their experiences of and attitudes towards offending.

¹ The term 'Sexual offender(s)' is used in this study to describe individuals who have been found guilty of a sexual offence. The author(s) acknowledge the potential impact of such labels for those who are trying to embark on their journey of desistance, however, a decision has been made to continue using the term within the current paper to remain consistent with the empirical literature.

The Criminal Narrative Experience Framework

The importance of the emotional experience of crime was first highlighted by Canter (1994) who suggested that an offender's emotional experience of crime was linked to their personal narrative - the role they ascribed to the self during the commission of an offence. Canter proposed that criminals were individuals whose life stories or narratives had become ill-formed or confused, leading them to undertake narrative roles which were destructive or damaging to their identity. The narrative roles proposed by Canter were modelled around Frye's (1957) theory of mythos, which suggests there are four fundamental 'stories' (or themes) that are present within literature. Frye labelled the mythic archetypes; comedy, romance, tragedy, and irony, and suggested they occurred in a cyclic movement.

Ioannou (2006) empirically tested this concept through the development of the Criminal Narrative Experience (CNE) framework, which posited that offenders assign themselves a narrative role during the commission of their offence, and that the narrative role would be closely linked to their emotional experiences. More specifically, Ioannou (2006) aimed to investigate if there was a relationship between an offender's self-assigned narrative (based on Frye's Theory of Mythos [1957]) and their emotional experience (based on Russell's Circumplex of Emotions [1997]), during the commission of their index offence. [Through multidimensional scaling analysis, the author identified four themes, each reflecting distinct criminal emotional narratives: The Calm Professional, The Elated Hero, The Distressed Revenger and The Depressed Victim.](#) The Calm Professional linked with Frye's Romance story form and reflected a positive experience of calm and expert-like offending. Individuals within this theme professionally embraced their offence and strived to complete it in a perfect way, perceiving themselves as 'masters of their environment'. The Elated Hero was another positively framed narrative, linked to Frye's Comedy mythoi, however, as the name suggests, this theme reflected elation over calmness. Offenders subscribing to this narrative described the experiences as one that involved challenges and 'conquest' which they were able to overcome. The remaining two themes reflective negative affective experiences. The Distressed Revenger reflected Frye's Tragedy story form, reflected the feeling of distress, where the offender feels unjust and perceives offending as the only way they can overcome such distress. This theme encapsulated blame and revenge. Lastly, the Depressed Victim was linked to Frye's Irony mythoi, as the offender described feeling overwhelmed with sadness and despair, reporting both helpless and powerlessness. As with the Distressed Revenger, the offender attributed blame onto others, but here, it was due to confusion and upset rather than vengeance.

Subsequent work by Ioannou *et al.*, (2017) provided further support and validation of the CNE framework by evidencing the four CNE themes within a replication study involving 120 offenders. In recent years, research has begun to explore the framework within various offender groups, demonstrating similar patterns of CNE among young offenders (Ioannou *et al.*, 2018), psychopathic and personality disordered offenders (Goodland *et al.*, 2018), and more recently, cybercriminals (Fumagalli *et al.*, 2023).

Pertinent to the present study, DeBlasio *et al.*, (2022) examined the CNE of sexual offenders. Unlike the four-factor model identified for other offender populations (see Ioannou., 2006; Ioannou *et al.*, 2017), DeBlasio and colleagues identified two CNE themes among sexual offenders: The 'Intrepid Professional-Adventurer' and The 'Dejected Revenger-Victim'. The labels used to describe the themes still mirrored the circular order of Frye's mythic archetypes, and Russell's circumplex of emotions, but recognised the difference in the thematic split of themes from a two-theme model. For example, instead of finding evidence of both a Distressed Revenger and Depressed Victim, DeBlasio *et al.* (2022) found these roles to merge within the sample of sexual offenders, thus

becoming a new, hybrid theme, aptly labelled 'The Dejected Revenger-Victim'. This theme captured all of the negative state emotions (as suggested by Russell [1997]) and both the Revenger (tragedy) and Victim (Irony) mythoi (as suggested by Frye [1957]). In contrast, 'The Intrepid Professional-Adventurer', housed the narrative roles which reflected Frye's (1957) Professional (Romance) and Adventurer (Hero/Comedy) mythoi, and Russell's (1997) positive state emotions. Evidence from this study suggest that sexual offenders experience crime in one of two states: positive or negative. The Dejected Revenger-Victim, which grouped all the displeasurable emotions (such as angry and unhappy) and negative narrative role statements (such as; 'I was helpless' and 'I just wanted to get it over with'), and The Intrepid Professional-Adventurer, which reflected pleasurable emotions (such as excited and confident) and positive narrative role statements (such as; 'It was like an adventure' and 'It was fun'). A limitation of the results from DeBlasio *et al.*, (2022) is that the authors failed to consider how the heterogeneous nature of sexual offenders (e.g., child sex offenders and adult sex offenders) could result in different emotional narrative experiences. More specifically, the authors grouped sexual offenders that targeted children and adults together, when evidence suggests that these two offender groups are intrinsically different populations (discussed further below). A second shortcoming of DeBlasio *et al.* (2022) and other past CNE studies is that they have attempted to assign offenders into a dominant theme by examining their responses to statements relating to each theme (i.e., participants score the presence of each narrative experience during their offence on a scale) and assigning them to the theme that they scored the highest on. A potential issue with this nominal approach is that it ignores the fact that offenders can experience additional narrative themes at lesser levels.

Despite these critical elements, research into CNE is of significant importance for the understanding and prevention of criminal behaviour. Understanding the CNE of offenders can assist us in understanding the complex relationship between emotion, behaviour, and crime - something which Garofalo *et al.* (2019) suggests is pivotal to successful engagement in the treatment of sexual offenders. Both Ioannou *et al.* (2017) and DeBlasio *et al.* (2022) note the potential the CNE framework has in informing offender rehabilitation programmes, especially given the weight attitudes and thinking have in the literature surrounding risk factors and reoffending (Bonta and Andrews, 2017). Understanding the experience of crime from the perspective of the offender can assist practitioners in challenging unhelpful thinking and cognitive distortions, both of which are known to be conducive of future offending (as featured in the literature surrounding the central eight [Bonta and Andrews, 2017]). However, researchers are yet to explore the relationship between a sexual offenders' CNE and the specific cognitive attitudes that enable (re)offending.

Criminal Thinking as a Risk Factor to Future Offending

Historically, researchers have proposed that an offender's thinking (or cognition) is different to that of a non-offender, such that offenders subscribe to cognitive distortions (i.e., errors in thinking) that enable criminal engagement and allow the individuals to overcome inherent barriers to offending (Sykes and Matza, 1970; Yochelson and Samenow, 1976). The Lifestyle Model of Criminal Conduct (LMCC; Walters, 1990) identifies eight criminal thinking styles (i.e., biased attitudes) that enable (re)engagement with criminal behaviour either proactively (i.e., promoting criminal scheming) or reactively (i.e., promoting criminal impulsivity). Proactive thinking styles include Mollification (i.e., the attribution of blame onto external sources), Entitlement (i.e., using other injustices against oneself to justify offending), Power Orientation (i.e., a desire to gain power over others), Sentimentality (i.e., excusing criminal acts because of other good deeds), and Superoptimism (i.e., an inflated belief in one's ability to avoid detection); and Reactive thinking styles include Cut-off (i.e., elimination of internal deterrents of offending [e.g., fear]), Cognitive indolence (i.e., over-reliance on

cognitive shortcuts), and Discontinuity (i.e., inconsistency between intentions and behaviour). All eight criminal thinking styles have been consistently observed within prison populations (Walters, 1996, 2001, 2002) but appear to differ in terms of magnitude across different offender groups (DeBlasio and Mojtahedi, 2023).

More pertinent to the current paper, data suggests that criminal thinking profiles can predict how well an offender engages with interventions (Staton-Tindall et al., 2007) and whether they will reoffend (Palmer and Hollin, 2004; Walters et al., 2014). Walters et al., (2014) found that general criminal thinking (sum of all eight dimensions), reactive criminal thinking, and entitlement variables were positively associated with recidivism. Additionally, sex offenders who scored high on proactive criminal thinking and entitlement were less likely to register with police as a sex offender following their conviction or release from prison (Walters et al., 2014) - the authors attributed this finding to 'anti-social entitlement beliefs' and suggest this cognitive distortion is more common in sex offender populations (Walters et al., 2014). Fortunately, criminal thinking styles appear to be malleable and open to change (Bonta and Andrews, 2017; Walters, 2023) presenting practitioners with an opportunity to facilitate desistance by targeting an offender's salient criminal thinking biases.

As mentioned earlier, it is of value to practitioners and policy makers to investigate whether there are differences in criminal thinking across the sex offender CNE themes identified by DeBlasio et al. (2022), as the exploration of role variables within the themes suggests notable differences in the individual's perception of the world. For example, DeBlasio and colleagues note that offenders who aligned with The 'Dejected Revenger-Victim' theme "*reported themselves highly for role variables which described them as 'victims' of the world who need to 'seek revenge' and take 'power and control' of the situation around them*" (p. 10). These beliefs are parallel with thinking styles that Walters (1990) titles Mollification and Power Orientation. Similarly, the second theme, The 'Intrepid Professional Adventurer', is embodied by pleasurable (e.g., excitement) and enjoyable narrative roles denoting a positive experience. These individuals view themselves as heroes operating. Moreover, according to DeBlasio and colleagues, these individuals choose to partake in their offence (a *want* rather than a *need*) for the thrill and use the adventure/professional roles to enable offending. When comparing this experience to Walters (1990) criminal thinking styles, parallels can be seen with Superoptimism and Entitlement. However, the cross-over similarities described above can only be inferred. At present, there has been no research which has examined the CNE framework and subsequent themes against criminal thinking.

Differentiating between sexual offender groups

When exploring the experiences and criminal attitudes of sexual offenders, it is important to acknowledge the heterogeneous nature of this population. Many scholars have demonstrated stark differences between sexual offender subgroups based on the type of sexual offence (e.g., online sex offence vs physical sexual abuse; see Babchishin et al., 2014) as well the targeted victim age groups (e.g., child victims vs adult victims, Browne et al., 2016). Regarding the targeted victims, evidence suggests that the cognitive and emotional offending requisites between these groups differ. Sigre-Leirós et al., (2015) discovered significant differences in the maladaptive schemas that child sexual offenders (CSO) and sexual offenders against adults (SOA) held. The authors found that CSO were more likely to hold *defectiveness* (i.e., something is inherently wrong with them) and *subjugation* (i.e., fear of retaliation for revealing true feelings and needs) schemas; whereas SOA were more likely to display *vulnerability to harm* (i.e., recurrent beliefs that something bad will happen to oneself) and *punitiveness* (i.e., expectation that people should be punished for their mistakes) schemas. Together, these differences suggest that the offender groups may hold distinctively different patterns of thinking which may facilitate their offending tendencies in different ways.

Although specific narrative experiences between these groups have not yet been studied, SOA have been found to display higher levels of psychopathy (Chakhssi et al., 2013) and aggression (Whitaker et al., 2008) which would suggest that they are less likely to feel empathy for their victims and more likely to display anger and hostility when offending. Furthermore, a meta-analysis by Whitaker et al., (2008) found CSO tend to display higher levels of depression and anxiety, and lower self-esteem, which may impact the specific moods experienced during their offences. It is clear from past research that CSO and SOA bear clear psychological differences from each other, for this reason, the present study also considered how criminal thinking and narrative experiences would potentially differ between these offender groups.

Present study

The current study is a continuation of DeBlasio *et al.*, (2022), utilising the same dataset for further academic inquiry into the relationship between CNE and criminal thinking styles. The main aim of the study was to examine whether the CNE themes of sexual offending corresponded with different criminal thinking profiles among a sample of convicted sexual offenders. The findings will allow professionals and practitioners to develop their understanding around the complexities between criminal thinking, the criminal narrative experience (CNE), reoffending, and desistance. Two approaches were used to achieve this aim. For the first approach, CNE framework proposed by DeBlasio and colleagues was used to categorise each offender to a dominant narrative theme (The 'Intrepid Professional-Adventurer' or The 'Dejected Revenger Victim'), after which criminal thinking scores would be compared between the two groups. Owing to the previously mentioned setbacks of using a rigid categorisation approach, a second approach was used which measured each CNE theme on a continuous dimension that all offenders would fall on. Correlations between these variables and criminal thinking styles would be used to further study the relationship between each criminal thinking style and the CNE themes. Finally, building on DeBlasio and colleagues' lack of consideration towards different sexual offender groups, the second aim of the study was to determine whether the CNE roles and criminal thinking styles of sex offenders differed between CSO and SOA.

Methods

Sample

Sexual offenders were recruited from a category B (medium security) prison in the Northwest of England. The inclusion criteria for this study required participants to have been convicted (as opposed to remand) for a sexual offence and possessed the ability to read and write. The prison held 1373 inmates at the time of data collection, 131 of which were convicted of sexual offences. Of this group, only 26 individuals agreed to participate (M age= 31.65, SD = 12.82), all of which were serving custodial sentences for a sexual offence. The high level of non-participation was, in part, a result of many inmates being held on remand status and as such not wanting to divulge offence-related information prior to their trial; additionally, the study required adequate reading and writing skills which many inmates did not possess. This has been highlighted by Hopkins and Kendall (2017) who reported that approximately 50% of UK offenders are functionally illiterate.

Out of the twenty-six participants, sixteen had offended against children (sexual assault/rape = 7, attempted sexual assault = 1, indecent images = 7, abduction =1) and ten had offended against adults (sexual assault/rape = 6, attempted sexual assault =1, breaching of sexual prevention order =3). Participation in the study was done so on a voluntary basis with no monetary reward given to participants.

Materials

Demographic and offending history. Participants were asked to report basic demographic information such as their age, ethnicity, education level and familial background (such as who they lived with at childhood, their parents' education and occupation status, and their parents' criminal activity, i.e., 'did your parents have any criminal convictions?'). In addition, participants were asked about their own offending history, such as number of convictions, age of first conviction, age of their victim (child vs adult) and nature of convictions. Some of aforementioned information (e.g., family background and number of previous convictions) was not used in the present study and was gathered as part of a wider research project, therefore, these are not discussed further.

The Criminal Narrative Experience. The second section within the questionnaire aimed to measure the criminal narrative experience of offenders. This was achieved through the application of both Ioannou's emotion's statement questionnaire (2006) and Youngs and Canter's (2012) Narrative Role Questionnaire (NRQ v1). Firstly, participants were asked to recall their index offence, and score on a 5-point Likert scale how much they agreed with emotion statements such as 'I felt excited' during the commission of the offence. These twenty-six emotion statements were developed following thesis research by Odale (1997), Cross, (1998), Murray (1998] and Ioannou (2001) and aim to reflect Russell's (1997) circumplex of emotions. The results from the pilot research listed above, suggested that offenders are able to recall the emotional experience of crime, as long as the crime in question could be clearly remembered. Furthermore, the research found support for Russell's (1997) gamut of emotions. As a result of this pilot research, the Emotions Statement measure was created, utilising a five-point Likert scale to measure the extent to which offenders experience a range of emotions during their experience of crime. Participants were asked to attribute their experience of a range of emotions (such as excited, happy, and courageous) on a scale ranging from "Not at all" (1) to "Very much indeed" (5), with (2) reflecting "Just a little" "Some" (3) being the midpoint and 4 suggesting "A lot". By using a Likert scale, participants were given the opportunity to elaborate on their answers, compared to a simple yes/no format. Examples of the emotion statements include: "I felt lonely", "I felt scared", "I felt excited" and "I felt courageous". Secondly, participants were presented with the Narrative Roles Questionnaire (NRQ v1) (Youngs and Canter, 2012). The NQR consists of thirty-three role statements that reflect criminal narratives during an offence (e.g., "It was like being a professional"). Participants are required to indicate how well each statement reflects their personal experiences during their offence using a 5-point Likert scale (1= "not at all" to 5 = "very much"). Each item reflects one of the four narrative role themes identified in the early narrative role literature; The Professional (Adventure), The Victim (Irony), The Hero (Quest) and The Revenger (Tragedy) (see Canter *et al.*, 2003; Youngs and Canter, 2012).

The NQR v1 has received extensive use in research exploring the Criminal Narrative Experience (see Ioannou *et al.*, 2018; Ioannou *et al.*, 2017; DeBlasio *et al.*, 2022), and the current paper adopted the same process for assigning cases to themes as the paper's referenced above. This process involves providing each case a percentage score for the two themes identified in the SSA plot (depending on their scores for the variables attributed to the two themes). Once the percentages have been calculated, they are examined on a case-by-case basis to identify which theme the case had a higher percent of occurrence in. This additional analysis not only tests the regional thematic split of the SSA, but it also provides researchers with a method for assigning cases to themes to enable further comparative analysis.

The Psychological Inventory of Criminal Thinking Styles (Version 4) (PICTS) (Walters, 2001). The PICTS is 80-item questionnaire that measures the eight different thinking styles, suggested in the Lifestyle Model of Criminal Conduct (LMCC); Mollification (Mo), Cutoff (Co), Entitlement (En), Power

Orientation (Po), Sentimentality (Sn), Superoptimism (So), Cognitive Indolence (Ci) and Discontinuity (Ds). These criminal thinking styles can be categorised further into reactive (Co, Ci, Ds) and proactive (Mo, En, Po, So) thinking styles. Also included in version 4 of PICTS, is the 'Fear of Change' dimension two 'general test taking' or validity constructs, Confusion (Cf-r) and Defensiveness (Df-r) – however, the validity dimensions have not produced reliable psychometric properties in past studies (e.g., Walters, 1995, 1996; Palmer *and* Hollin, 2003). The fear of change sub-scale uses eight items to explore participants '*apprehension associated with the prospect of abandoning similar patterns*' (Walters and Geyer, 2007, p.212). Given its theoretical relevance to desistance, the FoC construct was analysed in the present study, alongside the eight criminal thinking styles.

Participants are required to rate their agreement with each attitudinal statement (e.g., 'I see no reason to change my behaviour at this point' [Defensiveness]) on a four-point scale (1 = disagree, 2 = uncertain, 3 = agree, 4 = strongly agree) which are averaged to calculate the individual dimension scores. Research continues to demonstrate support for the different thinking styles among offending samples (Walters, 1996, 2002), and recent research has demonstrated a strong association between psychopathic tendencies known to facilitate crime, and elements of the LMCC (DeBlasio and Mojtahedi, 2023).

Procedure & Design

A cross-sectional survey design was used to compare participants' criminal thinking scores (dependant variables) across CNE themes (independent variable 1) and sex offender groups (independent variable 2). Full ethical approval was granted via the prison director and the researchers' university ethics and research panel. All prisoners housed at the establishment were given an information sheet, which was posted through their wing door by duty officers. Eligible prisoners were asked to express their interest by signing a consent form and returning it using a self-addressed return envelope. Participants who submitted their consent form were then provided with further information regarding the aims of the study well as a copy of the questionnaire. Participants were asked to complete all sections of the questionnaire by hand, in their cell, in their own time. They were instructed to contact the primary researcher via the prison's internal postal service if they had any questions or wished to withdraw their data from the study at a later date. Once the completed questionnaire had been received, the researchers posted a debrief letter.

Results

CNE and Criminal Thinking

Using the CNE theme identification method used by DeBlasio *et al.*, (2022), five participants were categorised as having a dominant 'Intrepid Professional Adventurer'(IPA) narrative and twenty participants were categorised as having a dominant 'Dejected-Revenger Narrative'(DRN). One participant was not assigned a dominant narrative due to reporting both narratives to an equal extent (see *methodology* for theme allocation approach).

A series of Mann-Whitney U tests were then performed to evaluate whether criminal thinking scores differed between the two criminal narrative groups. *Due to multiple comparisons being made, Bonferroni corrections were applied to reduce the risk of Type 1 errors, lowering the alpha level to .006. Despite offenders in the IPA group reporting slightly higher scores on most of the criminal thinking dimensions, the inferential analyses failed to identify any significant differences between the two groups (see Table 1).* Pearson's Correlation tests were then used to determine if there were

any association between criminal narrative scores (as continuous variables) and criminal thinking styles. [Bonferroni corrections were applied to the alpha level, lowering it .006](#). As shown in Table 2, the only significant association observed was between the DRV scores and FoC ($r = .409, p = .038$), suggesting that individuals who experience a more negative emotional role during their offence tend to hold greater aversion towards changing their ways. However, this relationship could not be considered significant under the corrected alpha of .006.

Table 1. Mean (Std Dev) criminal thinking scores between Criminal narrative and Targeted victim groups

	Criminal Narrative			Targeted victims		
	IPA	DRV	Sig.	Child	Adult	Sig.
Mollification	2.6 (.89)	2.08 (.56)	$U = 26.5, Z = -1.6, p = .109$	2.15 (.66)	2.19 (.63)	$U = 76.5, Z = -.19, p = .853$
Cut-off	2.98 (.72)	2.44 (.78)	$U = 30.5, Z = -1.33, p = .184$	2.39 (.74)	2.7 (.88)	$U = 60, Z = -1.06, p = .291$
Entitlement	2.48 (.5)	1.93 (.66)	$U = 24.5, Z = -1.74, p = .082$	2.02 (.64)	2.01 (.7)	$U = 77.5, Z = -.13, p = .895$
Power orientation	2.35 (.75)	2.01 (.72)	$U = 35.5, Z = -.99, p = .323$	1.98 (.7)	2.19 (.75)	$U = 62.5, Z = -.93, p = .355$
Sentimentality	2.73 (.51)	2.51 (.47)	$U = 40, Z = -.69, p = .493$	2.62 (.39)	2.34 (.65)	$U = 62.5, Z = -.93, p = .353$
Super optimism	2.53 (.73)	1.97 (.6)	$U = 27.5, Z = -1.54, p = .493$	2.05 (.62)	2.06 (.73)	$U = 79, Z = -.05, p = .958$
Cognitive indolence	2.98 (.79)	2.56 (.6)	$U = 34, Z = -1.54, p = .493$	2.63 (.67)	2.55 (.71)	$U = 79.5, Z = -.05, p = .979$
Discontinuity	2.93 (.53)	2.69 (.77)	$U = 41.5, Z = -.58, p = .562$	2.64 (.73)	2.8 (.74)	$U = 73, Z = -.03, p = .711$
Fear of change	20 (8.8)	22.45 (4.85)	$U = 44, Z = -.41, p = .682$	21.5 (6.46)	22.4 (4.2)	$U = 79, Z = -.05, p = .958$

Note: IPA = Intrepid Professional-Adventurer; DRV= Dejected Revenger-Victim;

Table 2. Correlation coefficients for criminal thinking and criminal narrative experience (continuous)

	The Intrepid Professional-Adventurer		The Dejected Revenger-Victim	
	Pearson's Correlation	Sig.	Pearson's Correlation	Sig.
Mollification	0.126	0.540	-0.046	0.825

Cut-off	0.232	0.254	0.123	0.548
Entitlement	0.033	0.873	-0.244	0.230
Power orientation	0.131	0.522	-0.009	0.964
Sentimentality	0.069	0.738	0.111	0.590
Super optimism	0.206	0.313	-0.014	0.947
Cognitive indolence	0.376	0.058	0.274	0.175
Discontinuity	0.245	0.228	0.232	0.254
Fear of change	0.103	0.617	0.409	0.038

Differences between child sexual offenders (CSO) and sexual offenders against adults (SOA).

Next, we examined whether CSO ($n = 16$) and SOA ($n = 10$) differed in relation to criminal narrative experiences and criminal thinking styles. A chi-square analysis did not identify a significant association between sexual offender type (child vs adult victims) and dominant CNE themes ($\chi^2 [2] = 2.34, p = .31$), however, when analysing the CNE themes as continuous variables, Mann-Whitney U tests indicated that CSO reported significantly higher on the IPA theme than SOA ($M_{child} = 2.02, SD_{child} = .56; M_{adult} = 1.63, SD_{adult} = .73; U = 40.5, z = -2.08, p = .037$). No significant differences were observed for DRV Scores ($M_{child} = 2.64, SD_{child} = .97; M_{adult} = 2.77, SD_{adult} = .93; U = 76, z = -.21, p = .833$). Further Mann-Whitney U tests were conducted to determine whether the two sexual offender groups differed in criminal thinking scores with no significant group differences identified (see Table 1).

Discussion

Previous work by DeBlasio *et al.*, (2022) identified two distinct CNE themes that sexual offenders account during the commission of their index offence: The 'Intrepid Professional-Adventurer' (IPA) theme, where the crime was seen as a pleasurable experience and the offender was self-perceived as heroic; and the 'Dejected Revenger-Victim' (DRV) theme, which reflected a more dis-pleasurable experience, whereby the offender was forced into offending due to unfortunate circumstances. Building on this framework, the main aim of the present study was to determine whether these two distinct CNE differed in relation to criminal thinking styles (as per Walters' Lifestyle Model of Criminal Conduct [2007]). Furthermore, the present study opted to measure the CNE in two ways. The first approach followed the method used by past research exploring criminal narratives, that assigned each case to a categorical group which reflected the 'dominant' narrative theme. A limitation of this approach is that it disregards the fact that an offender may perceive their criminal experiences in ways that reflect both themes. As such, the present study also scored the magnitude of each theme on a spectrum, treating narrative roles as dimensional scores rather than exclusive categories. Despite average scores indicating a slightly greater presence of criminal thinking attitudes among offenders who adopted the IPA narrative, these differences were not statistically

significant, and further correlational analyses using the continuous measurements of these themes also failed to identify any significant associations. These preliminary null findings suggest that whilst crime-related attitudes can dictate an individual's decision to engage in criminal activity, the narrative in which they offend within is likely to be dictated by other dispositional (e.g., personality) and environmental (e.g., previous experiences) factors. However, given that the descriptive data demonstrates slight differences between the groups in criminal thinking scores (see Table 1), It is possible that the lack of significance for these differences could be a result of the analyses being underpowered for detecting these effects (see *Limitations*). Thus, further analyses utilising a larger sample is warranted for further confirmation about the true relationship between criminal narrative roles and criminal thinking.

Correlational analyses did indicate that offenders who subscribed to the DRV narrative demonstrated a greater fear around the prospect of changing their lifestyle, although this relationship was not significant under the corrected alpha level. However, given the Bonferroni Correction's over-conservative adjustments (Bender & Lange, 1999), the significance of this relationship should not be completely discounted – given that the predictor was still significant at the standard alpha level. The association is understandable considering that individuals who offend under the DRV narrative are more likely to see their offending behaviour as a need rather than a want (i.e., something that they were compelled to do). Thus, the prospect of abstaining from something that they consider to be a necessity for them would be cause for contention. This also suggests that greater subscription to the DRV narrative would render the offender more resistant to engaging with rehabilitation and resettlement efforts, both in custody and in the community, due to anxiety and avoidance of changing their behaviour and thought process (see Walters and Geyer, 2007). More advanced preliminary assessment may therefore be required to first identify and address such offenders' Fear of Change thinking bias, before standard interventions could be administered. Positively, Walters and Geyer (2007) suggest that Fear of change is not a static attribute, and as with any belief or cognitive distortion, it is malleable to change. In a recent research study, they found that those who engaged in treatment (titled 'Psychological Programming' in USA), experienced a slower, less significant increase in Fear of Change, compared to individuals who do not engage in treatment at all. This suggests that although individuals in custody experience heightening Fear of Change as time progresses, this increase can be delayed through engagement in treatment. Walters and Geyer (2007) also suggest that despite finding evidence of an increasing Fear of Change during programme engagement, this may be due to participants becoming acutely aware of the possibility of change – which may be considered positive, as participants are now truly considering the opportunity for transformation.

A secondary aim of the present study was to consider potential differences in CNE themes, as well as criminal thinking styles, between sexual offenders who targeted children and sexual offenders who targeted adult victims. Our findings indicated that CSO reported greater affiliation towards the IPA narrative than SOA, signifying more pleasurable experiences of offending. These findings would suggest that CSO will see their actions in a more positive light, but the impact of this in regard to successful outcomes post intervention is unknown. However, research into recidivism rates suggests that SOA are more likely to reoffend (see Hanson *and* Brussiere, 1998; Parent *et al.*, 2011). Thus, the relationship between CNE theme, victim age, and recidivism, warrant further investigation. Despite the preliminary finding of the current study being under investigated, the initial relationship suggests that offender rehabilitation programmes targeted towards child sexual offenders may have to place greater emphasis in tackling the positive CNE role sexual offenders operate under.

Practical Implications

Given the findings around CNE themes, their relationship with victim age, and the link with criminal thinking styles, there are several practical implications to consider. Primarily, the present study reinforces the need for treatment pathways to recognise ill-formed or destructive narratives, and support individuals to re-write or re-frame these in support of pro-social goals. This is akin to Ioannou (2006) who suggests that once identified, '(the) narratives may become the targets for change' (p.237). These ideas take a different approach to those interventions currently offered within HMPPS, which utilise Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT) practices as fundamental to their Offending Behaviour Change Programmes (OBPs). Both Ioannou (2014), and DeBlasio *et. al.* (2022) recognise the lack of acknowledgment in relation to the emotional experience of crime within current practices, and call for an approach which values the influence emotions have on narratives and subsequent behaviour. CBT is unable to challenge emotions and narratives in isolation, and it is hereby identified how approaches that centre around CNE themes would be more favourable. This would help provide interventions that support personal transformations, alongside a more generalised treatment pathway which presents consequences as the vehicle for change (CBT).

In addition, the current study identified how the CNE themes (CRV and IPA) showed some differences in criminal thinking. More specifically, those who scored highly on the DRV theme, reported an increased Fear of Change. If practitioners had the ability to identify which CNE theme an individual affiliated too, they could perhaps make an informed decision regarding an individual's propensity to treatment. It is also significant because it would help the practitioner understand whether the individual would benefit from additional support around growth mindset, which Dweck (2008) proposes is the opposite to a fixed mindset (which is an inhibitor to change). Addressing an individual's Fear of Change prior to exposure to any other interventions, is likely to improve the absorption of treatment, and this is a consideration for those working alongside individuals who describe their experience in line with the DRV variables.

Lastly, the current study found those who offended against children, were more likely to score high for the IPA theme, which presents crime as a positive experience. Whilst this is a worrying finding in terms of impact, this finding is poignant to practitioners working alongside this population. Identifying the CNE theme of an offender in the early stages of intervention, would allow them to tailor subsequent interventions appropriately, speaking to either the positive or negative state of offender which is known to be hugely different in regards to experience. An alternative approach to working with this group of offenders is welcomed, given the literature provided around reoffending rates for child sexual offenders.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The current study is undoubtedly limited by its small sample size. Low sample sizes when studying such populations are somewhat expected: Farmer *et al.* (2019) note the complexities of obtaining consent from a group of offenders who are 'vilified' and 'at risk' and present the nuances of harm that can arise from research with this group of offenders. However, despite mirroring sample sizes found in previous empirical research into sexual offending and desistance attitudes (e.g., Garofalo *et al.* 2019 and Farmer, McAlinden and Maruna, 2019) post-hoc power analyses using G*power 3.1.9.2 (Faul *et al.*, 2009) indicated that the between groups comparisons ($[1-B] = .085$ to $.227$) and correlation analyses ($[1-B] = .053$ to $.56$) were underpowered. Future research should aim to expand the sampling strategy across several prisons both nationally and internationally to draw on larger sample of sexual offenders. This would allow for further exploration of CNE themes and criminal thinking styles across *types* of sexual offenders (such as contact/non-contact or adult/child victims), as well as across different cultures. Another limitation of the study was that offenders were grouped in criminal offence categories, based on their index offences rather than offending history. As a

result, it is possible that some of the offenders who were convicted for sexual crimes against children may have previously sexually offended against adults, and vice versa. Therefore, it cannot be confirmed with complete confidence that the dichotomy of child and adult sexual offenders were fully exclusive.

Beyond building on the above limitations, future research should explore the role of CNE in engagement with rehabilitative programmes and eventual desistance. To date, much of the literature around CNE has focused on offending behaviour and the experience of crime, rather than the value CNE has in understanding offenders' engagement with treatment programmes, and success of such programmes, following convictions. Though fruitful inferences can be made following research such as this, more direct empirical exploration is needed to determine whether an offenders' engagement with prison programmes and their abilities to desist from future offending is linked to the CNE theme that they initially offended under.

Conclusion

The current study aimed to build upon the research by DeBlasio et. al. (2022), by investigating whether a sexual offenders CNE theme was related to criminal thinking patterns, and if this differed between offenders who perpetrated against adult, or child, victims. It was envisaged that findings from such examinations would assist practitioners with a deeper understanding of the experience of crime, ultimately leading to an enhanced treatment programme which builds upon the current CBT framework, to explore and redirect unhelpful criminal narratives and their subsequent emotions.

On this occasion, there were limited significant findings examined between the two CNE themes proposed, and the criminal thinking styles suggested by Walters (2001). As discussed, this may be attributed to the small sample size yielded in the current study, and future research should consider overcoming this shortfall. In addition, future research could consider a further exploration of the relationship between CNE theme, and responsiveness to current treatment options. That being said, the current study identified a significant relationship between the Dejected Revenger-Victim CNE, and the Fear of Change sub-scale, which suggests that offenders who experience their sexual crimes in a negative state, are more likely to experience apprehension and *fear* around the prospect of change. This has significant meaning for those who offer treatment and/or intervention with men who sexually offend, as it is highly likely that their experience of offending is linked to their openness to engage in treatment options. This dynamic thinking style should therefore be investigated and address both before, and during intervention, as suggested by Walters and Geyer (2007).

References

- Andrews, D. A. (2017), "Preface". In Bonta, J., and Andrews, D.A. (Eds.), *The Psychology of Criminal Conduct* (6th ed.). Routledge, London. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315677187>.
- Andrews, D. A., and Bonta, J. (2010), Rehabilitating criminal justice policy and practice. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, Vol. 16, pp. 39-55. doi:10.1037/a0018362.
- Babchishin, K. M., Hanson, R. K., & VanZuylen, H. (2015). Online child pornography offenders are different: A meta-analysis of the characteristics of online and offline sex offenders against children. *Archives of sexual behavior*, 44, 45-66.

- Bender, R., and Lange, S. (1999). Multiple test procedures other than Bonferroni's deserve wider use. *Bmj*, 318(7183), 600.
- Bonta, J., and Andrews, D. A., (2017), *The Psychology of Criminal Conduct* [online]. 6th edition. Oxon: Routledge, London.
- Browne, K. D., Hines, M., and Tully, R. J. (2018), The differences between sex offenders who victimise older women and sex offenders who offend against children. *Aging and mental health*, Vol. 22 No. 1, pp. 11-18.
- Cann, J., Falshaw, L., and Friendship, C. (2004), Sexual offenders discharged from prison in England and Wales: A 21-year reconviction study. *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, Vol. 9, pp. 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.1348/135532504322776816>
- Canter, D. V. (1994), *Criminal shadows*. Harper Collins, London.
- Canter, D., Kaouri, C., and Ioannou, M. (2003), "The facet structure of criminal narratives". In L. Shlomit and D. Elizur (Eds.), *Facet theory: Towards cumulative social science*. University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, pp. 27-38.
- Chakhssi, F., De Ruiter, C., & Bernstein, D. P. (2013). Early maladaptive cognitive schemas in child sexual offenders compared with sexual offenders against adults and nonsexual violent offenders: An exploratory study. *The Journal of Sexual Medicine*, 10(9), 2201-2210.
- Cross, C. (1998), *The experience of crime: Associated roles and emotions*. Unpublished BSc thesis. University of Liverpool, UK.
- DeBlasio, S., and Mojtahedi, D. (2023), Exploring the relationship between psychopathy and criminal thinking: utilising the Tri-PM within a forensic sample, *Journal of Criminological Research, Policy and Practice*, Vol. 9 No. 1, pp. 14-30. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JCRPP-05-2022-0021>.
- DeBlasio, S., Ioannou, M., and Synnott, J. (2022), Sexual Offending: The Intrepid Professional-Adventurer and The Dejected Revenger-Victim. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, Vol. 0, pp. 1-17. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624X221124836>.
- Dweck, C. S. (2008), *Mindset: The new psychology of success*. House Digital, Inc. Chicago
- Elklit, A., and Christiansen, D. M. (2010). ASD and PTSD in rape victims. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 25(8), 1470-1488.
- Farmer, M., McAlinden, A.-M., and Maruna, S. (2015), Understanding desistance from sexual offending: A thematic review of research findings. *Probation Journal*, Vol. 62 No. 4, 320-335. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0264550515600545>.
- Farrall, S. (2004), "Social capital and offender reintegration: Making probation desistance focused", Maruna S and Immarigeon, R. (Eds.), *After Crime and Punishment: Pathways to Offender Reintegration*, Willan Publishing, Cullompton, pp. 57-82.
- Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Buchner, A., & Lang, A.-G. (2009). Statistical power analyses using G*Power 3.1: Tests for correlation and regression analyses. *Behavior Research Methods*, 41(4), 1149-1160. <https://doi.org/10.3758/BRM.41.4.1149>.
- Fumagalli, A., Trayford, T., and Chryssikos, A. (2023), Cyberbullying: Differentiating offenders criminal roles using a narrative-based approach. *Legal and Criminological Psychology*. 29. 10.1111/lcrp.12254.

- Garofalo, C., López-Pérez, B., Gummerum, M., Hanoch, Y., and Tamir, M. (2019). Emotion Goals: What Do Sexual Offenders Want to Feel? *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 63(15-16), 2611-2629. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624X19866114>.
- Hanson, R. K., and Bussiere, M. T. (1998). Predicting relapse: a meta-analysis of sexual offender recidivism studies. *Journal of consulting and clinical psychology*, 66(2), 348. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-006X.66.2.348>
- Harris, G. T., Rice, M. E., Quinsey, V. L., Lalumiere, M. L., Boer, D., and Lang, C. (2003). A multisite comparison of actuarial risk instruments for sex offenders. *Psychological assessment*, 15(3), 413.
- Honeywell, D. (2021). *The Ambiguities of Desistance: Ex-offenders, Higher Education and the Desistance Journey*, Emerald Publishing, Bingley.
- Honeywell, D. (2024). *Living with Desistance: Breaking the Cycle*. London: Routledge.
- Ioannou, M. (2001). *The Experience of Crime: Emotions and Roles Experienced while committing an offence*. Unpublished MSc Thesis. Liverpool: The University of Liverpool.
- Ioannou, M. (2014). "Emotions as Explanations of Crime", Youngs, D (Ed.), *Behavioural Analysis of Crime: Studies in David Canter's Investigative Psychology*. Routledge, London. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315568911>
- Ioannou, M., Canter, D. V., and Youngs, D. E. (2017). Criminal Narrative Experience: Relating Emotions to Narrative Roles During Crime Commission. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 61(14), 1531 –1553.
- Ioannou, M., Synnott, J., Lowe, E., and Tzani-Pepelasi, C. (2018). Applying the criminal narrative experience framework to young offenders. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 306624X18774312. doi:10.1177/0306624X18774312.
- Maruna, S. (2001) *Making Good: How Ex-offenders Reform and Reclaim Their Lives*. Washington: American Psychological Association.
- Maruna, S. (2016) Desistance and restorative justice: it's now or never, *Restorative Justice*, 4:3, 289-301, DOI: 10.1080/20504721.2016.1243853
- Ministry of Justice (2022). *Guidance: Offending behaviour programmes and interventions* [online]. Available from: <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/offending-behaviour-programmes-and-interventions>
- Ministry of Justice, (2023). *Proven reoffending statistics: October to December 2021* [online]. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/proven-reoffending-statistics-october-to-december-2021/proven-reoffending-statistics-october-to-december-2021#reoffending-by-index-offence-type> (Accessed: 23rd January 2024).
- Murray, K. (1998). *An investigation into the experience of crime: A Multidimensional scalogram analysis of the emotions and roles experienced while committing an offence*. Unpublished BSc thesis. University of Liverpool, UK.
- Oldale, K. (1997). *The experience of crime*. Unpublished BSc thesis. University of Liverpool, UK.
- Palmer, E.J., and Hollin, C.R. (2004). Predicting reconviction using the psychological inventory of criminal thinking styles (PICTS) with English offenders. *Legal Criminol Psychol* 9:57–68.

- Parent, G., Guay, J. P., and Knight, R. A. (2011). An assessment of long-term risk of recidivism by adult sex offenders: One size doesn't fit all. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 38(2), 188-209. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854810388238>
- Russell, J. A. (1997). "How shall an emotion be called?", Plutchik, R. and Conte, H. R. (Eds.), *Circumplex models of personality and emotions*, American Psychological Association, Washington, D.C, USA. pp. 205-220.
- Sherman, L. W., Neyroud, P., and Neyroud, E. (2016). The cambridge crime harm index: Measuring total harm from crime based on sentencing guidelines. *Policing*, 10, 171-183. <https://doi.org/10.1093/police/paw003>
- Sigre-Leirós, V., Carvalho, J., & Nobre, P. (2015). Cognitive schemas and sexual offending: Differences between rapists, pedophilic and nonpedophilic child molesters, and nonsexual offenders. *Child abuse & neglect*, 40, 81-92.
- Soothill, K., Francis, B., Sanderson, B., and Ackerley, E. (2000). Sex offenders: Specialists, generalists – or both? A 32-year criminological study. *British Journal of Criminology*, 40, 56-67. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/40.1.56>
- Staton-Tindall, M., Garner, B.R., Morey, J.T., Leukefeld, C., Krietemeyer, J., Saum, C.A., and Oser, C.B. (2007) Gender differences in treatment engagement among a sample of incarcerated substance abusers. *Crim Justice Behav* 34:1143–1156.
- Sykes, G.M. and Matza, D. (1970). *Techniques of delinquency. The sociology of crime and delinquency* (2nd ed., pp. 292–299). Wiley.
- Tangney, J. P., Stuewig, J., and Martinez, A. G. (2014). Two faces of shame: The roles of shame and guilt in predicting recidivism. *Psychological science*, 25(3), 799-805. DOI: 10.1177/0956797613508790
- Walters G. D. (2016a). Friends, cognition, and delinquency: Proactive and reactive criminal thinking as mediators of the peer influence and peer selection effects. *Justice Quarterly*, 33(6), 1055–1079.
- Walters G. D. (2016b). From prison to the streets: Can importation work in reverse? *Law and Human Behavior*, 40(6), 660–669.
- Walters G. D. (2019). Gang influence: Mediating the gang–delinquency relationship with proactive criminal thinking. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 46(7), 1044–1062.
- Walters G. D. (2020). Moral disengagement as a mediator of the co-offending–delinquency relationship in serious juvenile offenders. *Law and Human Behavior*, 44(5), 437–448.
- Walters, G. D. (1990). *The criminal lifestyle: Patterns of serious criminal conduct*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE.
- Walters, G. D. (2012). Criminal thinking and recidivism: Meta-analytic evidence on the predictive and incremental validity of the Psychological Inventory of Criminal Thinking Styles (PICTS). *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 17(3), 272-278. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2012.02.010>
- Walters, G. D. (2023). Risk, Needs, and Behavior: Moderating the Mediated Relationship Between Criminal Thinking, Institutional Infractions, and Recidivism With Time Spent in Prison, *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*, 50:4, 480-496.
- Walters, G. D., and Geyer, M. D. (2007). The PICTS Fear-of-Change Scale: Construct and Predictive Validity. *The Prison Journal*, 87(2), 211-226. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032885507303749>.

- Walters, G. D., Deming, A. and Casbon, T. (2014). Predicting Recidivism in Sex Offenders With the Psychological Inventory of Criminal Thinking Styles (PICTS). *Assessment*, 22. 10.1177/1073191114539384.
- Walters, G. D., Loftus, J.M., Wright, S.C. and Ernest, K. D. (2023). Predicting Day Treatment Program Completion with the Psychological Inventory of Criminal Thinking Styles taking Defensiveness into Account. *J Psychopathol Behav Assess* 45, 88–96. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10862-023-10024-0>
- Walters, G.D. (1996). The Psychological Inventory of Criminal Thinking Styles. Part III: Predictive validity. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 40, 105-112.
- Walters, G.D. (2001). Revised validity scales for the psychological inventory of criminal thinking styles (PICTS), *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, Vol. 32 No. 4, pp. 1-13.
- Walters, G.D. (2002). The psychological inventory of criminal thinking styles (PICTS) a review and meta-analysis, *Assessment*, Vol. 9 No. 3, pp. 278-291.
- Whitaker DJ, Le B, Hanson RK, Baker CK, McMahan P, Ryan G, Klein A, Rice DD. Risk factors for the perpetration of child sexual abuse: A review and meta-analysis. *Child Abuse & Neglect* 2008;32:529–48.
- Yochelson, S. and Samenow, S.E. (1976). *The Criminal Personality, Vol. I: A Profile for Change*, Vol. I, New York, NY: Jason Aronson, Inc.
- Youngs. D. and Canter, D. (2012). Offenders' crime narratives as revealed by the Narrative Roles Questionnaire (NRQ). *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 1-23.