

UNIVERSITY MALES' SEXUAL INTEREST IN CHILDREN: PREDICTING POTENTIAL INDICES OF "PEDOPHILIA" IN A NONFORENSIC SAMPLE

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Abstract—A survey was administered to 193 male undergraduate students regarding their sexual interest in children, as well as their responses to a number of questions theoretically relevant to pedophilia. In total, 21 % of subjects reported sexual attraction to some small children, 9% described sexual fantasies involving children, 5% admitted to having masturbated to such fantasies, and 7% indicated some likelihood of having sex with a child if they could avoid detection and punishment. These sexual interests were associated with negative early sexual experiences, masturbation to pornography, self-reported likelihood of raping a woman, frequent sex partners, sexual conflicts, and attitudes supportive of sexual dominance over women. The data did not, however, support clinical theories regarding sexual repression or impulse-control problems among potential pedophiles.

INTRODUCTION

SEXUAL VICTIMIZATION of children by adults is now acknowledged to be a significant social problem in North America. Most modern surveys of the prevalence of sexual child abuse in the general population, for instance, indicate that 22% to 45% of adult women experienced some form of contact sexual victimization as children [1]. Information on male victimization is more sparse, although the likelihood of such abuse appears to range from 6% to 13% [2-4]. Recent studies indicate that this form of child abuse has both short- and long-term negative psychological effects [5- 10], which appear to occur regardless of victim gender [11].

Although a considerable amount has been learned about abuse victims, surprisingly little is known about the perpetrators of sexual molestation. Quinsey [12], for example, describes the many difficulties involved in estimating the actual prevalence of abusers in our society, or of determining reliable differences between child molesters and similar, but not abusive, individuals. Most significant of these research problems appear to be (1) the widely varying motivations for molestation, such that a modal "profile" of sex offenders is unlikely; (2) perpetrator reluctance to fully disclose the extent of their illegal acts; and (3) bias inherent in the use of police statistics and heterogeneous incarcerated samples to study abuse rates and abuser characteristics.

Despite these difficulties, some progress has been made in defining theoretical models from

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which to investigate the etiology of sexually abusive behavior. Perhaps best known of these is Finkelhor's Four-Factor Theory [13]. Finkelhor hypothesizes that pedophilia, which he defines as "occurring when an adult has a conscious sexual interest in prepubertal children" [13: 90], is a function of one or more of four factors: emotional congruence (a compelling emotional connection with children); sexual arousal (deviant arousal to children, often conditioned from childhood); blockage (forces which prevent adult sexual relationships); and disinhibition (absence of conventional inhibitions against sex with children).

In addition to models such as Finkelhor's, there exists a body of research on the social psychology of sexual aggression against adult women, the findings of which might be applicable to the study of pedophilia. Basically, this research indicates that potential and actual sexual aggression in males may be predicted, to some extent, by endorsement of socially prevalent attitudes and beliefs which condone or justify sexual violence against women [14-18], and by pornography use and other socially mediated variables thought to impact on such attitudes [19, 20]. Some clinical researchers, alternatively, stress pathological reasons for rape, including poor impulse control, sexual inadequacy, sexual conflicts, or sexual repression [21-23]. The implication of this latter perspective is that sexual aggression arises from psychological dysfunction, such that males either (1) are unable to form "normal" sexual relationships and thus turn to other means of gratification, or (2) are unable to resist sexual impulses which they would otherwise be able to control [24].

Despite the fact that almost all researchers in this area have used convicted sex offenders as subjects, Finkelhor notes that such subjects are probably not representative of abusers, per se, since they represent a "small fraction of all offenders, and probably those who were most flagrant and repetitive in their offending, most socially disadvantaged, and least able to persuade criminal justice authorities to let them off" [26]. University students, however, are far less likely to fit these characteristics, although the extent of their sexual interests in children and subsequent likelihood of molesting is virtually unknown. One might nevertheless assume that their predilections toward children are, on average, less than convicted offenders, and thus that a study using students might be a conservative test of hypotheses regarding motivation for sexual child abuse. Because such subjects probably represent a less deviant sample than incarcerated sex offenders and given the relative success of research on adult sexual violence with such subjects [14-19], the current authors chose to evaluate hypotheses regarding pedophilia in a sample of male undergraduates. In this regard, various theoretically relevant variables were used to predict several indices of males' self-reported sexual interest in children, given the constraints of a reasonable subjects-variables ratio [25].

METHOD

Subjects

One hundred ninety-three male undergraduates were recruited in class for a study on "sexual attitudes." Subjects were assured of complete anonymity and confidentiality, and were told they could discontinue participation at any time.

Materials

Subjects were administered a survey which included two scales frequently used by researchers to study sexual violence against women, a number of items regarding use of pornography, history of child abuse, and frequency of sex partners, and three newly developed scales evaluating sexual functioning. Also included were the four criterion variables of this study, involving subjects' self-reported sexual interest in children.

Sexual violence against women variables. The first of these variables was Burt's Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence Scale (AIV) [16], which measures attitudes supportive of sexual dominance and aggression. The AIV has been shown in a number of studies to predict men's actual and potential violence against women [14, 17, 18, 27]. The second variable was Malamuth's Likelihood of Raping (LR) item [17], which asks subjects to rate on a five-point scale how likely they would be to commit rape if "no one would know" and "you could in no way be punished." Typically dichotomized as "some" or "no" likelihood, the LR has been related to a variety of attitudinal, physiological, and behavioral indices of sexual aggression [17, 18, 28].

Pornography. Four items were used to examine subjects' use of pornography. The first three asked subjects to rate on six-point scales the extent of their consumption of pornographic books, magazines, and films over the last year. These items were then summed to yield a single measure of overall pornography use. The fourth item asked subjects to rate the extent of their masturbation to pornography on a six-point scale ranging from never to very often.

Child abuse history. Three items queried whether subjects had ever been punched, had bones or teeth broken, or were caused to bleed at the hands of a parent. If any of these three were answered affirmatively, physical child abuse was coded as present. One item asked if a parent had ever "done something sexual to you," a positive answer to which was coded as sexual child abuse. Finally, a more general item asked subjects to rate on a seven-point scale the truthfulness of the statement "I had some bad sex experiences when I was young."

Sexuality scales. Subjects' sexual functioning was assessed in two ways: Extent of sexual activity was determined by asking subjects to rate how many sex partners they had had in the previous year, on a 6-point scale ranging from none to over 40. In order to assess subjects' extent of sexual "pathology," several measures were constructed from items contained in a previously published Sex Inventory (SI) [29]. The SI was originally designed to study the psychological components of male sexual behavior, and consists of eight scales. Three of these, Sexual Maladjustment, Repression of Sex, and Loss of Sex Controls, appeared to be relevant to clinical research on pedophilia, and thus the items used in these scales were further examined. From this pool, items were discarded if they referred to attitudes (as opposed to sexual functioning), homosexuality, non-sexual issues (e.g., "My conscience bothers me too much") or seemingly irrelevant concerns (e.g., "Breasts excite me the most"). Subjects were asked to rate each of the remaining 24 items on a scale ranging from 1 (completely true) to 7 (completely false), as opposed to the SI's original dichotomous (true-false) scoring. For the purposes of analysis, these items were then reformed into their original SI scales, yielding three summated variables renamed Sexual Conflict, Sexual Repression, and Sexual Impulses (see Appendix for items).

Sexual interest in children. The criterion variables for the current study were four items tapping subjects' self-reported sexual interest in children. The first, taken from the SI, was "Little children sometimes attract me sexually," scored on a 1 to 7 scale as per other SI items. The second item asked subjects to indicate on a 5-point scale how often they had sexual fantasies about "having sex with a child." The third item inquired about the extent to which they had masturbated to these fantasies. The final item, modelled after Malamuth's LR item, asked subjects to rate on a 5-point scale how likely they would be to have "sex with a child" if they could be assured that no one would know and that they would in no way be punished. Because all four of these variables were unlikely to be normally distributed, each was dichotomized as

0 (no endorsement of item) or 1 (some endorsement of item) as per Malamuth's treatment of LR [17].

RESULTS

Frequency of Sexual Interest Measures

As presented in Table 1, each of the four measures of sexual interest in children was endorsed by subgroups of subjects: 21 % indicated some level of sexual attraction to some small children; 9% described at least some sexual fantasies about children; 5% reported having masturbated during sexual fantasies about children; and 7% stated that there was some likelihood that they would have sex with a child if they could avoid detection and punishment.

Reliability of Sexuality Measures

The three sexuality scales adapted for the present study (Sexual Conflicts, Sexual Impulse, Sexual Repression) were found to be relatively reliable, with alphas of .79, .69, and .62, respectively. Given their moderate internal consistency, these scales were included with the other predictor variables in subsequent analyses.

Prediction

Global relationships. Canonical correlation analysis, a multivariate procedure which examines the relationship between two sets of variables, was used to assess the general association between three of the four sexual interest measures and ten of the original eleven predictor

Table 1. Percentage of Responses to Four Items Involving Sexual Interest in Children

	Completely True				Completely False		
1. Sexually attracted to some small children	<u>1</u> 1%	<u>2</u> 1%	<u>3</u> 3%	<u>4</u> 3%	<u>5</u> 2%	<u>6</u> 12%	<u>7</u> 79%
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	21%						
	Never			Very often			
2. Fantasies about sex with a child	<u>1</u> 91%	<u>2</u> 6%	<u>3</u> 2%	<u>4</u> .5%	<u>5</u> .5%		
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	9%						
	Not at all				Very often		
3. Masturbation during fantasies about sex with a child	<u>1</u> 96%	<u>2</u> 4%	<u>3</u> 0%	<u>4</u> 0%	<u>5</u> 1%		
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	5%						
	Very likely			Not likely			
4. Hypothetical likelihood of sex with a child	<u>1</u> 1%	<u>2</u> 0%	<u>3</u> 2%	<u>4</u> 4%	<u>5</u> 93%		
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	7%						

variables. Masturbatory fantasies and sexual contact with a parent were excluded from this analysis due to low frequencies of endorsement: fewer subjects ($n = 9$) reported masturbatory fantasies than there were predictor variables ($k = 10$), and only one subject indicated that he was a victim of incest.

Canonical analysis indicated a significant multivariate relationship between the remaining predictors and sexual interest variables, $R_c = .43$, $F(30, 529.01) = 1.84$, $p < .005$. Inspection of the canonical structure coefficients suggests that the attraction, fantasy, and likelihood variables all reflect an underlying "sexual interest in children" dimension which, in turn, appears to be primarily correlated with acceptance of interpersonal violence, self-reported masturbation to pornography, negative early sexual experiences, sexual conflicts, frequent sex partners, and hypothetical likelihood of raping a woman (see Table 2).

Individual measures. In order to examine the relationship between the predictor variable set and each of the sexual interest variables, considered separately, post-hoc: discriminant function analysis (a statistical procedure which examines the relationship between a set of variables and a single outcome variable) and analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were performed. The results of these analyses were similar to, but not identical with, the more global canonical analysis (see Table 3). Specifically, although masturbation to pornography, negative early sexual experiences, and likelihood of raping a woman were associated with all three interest measures, acceptance of interpersonal violence and sexual impulse were related only to attraction; sexual conflict was associated with attraction and fantasies (but not likelihood); and frequent sex partners discriminated fantasies and likelihood (but not attraction).

Although subjects' reports of masturbation to sexual fantasies involving children were too infrequent for multivariate analysis, this variable was of sufficient interest to warrant separate univariate correlational analysis. Point-biserial coefficients, calculated between presence of masturbatory fantasies and each predictor variable, revealed significant ($p < .05$) positive associations with masturbation to pornography ($r = .16$), negative early experiences ($r = .18$), and sexual conflict ($r = .13$).

DISCUSSION

The results of this study may be divided into two parts: the extent of self-reported sexual interest in children among university males, and the prediction of these self-reports based on theoretically relevant variables.

Table 2. Canonical Correlation Analysis of Sexual Interest in Children and Predictor Variables

Predictor Variable	c^a	Sexual Interest Variable	c^a
Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence	-.27	Attraction	-.58
Pornography use	-.09	Fantasy	-.94
Masturbation to pornography	-.54	Likelihood	-.83
Negative early sex experiences ^b	.59		
Physical abuse as a child	-.20		
Sexual Conflicts ^b	.29		
Sexual Repression ^b	-.12		
Sexual Impulses ^b	.18		
Frequency of sex partners	-.43		
Likelihood of Raping	-.70		

^a Canonical structure coefficients, considered meaningful if $|c| \geq .25$.

^b Scored in reverse.

Table 3. Discriminant and Univariate Prediction of Three Measures of Sexual Interest in Children

Predictor Variable	<i>Attraction^a (n = 40/193)</i>					<i>Fantasy^b (n = 17/193)</i>					<i>Likelihood^c (n = 13/193)</i>				
	<i>No</i> \bar{X}	<i>Yes</i> \bar{X}	<i>F</i> (1, 191)	<i>p</i>	<i>c^d</i>	<i>No</i> \bar{X}	<i>Yes</i> \bar{X}	<i>F</i> (1, 191)	<i>p</i>	<i>c^d</i>	<i>No</i> \bar{X}	<i>Yes</i> \bar{X}	<i>F</i> (1, 191)	<i>p</i>	<i>c^d</i>
Acceptance of interpersonal violence	3.04	3.47	6.18	.014	<i>.56</i>	3.10	3.47	2.25	ns	.24	3.12	3.30	0.44	ns	.12
Pornography use	5.93	6.15	0.47	ns	-.02	5.95	6.23	0.38	ns	-.03	5.97	6.00	0.00	ns	.01
Masturbation to pornography	3.23	4.20	6.91	.009	<i>.44</i>	3.28	4.98	10.48	.001	<i>.44</i>	3.34	4.62	4.47	.036	<i>.37</i>
Negative early sex experiences ^e	6.20	5.48	6.16	.014	<i>.55</i>	6.18	4.71	12.81	.001	<i>.40</i>	6.13	4.92	6.53	.011	<i>.45</i>
Physical abuse as a child	0.02	0.05	1.16	ns	.24	0.02	0.05	0.80	ns	.12	0.02	0.08	1.43	ns	.21
Sexual conflicts ^e	4.73	4.29	4.89	.028	<i>-.49</i>	4.68	4.14	3.80	.053	<i>-.31</i>	4.64	4.53	0.13	ns	-.06
Sexual repression ^e	5.18	5.24	0.19	ns	.10	5.18	5.35	0.62	ns	-.06	5.19	5.29	0.19	ns	.08
Sexual impulse ^e	5.00	4.64	3.69	.056	<i>-.43</i>	4.94	4.73	0.67	ns	.19	4.94	4.76	0.36	ns	-.10
Frequency of sex partners	1.97	2.03	0.14	ns	.08	1.93	2.47	6.07	.015	<i>.39</i>	1.93	2.62	7.67	.006	<i>.48</i>
Likelihood of raping	0.20	0.35	4.32	.039	<i>.46</i>	0.19	0.59	14.65	.001	<i>.50</i>	0.19	0.69	18.54	.001	<i>.76</i>

^a Self-reported attraction to children ($R_c = .308$, $\chi^2(10) = 18.52$, $p < .047$); ^b Self-reported fantasies about sex with a child ($R_c = .411$, $\chi^2(10) = 34.43$, $p < .001$); ^c Self-reported hypothetical likelihood of sex with a child ($R_c = .380$, $\chi^2(10) = 29.04$, $p < .001$); ^d Discriminant structure coefficients, considered meaningful (italicized) if $|c| \geq .25$; ^e Scored in reverse.

The current data offer strong support for the notion that male sexual response to children is relatively common in our society, even among normal (non-incarcerated and nonclinical) males. Of the college male sample, 21 % admitted to at least some sexual attraction to some small children; 9% reported fantasies about sex with a child; and over half of the latter group (5% of the total sample) stated that they had masturbated at least once to such fantasies. Finally, 7% of this male sample indicated at least some likelihood of having sex with a child were it possible to do so without detection or punishment. Given the probable social undesirability of such admissions, we may hypothesize that the actual rates of child-focused sexual interest in this sample were even higher.

These findings reinforce Quinsey's conclusions, based on a review of anthropological and historical data, regarding "the ubiquity of sexual behaviors with children" [12]. Using Finkelhor's definition of pedophilia, which requires either that "the adult has had some sexual contact with a child" or "the adult has masturbated to sexual fantasies involving children" [13], we may conclude that at least 5% of university males in this sample are pedophiles. A broader definition, requiring only sexual attraction to children (Finkelhor's "conscious sexual interest" criterion) would raise this estimate to over 20%.

The implications of such proportions may be substantial, both for their suggestion of the frequency of sexual response to children among males in our society, as well as for the possibility that a number of the current subjects are or will be sexual abusers. The ultimate concern, of course, is the extent to which these sexual interests translate into actual sexual behaviors against children. Most victim reports indicate that the average sexual abuser is in his late 20s or early 30s [3, 6], and thus those university students in this study who are at actual risk for molesting children may have yet to act on their attraction or fantasies. In the absence of any data on the relationship between, for example, masturbation to fantasies about children and subsequent sexually abusive behaviors, unfortunately, it is not clear what percentage of the present sample are or will be actual child molesters.

Despite the probably multiple etiologic paths to becoming a sexual abuser, the current data reveal a number of significant predictors of self-reported sexual response to children among university males. Both multivariate and univariate analyses stress the predictive importance of masturbation to pornography, negative early sexual experiences, and self-reported likelihood of raping a woman, followed by, to a lesser extent, frequent sex partners, sexual conflicts, and acceptance of interpersonal violence against women. Of the remaining variables, one (sexual impulses) was only marginally related to a single measure of sexual interest -- a relationship which was not supported by multivariate analysis -- and three (pornography use, physical abuse as a child, and sexual repression) were not associated at any level with sexual interest in children.

Considered together, these findings offer mixed support for Finkelhor's four-factor theory of pedophilia [13]. The association between potential indices of pedophilia and masturbation to pornography, negative early sexual experiences, and acceptance of violence toward women, for example, would be predicted by the "emotional congruence" and "sexual arousal" components of Finkelhor's model. Among the dynamics cited for the former factor are involvement in molestation as an attempt to master the trauma of one's own sexual abuse during childhood, as well as psychological identification with one's childhood sexual aggressor. The current data that subjects reporting sexual interest in children were also more likely to report negative early sexual experiences (but not more physical child abuse) is congruent with this notion, as are other studies which find elevated molestation rates among pedophiles [21, 30]. Similarly, such experiences would support Finkelhor's "sexual arousal" factor, which posits that individuals who have early sexual experiences will come to associate youth with sexuality, and thus as adults will later find children to be sexually arousing. Subjects' masturbation to pornography might similarly relate to deviant sexual arousal, since pornographic materials

frequently depict a dominant male and a submissive partner. Masturbation to such scenes may thus directly condition sexual arousal to dominance, as typically occurs in pedophilia, whereas mere "use" of pornography (i.e., without masturbation) would seem less likely to do so. Unfortunately, the authors did not investigate the specific types of pornography consumed by subjects in the present study, and thus we are unable to ascertain whether depictions involving sex with children were preferentially used by potential pedophiles.

Finally, the current finding of greater acceptance of violence against women by those who indicate sexual interest in children is also predicted by Finkelhor's "emotional congruence" factor, since the AIV scale used in this study reflects male socialization to dominance in sexual interactions [16]. With regard to emotional congruence, Finkelhor hypothesizes that "sexual abuse grows out of certain themes in normal male socialization. . . These themes include the value that male socialization puts on being dominant and the initiator in sexual relationships, as well as the value placed on partners who are youthful and subservient" [13].

There is less support in the current data, however, for Finkelhor's "blockage" and "disinhibition" factors, or for equivalent clinical theories which stress poor impulse control or sexual repression. These theories, as noted earlier, assume dysfunctional psychological processes which either block normal sexual behavior (i.e., with adults) or which interfere with normally present inhibitions against inappropriate sexual behavior. Sexual impulsivity and sexual repression, as measured by the scales used in this study, were not reliably associated with sexual interest in children, suggesting that neither tightly restraining one's sexual impulses ("blocking") nor precipitously acting on them ("disinhibition") leads to pedophilic interests per se. It is possible, of course, that more deviant subjects (i.e., those from clinical or forensic populations) would report greater difficulties in these areas as well.

Sexual conflict, however, was associated with three of four interest measures. The meaning of this finding, given the negative repression and impulse data, is not clear. On one hand, it may be that sexual conflict motivates pedophilia in some complex manner that does not relate to over- or undercontrolled sexual impulses. Alternatively, however, as noted by Howells and Wright [31], it is quite possible that sexual conflicts arise from child-focused sexual interests, in that social sanctions against child molestation may cause the pedophile to struggle against his responses to children.

Interestingly, a portion of the present data are relatively congruent with the findings of social psychological research on sexual aggression against women. Specifically, the current association between pedophilic-like responses and acceptance of violence against women, masturbation to pornography, frequent sexual partners, and self-reported likelihood of raping a woman directly parallel recent data on the prediction of actual or potential sexual violence against adult women [14-19, 28]. The implications of such results are that sexual interest in children, like sexual aggression against women, may be (1) relatively prevalent in our society, (2) partially a result of social forces which support sexual victimization (e.g., attitudes, pornography), and (3) part of a general pattern of elevated sexual activity. With regard to the last point, the current data support other findings that, as a group, sexually aggressive males report relatively high levels of sexual behavior [14, 32, 33]. More generally, these data are congruent with the view of feminist theorists that rape and sexual child abuse are interrelated forms of sexual exploitation which share common social roots [24].

Given the tendency of the current data to support congruence/arousal and social theories of sexual aggression, a synthesis of these perspectives may be appropriate. One might hypothesize, generally as per Finkelhor [13], that both social and personal factors interact to produce pedophilia. One possibility is that social variables impact on some individuals to produce a general inclination toward sexual aggression, the specific focus on children then arising as a function of aversive sexual experiences during childhood and other thus far undetermined processes. An unresolved issue, of course, would be how society could indirectly support sex-

ual child abuse and yet be perceived as sufficiently antimolestation to create sexual conflicts in the potential pedophile. One possibility may be that such conflicts are less the result of social sanctions than they are the effects of the childhood sexual traumas hypothesized to channel pedophile interest. Alternatively, it may be that society supports sexual dominance and aggression primarily against adult women, such that sexual molestation of children is still seen as deviant. Research designed to address this problem might investigate the extent of attitudes specifically supportive of sexual child abuse in our society, and their relation to attitudes known to reinforce sexual violence against women.

A final issue in this study concerns the adequacy of our specification of sexual abuse history. It is probable that questions about incest and "bad sex experiences when I was young" did not capture all instances of childhood sexual victimization in this sample. Non-incestuous sexual contacts which were not perceived as aversive, for example, would not be tapped by these variables. This is especially relevant for male abuse victims, who tend to describe their experiences less negatively, and report more pleasurable responses [3]. Further, it is possible that, at least for some subjects, "bad" sexual experiences when "young" may refer to unsuccessful or aversive peer sexual contacts during early adolescence, as opposed to victimization per se. Future research in this area might therefore pay close attention to the development of specific and exhaustive sexual abuse items, as has already been done for female victims [2, 6]. However, even given these potential weaknesses, the "bad sex experiences" item was one of the most powerful predictors of sexual interests in children in the present study.

In summary, the current data suggest that child-focused sexual thoughts and fantasies are not uncommon among male university students, and that such interests are related to attitudes supporting sexual dominance, masturbation to pornography, frequent sexual contacts, potential sexual aggression against adult women, and negative early sexual experiences. Little support was found, however, for clinical hypotheses regarding either sexual repression or poor impulse control among those prone to pedophilia. The appropriateness of studying self-reported sexual responses to children among college students was additionally demonstrated. Given these findings, future research is clearly indicated in this area, ideally focusing on more exact specification of the relationships reported here.

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Risum--Les auteurs ont effectu6 une enquEte aupr&s de 193 6tudiants universitaires. Cette enqu&e concernait leurs int~r&s sexuels i l'6gard des enfants et comprenait un certain nombre de questions en rapport th6orique avec la p~dophilie. Au total 21% des sujets interrog~s ont rapport6 qu'ils 6taient quelque peu attir6s par certains petits enfants: 9% d'entre eux ont 6crit des r6veries sexuelles impliquant des enfants; 5% ont admis s'6tre masturb~s en ayant des fantasmes de cette sorte-, 7% indiqueraient qu'ils seraient enclins i avoir des relations sexuelles avec un enfant s'ils pouvaient 6viter d'6tre surpris et punis. Les int6r6ts sexuels 6taient associ6s i: des exp~riences sexuelles ant~rieures n6gatives; la tendance ii se masturber en regardant de la pornographie; la pens,&e de violer un jour une femme; une certaine promiscuit6 quant aux partenaires sexuels; des conflits sexuels; des attitudes en faveur de la dominance sexuelle des hommes par rapport aux femmes. Parmi ces p~dophiles potentiels, les donn6es r6v6l6es n'ont pas contribu6 i rendre plausible les th6ories cliniques concernant la r6pression sexuelle ou les probl6mes de contr6les des impulsions.

Resumen--Se llev6 a cabo una encuesta con 193 estudiantes universitarios varones con respecto a su inter6s sexual en los menores, asi como con respecto a sus respuestas a un rt~mero de preguntas con relevancia te6rica a la pedofilia. En total, 21% de los sujetos reportaron sentir atracci6n sexual hacia algunos nifios pequefios, 9% describieron fantasias sexuales envolviendo menores, 5% admitieron haberse masturbado con tales fantasias, y 7% reportaron alguna inclinaci6n a tener relaciones sexuales con menores si pudieran evitar ser descubiertos y castigados. Estos intereses sexuales estaban asociados con experiencias sexuales tempranas de carcter negativo, la masturbaci6n acompaiada de

pomograria, la probabilidad-de acuerdo con el sujeto-de violar una mujer, parejas sexuales frecuentes, y actitudes favorables a la dominación sexual de la mujer. Los datos no ofrecieron apoyo, a las teorías clínicas con respecto a la presencia de represión sexual o problemas de control de los impulsos en los pedofilos potenciales.

APPENDIX

Sexual Conflict, Sexual Repression, and Sexual Impulse Scales

Scale	Item
Sexual Conflict ($a = .78$)	Thoughts about sex disturb me more than they should. I have strong sex feelings but when I get a chance I can't seem to express myself. My parents' influence has inhibited me sexually. Something is lacking in my sex life. Perverted thoughts have sometimes bothered me. I have felt deprived sexually. I have felt guilty about sex experiences. My love life has been disappointing. All in all, I am satisfied with my sex life. ^a
Sexual Repression ($a = .62$)	I think about sex almost every day. ^a I think it is better not to have sexual relations until you are married. There are some things I wouldn't want to do with anyone. I approve of necking. ^a My religious beliefs are against sex. I could get sexually excited at any time of the day or night. ^a The thought of a sex orgy is disgusting to me. I enjoy petting. ^a It doesn't take much to get me excited sexually. ^a
Sexual Impulses ($a = .69$)	Sometimes sexual feelings overpower me. When I get excited I can think of nothing else but satisfaction. At times I have been afraid of myself for what I might do sexually. Sex thoughts almost drive me crazy. Sometimes it has been a problem to control my sex feelings. I am afraid that I need to be institutionalized for protection against my own sexual impulse.

^a Item scored in reverse.