Assessment of Attitudes towards Crime among Male Sexual Offenders: The Case of Nairobi West Prison, Nairobi City County

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ABSTRACT

The rising cases of sexual offending suggest that justice and correctional mechanisms need to explore the attitude of the offenders to inform on additional rehabilitation strategies for the offenders. The question, however, was: what is the perception of the sexual offenders towards sexual crimes? Focusing on sexual offenders aged between 18 and 45 years old, the author conducted the study in Nairobi West Prison, a male captives' facility based in Nairobi City County, Kenya. A mixed method research design involving both qualitative and quantitative approaches was adopted. Data was collected using questionnaires and focus group discussion guide. Stratified random sampling was used to select 61 male offenders convicted for defilement and rape. Attitudes towards crime were measured using an attitude questionnaire. Focus group discussion guide had five leading questions based on the research questions. This paper presents findings on male sexual offenders' attitudes towards crime.

Keywords: Sexual crimes; Male; Sexual offenders; Attitudes

INTRODUCTION

Crime is an intentional act in violation of the criminal law. Global statistics indicate that sexual offending is among the leading crimes affecting millions of people and represents a serious global problem. The high prevalence of sexual offending is an issue of concern considering the significant negative effect on the victims, their families and the larger society. In the United States, a study on adverse childhood experiences among 250,000 participants reported 16.3% of females and 6.7% of males as having experienced sexual offending before the age of 18 years [1]. In England and Wales, a 2017 crime survey estimated that 3.1% of women (510,000) and 0.8% of men (138,000) aged 16 to 59 had been victims of sexual offending [2]. According to the survey, the number of sexual offences recorded the highest level since the introduction of the National Crime Recording Standard (NCRS) in April 2002, with an increase of 14% compared with the previous year. Police records further showed that in comparison to 2016, rape cases increased by 15% (41,186 offences) with 88% female victims while the remaining 12% were males. Sexual offences against children also contributed over 41% to the total increase in cases of sexual offending.

Like most crimes, sexual offences tend to be under-reported and the actual victimization rates are believed to be much higher than rates of detection. In Kenya, sexual offences are among the leading crimes. An audit of crime information recognizes sexual offending as one of the crimes that make up majority of grievances reported to police, with Nairobi County topping the list [3]. Stiff criminal penalties prescribed against sexual offences and the existing rehabilitation programs have not deterred the perpetrators. A survey on violence against children in 2010 indicated that 12% of boys aged 13–17 and 23% of girls had been sexually offended in Kenya [4,5]. The survey further found that one in five males and one in three females are sexually offended before the age of 18 years [6]. Crime reports (2013 to 2017) also showed an increase in cases of sexual offences by 15 per cent. Cases of sexual offending spiked to 41% in the first quarter of the year 2020 following the closure of schools due to COVID-19 pandemic [7].

Although findings show that most sexual offenders do not re-offend sexually over time [8], in Kenya, most cases of sexual offences are attributed to re-offending. Whereas global studies estimate rates of sexual re-offending to be as low as 5-25% over periods of 5-10 years studies [9] reported rates are above 40% yearly and a higher rate of 43% in Nairobi County, leading to overcrowding in prisons. In two meta-analyses of 82 recidivism studies involving over 29,000 sex offenders from the U.S., Canada, and Europe, Hanson &

Bussiere observed recidivism rates to be 14% over four to six years. Average recidivism rates of about 20% and 13% were found for rape convicts and child molesters respectively, confirming a higher likelihood of re-offence among rape convicts [10]. According to Hanson & Bussiere recidivism rates vary based on the type of offense and other risk factors such as the degree of sexual deviance, offender's age, victim preferences and criminal history. However, despite relatively low recidivism rates, there is a strongly held public perception that sex offenders demonstrate a high probability of repeating their crimes [11].

In response to the foregoing observations, the present study was formulated to evaluate the attitudes towards crime among male sexual offenders. Scholars posit that change in attitude subsequently leads to behavioural change as identified in empirical research and theory [12], hence the focus on male sexual offenders' attitudes towards crime.

This study sought to understand the attitudes towards crime among male sexual offender. The supporting research questions were; what were the general attitudes of the participants towards sexual offending? Were the participants having any anticipation of re-offending? Did the offenders acknowledge hurting their victims? Did the offenders regard sexual crime as worthwhile? And what was the perception of current life problems among the sexual offenders? The five questions guided the study in understanding the general attitude of the sexual offenders.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Kenyan government classifies all forms of sexual offences as serious crimes. However, in Kenya like any other Sub-Saharan African countries, there is limited data on sexual offences with many cases going unreported. According to the Gender Violence and Recovery Centre Annual Report (2011-2012), sexual violence accounted for 86% of the total 2954 cases of violence reported. In 2014, data on sexual crimes by LVCT (Liverpool Voluntary Counselling and Testing) from sponsored health institutions in Kenya reported 4,944 cases, while 2,532 victims of sexual offending were reported in the Nairobi Women's Gender Violence Recovery Centre in 2011-2012. The Human Rights Watch reports that during the political chaos resulting from disputed presidential elections, almost 1500 cases of sexual offence mostly directed at women and girls were reported. Mutisya [3] avers that in Kenya, a total of 77,992 incidences of crime were reported in the year 2017 alone. Of these crimes, two-thirds (approximately 52,000) were composed of serious crimes, including sexual offences. Further, Kenya police statistics show that in 2016 there were 4,512 defilement and 923 rape cases, 81 cases of sodomy and 288 incest cases among others. In 2017, records show 3,487 cases of defilement, 784 cases of rape, 107 cases of sodomy and 287 cases of incest [13].

Recent reports indicate that the year 2020 has recorded substantial rise in sexual cases of offence following the announcement of the first case of coronavirus in Kenya [7]. Nairobi, Mombasa and Uasin Gishu counties reported the highest number of sexual offences cases particularly defilement. A Global Initiative against Transnational Organized Crime (GI-TOC) document on the impact of the pandemic on crime attributed the increased sexual crimes to people having too much time on their hands and children being out of school. The office of the DPP recorded 95 sexual offences between 16th and 31st of March, 2020. This translates to 41 per cent of the total 265 cases reported in that period. Siele [14] similarly

reported that sexual offences constituted 35.8% of the criminal matters reported during the same period, confirming the spike in cases on sexual offending. Nairobi and Kiambu counties remain the crime hotspots, with robbery and murder cases were the most reported after sexual offences. Kenya's Chief Justice observed that rape and defilement constituted more than 35% of all reported cases in Kenya [14]. Crime statistics in Kenya as at April 2020 show that cases of sexual offences were highest at 41.1% in comparison to other crimes reported to the police.

Attitudinal studies related to sexual offending have focused on public attitudes towards sex offenders [15], sex offender treatment and rehabilitation efforts targeting them [16] recently studied knowledge level and attitudes supportive to sexual offending among adolescents in Sweden. Their results indicated that youths were knowledgeable on different sexual crimes and tended to show supportive attitudes to these offences. In Tanzania, Abeid et al. [17] studied the attitudes and knowledge towards rape and child sexual abuse. In their study, they sought to determine community attitudes and knowledge on sexual offences and found out that most women were not knowledgeable on sexual offences. Other studies have also reported that demographic characteristics of age, marital status and level of education moderated the attitudes and knowledge of the respondents. Attitudinal studies conducted in Kenya [18] combine variables of knowledge and attitudes.

A Study by Mann, and Hollin [19], on sexual offenders', explanations for their offending targeted to understand how offenders viewed their crimes. Using a qualitative analysis from 62 sexual offenders' accounts (narratives), a template of ten (10) reasons was constructed using content analysis. Further, the authors went on to engage another 100 sexual offenders, including 35 rapists and 65 child molesters from where the findings were interpreted. Findings showed that child molesters explained their offending in terms of sexual gratification, a wish to experience intimacy or the desire to alleviate a negative emotional state, while rapists attributed their offending to impulsivity, grievance or sexual need.

Literature is, however, silent on sexual offenders' attitudes towards sexual crimes, with much focus and research efforts directed on attitudes of the public towards sexual offenders. But while these studies are clearly of value, it is important not to overlook the attitudes of sexual offenders towards crime particularly because attitudes inform behaviour change and may as well inform any intervention programs planned for this category of offenders. This paper thus seeks to contribute to literature by focusing on male sexual offenders' attitudes towards sexual crimes.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research design

The study made use of a mixed method research approach integrating both qualitative and quantitative research methods [20]. Qualitative sought to know the attitude of male sexual offenders' attitudes towards crime while quantitative approach measured the actual extent of attitudes.

Location of study

The study was conducted in Nairobi West Prison (NWP), a facility for male offenders in Nairobi County, which was purposively

sampled for the study. Built in the 1950s during the colonial era, the prison is situated opposite Wilson Airport and neighbours AMREF Training Centre to the right. It is the only facility in Nairobi that specifically hosts long-term convicted offenders with no remand section. It has an average population of 550 inmates liable to change. The study targeted male sexual convicts aged 18-45 years, incarcerated in Nairobi West Prison in Kenya.

Sampling and sample size

As opined by Cooper and Schindler [21], a sample is a segment of the population selected to represent the population as a whole. In this study, random sampling was employed in selecting the prisoners for the questionnaire. From the average 550 inmates at the facility, those who were incarcerated for rape and defilement and aged 18-45 years with time served being less than two years were picked, leading a reduced target population of 72. Using Bartlett, Kotrlik and Higgins' formula [22] (Figure 1), a sample population was calculated from 72 convicts (42 defilement, 30 rape) with a 95% confidence level and an error of 0.05 giving a total of 61 respondents.

For the focus group discussion, the researcher performed a random sampling (selection) of inmates among the 72 finite sexual offender population. This led to eight inmates selected for one FGD to share their information on their attitude towards the offences they had committed.

The consent for this study was approved by Kenyatta University Ethical Review Committee and the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation. Clearance was also obtained from the Commissioner of Prisons for access to Nairobi West Prison. Informed consent was also obtained from participants according to ethical guidelines for human subject research, along with a statement explaining anonymous participation. The participants were invited to voluntarily participate in the study and were assured utmost confidentiality and anonymity

Tools for data collection

The study used a questionnaire guide and focus group discussions for primary data collection.

Focus group discussion guide was intended for collecting qualitative data to be used in triangulation as noted by Heale and Forbes [23]. An attitudes questionnaire was administered to assess the attitudes in various dimensions as guided by Crime Pics II tool. The Crime Pics II is an Attitude to Offending Behaviour instrument (ATOB). The questionnaire contained 35 items based on key questions of the study. The first section with 20 items measured four dimensions of attitude namely; general attitudes to offending, anticipation of reoffending, victim hurt denial and evaluation of crime as worthwhile. Although, the remaining 15 items measured the perception of life problems as viewed by the offenders, the findings were not included since they are not within the scope of the current study. To ensure validity and reliability of the tool, a psychology expert and one criminology expert were selected to validate the attitude questionnaire.

Data analysis

A summary of the data was obtained using descriptive statistics. Some of the participants' demographic information retrieved

For a definite population, sample size, $n = \frac{\frac{P(1-P)Z^2}{E^2}}{1+\frac{P(1-P)Z^2}{E^2N}}$

P= 50% the percentage occurrence of a state or condition (standard deviation
E =0.05 the percentage maximum error required (margin of error)
Z =1.96 the z-value corresponding to level of confidence required (Statistical table - Appendix B)
N = 72 finite sexual offender population

n =Required sample size, is calculated as:$\frac{\left(\frac{0.5(1-0.5)1.96^2}{0.05^2}\right)}{\left(1+\frac{0.5(1-0.5)1.96^2}{0.05^2\times72}\right)} = 60.63 \approx 61$

Figure 1: A sample population and sample size.

included their age, education level, employment and marital status. Further, the computation of inferential statistics was carried out. Descriptive analysis was adopted to assess the male sexual offenders' attitudes towards crime. Data coding took place in MS Excel and additional analysis descriptive analysis on the items (questions) resulting into frequency tables and mean scores as measures of central tendency was done using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS Ver 26) and presented in distribution tables. Analysis of the participants' responses on the attitudinal scales was done using the Crime-Pics II software which was used to determine weighted scales of measurement of the different aspects of attitude that were intended to be measured by the questions (items). The resulting scales from Crime-Pics II were further exported to SPSS for additional descriptive analysis of the various attitude measures such as general attitude to offending, anticipation of re-offending; victim hurt denial and evaluation of crime as worthwhile and also the participants' perception of life problems.

Interpretation of crime-Pics II software means

The study used four domains adopted from the Crime-Pics 11 software: G scale (General Attitude to Offending -17 items), A scale (Anticipation of Reoffending -6 items), V scale (Victim Hurt Denial -3 items) and E scale (Evaluation of Crime as Worthwhile -4 items). A higher score in each of the Crime Pics II correlates represents higher offending-related attitudes and problems, while a lower score represents lower or reduced offending related attitudes. G scale looks at the general view about offending and a low score shows that the offender believes that offending is not an acceptable way of life. A scale indicates a person's expectation as to whether they are likely to offend again. The V scale indicates the offender's level of acceptance of adverse effect on victims, where a low score indicates that the offender recognizes their actions impact on victims. Scale E explores the offender's cost benefit analysis of the worthwhileness of crime, with a low score indicating the offenders' perception of the cost of crime as being greater than its rewards.

RESULTS

The aim of this study was to assess the attitudes towards crime among male sexual offenders. Demographic statistics indicate that 36 (59%) out of 61 respondents were convicted of defilement, while 25 (41%) were convicts of rape. Majority of the respondents at 58% were aged between 25 and 35years while those aged 24 years and below were 13%. Inmates above 36 years accounted for 30% of the total sampled respondents. However, the calculated mean age of the respondents was 32.22. Further, 58% of them were married while 13% were either divorced or widowed, and the remaining 28% were single. About 37% and 50% of the respondents had primary and secondary as their highest level of

education respectively. On employment status, 25% and 29% were formally employed or self-employed respectively while 18% were students. On the general criminal history, Findings show that 46% of the offenders were repeat criminals, while 54% had no previous criminal records prior to the current conviction. Of the 46% with earlier criminal history, 28% had been imprisoned twice while 18% had been imprisoned three times prior to the current sentence. On the ages of the victims sexually offended, 23% and 36% were children below ten years and aged 11 to 17 years respectively, and only 19% were adults above 25 years.

Weighted attitude scores of male sexual offenders

The responses in the attitudes questionnaire were entered into the Crime pics II software which generated scaled weighted scores of attitude measurement on an interval scale for the dimensions of attitude. Figure 2 shows a summary of the descriptive statistics of pre- existing attitudes of male sexual offenders based on the dimensions of attitude generated from the questionnaire by using Crime Pics II software.

Findings show that the overall mean score for general attitudes towards offending was 6.921, anticipation of re-offending 8.281; victim hurt denial 4.982, while evaluation of crime as worthwhile was 3.982. Perception of life problems recorded a mean score of 8.87. A higher score in each domain represents higher offending-related attitudes and problems.

Descriptive analysis of the indicators of attitude towards crime

Descriptive analysis of the attitude indicators were assessed under the following domains: general attitude towards offending (7 indicators), anticipation for re-offending (6 indicators), victim hurt denial (3 indicators) and evaluation of crime as worthwhile (4 indicators). The questionnaire also had 15-item inventory of life problems.

General attitude towards offending

This domain also referred to as the G- scale was measured using seven indicators. This domain measures the participants' general attitudes towards offending. Figure 3 shows the summarized details of participants' percentage responses for general attitudes to offending.

Regarding the first indicator of attitude, 40.35% of the respondents strongly disagreed to the seriousness of sexual offence while only 1.75% strongly agreed. Whereas 31.58% of the respondents strongly agreed that they did not see themselves as real criminals, 14.04% strongly disagreed with this indicator. Data shows that 61.4% of the respondents agreed that there is exaggerated social stigma surrounding sexual crimes and only 1.75% were in disagreement. There was strong disagreement by 54.39% of respondents that sexual crimes posed a security threat in society and 3.51% were in strong agreement. Although the sexual offender tag was not seen as a problem with 36.6% of the respondents in agreement, a minority 3.51% were in disagreement. Findings show that 38.6% of the respondents agreed they did not have to feel remorse over sexual crime(s) committed while 12.28% strongly disagreed. Whereas 35.09% of the respondents strongly disagreed as to whether they deserved the sentence handed, 15.39% disagreed. No respondents strongly agreed giving a score of 0%.
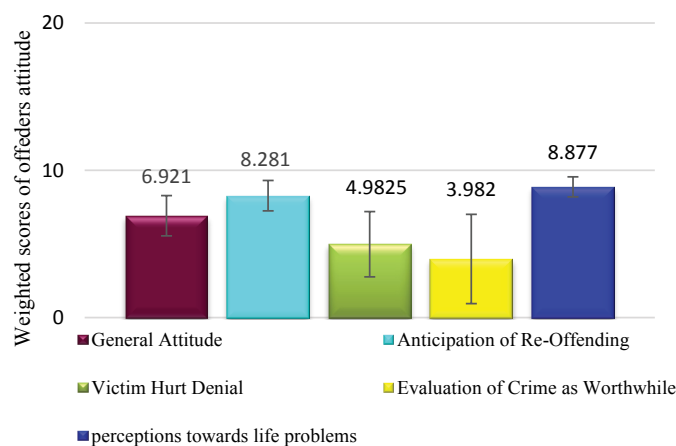

Figure 2: Weighted attitude scores of male sexual offenders.

Anticipation of re-offending

This measure indicates a person's expectation as to whether they are likely to offend again. A higher score implies that offending will not be avoided in future. Six attitude indicators were used to measure this domain of attitude. Figure 4 shows summarized details of indicators under anticipation of re- offending.

Opinions of the respondents were sought on whether they would definitely not commit a sexual offence in future. Whereas 43.86% of the respondents were neutral, 1.75% agreed with the statement. Neutral scores of 29.82% were also reported on whether the participants hated sexual crimes following imprisonment, with only 8.77% in strong disagreement. While 22.81% of the respondents remained neutral as to whether feelings of low self-worth arising from conviction for sexual offending would deter future offending, 21.05% agreed. Further findings indicate that 29.82% of the respondents strongly disagreed to the fact that increased social rejection would deter them from committing future sexual crimes with only 10.53% strongly agreeing to the statement. Although 40.35% of the respondents strongly disagreed that there is no justifiable reason for re-offending, only 5.26% strongly agreed with this statement. Another 28.07% of the respondents agreed that time served in prison could change their views on sexual crimes and 10.53% strongly disagreed.

Victim hurt denial

Victim hurt denial is used to assess the offender's level of acceptance of adverse effects of their action on victims. The scores indicate the offender's level of recognition of the impact of their action on victims. Three indicators were used to measure this attitude domain. Figure 5 shows summarized details of percentage responses for victim-hurt denial.

According to the data, 31.58% of the respondents agreed that sexual offence had no serious effects on the victim while only 8.77% disagreed. On average, the respondents were in agreement with the statement. Another parameter that was measured is whether victims of sexual attack should always report to police after criminal attack. Findings show that 35.09% of the respondents strongly disagreed, while 10.53% strongly agreed. The respondents were of the opinion that victims should understand that sexual offenders had no control over their criminal acts, with 33.33% in agreement while only 12% disagreed.
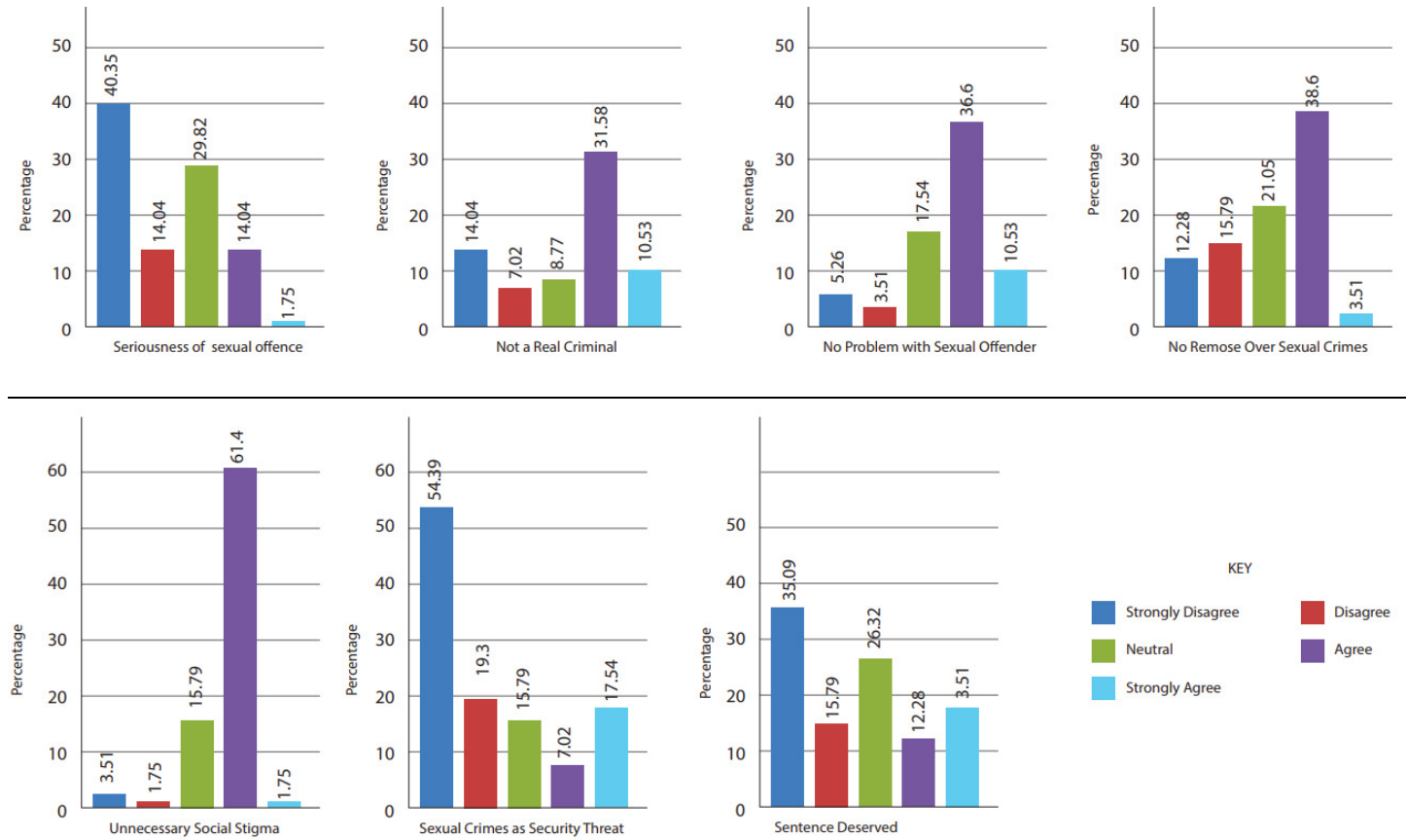
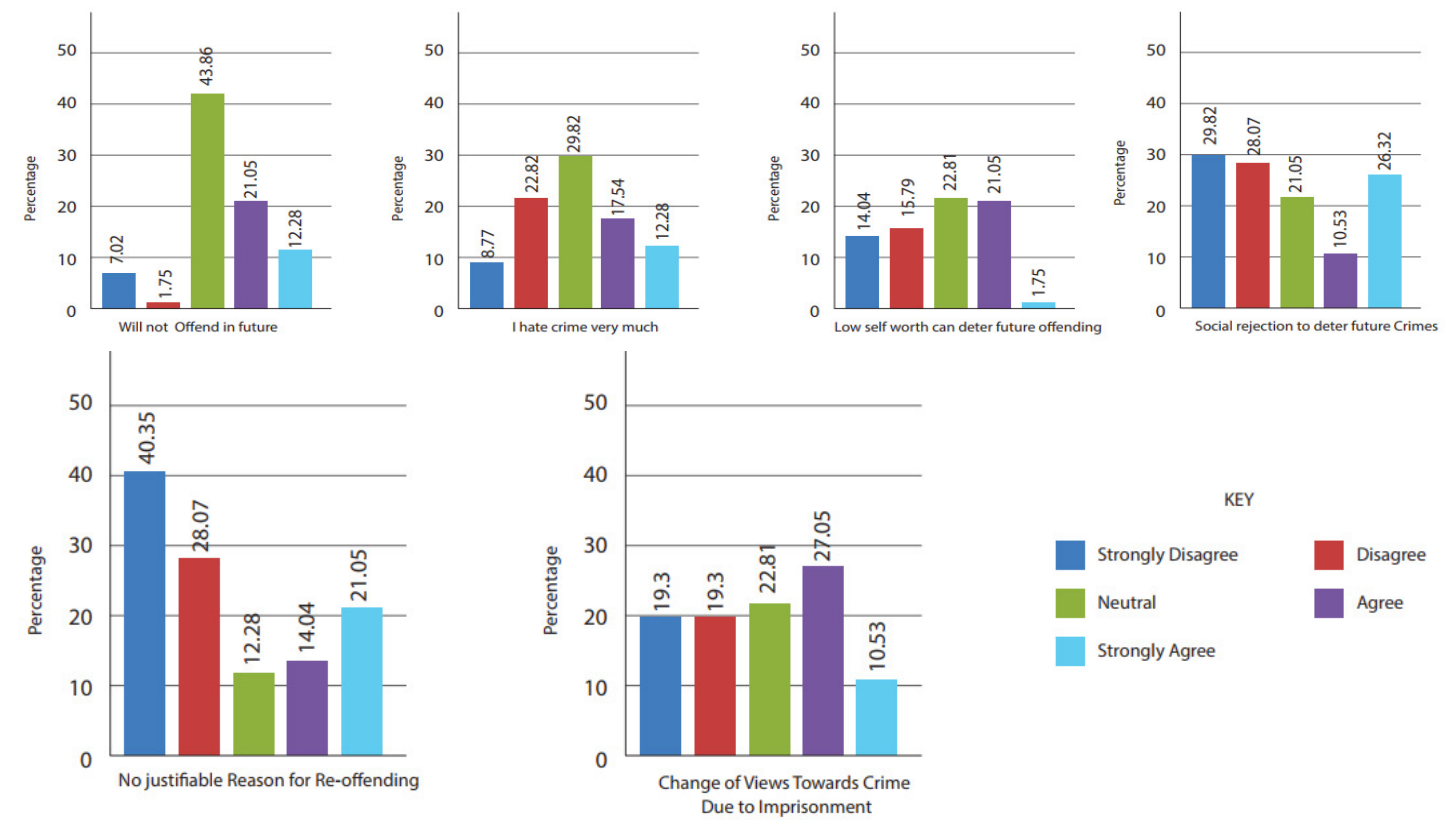**Figure 3:** Percentage responses for general attitudes to offending.

Figure 4: Percentage responses for anticipation of re- offending.

Evaluation crime as worthwhile

Evaluation of crime as worthwhile explores the offender's cost benefit analysis of the worthwhileness of crime. Four indicators were used to measure this attitude domain. Figure 6 shows a summary of percentage responses for evaluation of crime as worthwhile.
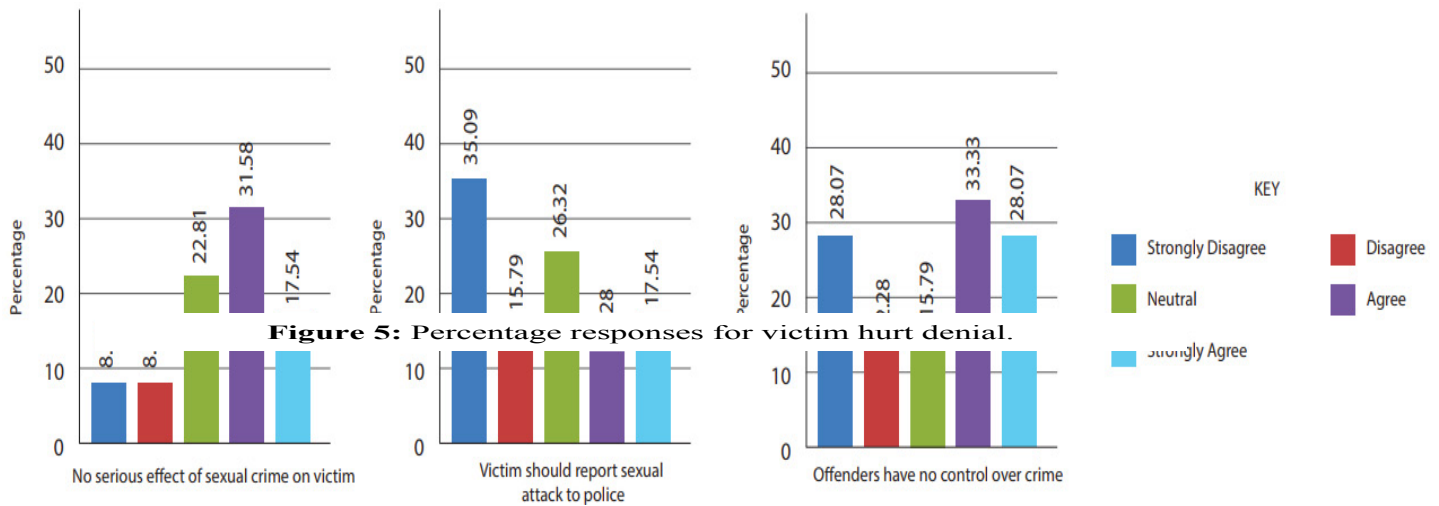
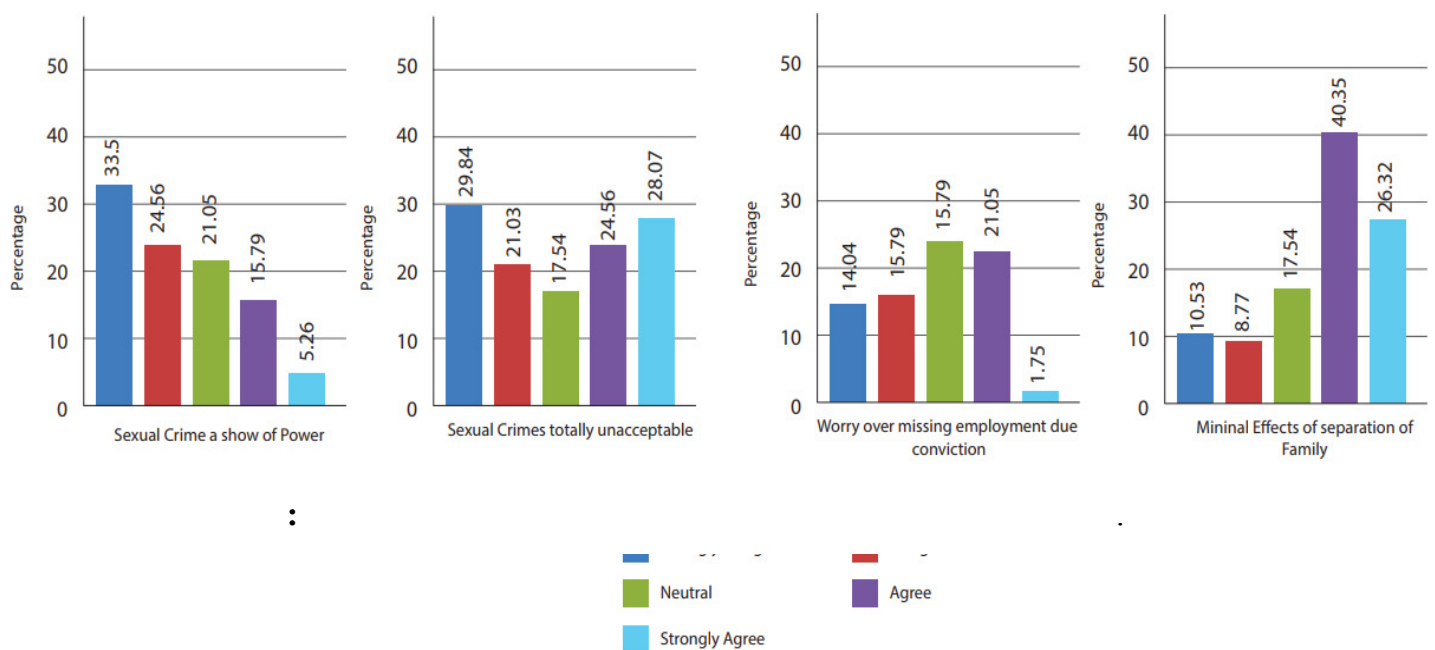Figure 5: Percentage responses for victim hurt denial.

Figure 6: Percentage responses for evaluation of crime as worthwhile.

Data shows that 33.33% of the respondents strongly disagreed that sexual offence restored self-confidence, while only 5.26% strongly agreed to this indicator. The average data show that respondents remained neutral on this statement. While 29.84% of the respondents strongly disagreed that sexual crimes are totally unacceptable, strong disagreement was reported regarding whether participants worried about missing employment opportunities in future following conviction for sexual offence. 14.04% strongly disagreed, 15.79% disagreed, while 22.81% remained neutral, giving a large majority who did not exactly agree with the statement. 40.35% of the respondents agreed that separation from family had no negative effect on them and only 8.77% disagreed.

DISCUSSION

The study set out to establish attitudes of male sexual offenders towards crime before intervention by exposure to digital paintings. The mean age of the participants was 32.22 years. Considering that the age for youth in Kenya is up to 35 years, 70%of the participants were youthful offenders aged 35 years and below. Findings of the study indicating that 58% of the participants were married at the

time of the offence also suggested that sexual offending is more of a deviant sexual preference and is not influenced by marital status. Similar findings were reported in a study by Hawes, Boccaccini and Murrie [24]. Data indicating that 42% of the participants were sexual re-offenders conform to findings by Kimiti and Musau et al. [9], who reported sexual re-offending rates of 40%anually in Kenya and a higher rate of 43% in Nairobi County.

The study used crime Pics II scale, a self-report instrument for assessing offending-related attitudes, which has been proven to have good internal consistency and test–retest reliability, as well as evidence of construct, concurrent, discriminant, and predictive validity in studies by Williamson et al. [25]. Attitudes were measured in the following indices: G scale (general attitudes to offending), A scale (anticipation of reoffending), V scale (victim-hurt denial) and E scale (evaluation of crime as worthwhile). A Problem inventory (P scale) was used to measure offenders' views towards life problems.

At pretest, the study found that G scale had an attitude measure of 6.921 A scale 8.281; V scale 4.9825 and E scale 3.982. Higher scaled scores in conversion table in crime pics II manual show greater positive identification of the offender with the attitudinal index

being measured. The study recorded higher positive identification with general attitudes to offending and anticipation of re-offending while moderate identification was recorded for victim hurt denial and evaluation of crime as worthwhile. The higher scores in G and A- scales implied that most participants saw offending as an acceptable way of life and a higher likelihood of re-offending respectively. The moderate scores in V and E scales indicated indecisiveness in recognizing the impact of their actions on victims and the cost of crime as being greater than its rewards respectively.

Majority (61.4%) of the respondents agreed that there was unnecessary social stigma on sex offenders. The findings are similar to observations made by Moore et al. [26], in assessing the level of stigmatization of offenders from prison, observed that the inmates perceived stigma as a predictor for worst community adjustment even though some of them did not consider themselves criminals as the society would after imprisonment.

On A scale (anticipation of re-offending) results show that majority of the respondents remained neutral on whether they would not commit a sexual offence in future upon release (48.36%), whether they hated sexual crimes very much following imprisonment (29.82%) and if low self-worth could deter future offending (22.81%). These study findings concur with Clough who observes that after serving the prison time, majority of the offenders may fall back into slipup and re-offend. However, Clough's study was more focused on intoxication positioning that majority would do so due to over-intoxication.

The importance of different dimensions of sexual offence supportive attitudes varies between studies as indicated by pretest scores in the current study. A study of adult men in South Africa showed perpetrators of raped scored significantly higher on a scale measuring gender inequitable attitudes than non-perpetrators. Authors have suggested that sexually aggressive men have greater stronger sexual dominance desires, hostility towards women and more traditional attitudes towards gender roles and sexual relationships [27]. Although the current study only focuses on attitudes of perpetrators after conviction, it is possible that attitudes before conviction played an important role in the overall environment in which the sexual offence was perpetrated, acting as an enabling factor. This is evidenced in studies carried out in Bangladesh and South Africa where 80% and 70% perpetrators of rape cited sexual entitlement as a motivation for committing the offence [27].

During the FGDs, a sense of entitlement was expressed by some convicts who did not consider their actions as criminal, citing cultural practices that allowed marriage of underage children. Other convicts claimed to have been some set up by family members over property disputes and revenge. Some offenders were bitter about being locked in as expressed by one 42-year-old participant:

"I'm very bitter about being locked here. Our culture allows us to marry very young wives. I got a wife aged 14 years and my older wife was not happy. She set me up and the authorities picked me and took me to court. The girl's parents abandoned me yet I had paid seven cows as bride price. I think sex offence laws should be reviewed by the government." (FGD-RSVP)

Other participants indicated that they did not really care or feel remorseful about the offence they had committed. One respondent convicted of defilement captured this feeling:

"I'm just curious to join a new activity. I feel bored around here. I do not feel sorry about my offensive behavior. Actually, I should not be held in prison for sexual crime, yet the girl was my friend then we clashed. I think am just a victim of malice." (FGD-RSVP)

In addition to the general scores for the five scales, the individual items on the questionnaire also provided crucial diagnostic information, which formed the basis for future discussion and examination. The outcome of this study suggest that majority of the offenders were in denial of responsibility and accountability for the crime(s) committed. Denial of the severity of sexual offending took several forms such as disregarding the impact on the victim, blaming circumstances for the crime and failing to accept inner pain as shown in findings across most scales. This was a defense strategy meant to shield perpetrators from shame, guilt and hurt. Similar observations were made by David et al. [28], who suggested that denial of sexual offence is a coping mechanism where perpetrators seek to protect the self-image of their families and shield themselves from physical and emotional harm as well.

In the FGDs with the offenders, denial of the seriousness of their offending actions set in when most participants indicated that they deserved a second chance and that penalties for sexual offending were exaggerated. Others confessed that the sexual offence was not deliberate and they were not bothered much with the issues concerning the victim. One participant commented:

"I think the justice system is too hard on sexual offenders for no reason. Most of us here never intended to hurt our victims. It was just unfortunate that we were caught. I think we deserve pardon like other offenders" (FGD-Exhibition)

In looking at factors that led to offending, respondents in this study reported alcohol & substance abuse (39.02%) as the main cause of offending, supporting statistics in the problem inventory. Self-gratification (17.09%) and hostility (17.05%) were also reported as key factors leading to offending.

An accurate measurement of an offender's attitudes could be used to predict the success of an intervention and help criminal justice sector identify suitable treatment programs for sex offenders as shown in a study by Williamson, et al. [25]. Findings in studies that have utilized Crime Pics II scale [29] suggest mixed impact on participants' attitudes towards committing sexual crimes. With special focus on attitudes, Crime Pics II offered a powerful tool for assessing the attitudes towards crime among sexual offenders.

CONCLUSION

The general findings of the study showed higher scaled scores a number of the Crime PICS II correlates, representing higher offending-related attitudes. The findings in this section could provide the basis for planning, design and implementation of suitable intervention programs for male sexual offenders.

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