

SEXUAL FANTASIES OF THE RAPISTS

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Abstract: The authors of this paper aim to present the results of their research on the frequency and content of rapists' general sexual fantasies, as well as fantasies related to rape. The research was conducted in the penitentiary correctional institutions in the towns of Nis, Pozarevac, Padinska skela and Sremska Mitrovica, all in the Republic of Serbia. The sample included 40 convicts, males aged 24–69, serving the sentence of imprisonment for having committed the criminal offence of rape. Regarding the presence of sexual fantasies, the results show that as many as 82.5% of the convicts stated that they had general sexual fantasies and that 70% of the prisoners had sexual fantasies related to rape. By analysing the frequency of general sexual fantasies, we have established that 63.6% of the convicts reported that they had sexual fantasies every day and that 67.8% of the convicts reported that they had sexual fantasies related to rape on a daily basis. Regarding the content of sexual fantasies related to rape, the results point to the existence of various types of sexual fantasies, among which masturbatory fantasies appear to be prevalent, only to be followed by sexual fantasies in which the victim shows obedience and submissiveness, sexual fantasies about sex with a minor, and sexual fantasies in which the rapist causes pain to the victim, etc.

Keywords: rape, sexual fantasy, prisoner

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1. Introduction

Every sexual act, whether considered to be normal or deviant, comes from fantasies, which are regarded as a central aspect of human sexuality. The only significant difference between those who are sexual offenders and the ones who are not, is not in the presence of deviant sexual fantasies, but in the fact that offenders have fewer general (normal) sexual fantasies (Daleiden, Kaufman, Hilliker, and O'Neil 1998:195). General sexual fantasies reflect healthy sexuality and represent

a form of normal sexual stimulation, which is used to promote sexual arousal and enjoyment (Singer 1966 according to Leitenberg and Heening 1995:470). Unlike general sexual fantasies, deviant sexual fantasies contain sexual themes that can be considered pathological or deviant, as they encourage a deviant pattern of sexual arousal (McCollaum and Lester 1994 according to Geoff and Belofastov 2007:51; Templeman, Stinnett 1991 Gee and Belofastov 2007:51). Deviant sexual fantasies are also defined as the sexual fantasies which are statistically the least represented in the general population or those that are associated with socially unacceptable behaviour (Leitenberg and Heening 1995; Gee and Belofastov 2007:51). The widely accepted view is that deviant sexual fantasies, dominated by the aggressive potential of the rapists, are present in the most serious sex crimes. The mentioned aggressiveness is mostly aimed at sexual desire (Novaković, Kulić, Despotović, Marić-Burmazević, Medenica, and Jovanović 2014:6), and it is actualized through the criminal act itself, that is, through the act of rape, which arises from aggressive pulsion more often than from the sexual instinct (Gajić, Mišić-Pavkov, Ivanović-Kovaević, and Cvijanović 2005:65).

The psycho-sexual component of the sexual instinct varies from individual to individual and integrates specific cognitive and sensory stimuli that cause sexual arousal (Hazelwood and Warren 2001:84). Sexual arousal stems from sexual fantasy and vice versa (Holmes and Holmes 2002a:80), which implies that a deviant form of sexual arousal encourages and reinforces deviant sexual fantasies and vice versa. Thus, the basic assumption is that deviant excitement increases the likelihood of deviant fantasy, which ultimately increases the likelihood of deviant sexual behaviour. In most cases, an individual's fantasy is sufficient to satisfy the rapist's psycho-sexual desires. It is only at the point when sexual fantasies can no longer be satisfied that aggressive desire occurs (Hazelwood and Warren 2001:86; Hickey 2006:47), which leads to behaviour that involves the most diverse practices, including physical assault, hostility, verbal abuse, etc. Bearing in mind the above, it should be noted that different models of sexual reactions can be found in the rapists, which implies that all rapists will not be excited by the same details or motives (Knight and Prentki 1990, according to Barbaree and Marshall 1991:622). Variations in models of sexual reactions are almost unlimited in any rape sequence, which is why they can demonstrate characteristic patterns of behaviour (Wet 2008:73).

Most of the research that dealt with general sexual fantasy issues were focused on two areas and covered the following questions: How often do people fantasize and when and what is the incidence or frequency of their fantasies? The second area concerned the study of contents of sexual fantasies. Regarding the problem of criminal sexual behaviour, the emphasis is placed on studying the role and contribution that sexual fantasy can have in the behaviour of sexual offenders (Leitenberg and Heening 1995:471).

Some of the leading researchers, such as Abel and Blanchard (1974 according to Leitenberg and Heening 1995:486), supported the theory of deviant sexual arousal or the hypothesis of the so-called sexual preferences. According to this theory, sexual offenders are more excited by the stimuli which are related to sexual assault or rape than by the stimuli related to a voluntary sexual act. The hypothesis that deviant

excitement increases the likelihood of deviant fantasy was tested in laboratory conditions by means of the plethysmograph, which measured changes in the penis size during arousal (Becker, Kaplan, and Tenke 1992, according to Fanniff and Becker 2013:522; Hall, Proctor, and Nelson 1988; Simon and Schouten 1991 according to Farrall 1992:218). The results of these studies failed to yield the expected results, most likely due to the significant limitations of experimental research, in which it is impossible to achieve what the rapists fantasize about in realistic conditions and in everyday life (Marshall, Barbaree, and Eccles 1991 according to Leitenberg and Heening 1995:490). Better results have been achieved with the population of convicted juveniles, since it has been found that between 35% and 40% of minors are more likely to experience more intense sexual arousal than adult offenders (Barbaree and Marshall 1989 according to Leitenberg and Heening 1995:487).

In the studies where perpetrators of rape were respondents, the results showed that there was an equal level of excitement during rape and voluntary sexual act (Barbaree, Marshall, and Lanthier 1979 according to Leitenberg and Heening 1995:487). The hypothesis that sex offenders have deviant sexual fantasies more often (than non-offenders), which is causally related to sex offences has not been confirmed, although there are studies in which significant results have been obtained (Leitenberg and Heening 1995:487). Research studies in which sex offenders denied the presence of deviant fantasies nevertheless indicated the frequency of sexual fantasies, which is best illustrated by the research conducted by McGuire, Carlisle and Young (1965:185), in which a sample of 52 (75 percent) paraphiliacs admitted that their behaviour had to do with sexual fantasies. In the studies where respondents were those who had committed sexual homicide, as many as 80% said they had masturbatory fantasies during rape (Burgess, Hartman, and Ressler 1986:251). Masturbatory fantasies were also recorded in a study conducted by Evans (1968:17) with exhibitionists, who declared in 50% of the cases that they regularly masturbated when exposing their genitals.

Regarding the content of sexual fantasies, research shows that sex offenders reported on two kinds of fantasies: general sexual fantasy and fantasy that involved rape (Gee, Devilly, and Ward 2004 according to Geoff and Belofastov 2007:51). From the point of view of criminalistics, the fantasies characteristic of attacks and especially sexual behaviour towards the victim are more significant. In the research conducted by Baić and Lajić (2017:33), it was found that the exact information about the sexual behaviour of a sexual offender towards the victim can be considered a characteristic pattern of behaviour, which indirectly can indicate the significance of sexual fantasy.

On the basis of the above, we can assume that – due to its uniqueness – sexual fantasy can be considered as one of the important sources of information about the rapist (Holmes and Holmes 2002b:16), especially because of the connection with the motivation and steps that the rapist must follow, in order to achieve sexual arousal and ‘resulting’ behaviour. Bearing in mind the importance of this issue, we have also conducted a survey in order to systematically compare the content and frequency of general sexual fantasies, as well as sexual fantasies related to rape.

2. Method

2.1. Sample and procedure

The survey included 40 male convicts aged 24 to 69 ($AS = 41.5$), who were serving a sentence of imprisonment for committing the criminal offence of rape under Article 178 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Serbia. Detailed data on the age structure of the sample, education, marital status and previous criminal activity is presented in the Results section. In order to illustrate the incidence of rape, it should be said that in Serbia in 2017, a total of 53 rape crimes were perpetrated (the average being one case per week), while the average for the five year period 2013–2017 was slightly higher and amounted to 306 criminal offences (one criminal offence in six days) (Marinković and Lajić 2019:133). According to the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, in 2017 the number of offenders convicted of rape amounted to 77 persons¹.

The survey was conducted in the period from December 2017 to February 2018 in the penitentiary facilities in Nis, Pozarevac, Padinska skela and Sremska Mitrovica in the Republic of Serbia. Prior to participating in the research, the convicts signed an agreement in which they were informed about the objectives and anonymity of the research with regard to the confidentiality of the data. Participation in the research was voluntary. The results presented in this research are part of the data collected within a more broadly defined test battery, which was designed to determine the psychological, sociodemographic and criminal profile of perpetrators of violent delicts.

2.2. Instrument

For the purposes of research by the authors, a structured questionnaire was designed for the collection of general demographic data, data related to previous criminal activity, as well as data related to the issue of sexual fantasy. The questionnaire contained questions of the closed type, which required a 'Yes' or 'No' answer and multiple-choice questions.

2.3. Method of data analysis

In order to gain an insight into the frequency of individual response categories of the respondents, the frequency and descriptive method of data analysis was applied. By applying the chi-square test of the quality of the match, it was tested whether there were differences in the frequency of the respondents' individual responses.

¹ Republic Institute of Statistics, Republic of Serbia. Available at <<http://data.stat.gov.rs/>>.

3. Results

3.1. Age structure

The age of the convicts ranged from 24 to 69 years. The average age was AS = 41.5 years. The highest number of convicts was aged 21 to 30 (25%) or 31 to 40 (25%) and then followed the ages 41 to 50 (22.5%), while a slightly lower number of respondents were aged 51 to 60 (17.5%) and 61 to 70 years (10%) (Table 1). The result of the chi-square test (χ^2 (4, $n = 40$) = 3.25; $p = 0.517$) shows that there is no difference in the frequency of different age groups within the examined group.

Table 1. Structure of the sample by age

	Frequency	Percent
21–30	10	25.0
31–40	10	25.0
41–50	9	22.5
51–60	7	17.5
61–70	4	10.0
Total	40	100

3.2. Educational structure

The result of the chi-square test (χ^2 (4, $n = 40$) = 34.75; $p = 0.000$) shows that the level of education among the perpetrators of the criminal offense of rape was not equal in the examined group. By analysing the data related to schooling, it was found that 10% of the rapists were without school education, 40% had completed primary school, 45% had completed secondary school, while only 2.5% had a higher professional qualification (Table 2). For comparison, it should be noted that in the general population, the share of people without formal school education is 2.68%; 11% of the general population have incomplete primary education 20.76% have finished primary school, 48.93% have finished secondary school, 5.65% have graduated from a college, whereas 10.59% of citizens have a university degree².

² Republic Institute of Statistics, Republic of Serbia. Availabe online at <<http://www.stat.gov.rs/oblasti/obrazovanje/>>.

Table 2. Structure of the sample according to the educational status

	Frequency	Percent
No education	4	10.0
Primary school	16	40.0
Secondary school	18	45.0
College	1	2.5
University degree	1	2.5
Total	40	100

3.3. Marital status

The result of the chi-square test ($\chi^2(4, n = 40) = 17.75$; $p = 0.014$) shows that the distribution of different categories in terms of the marital status of the convicted persons under survey is uneven. The results show that the highest number of prisoners is unmarried (40.0%) or divorced (30.0%), then married (15.0%) or living in an extramarital community (12.5%), while there are the fewest of them who are widowed (2.5%). The results concerning the convicts' marital status are shown in Table 3. The data of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia show that the percentage of unmarried men in the general male population amounts to 33.3%, married to 57%, divorced to 4.1% and widowed to 5.2%³.

Table 3. Marital status

	Frequency	Percentage
Unmarried	16	40.0
Married	6	15.0
Divorced	12	30.0
Extramarital community	5	12.5
Widowed	1	2.5
Total	40	100

³ Republic Institute of Statistics, Republic of Serbia. Available online at <<http://www.stat.gov.rs/oblasti/stanovnistvo/zakljuceni-i-razvedeni-brakovi/>>.

3.4. Previous criminal activity

The examination of this feature was aimed at determining whether the perpetrators of the criminal offence of rape were previously convicted, in order to obtain a more accurate picture of their criminal activities. The result of the chi-square test ($\chi^2 (7, n = 30) = 18.533; p = 0.010$) shows that the distribution of different types of crimes is not leveraged in the examined group of convicts. The results show that in the previous period – before being captured and processed – the rapists were mostly perpetrators of property crimes (56.7%), followed by perpetrators of violent crimes (33.3%), including rape (16.7%), murder (10%) and infliction of grievous bodily harm (3.3%) (Table 4).

Table 4. Previous criminal activity

Criminal acts against property	Frequency	Percentage	Total
Theft – aggravated theft	10	33.3	56.7
Rape	6	20.0	
Extortion	1	3.3	
Criminal offences against sexual freedom			
Robbery	5	16.7	20.0
Illicit sexual activity	1	3.3	
Crimes against life and limb			
Murder	3	10.0	13.3
Grievous bodily harm	1	3.3	
Criminal offences against public order and peace			
Illicit possession of weapons	3	10.0	10.0
Total	30	100	100

3.5. The presence of sexual fantasies

When it comes to the presence of sexual fantasies, the result of the chi-squared test ($\chi^2 (1, n = 40) = 16.9; p = 0.000$) shows that the distribution of the two categories of responses was not even across the group. By analysing the frequency of the response to the question of the presence of general sexual fantasies, the results show that 82.5% of the convicts gave affirmative answers, and that 17.5% denied the occurrence of sexual fantasies (Table 5).

Table 5. The presence of general sexual fantasies

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	33	82.5
No	7	17.5
Total	40	100

Also, when it comes to the presence of sexual fantasies regarding rape, the result of the chi-square test ($\chi^2 (1, n = 40) = 6.4, p = 0.011$) shows that the distribution of two categories of responses is not the same in the examined group. Namely, by analysing the frequency of the response to the question of the presence of sexual fantasies regarding rape, the results show that 70% of the prisoners gave the affirmative answer, i.e. 30% denied the presence of sexual fantasies (Table 6).

Table 6. The presence of sexual fantasies regarding rape

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	28	70.0
No	12	30.0
Total	40	100

3.6. The incidence or frequency of sexual fantasies

When it comes to the incidence or frequency of sexual fantasies, the value of the chi-square is significant ($\chi^2 (2, n = 33) = 16.545; p = 0.000$) and therefore a conclusion can be drawn that there are considerable differences in the frequencies of responses regarding their incidence. By analysing the frequency of general sexual fantasies, it was established that 63.6% of the convicts reported that they had sexual fantasies every day (Table 7). Also, when it comes to the frequency of sexual fantasies related to rape, the results show that 67.8% of the convicted offenders reported on their daily presence, i.e. that there are significant differences in the frequency of the response to the question of the frequency of these (Table 8). The result of the chi-square test is ($\chi^2 (2, n = 33) = 16.357; p = 0.000$).

Table 7. Frequency of general sexual fantasies

	Frequency	Percentage
daily / every day	21	63.6
several times a week	10	30.3
several times a month	2	6.06
Total	33	100

Table 8. Frequency of sexual fantasies related to rape

	Frequency	Percentage
daily / every day	19	67.8
several times a week	7	25.0
several times a month	2	7.1
Total	28	100

3.7. The content of sexual fantasies

The result of the chi-squared test (χ^2 (6, $n = 83$) = 25,542; $p = 0,000$) shows an uneven distribution of individual responses related to the content of general sexual fantasies within the examined group. Analyses do point to the existence of different types of sexual fantasies, dominated by masturbatory fantasies (57.5%), fantasies about oral sex (40.0%), fantasies about sex with a celebrity (40.0%), fantasies that include different settings and positions in sex (27.5%), fantasies about vaginal sex (25.0%), fantasies about anal sex (10.0%), fantasies about sex with an unknown or imaginary person (7.5%) (Table 9).

Table 9. Answers of the convicts on the content of general sexual fantasies

	Frequency	Percentage
masturbatory fantasy	23	57.5
fantasy about oral sex	16	40.0
fantasy of sex with a celebrity	16	40.0
fantasy that includes different settings, and positions during sex	11	27.5
fantasy about vaginal sex	10	25.0
fantasy about anal sex	4	10.0
fantasy about sex with an unknown or imaginary person	3	7.5

In terms of the content of sexual fantasies related to rape, the result of the chi-square test (χ^2 (11, $n = 115$) = 88.583; $p = 0.000$) shows that there are significant differences in the frequency of the response to the question of the content of sexual fantasies related to rape. Namely, the results point to the existence of different types of sexual fantasies dominated by masturbatory fantasies (75.0%), sexual fantasies about rape where the victim shows obedience and submissiveness (57.5%), sexual

fantasies about sex with a minor (30.0%), fantasies about oral sex during rape (30.0%), fantasies in which a rapist causes physical pain to the victim (25.0%), etc. (Table 10).

Table 10. Respondents' responses to the content of sexual fantasies related to rape

	Frequency	Percentage
masturbation fantasies related to rape	30	75.0
sexual fantasies about rape in which the victim shows obedience and submissiveness	23	57.5
sexual fantasies about sex with a minor	12	30.0
fantasy about oral sex during rape	12	30.0
fantasy in which a rapist causes physical pain to the victim	10	25.0
sexual fantasy about sex with an older woman	6	15.0
fantasies about vaginal sex during rape	6	15.0
a dominant fantasy in which sexual power is demonstrated and the victim is coerced into various sexual activities	5	12.5
fantasy about anal sex during rape	4	10.0
sexually-orientated communication in which victims are verbally abused ('whore', 'slut' ...)	4	10.0
sexually-orientated communication in which the victims are addressed using perverse words (e.g. 'I'll fuck you', 'you will suck me' ...)	2	5.0
a fetish that refers to female feet and high heels	1	2.5

4. Discussion and conclusion

The convicts included in this study were men of the average age of 41.5 years. In terms of other demographic characteristics, the most conspicuous fact is that the highest percentage of them has incomplete primary education or they have completed only primary school, which deviates from the general population. Namely, in the observed sample, persons without schooling and those with only primary education account for 50%, while their participation in the general population is less than 35%. These results are similar to those reported by Kovčo-Vukadinović, Žgela, and Mesić (2016: 398) for rape offenders in Croatia. The participation of persons with secondary education is approximately the same (45% in the survey sample versus 48.93% in the general population), while college and higher education make up only 5% of the surveyed sample, i.e. three times less compared to the general population (16.24%). These are persons who are unmarried or divorced (70%), while these two categories in the general male population make up almost a half (37.4%). This is obviously a factor that could indicate their inability to establish or maintain a more lasting emotional relationship, which could be the subject of special research in relation to their psychological profile. Previous criminal activities have also been noted among the convicts and this is regarded to be typical of sex offenders. The research found that most of them had been prosecuted for property crimes (56.7%) and violent crimes (13.3%), including rape (20%).

In addition to the above results, the paper also presents the results of the research on the frequency and content of general sexual fantasies, as well as fantasies related to rape. Nowadays, a significant number of studies have been published in the world, focusing on the study of the issue of sex fantasies, both in the general population and among convicted offenders, that is, paedophiles and rapists. The studies that dealt with the sexual fantasies of the rapists did not estimate the relative importance of fantasies compared to some other factors that predispose rape, such as individual, psychological (cognitive and conative) and situational or environmental factors (Baić and Kolarević 2013:68). It should be kept in mind that the research on sexual fantasy as a complex psychological phenomenon is subject to numerous methodological, empirical, and theoretical limitations, as the research practice of numerous psychological and social phenomena has shown.

Criminologists today regard rape as an act of violent or forced aggression, not a forced expression of sexuality (Kanduč 2018:188; Siegel 2011:340). Forced sex can occur in many different forms, and it is a very important element to exploit physical or social power (Masters, Johnson, and Kolodny 2006:534). When it comes to the motivation of rapists, Hall and Hirschman (1991, according to Howitt 2009:151), it has been suggested that there are a large number of precursors that could motivate the act of rape, starting with: sexual arousal (deviant sexual excitement), cognitive motivations (myths about rape), development problems, and the so-called emotional expressions (e.g. rage against women). Rape can also be an expression of hostility towards the victim, an instrument for expressing anger or control over the victim, as well as a means by which a rapist wants to degrade the victim, inflicting physical

pain, insulting, humiliating, blackmailing, etc. The rapist's need to control the victim, to demonstrate power and domination through the use of violence during an interaction with the victim, occurs even after the victim has been subdued and subjugated. Likely motives include lust, imaginary goals and, of course, sexual fantasy. Although many authors view lust as a secondary motive, research exploring lust which was conducted by Stevens (Stevens 2000:39) showed that, according to the rapists' statements, lust was quoted as the primary motive for serial rape in 42% of the cases. When it comes to imaginary goals, the act of rape should represent the fulfilment of these goals, and these are objectives that border with reality or represent a form of sexual fantasy about rape.

The results of this research speak of a significant presence of both general and sexual fantasies about rape, as well as their occurrence on a daily basis, and especially of the frequency of sexual fantasies related to rape. Regarding the content of sexual fantasies, the results show the existence of the same, but also of different types of sexual fantasies. The presence of masturbatory fantasies is evident both among general sexual fantasies and in sexual fantasies related to rape, and so are the fantasies of oral, vaginal and anal sex. In the light of the above, we can point out that sex offenders under research frequently reported having sexual fantasies about rape, which could also be found in the general non-delinquent population (Leitenberg and Heening 1995:491). Regarding the remaining types of sexual fantasies, it is noticeable that these are different sexual fantasies. For example, general sexual fantasies include fantasies about sex with a familiar or unfamiliar, possibly imaginary person, as well as fantasies that include different settings, and positions in sex. In sexual fantasies about rape, there are fantasies about sex with a minor or with an elderly woman, a fantasy in which the rapist inflicts physical pain to the victim, demonstrates sexual power, as well as sexual fantasies of rape wherein the victim shows obedience and submissiveness. When we summarize the results related to sexual fantasies regarding rape, we notice the rapist's tendency to degrade the victim, through specific patterns of aggressive behaviour. Namely, various manifestations of aggression are noticeable, which is difficult to distinguish from motivation for aggression, or sexual fantasies, for several reasons. First, many aggressive actions involve multiple motives, making it difficult to identify which motive is primary (Dinić, Mitrović, and Smederevac 2014:299). In that sense, it is also difficult to identify which sexual fantasy is primary. Second, it is assumed that the rapist's sexual activity stems from his fantasy, and that it in some ways determines his behaviour by setting parameters for the 'resulting' behaviour, i.e. the steps that the rapist must follow to get a sexual act (Baić and Lajić 2017:34). Third, aggression, just as a sexual fantasy, is a multidimensional construct, whose manifestations are most often shaped by different dimensions of personality (Dinić et al. 2014:315). In conclusion, it is suggested that future research should more clearly identify the potential link between sexual fantasies, especially deviant sexual fantasies, and sexual violence. This requirement is specifically imposed, bearing in mind that rape represents the integration of sexual and aggressive acts and that current knowledge does not explain how they are associated with the act of rape

(Barbaree and Marshall 1991:621). Therefore, there is certainly a need for a more comprehensive understanding of the role of sexual fantasy in the commission of the criminal offense of rape, especially because – in terms of criminalistics – the sexual behaviour of the rapist towards the victim can be considered to constitute a characteristic pattern of behaviour (Baić and Lajić 2017:33).

Regarding the limitations of this research, we should emphasize the following. First, the authors used the questionnaire as a method of data collection, which is, among other things, suitable for the collection of various data, facts and attitudes. However, this instrument also has its disadvantages, which are primarily reflected in the fact that the respondents are aware that they are being questioned and can modify their answers under the influence of several factors. The most serious problem is that they may be subject to the influence of social desirability. In the context of the problem of sexual fantasies, this would mean avoiding giving answers that speak of the presence and content of the so-called deviant or pathological sexual fantasies. In this context, it is necessary to mention the issue of actual willingness to express themselves, despite the declared general consent to participate in the research. Namely, the will to participate does not *per se* imply the sincerity in giving answers. Furthermore, the questionnaire represents a pre-formulated set of questions and answers, so a logical question arises whether these questions cover the issues that are the subject of research and whether sufficient answers are offered (multiple choice questions). There is also a possibility to omit some questions, which can later prove to be of significance. At the same time, it can be asked whether the convicts are aware of their experiences, especially afterwards reliving them in their memory, because in this situation they are retrospectively reporting about past fantasies and behaviours. So, it is definitely possible to ask whether the convicts' reports (answers) about their fantasies are accurate or reliable. Regarding the size of the sample, we have to emphasize that the participation in this research was voluntary and that this fact significantly influenced the decision on the size of the sample.

Although beyond the scope of this paper, it would also be possible to discuss the issue of treatment or modification of deviant sexual fantasies in sexual offenders, including paedophiles. The world is increasingly working on sex offender treatment programs, which include, among other things, direct modification of sexual fantasies. In view of the above, it would be important to explore how much sexual fantasies are variable and whether this could subsequently affect their behaviour (Leitenberg and Heening 1995:488).

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