

transvestism rather than transvestic fetishism (Buhrich, 1978).

The absence of fulfilling sexual relations is considered important in the development of cross-dressing. Individuals with learning disabilities are at a special disadvantage in finding appropriate partners, while their need for sexual relations is often denied by society. Additionally, personality characteristics severely impair relationship formation, Platonic or sexual. However, once a normal sexual relationship is established, the behaviour may diminish. Cross-dressing could be more common than expected among individuals with learning disabilities, owing to limited opportunity for sexual partners. In addition, such behaviour may be less discreetly conducted, leading to more ready discovery. Although the promotion of heterosexual relationships is important if the behaviour is to abate, greater acceptance of such behaviour by society is required.

Acknowledgements

The authors wish to thank Mrs L. McManus for deciphering several drafts of this manuscript, and the parents and carers of the individuals described for their assistance.

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Erotic Target Location Errors in Male Gender Dysphorics, Paedophiles, and Fetishists

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A clinical series of male paedophiles who dressed or fantasised themselves as children suggests that certain paraphilias represent developmental errors in locating erotic targets in the environment and that proneness to such errors is a paraphilic dimension in its own right, apart from the specific nature of the erotic target.
British Journal of Psychiatry (1993), 162, 558–563

Blanchard (1991) has theorised that one class of paraphilias in heterosexual men, including fetishism, transvestism, and related cross-gender phenomena, results from developmental errors in locating heterosexual targets in the environment. The present study shows that analogues of these paraphilias occur in men whose preferred erotic target is something other than women. This is in order to argue that proneness to developmental error in locating erotic targets is

a basic dimension of paraphilia which is independent of the nature of the targets themselves.

The phenomena described below have been observed only in men. Future research will have to determine whether, in this instance as in others, women are more resistant to the development of paraphilic preferences, or whether clinical sexologists have simply not learned to recognise the expression of certain paraphilias in women.

The term 'gynaephilia' refers to males whose preferred erotic targets are women. It is thus more specific than the familiar term heterosexuality, which can refer to an erotic preference for females of any age.

In gynaephilic men, developmental errors in locating the erotic target in the environment take three main forms: fetishism, transvestism, and autogynaephilia. In some fetishism, the individual

orients towards a particular garment (e.g. panties, brassières) rather than those parts of a woman's body the garment usually covers. (Other common fetishes concern particular parts of the body, such as feet, and substances resembling hair or flesh, such as some types of rubber.) In transvestism, the individual is aroused by the appearance of an attractively clad woman, but he prefers this image on himself rather than another person.

The third form of developmental error has only recently been isolated from the first two. Blanchard (1991) has specified this as 'anatomic autogynaephilia'; we refer to it simply as autogynaephilia. Autogynaephilia may be defined as a male's paraphilic tendency to be sexually aroused by the thought of having a woman's body, or parts of a woman's body such as breasts. A clinical vignette describing an unusually pure case of autogynaephilia is given by Blanchard (1991). The available data suggest that erotic fantasies of possessing a woman's body are not necessarily accompanied by transvestism, although they are in most cases. Blanchard (1991) found that 90% of autogynaephilic men acknowledge some history of transvestism: 35% acknowledge transvestism alone, and 55% acknowledge fetishism as well as transvestism.

There exist, among paedophiles, paraphilic patterns closely resembling autogynaephilia, transvestism, and clothing-fetishism in gynaephiles. We believe that this parallelism is the result of the same errors of target location discussed above, in persons whose preferred erotic targets are children rather than women.

The population of paedophiles includes a small group (corresponding to autogynaephiles) who are sexually aroused by the thought of being children themselves. Most, but not all, such individuals identify in their fantasies with children of their own sex. A second group (corresponding to transvestites) put on children's clothing (appropriate to their own sex) for the purpose of sexual excitement and masturbation. Such behaviour is sometimes referred to as cisvestism (Campbell, 1981). A third group of paedophiles (corresponding to gynaephilic fetishists) have an erotic attraction for children's clothes that does not depend on them wearing the clothes or thinking of themselves as children. As with the corresponding groups of gynaephiles, these three groups of paedophiles tend to overlap, especially the first two.

The parallels between gynaephilic and paedophilic men extend beyond their behaviour in sexually excited states. In gynaephilic men, persistent sexual fantasies of having women's breasts, a vagina, etc., are usually associated with a strong desire, which is not restricted to periods of genital arousal, to acquire

these features through hormonal or surgical treatment. Both features are usually prominent in the syndrome known as 'gender identity disorder' in gynaephilic men. It appears that both these features also have counterparts in the paedophilic analogue, which we will call 'age identity disorder'.

In both age and gender identity disorder, the individual attaches the attractive aspects of his preferred erotic target category to himself. We therefore collectively refer to age identity disorder and gender identity disorder as 'erotic target identity inversions'.

The cases below represent patients who went to the first author for assessment of paedophilia or fetishism. All of these men acknowledged a paedophilic orientation. This was confirmed with the phallometric test of paedophilia (Freund *et al*, 1958; Freund & Watson, 1991), a diagnostic procedure in which changes in penile blood volume are monitored during and after the presentation of stimuli depicting nude males and females of various ages and describing sexual interactions with men, women, boys, and girls.

Paedophilic target identity inversion

Case 1

A 37-year-old man requested therapy to reduce his sex drive after he had been accused of fondling a boy's penis through his pants. He accompanied his request for medication with a request for the address of a plastic surgeon. When asked why, he began discussing circumcision, saying that it is a crime to do this to a child who is not yet able to decide for himself, becoming quite excited on that point. He further stated that he wanted to get a prepuce as long as that of a little boy, which would end as a tube in front of the glans. When he did not get an address of a plastic surgeon who could perform this operation, he tried desperately to get this information from another doctor. Since the patient's stated desire was only for a partial alteration of his anatomy, the clinical picture resembles that of 'marginal transvestites' (Buhrich & McConaghy, 1979), who request implant surgery to create the appearance of female breasts.

Cases 2 and 3

Both of these men had histories of sexual interaction with boys. Both reported the practice of dressing in clothes resembling boy's gym outfits (e.g. shorts and running shoes) and then masturbating with the fantasy of being young boys.

Case 4

This 18-year-old man was sexually attracted to infants and toddlers of both sexes, but somewhat more to girls.

He reported that, when he fantasised sexually or fondled a real child, he felt himself like a 10-year-old boy.

Case 5

This 22-year-old man complained of nappy fetishism and of sexual interest in children of both sexes. The sexual attractiveness of children, however, depended upon their wearing nappies. The patient's fetishistic activity consisted of putting on nappies and urinating into them before masturbating. Sometimes he wore nappies all day, changing them in washrooms and masturbating in conjunction with that. He sometimes deliberately left his nappies hanging out from his shorts or from his fly, so that people could see them (this behaviour is reminiscent of transvestite exhibitionists, whose preferred activity consists of showing strange women that they are wearing panties or brassières). When he wore nappies, he felt like a baby.

Case 6

This 23-year-old heterosexual paedophile was particularly interested in children's underwear. He was in the habit of putting on nappies previously soaked in hot water, with rubber pants over them. He also reported fantasies of being a child who is sexually molested by a female baby-sitter. In these fantasies, the woman would bring her little daughter into the sexual activity and he, approaching this girl from behind, would rub his penis between her legs.

Comments

Our earlier remarks on the parallelism of gynaephilic and paedophilic phenomena may require one qualification. There was no case of age identity disorder, among the above patients, that reached the intensity of gender identity disorder commonly seen in transsexualism. The correct interpretation of this finding is not certain. It is conceivable that there is some ceiling effect intrinsic to the syndrome itself. Another possibility is that the aspirations of paedophiles who wish that they could be children are simply more limited by surgical realities.

Paedophilic fetishism without target identity inversion

A somewhat different group of paedophiles respond fetishistically to children's clothing or other items or activities associated with children but do not appear to envision themselves as children in their erotic fantasies. The first patient refused phallometric testing.

Case 1

This 26-year-old man was charged with ten counts of smearing his faeces on girls' skirts. The patient remembered at the age of four, putting on a boy's nappy. From that time on, he began putting on nappies for the purpose of urinating and defecating into them, initially 'feeling good' while doing this. From the age of 11, this activity was accompanied by sexual arousal.

This account parallels the self-report of many transvestites that, before puberty, they 'felt good' when putting on women's clothes. When they reached puberty, the same cross-dressing began to elicit penile erection and ejaculation.

Cases 2 and 3

Both of these paedophilic men manifested fetishism for little girls' panties. One complained spontaneously of this fetish, the other had been threatened with legal action if he continued stealing girls' panties.

Case 4

This 17-year-old man, of borderline intelligence, was referred because of his repeated thefts of children's snowsuits and his subsequent use of these snowsuits for public masturbation. There was no evidence in the patient's statements or behaviour that he imagined himself as a child during his fetishistic activities.

Case 5

This 22-year-old man, also of borderline intelligence, was charged for putting a nappy on a seven-year-old girl. This followed several previous episodes in which he had involved girls in his sexual activities. The patient had been born without an anus and had always worn nappies himself.

Comments

The first patient represents a transitional type between the previous group of cases and the present one, in that he did dress in children's clothes but without imagining himself as a child. He corresponds to those (gynaephilic) transvestites who cross-dress with sexual excitement in full feminine attire but nonetheless deny that they ever feel like, or imagine themselves as, women during this activity.

The remaining cases neither dressed in children's clothes nor imagined themselves as children. They therefore correspond to those gynaephiles who manifest fetishism for specific articles of women's attire but do not cross-dress in any imitative fashion or entertain explicit fantasies of being women.

Erotic target location errors with a non-human target

The next case is an illustration of the proposition that pathological phenomena of erotic target location are independent of the erotic targets themselves. This man had an identity disorder comparable in severity to anything seen in transsexuals.

Case report

R was a 25-year-old single man of somewhat limited intelligence. His presenting complaint was a lifelong history of fantasising himself as a cartoon dog. In recent years,

he had become preoccupied with these fantasies to the point of subjective distress. Fantasies of being a make-believe dog, frustration over the fact that he was not one, and guilt over the whole situation, had reached the point of interfering with his job.

At about the age of six, R and his identical twin brother, S, began playing together with furry, stuffed toy animals. They made the animals act like little people. The twins provided the voices for the animals, in the manner of puppeteers.

When R and S reached puberty, around the age of 11, they expanded the make-believe activities of their toy animals to include copulation. Both boys obtained erections when they pretended that the animals were copulating, but did not masturbate or ejaculate. They continued playing together with their toy animals until they reached the age of 20, when they moved into separate bedrooms.

R's make-believe play evolved into an entire universe inhabited by cartoon-like animals; he called this creation 'fantasy world'. The central characters in fantasy world were the Smith family, which consisted of various animals. The protagonist, himself, was Puppy Smith. Puppy Smith could fly as well as swim under water. The other members of the Smith family were Puppy's brothers and sisters: Tammy the lioness, Spotty the leopard, and so on. All these characters corresponded to stuffed animals currently in R's possession.

R's erotic behaviour was directed entirely at fantasy world and its physical representation in the form of stuffed animals. His favourite masturbation fantasy was imagining that he was Puppy Smith and that his sisters (e.g. Tammy the lioness) were taking care of him. In reality, he also masturbated using his stuffed animals. Interestingly, he did not only masturbate with toys representing other beings, but also masturbated with the toy representing his fantasy persona, Puppy Smith.

The course of this patient's disorder closely resembles that of many transvestites, who begin with fetishistic cross-dressing and gradually progress to fantasies of living as women full-time (e.g. Benjamin, 1966; Bancroft, 1972; Person & Ovesey, 1978; Wise & Meyer, 1980; Freund *et al*, 1982).

Infantile or juvenile self-imagery in masochistic gynaephiles

Progress in understanding erotic target location errors will require careful distinction between genuine phenomena of erotic target location and superficially similar paraphilic acts and fantasies that may have different aetiologies. Examples of the latter are masochistic gynaephiles who habitually imagine themselves as little boys or babies in sexual fantasies involving adult women. It is likely that the aberrant self-image in these cases is connected with the individual's desire for a submissive interaction with a dominant female, or masochistic fantasies of soiling, or both.

All the patients in the following vignettes stated that they were most attracted sexually to women; in two cases this preference was also suggested by their fantasies or histories. Both these men had sought consultation on their own

initiative and neither had criminal charges. There was, therefore, no reason to suspect their self-reported gynaephilic orientation or to carry out phallometric testing. In the third case, the patient's clinical evaluation was prompted by criminal charges, and objective confirmation of his gynaephilic orientation was provided by phallometric testing.

Case 1

This 35-year-old man complained about disturbing masturbation fantasies and practices. His masturbatory ritual began with putting on nappies and urinating into them. He would remain in his wet nappy, sometimes for over an hour, before masturbating to orgasm. This activity was accompanied by fantasies of being a baby, including the thought of his mother putting him into the washing machine. The patient's history included a variety of other masochistic phenomena. He had, in the past, used women's clothing rather than children's as symbols of powerlessness or degradation. At the age of 12 or 13, he had been in the habit of wearing women's brassières, slips, and panties (sometimes urinating into the panties), tying himself up and gagging himself, and sometimes hanging himself up by the feet.

Case 2

The presenting complaint of this 31-year-old patient was masochism. His favourite sexual fantasy was being a boy of about 10; a female friend of his mother is spanking him on the buttocks with a hairbrush and two girls are looking on and laughing at him, a situation he experiences as particularly humiliating.

Case 3

This 27-year-old man was charged for breaking into nurseries at night. His practice was to put on a nappy before entering the nursery and then, once inside, to urinate and defecate. After soiling his nappy, he would telephone the authorities to notify them of a break-in at the nursery, turn on all the lights, and wait for someone to arrive. His hope was that a woman would come, spank him for soiling, and change his nappy. This longed-for interaction was also his principal masturbation fantasy.

Comments

The above cases suggest a distinction between paedophiles with erotic imagery of themselves as children and masochistic gynaephiles with similar fantasies. This view is based on our analysis of the relationships between the infantile (or juvenile) self-imagery and the other elements of the total fantasy. With paedophiles, this imagery increases the subject's similarity to the sexual object (children). With masochistic gynaephiles, the same imagery increases the subject's difference from the sexual object (women), in particular, the difference between subject and object in power and control. This power differential, expressed in such fantasies by the imagined woman

spanking or scolding the subject, is central to the masochistic arousal. A similar analysis can be applied to the fetish objects (usually nappies) used in masturbation by the two groups. With paedophiles, the fetish derives its power from its association with the sexual object, children. With masochistic gynaephiles, the fetish derives its power from association with the (fantasised) subject; it is an accoutrement to the role of the shamed, defenceless, punished little boy. In light of these differences, we believe that erotic fantasies of being a child probably have different aetiologies in the two groups.

Discussion

The findings suggest that the population of homosexual men should contain its own analogues of fetishism, transvestism, and autogynaephilia. Some support for this prediction is given by Zavitzianos (1972, 1977). He described some homosexual men who dressed in specific articles of men's attire and masturbated at the sight of themselves in the mirror. He considered that this phenomenon, which he called 'homeovestism', is the homosexual counterpart of transvestism. The homosexual analogues of autogynaephilia and gender dysphoria would probably be subtle and difficult to detect; the presence of grosser paraphilias such as homeovestism, however, might prompt the interested clinician to look for them. For example, one of Zavitzianos' cases, who masturbated in military uniforms, said of his real-life encounters with homosexual men, "When I masturbate with an army man it is as if I wanted to be the other".

We have referred to 'developmental errors of erotic target location', a phrase introduced by Blanchard (1991). This characterisation was based on the following theoretical considerations regarding the origin of erotic preferences.

It seems unlikely that homosexual, heterosexual, and paedophilic men are born with pre-formed erotic images of men, women, and children, respectively; a more likely scenario is that they are born with differential sensitivities to particular classes of stimuli (e.g. hairiness or smoothness), and that these sensitivities interact with experience to produce a finished image of the desired object. Blanchard (1991) concluded, on the basis of his work on fetishism, transvestism, and autogynaephilia, that there must be some developmental process that, in most males, keeps such learning 'on track', perhaps by biasing erotic response towards external rather than internal stimuli, and inherent rather than variable features of the desired object's appearance. When this process fails, the individual may develop an erotic image of himself that includes some, or all, features of the desired object (target identity

inversion), or a sexual orientation toward non-essential features of the desired object (clothing fetishism), or both. Because these mislearnings concern the 'where' of sexual orienting rather than the 'what', Blanchard characterised them as errors of erotic target location.

This theory predicts that, for every class of sexual object, there will be small subgroups of men who develop fetishes for clothing associated with the desired object, who develop the erotic fantasy of being the desired object, and who develop the sustained wish to transform their own bodies into facsimiles of the desired object.

Previous authors have advanced developmental theories similar to the above hypothesis. The first authors to speculate about errors of erotic target location were probably Rohleder (1907) and Moll, whom Rohleder quoted. Rohleder described two men, for whom he coined the label 'automonosexual'. These men never felt any erotic interest in a partner; instead, they experienced sexual love for their own persons and displayed various kinds of sexual behaviour toward themselves, such as kissing their images in the mirror. Rohleder theorised, in explaining these cases, that there are two separate in-born erotic tendencies: a 'contractation drive', which is the basis of responding sexually to a human body; and another drive that makes a person respond sexually to objects other than the person's own body. He speculated that, in automonosexual individuals, there is some brain defect such that the organic basis of the second drive is weak or missing. Rohleder's hypothesised 'second drive' resembles Blanchard's notion that normal sexual development is guided by some process that, among other functions, biases erotic response towards external rather than internal stimuli.

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