QUEENSLAND CHILD PROTECTION COMMISSION OF INQUIRY
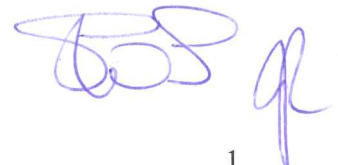
STATEMENT OF STEPHEN SMALLBONE

I, Stephen Smallbone, of Griffith University, Messines Ridge Road, Mt Gravatt, Queensland, solemnly and sincerely affirm and declare:

1. I am a psychologist and Professor in the School of Criminology and Criminal Justice, an Australian Research Council Future Fellow, and the Director of Griffith Youth Forensic Service, at Griffith University. I have attached my curriculum vitae to this statement (Attachment 1).

2. In this statement I wish to draw the Commission's attention to the following aspects of my work:
    i)   the application of situational crime prevention concepts and methods to the prevention of sexual abuse;
    ii) child-focused prevention of sexual abuse;
    iii) understanding and preventing Internet child pornography;
    iv) treatment and risk management with known sexual offenders, particularly youth offenders; and
    v)   place-based prevention of youth sexual violence and abuse at two sites in Queensland.

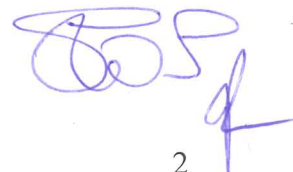   I will comment on some of the implications of this work for improving child protection in Queensland.

Situational prevention

3. In our 2006 book *Situational prevention of child sexual abuse* co-editor Richard Wortley and I outlined how situational crime prevention concepts and methods could be applied to the prevention of sexual abuse. Our chapter from that book is attached (Attachment 2).

4. Situational crime prevention is concerned with how features of specific settings permit or encourage specific kinds of crime to occur. The thrust of our argument is that physical and social environments can be systematically designed or altered to

1

minimise the risk of sexual (and other) abuse occurring in the first place. The aim is to create safer environments for children.

5. Most sexual (and other) abuse occurs in domestic settings, but a significant proportion also occurs in organisational and (less so) in public settings. The Forde Inquiry in particular drew attention to many features of organisational settings that allowed or encouraged abuse to occur in the past.

6. While much has been done to improve the safety of child-serving organisations, so far as sexual abuse is concerned much of this work continues to be founded on unhelpful, stereotyped conceptions of sexual offenders. These conceptions cast the sexual offender as a cunning, determined, disturbed 'paedophile' who infiltrates child-serving organisations to find children to abuse. While a small number of such cases undoubtedly do occur, we argue that motivations to sexually abuse a child more typically arise in the course of routine interactions with particular children. In organisational settings, this means that the greatest risk of sexual and other abuse is more likely to come from otherwise 'ordinary' people already involved in the organisation. Standard prevention approaches, such as pre-employment screening, will neither identify these people nor prevent them from abusing a child.

7. The New South Wales Commission for Children and Young People drew on this situational prevention model for its 'Working with Children Checks'. In 2006 I worked with the NSW Commission to assist with their development of a three-part assessment protocol. In addition to the usual risk assessment of individuals, in New South Wales these checks included risk assessments of the position (e.g. whether the person's role would involve unsupervised contact with vulnerable children) and risk assessments of the organisations themselves (e.g. the extent to which abuse prevention and response policies were developed and monitored). This shows how situational prevention can have very wide application in organisational settings.

8. In 2010 I was engaged by a school to apply these situational prevention principles to their particular school environment. This work involved advising on a range of (usually small, inexpensive) alterations to the physical (e.g. de-cluttering observation panels on schoolroom doors to improve natural surveillance) and social environment (e.g. promoting extended guardianship among staff and students). This work illustrates how situational prevention principles can be readily applied in specific child-serving organisations.

9. Situational prevention can also add to the repertoire of interventions available to front-line child protection officers. Our situational model has been incorporated into the training materials provided by Griffith Youth Forensic Service (see points 20-21 below). Feedback from Child Safety Officers who have attended this training indicates that understanding how different kinds of offenders interact with different kinds of situations (see Attachment 2, pp.13-18) has the potential to improve their decision-making concerning sexual abuse investigations and responses.

10. In summary, situational prevention presents an additional point of leverage in the task of preventing sexual abuse. The above examples illustrate its potential to guide state policy, to reduce risks of abuse in specific organisational settings, and to assist in front-line child protection practice.

Child-focused prevention

11. In our 2008 book *Preventing child sexual abuse*, I and co-authors Bill Marshall and Richard Wortley set out a comprehensive, evidence-informed approach to sexual abuse prevention policy and practice. One aspect addressed in the book was child-focused prevention. I have attached our chapter on that topic to this statement (Attachment 3).

12. In summary, our conclusions were that:

    i) The incidence of child sexual abuse is not evenly distributed – some children are more vulnerable than others. Understanding risk factors associated with sexual abuse opens possibilities to prevent victimisation by reducing vulnerabilities in at-risk children and their families.

    ii) Evaluations of community awareness campaigns indicate that the general public is already aware that sexual abuse is a serious problem. Indeed the community is probably more aware and more concerned about sexual abuse than it has ever been. The real gap seems to be that people are not well informed about how, when and where sexual abuse generally occurs, nor what they might be able to do to protect children from this kind of abuse.

    iii) Protective behaviours training of children has been widely embraced. Such training seems to increase reporting by abused children, but there is virtually no evidence that it prevents abuse from occurring in the first place. We argue

that a 'resilience-building' approach may be preferable to the 'resistance-training' approach that seems to underlie most protective behaviours programs.

iv) Sexually abused children are often reluctant to disclose the abuse to a third party. In about half of known cases the abuse was detected by means other than self-disclosure (e.g. incidental discovery by a family member or professional).

v) Disclosure of abuse by a child does not always lead to positive outcomes. Negative reactions by others are associated with worse outcomes for the child.

vi) Mandatory reporting usually leads to a substantial increase in the number of abuse notifications, but a large proportion of this increase is accounted for by additional unsubstantiated notifications. The effects can therefore include added pressure to already-overwhelmed child protection services, possibly making it more difficult to concentrate resources on the most concerning cases. Nor does mandatory reporting by itself lead to better outcomes for the children concerned. In some cases children may become even more reluctant to self-disclose under mandatory reporting regimes (e.g. because they fear what may happen to themselves or the abuser, with whom they may have strong personal and family ties). We argue that the most important factor is to create the conditions whereby children feel safe to report, and where the responses by others are sensitive, supportive, and effective in ending the abuse.

vii) One reason for the reluctance of children and their families to report abuse to authorities is the fear of the child protection and justice systems themselves. Much has been done to improve the way these systems deal with individual cases, but more could be done to extend the reach of best-practice standards for police (e.g. continuing to improve forensic interviewing practices) and the courts (e.g. reducing waiting times to go to trial; use of screens or CCTV for children's testimony; prohibiting aggressive cross examination).

viii) Sexually abused children are at increased risk of further sexual victimisation, including in unrelated circumstances later in life (e.g. as adults). Victim counselling services should explicitly aim both to ameliorate the harm of the original abuse and to prevent further victimisation. Funding for such services could, and perhaps should, be contingent on demonstrated outcomes in both these respects.

4

Internet child pornography

13. In our 2012 book *Internet child pornography,* Richard Wortley and I address the causes, investigation, and prevention of this problem. The brief concluding chapter from this book is attached (Attachment 4).

14. We argue that while Internet child pornography has become the quintessential global crime problem, at the same time it is also fundamentally a local problem because child pornography material is usually originally produced in the context of contact sexual abuse by adults with close family or social connections to the children concerned.

15. Internet child pornography is also a local problem because serious questions are raised about the risks of actual contact abuse posed by those arrested for accessing or possessing child pornography. Assumptions, based on the usual stereotyping, that child pornography users must be 'paedophiles' who will stop at nothing to find a child to abuse have little basis in evidence. And yet it is common to find cases where child protection services will seek to permanently remove children or disallow contact with offending parents or siblings without conducting careful assessments of the individual circumstances. This once again points to the need to improve the knowledge and skills of child protection officers.

16. We propose in the book many ways in which prevention efforts may be usefully directed at reducing the availability and consumption of child pornography. At the same time we argue that efforts to target child pornography and other 'online' offenders (e.g. Internet 'groomers') should not overshadow efforts to prevent contact child abuse itself.

17. We do not deal with the issue of online grooming in the book, but I do have concerns about some practices designed to combat this problem. As an example, I comment here on proactive strategies in which police pose as a child and seek to engage online with suspected groomers. Returning to the ideas upon which situational prevention is based, the goal should be to reduce opportunities for potential offenders, not to create them. My understanding is that in many cases police will engage with a suspected groomer but not be able to develop the conversation to a point that an arrest can be made. The suspect will therefore presumably leave the encounter without knowing they have been communicating with police, thinking instead that they have had a sexual conversation with a real
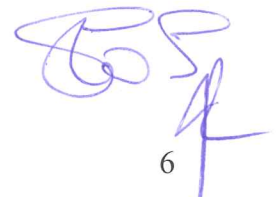
child. I fear that in these cases the suspects may be left emboldened by the belief that children really are interested in sexual conversations with them. Thus the suspect is rewarded and encouraged, rather than deterred, by their encounter with police. This is an example where great care needs to be taken to consider and avoid unintended negative outcomes of policing and other ostensibly prevention-oriented practices.

18. An opportunity that seems to be overlooked by police would be to contact actual young people who are engaging in risky behaviour online. The idea that online groomers deceive young people as to their identity and intentions is not supported by research evidence. Instead, the victim of online grooming is typically an older girl (14 or 15 years of age) who agrees to meet the groomer for a sexual encounter. These are vulnerable young people, and with their online presence police may have opportunities to warn and counsel young people about their risky behaviour. This is an example of how the goal of making successful arrests can become more important than the goal of protecting vulnerable children from abuse.

19. Returning to the problem of child pornography, a similar tension may exist when police monitor an offender's Internet use over a period of time. Allowing offenders to 'dig themselves deeper' into trouble by continuing to access child pornography may assist in achieving a successful prosecution, but meanwhile the user may become more psychologically involved with the material, and more images of actual children are used for sexual purposes. An alternative would be for police to alert detected users immediately. As we note in our book, some jurisdictions are in fact experimenting with sending online warning messages to detected users, preserving their investigative resources for the most concerning cases.

Treatment and risk management with known offenders

20. I have been involved in the assessment and treatment of adult sexual offenders for 23 years, and of youth sexual offenders for the past 12 years.

21. I understand that the operation of programs associated with corrective services and youth justice services is outside the scope of the Commission of Inquiry's Terms of Reference. However I comment on this here because of its clear relevance to child protection.

22. Evidence indicates that high quality treatment programs for both adult and youth sexual offenders can reduce both sexual and nonsexual recidivism rates. To the extent that such programs include offenders whose victims are children, preventing further similar offences is an important part of a wider abuse prevention agenda.

23. A report on the effectiveness of Queensland Corrective Services prison-based sexual offender treatment programs, which I co-authored, is publicly available: http://www.correctiveservices.qld.gov.au/Publications/Corporate_Publications/Reviews_and_Reports/index.shtml. Based on comparisons of treated and untreated offenders, the report concluded that the Queensland programs were associated with reductions in sexual and nonsexual recidivism. Providing post-release supervision (e.g. parole) seemed to have the strongest positive effect.

24. Griffith Youth Forensic Service (GYFS), based at Griffith University in Brisbane, has been contracted by the Queensland Government continuously since 2001 to provide state-wide assessment and intervention services for youth sexual offenders. I am the Director of that program. We expect in the next week or two to obtain data from Queensland Police Service records searches on all GYFS clients, as well as on young offenders who were not referred to GYFS. Among other things, this will allow us to examine and report recidivism outcomes for GYFS clients.

25. I have previously made a submission to the Child Protection Commission of Inquiry on behalf of GYFS. That submission included comments about a number of matters of relevance to the Inquiry. These include issues concerning: i) the provision of specialist services to clients with complex needs and who live in regional and remote locations in Queensland; ii) the intersection of youth justice and child safety concerns; iii) problems encountered with child safety services in Queensland; and iv) opportunities for place-based prevention.
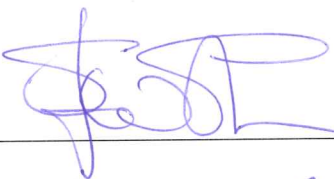
Place-based prevention

26. Our group at Griffith University is presently contracted by the Queensland Department of the Premier and Cabinet to investigate the scope, dimensions and dynamics of youth sexual violence and abuse in two communities in Queensland. This work has arisen directly from the involvement of GYFS with referred youth offenders from these communities, which has led to the discovery of apparently endemic problems with youth sexual violence and abuse in these locations.

27. We are hopeful of obtaining funding from Commonwealth, State, and Local government to progress this work over the next three to four years. The aim is to implement and evaluate a suite of individual, situational and ecological (family, peer, organisational/school, & neighbourhood) interventions designed to reduce the incidence of youth-perpetrated sexual violence and abuse in the two Queensland communities. More broadly, the project aims to generate new knowledge about the problem and its causes, contribute to the evidence base on 'what works to prevent crime', and facilitate the transfer of this knowledge and expertise to other sites in Australia and internationally.

Signed _____

Declared before me _____   Janet Ann Ransley
                                                        Lawyer, Qld

at Brisbane, this ____2nd____ day of November, 2012

ATTACHMENT 1

CURRICULUM VITAE

Stephen Walkley Smallbone PhD

School of Criminology and Criminal Justice
Mt Gravatt Campus, Griffith University Qld 4111
Ph: (07) 373 53347 Fax: (07) 373 55802
email: S.Smallbone@griffith.edu.au

Qualifications

Doctor of Philosophy (Griffith University, 1999)
Graduate Diploma of Psychology (University of Tasmania, 1989)
Bachelor of Arts (University of Queensland, 1988)

Present Appointments

2010 - 2014	Australian Research Council Future Fellow
2009 - present	Professor, School of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Griffith University
2001 - present	Director, Griffith Youth Forensic Service (GYFS), Griffith University

Previous Appointments

2006 - 2008	Associate Professor, School of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Griffith University
2001 - 2005	Senior Lecturer, School of Criminology and Criminal Justice, Griffith University
2000 - 2003	Director, Forensic Psychology Training, School of Applied Psychology, Griffith University
1998 - 2000	Lecturer, School of Criminology & Criminal Justice, Griffith University
1997 - 1998	Adjunct Lecturer in Clinical Psychology, Griffith University (P/T)
1994 - 1997	Senior Psychologist, Qld Corrective Services Commission
1990 - 1993	Psychologist, Qld Corrective Services Commission

Publications

<u>Authored Books</u>
Wortley, R., & Smallbone, S. (2012). *Internet child pornography: Causes, investigation and prevention*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.
Smallbone, S., Marshall, W.L., & Wortley, R. (2008). *Preventing child sexual abuse: Evidence, policy and practice*. Cullompton, Devon: Willan Publishing.

<u>Edited Books</u>
Wortley, R., & Smallbone, S. (Eds.). (2006). *Situational prevention of child sexual abuse*. Monsey, NY: Criminal Justice Press.

Guide Books

Wortley, R., & Smallbone, S. (2006). *Problem-oriented policing guide: Internet child pornography*. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice.

Book Chapters

Smallbone, S., & Cale, J. (submitted). Situational theories. In T.Ward & A.Beech (Eds.)., *Theories of sex offending*. New York: Wiley.

Smallbone, S., & Cale, J. (in press). An integrated life course developmental theory of sexual offending. In A.Blockland & P.Lussier (Eds.). Sex offenders: A criminal careers approach. New York: Wiley.

Smallbone, S. (2011). Psychological explanations. In H. Hayes & T. Prenzler (Eds.). *Introduction to crime and justice, 3rd Ed.* Sydney: Pearson

Smallbone, S. (2009). Psychological explanations. In H. Hayes & T. Prenzler (Eds.). *Introduction to crime and justice, 2nd Ed.* Sydney: Pearson

Smallbone, S. (2008). Psychological explanations. In H. Hayes & T. Prenzler (Eds.). *Introduction to crime and justice.* Sydney: Pearson

Wortley, R., & Smallbone, S. (2006). Applying Situational Principles to Sexual Offenses Against Children. In R.K. Wortley, & S.W. Smallbone (Eds.). *Situational prevention of child sexual abuse.* Monsey, NY: Criminal Justice Press.

Smallbone, S. (2006). An attachment theoretical revision of Marshall and Barbaree's (1990) Integrated Theory of the Etiology of Sexual Offending. In W.L. Marshall, Y.M. Fernandez, and L.E. Marshall (Eds.). *Sexual offender treatment: Issues and controversies.* Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.

Smallbone, S. (2006). Social and psychological factors in the development of delinquency and sexual deviance. In H.E. Barbaree, & W.L. Marshall (Eds.). *The juvenile sex offender* (2nd ed.) New York: Guilford Press.

Smallbone, S. (2005). Attachment insecurity as a predisposing and precipitating factor for sexually offending behaviour by young people. In M.C. Calder (Ed.). *Children and young people who sexually abuse: New theory, research and practice developments.* London: Russell House.

Peer reviewed articles

Leclerc, B., Smallbone, S. & Wortley, R. (under review). Prevention nearby: An examination of the presence of a capable guardian, its related context and effect on the severity of child sexual abuse.

Smallbone, S. & Rallings, M. (accepted for publication). Short-term predictive validity of the Static-99 for Australian indigenous and non-indigenous sexual offenders.

Cale, J., Leclerc, B., & Smallbone, S. (in press). The sexual lives of sexual offenders: The link between childhood sexual victimization and non-criminal sexual lifestyles between types of offenders. *Psychology, Crime and Law.*

McKillop, N., Smallbone, S., Wortley, R,. & Andjic, I. (2012). Offenders' attachment and sexual abuse onset: A test of theoretical propositions. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment.*

Smallbone, S., & Rayment-McHugh, S. (2012). Youth sexual violence and abuse: Problems and solutions in the Australian context. *Australian Psychologist.*

Leclerc, B., Wortley, R. & Smallbone, S. (2011). Getting into the script of adult child sex offenders and mapping out situational prevention measures. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 48,* 209-237.

Harris, D.A., Knight, R.A., Smallbone, S., & Dennison, S. (2011). Postrelease specialization and versatility in sexual offenders referred for civil commitment. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment, 23,* 243-259.

Leclerc, B., Wortley, R. & Smallbone, S. (2011). Victim Resistance in Child Sexual Abuse: A Look Into the Efficacy of Self-Protection Strategies Based on the Offender's Experience. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 26,* 1868-1883.

Leclerc, B., Wortley, R. & Smallbone, S. (2010). An exploratory study of victim resistance in child sexual abuse: Offender modus operandi and victim characteristics. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment, 22,* 25-41.

Leclerc, B., Wortley, R. & Smallbone, S. (2010). Investigating mobility patterns for repetitive sexual contact in adult child sex offending. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 38,* 648-656.

Nisbet, I., Smallbone, S., & Wortley, R. (2010). Developmental, individual and family characteristics of specialist, versatile, and short-duration adolescent sex offenders. *Sexual Abuse in Australia and New Zealand, 2,* 85-96.

Smallbone, S., Crissman, B., & Rayment-McHugh, S. (2009). Improving therapeutic engagement with adolescent sexual offenders. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law, 27,* 862-877.

Harris, D.A., Smallbone, S., Dennison, S., & Knight, R.A. (2009). Specialization and versatility in sexual offenders referred for civil commitment. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 37,* 37-44.

Smallbone, S., Rayment-McHugh, S., Crissman, B., & Shumack, D. (2008). Treatment with youth who have committed sexual offences: Extending the reach of systemic interventions through collaborative partnerships. *Clinical Psychologist, 12,* 109-116.

Smallbone, S., & Wortley, R. (2008). Criterion and predictive validity of the Static-99 for adult males convicted of sexual offences against children. *Sexual Abuse in Australia and New Zealand, 1,* 28-37.

Eshuys, D., & Smallbone, S. (2006). Religious affiliations among adult sexual offenders. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment, 18,* 279- 288.

Smallbone, S., & Ransley, J. (2005). Legal and psychological problems in the preventive incapacitation of sexual offenders. *University of New South Wales Law Journal, 11,* 33-36.

Smallbone, S., & Wortley, R.K. (2004). Onset, persistence and versatility of offending among adult males convicted of sexual offenses against children. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment, 16,* 285-298.

Nisbet, I., Wilson, P., & Smallbone, S. (2004). A prospective longitudinal study of sexual recidivism among adolescent sexual offenders. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment, 16,* 223-234.

Smallbone, S., & Wortley, R.K. (2004). Criminal diversity and paraphilic interests among adult males convicted of sexual offenses against children. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 48,* 175-188.

Dadds, M.R., Smallbone, S., Nisbet, I., & Dombrowski, J. (2003). Willingness, confidence, and knowledge to work with adolescent sex offenders: An evaluation of training workshops. *Behaviour Change, 20,* 117-123.

Smallbone, S., Wheaton, J., & Hourigan, D. (2003). Trait empathy and criminal versatility in sexual offenders. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment, 15,* 49-60.

Smallbone, S. & McCabe, B. (2003). Childhood attachment, childhood sexual abuse, and onset of masturbation among sexual offenders. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment, 15,* 1-10.

Smallbone, S., & Wortley, R.K. (2001). Child sexual abuse: Offender characteristics and modus operandi. *Australian Institute of Criminology, Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice,* No. 193.

Smallbone, S. & Dadds, M.R. (2001). Further evidence for a relationship between attachment insecurity and coercive sexual behavior. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 16,* 22-35.

Smallbone, S. & Milne, L. (2000). Associations between trait anger and aggression used in the commission of sexual offenses. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 44,* 606-617.

Smallbone, S. & Dadds, M.R. (2000). Attachment and coercive sexual behavior. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment, 12,* 3-16.

Smallbone, S. & Dadds, M.R. (1998). Childhood attachment and adult attachment in incarcerated adult male sex offenders. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 13,* 555-573.

Other publications

Smallbone, S. (2010). *Evaluation of Queensland Corrective Services Sexual Offender Programs.* Brisbane: Qld Corrective Services.

Smallbone, S. (2009). *A framework for the development, implementation and evaluation of sexual offender management and treatment programs in the Northern Territory.* Darwin: Northern Territory Correctional Services

Smallbone, S., Dennison, S., & Dombrowski, J. (2004). *Evaluation of the Sex Offender Intervention Program.* Brisbane: Qld Dept of Corrective Services.

Dennison, S., Smallbone, S., & Dombrowksi, J. (2004). *Evaluation of the Community Sex Offender Program and Community Maintenance Program.* Brisbane: Qld Dept of Corrective Services.

Smallbone, S., Dawe, S., & Howells, K. (2002). *A Process and content evaluation of the Violence Intervention Program.* Brisbane: Qld Dept of Corrective Services.

Smallbone, S., & Wortley, R. (2000). *Child sexual abuse in Queensland: Offender characteristics and modus operandi (full report).* Brisbane: Queensland Crime Commission.

Smallbone, S., Wortley, R., & Lancefield, K. (1999). *Sexual offending by Aboriginal men in Queensland.* Brisbane: Key Centre for Ethics, Law, Justice and Governance.

Invited presentations
(international)

2012 *What causes sexual violence and abuse? Integrating individual, situational and ecological levels of explanation.* Research in Forensic Psychiatry Conference, Regensburg, Germany

2011 *Preventing sexual abuse: Integrating crime prevention and public health concepts and methods* (invited pre-conference workshop). Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers conference, Toronto, Canada

2011 *Child sexual abuse: A comprehensive, evidence-based, prevention-centred approach.* Children as victims: Prevalence and prevention, Nottingham, UK

2008 *Twelve points of focus for preventing child sexual abuse.* London Safeguarding Children Board, Kings College London, UK

2007 *Implications of attachment theory for understanding and preventing sexual offending.* National Organisation for the Treatment of Abusers, Edinburgh, UK

2006 *Ten myths about sexual offending.* International Society for the Reform of Criminal Law, Brisbane, Australia

Awards & Prizes

2010 Australian Research Council *Future Fellowship*

2007 Ministers Award for *Excellence in Collaborative Practice* (awarded to GYFS)

2006 Ministers Award for *Excellence in Culturally Inclusive Practice* (awarded to GYFS)

2003 Australian *Crime and Violence Prevention* Award (awarded to GYFS)

2003 Queensland *Child Protection* Award (awarded to GYFS)

1999 Australian Psychological Society Maconochie Prize for *Best Thesis in Forensic Psychology*

1998 ATSA Graduate Research Award for *Excellence in Sexual Offender Treatment Research*

Professional Associations

Member, Editorial Board, *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment* (since 2004)
Registered with the *Psychologists Board of Queensland* (since 1990)
Member, *Australian Psychological Society (APS)* (since 1993)
Member, *Australian Research Alliance for Children and Youth (ARACY)* (since 2005)

Research Grants & Consultancies

2012 Queensland Department of Communities, *Griffith Youth Forensic Service* (Smallbone), $2.4 million over 3 years

2011 Queensland Department of the Premier and Cabinet, *Preventing youth sexual violence and abuse* (Smallbone, Rayment-McHugh, & Reynald), $98,000

2010 Australian Research Council Discovery grant, *Understanding and preventing youth sexual violence and abuse: An investigation of offender development, offending onset, and desistance* (Smallbone, Leclerc, & Allard), $360,000 over 3 years

2009 Australian Research Council Future Fellowship, *Testing theoretical propositions concerning the onset and progression of child-sex offending, and field testing a new sexual abuse prevention model* (Smallbone), $760,000 over 4 years

2009 Queensland Department of Communities, *Griffith Youth Forensic Service* (Smallbone), $2.3 million over 3 years

2008 Australian Research Council Linkage-Projects grant, *Understanding and managing the occupational health impacts on investigators of Internet child exploitation* (Wortley, Smallbone, & Powell), $267,000 over 3 years

2007 Queensland Department of Communities, *Griffith Youth Forensic Service* (Smallbone), $1.3 million over 3 years

2005 Australian Research Council Linkage-Projects grant, *A prospective longitudinal study of sexual offender recidivism* (Smallbone, Wortley, Kebbell, & Rallings), $230,000 over 3 years

2005   New South Wales Department of Juvenile Justice, A review of treatment approaches and outcomes for adolescent sex offenders (Nisbet, Smallbone, & Rombouts), $12,000

2003   Queensland Department of Families, Youth Justice Program, *Griffith Youth Forensic Service* (Smallbone), $760,000 over 3 years

2003   Queensland Department of Corrective Services, *Evaluation of Sex Offender Programs* (Smallbone, Dennison, & Dombrowski), $60,500

2002   Queensland Department of Corrective Services, *A process and content evaluation of the Violence Intervention Program* (Smallbone, Dawe, & Howells), $26,279

2000   Families, Youth and Community Care Queensland, Youth Justice Program, *The development and implementation of a comprehensive assessment and treatment program for young sexual offenders* (Smallbone & Dadds), $510,000 over 3 years

1999   Criminology Research Council, *A study of the characteristics and modus operandi of child molesters in Queensland* (Smallbone, Wortley, & Homel), $25,418

1999   Queensland Crime Commission, *A study of the characteristics and modus operandi of child molesters in Queensland* (Smallbone, Wortley, & Homel), $26,000

1999   Queensland Department of Corrective Services, *The development of an intervention program for incarcerated indigenous sex offenders* (Smallbone, Wortley & Robertson), $50,000.

PhD Completions

2012   Richard Parker, *The role of shame and guilt in the onset of child sexual abuse*

2012   Nadine McKillop, *The origins of child sexual abuse: An analysis of developmental and situational factors*

2010   Belinda Crissman, *Understanding and improving therapeutic engagement with adolescent sexual offenders*

2009   Ian Nisbet, *Factors associated with the sexual and nonsexual offending of adolescent sex offenders*

2008   Danielle Harris, *Specialisation and versatility in sexual offenders*

2008   Donna Eshuys, *The relationship between religiosity and sexual misconduct*

2006   Sacha Rombouts, *Development of a risk assessment checklist for juvenile sex offenders: A meta-analytic approach*

ATTACHMENT 2

Applying Situational Principles to Sexual Offenses against Children

by

Richard Wortley

and

Stephen Smallbone
School of Criminology and Criminal Justice,
Griffith University

Abstract: *Explanations of sexual offending against children have traditionally focused on the intrapsychic forces that are assumed to drive the offender's deviant behavior. The situational crime prevention perspective, on the other hand, examines the immediate behavioral setting to identify factors that encourage or permit sexual abuse. Empirical evidence increasingly indicates that sexual offenses against children are significantly mediated by opportunities and other environmental conditions. It is argued in this chapter that the primary prevention of the sexual abuse of children may be effected by systematically identifying and altering these problematic environmental elements.*

This chapter outlines the case for applying a situational prevention model to sexual offenses against children. It examines evidence for the situational bases of these offenses, describes a situational typology of sexual offenders against children, outlines the settings in which their offending occurs, and proposes situational strategies for preventing these offenses. Regular

readers of the *Crime Prevention Studies* series will be familiar with the principles of situational crime prevention. However, we are hoping that this volume will attract researchers and practitioners in the sexual offender treatment field who may not normally read articles on situational crime prevention. Therefore, we will begin by briefly reviewing the key elements of situational prevention.

SITUATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION

Situational crime prevention is a relatively new applied criminological model that shifts the focus from supposed deficits of offenders to aspects of immediate environments that encourage or permit crime to occur. It is based on the premise that all behavior is the result of an interaction between the characteristics of the actor and the circumstances in which an act is performed. The immediate environment is more than a passive backdrop against which action is played out; it plays a fundamental role in initiating and shaping that action. Thus, the probability of crime varies according to both the criminal disposition of the individual and the crime-facilitating nature of the immediate setting. While most crime prevention efforts in the past have concentrated on the criminogenic risks and needs of the offender (e.g., through offender rehabilitation), crime can also be prevented by altering the criminogenic features of the potential crime scene. Situational crime prevention, then, is about creating safe environments rather than creating safe individuals.

Environmental perspectives such as situational crime prevention are classed as theories of crime rather than theories of criminality. This is a crucial distinction. Most criminological theories (and psychological theories that deal with crime) are theories of criminality. They seek to understand the societal, developmental and/or biological factors that have combined to create the criminal offender. In situational crime prevention, however, the criminal event rather than the offender becomes the unit of analysis. To implement situational principles, data are gathered to show where, when, why and how a particular crime occurs. The situational perspective recognizes and explores the fact that crime is not randomly distributed in time and space, but follows patterns. Burglaries, for example, are typically concentrated around "hot spots," and these hot spots are the logical focus for prevention efforts. Situational prevention adopts a micro-level, problem-solving approach that targets specific forms of crime in specific contexts. The desired end-point of a situational analysis is an

intervention that is tailor-made to meet the conditions of the particular problem under consideration.

The situational perspective has two distinct theoretical roots. One theoretical basis is the rational choice perspective, adapted from the expected utility model found in economics and in the psychological decision-making literature (Cornish and Clarke, 1986). Underpinning the rational choice perspective is the assumption that criminal conduct is purposive and that offenders commit crime in order to derive some benefit. Offenders are portrayed as active decision makers who undertake cost-benefit analyses of the crime opportunities with which they are presented, and who make choices about whether or not to engage in criminal acts. The immediate environment provides the potential offender with relevant information about the likely rewards and success associated with a contemplated crime. The attractions of criminal behavior include money, increased status, sexual gratification, excitement, and so on. Disincentives include the difficulty involved in carrying out the behavior, the likelihood of getting caught and the anticipated guilt associated with violating personal standards of behavior. Crime occurs when the perceived benefits of offending are judged to outweigh the perceived costs. The decision an offender makes to engage in crime may well be a poor one and ultimately prove to be self-defeating, but nevertheless it represents the most desirable option at that time as the offender saw it.

Situational prevention based on the rational choice perspective involves manipulating the immediate environments of crime in order to increase the cost-benefit ratio of offending as perceived by the potential offender. This approach to prevention is often referred to as opportunity reduction (Clarke, 1995). In first-generation theorizing on situational prevention (Clarke, 1992), opportunities were reduced by manipulating three environmental dimensions – making crime more risky, increasing the effort to commit crime, and reducing the rewards of crime. Later, an additional category was added – removing excuses – that targeted the neutralizations that many offenders utilize to allow themselves to circumvent moral constraints on behavior (Clarke, 1997; Clarke and Homel, 1997).

The other basis for situational approaches derives from research in behavioral, social and environmental psychology. According to this view, there is a subtle and intimate relationship between individuals and their immediate environments. Underpinning the logic of this approach is the principle of behavioral specificity, challenging the view of personality as a cross-situationally consistent predisposition (Mischel, 1968). In fact, it

is argued, the behavior of an individual may be highly variable from one situation to the next. A person who may be described by others as aggressive does not behave uniformly in an aggressive manner, but rather, aggression is displayed occasionally and only when certain "favorable" conditions are met. While people obviously differ in their propensity to commit crime, given the right circumstances most people are capable of criminal acts. Unlike the deliberative process described by rational choice theory, according to the behavioral specificity principle immediate environments may influence people at a sub-cognitive level in ways that they might not even be aware of to perform behaviors that they would not otherwise perform.

Whereas rational choice theory focuses on aspects of the environment that enable crime, this second group of theories tends to emphasize the instigating role of immediate environments. Summarizing research in this area, Wortley (2001, 1998, 1997) suggested four basic ways that environments may precipitate crime. Situations can present cues that prompt an individual to perform criminal behavior; they can exert social pressure on an individual to offend; they can weaken moral constraints and so permit potential offenders to commit illegal acts; and they can produce emotional arousal that provokes a criminal response. In addition to reducing opportunities for crime, prevention may require removal of these situational instigators. Recently, Cornish and Clarke (2003) have presented a revised model of situational prevention that incorporates some of these precipitating factors under the heading of reducing provocations.

EVIDENCE FOR THE SITUATIONAL BASES OF SEXUAL OFFENDERS AGAINST CHILDREN

The sexual offending literature has largely ignored the role of situational factors in the prevention of sexual offending against children. Sexual offenders, particularly those who have offended against children, are widely assumed to possess motivations that are pathological and long-standing and that separate them from non-sexual offenders. Their offending is largely portrayed as internally driven and, without individual-level intervention, likely to become chronic. Prevention is usually thought of in a tertiary sense, that is, in terms of treatment with known offenders. While it is true that the role of situational factors in the commission of sexual offenses has been recognized in a number of important conceptual models (Finkelhor, 1984; Marshall and Barbaree, 1990; Marshall et al., this volume;

Pithers et al., 1983), in practice many researchers and clinicians working in the sexual offending area have continued to focus attention on the personal, intrapsychic dimensions of the behavior and to overlook the contributions of immediate circumstances.

For their part, situational crime prevention writers have had very little to say about sexual offending. One suspects that there has been a tacit acceptance by many researchers of the pathology model of sexual offending and a belief that these offenses might fall outside the usual situational prevention rules. Indeed, one criticism often leveled at situational prevention is its disproportionate focus on property crime over interpersonal crime (Trasler, 1986). The thrust of this criticism is the assumption that as the offender's behavior becomes more "irrational," situational prevention has less to offer (Tunnell, 2002).

Recent research, however, has challenged the view that most sexual offenders are dedicated, serial offenders driven by irresistible sexual urges (Pritchard and Bagley, 2000; Simon, 2000, 1997; Smallbone and Wortley, 2004a, 2004b, 2001, 2000; Soothill et al., 2000; Weinrott and Saylor, 1991). For example, Smallbone and Wortley (2001, 2000) examined the official records of 323 convicted child-sex offenders, 169 of whom admitted their offenses and agreed to provide detailed self-report data on their psychosocial/psychosexual histories and offending behaviors. While offenders were not asked directly about the role of situational influences on their offending behavior, a number of findings strongly suggest that immediate environmental factors were important in many cases. These findings include:

- *A late onset of the behavior* – The mean age of offenders at the time of their first sexual contact with a child was 32.4 years and the modal age bracket (accounting for 37% of the sample) was 31 to 40 years. That many offenders were able to resist sexually abusing children for so long suggests the absence of strong sexually deviant motivations. At the same time, the early thirties is an age when many men are assuming child-care and other supervisory roles with children and their opportunities to offend are significantly expanded (Hanson, 2002).

- *A low incidence of chronic sexual offending* – Less than a quarter of the sample had previous convictions for sexual offenses, and almost half reported having restricted their offending to one victim. These findings complement other research that shows the official sexual recidivism rates for sexual offenders are much lower than have been traditionally

assumed – around 13% after five years at risk (Hanson and Bussiere, 1998). Again these findings suggest the absence in many offenders of strong deviant motivations.

- *A high incidence of previous non-sexual offenses* – In contrast to the low incidence of previous sexual offending, around 60% of the sample had prior convictions for non-sexual offenses. Of those offenders with previous convictions, their first conviction was four times more likely to be non-sexual (82%) than sexual (18%). For many, sexual offending might be seen as part of a more general involvement in criminal activity (Simon, 2000, 1997). For these offenders, the problem seems to be less some special motivation to sexually abuse children than a more general problem involving the failure to inhibit urges and impulses, especially within the interpersonal domain. That is, many offenders in the sample may be better portrayed as "opportunity takers" than sexual deviants.

- *A low incidence of stranger abuse* – The vast majority of offenders (93.5%) abused their own child or a child that they already knew. Locating and grooming a previously unknown child for the purpose of sexual contact requires a high level of planning, commitment and effort. In contrast, most offenders had sexual contact with children with whom they had immediate or convenient access.

- *A low incidence of networking among offenders* – Around 8% of offenders said that they had talked to other offenders prior to their arrest, and 4% said that they were involved in an organized pedophile group. There was little evidence that offenders sought out a pedophile subculture.

- *A low incidence of child pornography use* – Around 10% admitted to using child pornography and 8% kept records of their sexual contacts with victims. Most offenders did not display the deep interest in pedophilia that one might expect from a dedicated offender.

- *A low incidence of paraphilic (sexually deviant) interests* – Apart from exhibitionism (5.4%), frotteurism (i.e., obtaining sexual gratification by rubbing up against another person, usually in public – 9.0%), and voyeurism (5.4%), fewer than 5% of offenders could have been diagnosed with a paraphilia other than pedophilia, including public masturbation (4.2%), fetishism (1.8%), sexual masochism (1.2%), transvestic fetishism (1.2%), making obscene telephone calls (1.2%), sexual sadism

(0.6%), bestiality (0.6%), and necrophilia (0%) (see also Smallbone and Wortley, 2004a).

Taken together these findings suggest that for many sexual offenders a control model might be more appropriate than a sexual deviance model. According to control theory (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990), the propensity to commit crime is widely distributed in the community, and the basic cause of criminal behavior is universal – an absence of restraint. Criminal behavior is intrinsically rewarding and requires no special motivation or pathology, while criminal acts themselves demand little in the way of specialized skills or experience. Offenders do not learn to commit crimes, but rather, they fail to learn not to commit them. Control theory asks you to imagine the extreme case of a child who has grown up without any restrictions being placed on his/her self-gratifying behavior. The outcome in such a scenario would be an individual who satisfies his/her urges indiscriminately. Absence of restraint can manifest in a wide range of behaviors. The offender who succumbs to the temptation to steal is also likely to exercise little restraint when presented with opportunities to rob, assault and so forth. Control theory, then, suggests that the causes of sexual offending against children may be the same as the causes of crime generally. The potential to view children as sexual objects may be more widespread than is usually assumed (e.g., see Barbaree and Marshall, 1989; Laws and Marshall, 1990; Malamuth, 1989; McConaghy, 1993; Smallbone, 2005). Most of the time such urges are kept in check by a range of personal, social and physical constraints. However, opportunity structures and environmental cues may play an important role in weakening controls and facilitating offending behavior (Hirschi, 1988).

TYPES OF OFFENDERS

It should not be inferred from the previous section that the situational perspective necessarily assumes that crime is opportunistic in the sense of being a spur-of-the-moment reaction to a chance circumstance. In fact, rational choice theory was primarily formulated to explain premeditated crime. Crime opportunities may be simply taken as they fortuitously occur, but they may also be sought out or created by the offender. Even planned crimes by highly motivated offenders involve situational considerations. The professional burglar, for example, does not steal arbitrarily. Rather, he/

she carefully selects targets that experience has shown will deliver maximum pay-off and entail minimum risks.

Cornish and Clarke (2003) have sought to clarify the various ways that offenders respond to situations. They proposed three offender types based on the strength of the offender's criminal disposition and the role that situational factors play in his/her offending. The first type is the anti-social predator, which Cornish and Clarke argue is the "default" offender category. These offenders possess ingrained criminal dispositions, and their motivations for offending derive from the intrinsically rewarding nature of the crimes they commit. They utilize situational data to make rational choices about the relative costs and benefits of criminal involvement, and will operate on the environment to increase criminal opportunities. Predators may specialize in a particular type of crime or may be criminally versatile, but in any event all will have developed "knowledge, skills and experience enough to minimize risk and effort, and maximize payoffs" (p. 57).

Applied to sexual offending against children, the antisocial predator equates to the stereotypic predatory child molester. They are high-frequency, chronic offenders. In a further analysis of the Smallbone and Wortley (2000) data[1] (Wortley and Smallbone, under review), 23% of the sample were identified as persistent sexual offenders (they had previous sexual offence convictions). This comprised 5% who were specialists (they had previous convictions only for sexual offences) and 18% who were versatile (they had previous convictions for both sexual and non-sexual offences). Compared to other (non-persistent) offenders, persistent offenders were more likely to have been sexually abused themselves as children, to have had their first sexual contact with a child at an earlier age, to abuse extrafamilial victims. The specialist persistent offenders tended to have more frequent and extended sexual contact with their victims than did the versatile persistent offenders, suggesting that they are more interested in forming an emotional relationship with the child. The versatile offenders tended to have an earlier contact with the criminal justice system, reflecting their more general criminality. The persistence of these offenders demonstrates an unambiguous sexual attraction to children. They will take calculated steps to obtain victims and will have developed a repertoire of skills and techniques to allow them to carry out their task. They are likely to be adept at identifying vulnerable children who will present the fewest risks of apprehension.

Cornish and Clarke's second type is the mundane offender. These offenders are ambiguous in their criminal commitment and opportunistic in their offending. They engage in occasional, low-level criminality. Their motivations for offending are the same as for predatory offenders, but they have a greater stake in conformity and are therefore subject to stronger personal and social constraints on their behavior. These constraints, however, weaken from time to time. In particular, to facilitate their engagement in morally proscribed behavior, mundane offenders may invoke neutralizations for their crimes (Sykes and Matza, 1957), especially where situational factors serve to obscure personal responsibility (Wortley, 2001, 1996). Mundane offenders vary in their vulnerability to temptation, and hence in the extent of their criminal involvement, but, over all, both the seriousness and frequency of their offending are lower than among predatory offenders.

The term mundane is an unfortunate one to apply to sexual offenders against children, since it seems to trivialize the seriousness of their offending. An alternate label suggested by Cornish and Clarke to describe these offenders – "opportunists" – seems more appropriate in this context. Opportunist sexual offenders will typically be criminally versatile but relatively infrequent in their sexual offending. Wortley and Smallbone found that 41% of their child molester sample were serving their first sentence for a sexual offense, but had previous convictions for non-sexual offenses. Compared with the persistent offenders, these offenders were less likely to have been sexually abused as a child and were more likely to have had their first sexual contact with a child at a later age, to abuse female victims, and to abuse intrafamilial victims. Like versatile persistent offenders, they tended not to maintain extended relationships with their victims, underscoring the opportunistic nature of their offending. The criminal versatility of these offenders suggests a generalized failure to inhibit self-gratifying urges, while their relative lack of persistence in sexual offending itself suggests sexual ambivalence rather than ingrained sexual deviance. They offend because they can.

The third type in Cornish and Clarke's classification is the provoked offender. Provoked offenders are reacting to a particular set of environmental circumstances – situational frustrations, irritations, social pressures and the like – that induce them to commit crimes they would not have otherwise committed. Their crimes include "crimes of violence that erupt in the heat of the moment; or impulsive ones committed by offenders overcome by

temptation, or a temporary failure of self control" (Cornish and Clarke, 2003, p.70). The motivation for crime is supplied by the situation and the offence may represent an aberration in an otherwise law-abiding life.

Again the terminology employed by Cornish and Clarke is problematic when applied to sexual offenders, with "provoked" suggesting that the victim is responsible for initiating the behavior. Cornish and Clarke also describe these offenders as "situational," a term that is better suited for this offense.[2] This label has already been applied in the sexual offending treatment literature (Gupta and Cox, 1988; Johnston et al., 1997; Lanyon, 1986), although it has tended to be used to describe transitory psychological states (e.g., anger) rather than specific environmental conditions. Situational offenders will generally have no other criminal involvement, and their sexual offending will be a relatively isolated event. Wortley and Smallbone found that for 36% of their sample their current conviction was their first for any offence. These offenders were relatively old at the time of their first sexual contact with a child, they usually selected female victims, they usually offended within the family, and, while most had just one victim, they tended to abuse that victim repeatedly over an extended period of time. The picture here is of a caregiver or other authority figure who has abused a position of trust and who has ongoing access to the victim. In other respects the offender may be largely unremarkable. One can imagine that in many cases there would have been surprise and even disbelief among those who knew the offender when the abuse came to light. They generally will not possess an entrenched sexual attraction to children, or, if they do, they have been successful in avoiding hands-on offending. Their offending may have begun after some triggering event – for example, a moment of intimacy with the child that proved stimulating. Where this first offence was experienced as rewarding, subsequent offending would be reinforced. Nevertheless, their offending is not inevitable, and had the facilitating circumstances not occurred they may not have taken this first step.

The behavioral responses to the interaction between offender type and situation are shown in Table 1. The table illustrates two points. First, the importance of situations does not decrease as the criminal disposition of the offender increases. Rather, the role of the situation changes, and hence, the nature of situational prevention must also change. The stronger the individual's antisocial commitment, the more likely he/she is to be an active manipulator of – rather than a passive responder to – criminogenic situations. Accordingly, "harder" situational interventions are required as

Table 1: The Behavior of Offenders as a Function of an Interaction between the Disposition and the Situation

Situation	Offender		
	Situational	Opportunistic	Predatory
Challenging			Manipulates
Tempting		Exploits	
Precipitating	Reacts to		

the offender's criminal commitment increases. For predatory offenders, situational data primarily inform target selection. If necessary, they are prepared to expend considerable effort to achieve their goals, and obstacles to offending are challenges to be overcome. Predatory offenders will be the most difficult to deter, but the vulnerability of specific targets and the overall frequency of offending may be significantly reduced through situational prevention. For opportunistic offenders, situations offer temptations to be seized. Because of the moral ambivalence of the opportunistic offender, reducing temptations can be very effective in preventing abuse, with minimal danger of displacement to other targets. For the situational offender, opportunity reduction may not be necessary at all. Rather, relieving the precipitating conditions may be sufficient to remove the impetus to offend.

Second, offenders are not necessarily restricted to one type. There is a downward (but generally not upward) flow of offenders from higher to lower situational categories. For example, while predatory offenders are likely also to commit opportunistic and situational offenses, the reverse is generally not the case – opportunistic and situational offenders will not as a rule commit predatory crimes. In fact, predatory offenders may be more likely to commit opportunistic and situational offenses than opportunistic and situational offenders. This point was neatly demonstrated for general crime by Chenery et al. (1999). They found that 33% of vehicles parked in no-parking zones were owned by individuals with criminal records. That is, prolific offenders tend to offend across the situational

spectrum. An implication of this is that predatory offenders will not always require "hard" interventions.

The explicit identification of offender types is a new development in situational prevention. While the situational approach is conceptually underpinned by models of human action (such as rational choice), individual differences have generally played little role in the design of prevention strategies. The offender has been treated as a constant. Bringing characteristics of the offender into the equation more accurately reflects the view of behavior as an interaction between person and situation, and offers the potential for better targeted crime prevention strategies (see Marshall et al., this volume). At the same time, crime patterns remain the central concern of situational prevention. In order to alter criminogenic environments, crucially we need to know the circumstances in which the offense takes place.

SETTINGS FOR SEXUAL OFFENSES AGAINST CHILDREN

The locations of many types of offenses are fixed and self-evident. Thefts from pay phones, for example, always occur at pay phones (although we may want to know which particular phones are most vulnerable). Situational prevention of thefts from pay phones will generally involve altering the design of the phones or changing the environment in their immediate vicinity (e.g., improving surveillance). Situational prevention is more problematic with offenses that do not take place in any one designated location. In the case of sexual offenses against children, we need to consider a number of different settings in which offending may be most likely to occur.

Using a modified version of Kaufman's Modus Operandi Questionnaire (Kaufman, 1989), Smallbone and Wortley (2000) asked their sample of convicted child molesters detailed questions about their pre-offense, offense, and post-offense behavior. Among these questions, offenders were asked where they found children for sexual contact (Table 2), strategies they employed to gain access to the children (Table 3), where the offending took place (Table 4), and strategies they used to be alone with the child (Table 5). Tables 2 and 3 exclude responses from intrafamilial offenders (n=79) since they will by definition find victims within the family home; Tables 4 and 5 include responses from all offenders (n=169). The tables indicate the percentage of offenders who nominated a particular response for at least one offense (an offender may offer multiple responses).

Table 2: Locations for Finding Children for Sexual Contact (extrafamilial only)

Location	%
At a friend's home	40.0
A close neighborhood	21.1
Baby-sitting	21.1
Through an organized activity	19.7
Offender's apartment building	17.3
Offender's place of employment	17.3
A distant neighborhood	15.8
A public toilet	13.2
Isolated or out of the way place (e.g., rivers, vacant lots)	11.8
A shopping mall	11.8
A park	10.5
A swimming pool	10.5
At church	10.5
Allowing the offender's own children to play with the child	10.5
A playground	5.3
Hitchhiking	5.3
The child baby-sat for other children at the offender's home	5.3
A video arcade	3.9
A movie theatre	2.6

Source: Smallbone and Wortley, 2000.

The settings for offending nominated by offenders may be described under three general categories – domestic, institutional and public. Domestic settings may be the home of both the victim and the perpetrator (in the case of intrafamilial offending), the home of the victim to which the perpetrator has access, or the home of the perpetrator (or a friend) where the victim has been taken. As Tables 2 and 4 show, domestic settings are by far the most common location to both access victims and commit the offence, with 69% of all offences occurring in the home of the perpetrator. Situational and opportunistic offenders may be particularly likely to offend

Table 3: Strategies for Getting Access to Children for Sexual Contact (extrafamilial only)

Strategy	%
Spent time with the child while parent/caretaker was present	46.2
Made friends with the parent/caretaker of child	44.9
Helped parent/caretaker around the house	35.9
Offered to baby-sit victim	23.1
Asked neighbors or friends of family to join in family activities	21.5
Offered to drive/walk victim to or from school	19.2
Volunteered for child or teen organization	8.0
Established romantic relationship with a single parent	7.0

Source: Smallbone and Wortley, 2000.

Table 4: Locations for Taking Children for Sexual Contact

Location	%
Your own home	68.9
Going for a car ride	27.4
Isolated or out of the way places (e.g., vacant lot)	25.6
An out of the way place in the child's home	19.5
A friend or relative's home	17.1
The bush	15.5
A park	9.5
Public toilet	7.1
Swimming pool	5.4
Taking the child for walks	5.4
Playground	3.0
Movie theatre	2.4

Source: Smallbone and Wortley, 2000.

Table 5: Strategies for Being Alone with the Child

Strategy	%
Being at home alone – it was OK with my wife/girlfriend	46.7
Watching TV with them	41.7
Letting them sleep in your bed	36.3
Sneaking into their room at night	34.5
Baby-sitting	31.7
Going for a car ride with them	31.5
Tucking them into bed	29.8
Taking them places during the day without one of their parents	25.6
Going swimming with them	24.4
Seeing child while parents were at work	24.1
Taking a bath/shower with them	22.6
Going to isolated or out of the way places (e.g., vacant lots)	21.4
Taking them on overnight trips without one of their parents	20.8
Giving them a bath	17.9
Being together for a holiday	17.9
Letting the child stay up after the parent had gone to bed	17.3
Taking them camping	15.5
Being at a house of a friend/relative who said it was OK to be alone there	14.9
Going to a shopping mall	10.1
Seeing them on weekends (if divorced or separated)	8.9
Having sole custody	8.3
Taking them to school	7.7
Taking them to the video arcade	7.1
Taking them to a park	7.1
Taking them to the movies	6.5
Taking them out of school	6.0
Having the child baby-sit for your children	4.2
Going to a playground	3.6

Source: Smallbone and Wortley, 2000.

in domestic settings, but predatory offenders are also active here. For example, 45% of extrafamilial offenders established friendships with the parents of a child and 7% established a romantic relationship with a single mother in order to gain access to a victim, both strategies that indicate long-term planning (Table 3). As Table 5 shows, the offenses themselves often occur during normal day-to-day interaction between caregivers and children – watching television with children, bathing them, tucking them into bed and so forth. Undoubtedly, many of these situations will be deliberately engineered by the offender, but in the cases of situational and opportunistic offenders the offense may initially have occurred in response to being presented with these opportunities.

Institutional settings are places where groups of children congregate outside of the home for some formal purpose. They include day-care centers, schools, churches, youth groups, orphanages and so forth. In these settings the perpetrator will usually be an employee or volunteer who has some official role and who has authority over the children. Institutional settings accounted for a small but nevertheless significant number of offenses. For example, 20% of extrafamilial offenders said that they accessed children via an organized activity (Table 2). Note, however, that only 8% of extrafamilial offenders said that they joined a child or youth organization for the purpose of accessing children for sexual abuse (Table 3). In other words, these data suggest that in many cases the abuse occurred in response to opportunities that were made available to the offender.

Public settings are parks, public toilets, shopping malls, swimming pools and so forth. These locations are typically associated with predatory offenders. They are the locations that many parents will regard as most dangerous and are the traditional focus of "stranger danger" public education campaigns. In comparison to other locations, however, they are relatively infrequent places for locating children for sexual abuse (Table 2). They are somewhat more common as the location for abuse (Table 4), indicating that some offenders who already know their victims will take them to out-of-the-way places to carry out the offense.

Each of these settings presents challenges for situational prevention. Domestic settings will often be the locations for offenders with the least entrenched pedophilic interests, but they are also the most difficult locations to access for prevention. The person who ought to be a capable guardian of the child, and to whom one would look to put in place protective strategies, is often the abuser. Institutional settings, on the other hand,

permit a good deal of control over the activities of employees and volunteers. However, the history of many organizations is that they are more concerned about protecting their reputation than they are in instituting prevention policies, and abuse in these settings can go undetected for many years. Public settings often offer the greatest potential for control over the environment. For example, authorities can design and operate public toilets in whatever manner they see fit. However, public locations where abuse may occur are almost limitless, and the base rates for offending in any one location are very low. In practice, it will be necessary to concentrate on the main public "hot spots" for abuse to apply prevention efforts. How situational prevention might be operationalized in each of these three settings, and for different types of offenders, is considered in the following section.

SITUATIONAL PREVENTION OF SEX OFFENSES AGAINST CHILDREN: SOME PROPOSALS

There are, as far as we are aware, no studies that have tested situational interventions with sexual offenders on a pre-test/post-test basis. This section therefore contains suggestions for situational interventions that are necessarily speculative. We draw on the general situational crime prevention strategies described by Cornish and Clarke (2003) and Wortley (2001). There is some overlap between these two models, and some strategies do not seem particularly applicable to sexual offending against children. Accordingly, we will concentrate on four strategies – increasing effort, increasing risk, controlling prompts and reducing permissibility.

Increasing Effort

All other things being equal, offenders will select targets that require the least effort and involve minimal deviation from their routine activities (Cohen and Felson, 1979). Increasing effort involves making the offending behavior more difficult or inconvenient to carry out. For sexual offending against children, this principally means making it harder for potential offenders to obtain children to abuse. While predators may at best be slowed down by this strategy, situational and opportunistic offenders may be fully deterred. Specific tactics for increasing effort include controlling

access to facilities, target hardening and controlling tools (Cornish and Clarke, 2003).

Increasing effort may be achieved through excluding potential offenders from places where children are located. Policies instituted by most schools and day-care facilities that regulate casual access to the grounds by visitors (e.g., rules that all visitors must report to the office) are a way to implement this strategy. Increasingly, organizations that deal with children are also screening employees and volunteers to prevent people with previous convictions for sexual offenses from working with children. This strategy is useful for identifying the most obvious predators. However, given that Smallbone and Wortley (2000) found that three-quarters of their sample did not have previous sexual offense convictions, screening alone will not guarantee that these environments are safe. Smallbone and Wortley further found that sexual offenders were three times more likely to have previous convictions for non-sexual offences than for sexual offences, and on this basis it is tempting to suggest that institutions should also screen for general criminality. However, the vast majority of individuals who commit non-sexual offenses do not go on to commit sexual offenses (Hanson and Bussiere, 1998), so such a policy would produce an enormous number of false positives.

Target hardening involves obstructing offenders in their illegal pursuits. Usually this entails employing physical barriers, locks or screens to protect the intended object of their crimes. In the case of the sexual abuse of children, this strategy may be operationalized by the teaching of so-called protective strategies to children (Wyles, 1988). Grooming victims for abuse requires varying degrees of effort for predatory offenders, and in the selection of their victims, they are likely to target vulnerable children who present an easy mark and offer the least resistance. While some commentators have argued that child-focused prevention programs unfairly shift the burden of prevention onto children (Kaufman and Zigler, 1992; Melton, 1992), children's reactions to potential perpetrators can nevertheless have a significant effect on the perpetrator's subsequent behavior. Smallbone and Wortley (2001, 2000) found that the most successful tactic for potential victims when approached by a perpetrator was being assertive and saying "no." Also relatively successful was showing distress, which seems to jog the conscience of the offender. In contrast, struggling and calling for help were not particularly effective. Even well-designed child-focused prevention programs are not, however, without their own risks (Smallbone et al., in preparation). To avoid unintended negative

effects for children (e.g., their premature introduction to adult concepts about sexuality; increasing fears about and reducing trust in adults), child-focused prevention programs should arguably concentrate more on general confidence and assertiveness than on specific details about sexual abuse. Since both the risks and consequences of sexual abuse are known to be reduced in secure, protective families (Conte et al., 1989; Kendall-Tackett et al., 1993), perhaps the most effective child-focused approach would be to maximize protection within families.

The facilitators of offending also may be targeted in prevention efforts (i.e., "controlling tools"). The behavioral effects of pornography are controversial, but research suggests it plays a significant role in some sexual offenses. Marshall (1988) found that up to one-third of child molesters said that they viewed pornography immediately prior to offending.[4] Smallbone and Wortley (2000) also found that 19% of offenders said that they showed their victim pornography to incite their curiosity and to help prime them for sexual contact. Such research helps justify censorship laws and law enforcement efforts to restrict the availability of child pornography. Increasingly, pornography, as well as opportunities for networking with other offenders and accessing children for abuse, are provided via the Internet[5] (Tremblay, this volume). Many workplaces have explicit rules prohibiting staff from visiting pornography sites on work computers, a policy which may be backed up by regular audits of Internet use. As Taylor and Quayle (this volume) outline, it is also possible to exercise some control over the operation and content of these sites, for example, by making server managers legally responsible for pornographic sites that they store.

Increasing Risk

The risk of detection is perhaps the most salient variable in the potential offender's decision making. Increasing risks involves making it more likely that the offender's behavior will be observed or detected. Arguably, predatory offenders are most sensitive to risk factors, but they will also have developed the most sophisticated strategies to minimize the dangers of detection. Increasing risk includes extending guardianship, strengthening formal surveillance, increasing natural surveillance, and utilizing place managers (Cornish and Clarke, 2003).

In routine activity theory (Cohen and Felson, 1979), absence of a capable guardian is one of the three preconditions for crime (along with a suitable target and a motivated offender). Extending guardianship seeks

to encourage individuals to watch out for crimes that occur within their informal spheres of influence. In the case of sexual abuse of children, the parent/caregiver plays a primary role in safeguarding the child. As Simon and Zgoba (this volume) point out, while most sexual offences against children occur within the home, parents are perpetrators in just 15% of cases. That is, parents may potentially play a preventive role in up to 85% of child sexual abuse cases. Public education programs can be employed to alert parents/caregivers to the need for effective supervision and protection of children in their care (Wyles, 1988). These campaigns need to extend the usual focus on "stranger danger" to include discussion of the risks for children from relatives, neighbors and friends in domestic settings. We are, of course, aware of the inherent social dangers of such campaigns in creating unnecessary suspicion and fuelling a moral panic. Nevertheless, acting with care, perhaps parents/caregivers can be better educated to recognize danger signals such as an offender's repeated or seemingly over enthusiastic attempts to seek opportunities to be alone with a child.

Where there is official guardianship, strategies can be developed to increase the levels of formal surveillance. In institutional settings, those in authority need to take responsibility for supervising the behavior of employees and volunteers. Sensible protocols governing the interaction with children need to be considered. For example, it may be appropriate to have procedures that forbid an employee/volunteer to be alone with a child. Physical modifications to the environment – for example, interviewing rooms with glass panels in the doors – can help increase natural surveillance. Once again, however, there is a clear need to balance the potential benefits of preventive interventions against the potential risks of increasing unwarranted suspicions about physical and emotional contact between adults and children.

Formal surveillance may include tracking the offender's movements via Internet use, credit card transactions and passport control. Awareness of this surveillance may serve as a deterrent, while the records themselves may be used in criminal investigations and prosecutions. Recently in Australia, there were mass arrests of offenders who downloaded child pornography from the Internet and used credit cards to pay for the downloads (Taylor and Quayle, this volume). Similarly, 24 countries currently have legislation that makes it possible to prosecute their citizens who travel overseas to access children on sex-tourism excursions (David, 2000).

In public settings, increasing risk may require greater surveillance of offending hot spots by utilizing place managers. For example, as Table 2

indicates, 12% of extrafamilial offenders said they located children in shopping malls. Those in charge of security at these locations need to be aware of sexual offenders' modus operandi and be on the look out for suspicious behavior. Again, the physical design of facilities may be an issue. For example, 13% of extrafamilial offenders said they had located children at public toilets. The placement and orientation of public toilets need to take maximum advantage of natural surveillance: e.g., they need to be well lit, located in busy locations, and have no concealed entrances (Cockfield and Moss, 2002).

Controlling Prompts

Learning theories emphasize the role of immediate environments in cueing behavior. Situations, then, may contain within them the impetus to offend. Sexual offenses against children may be stimulated by the observation of children in "provocative" (from the perspective of the offender) or vulnerable situations. Controlling prompts involves identifying and removing such situational triggers (Wortley, 2001). This strategy may be particularly important in the offending of situational and opportunistic offenders, but even the behavior of predatory offenders will be mediated by environmental cues.

As shown in Table 5, sexual offending often occurs while the offender is engaged in some intimate activity with the child, such as giving the child a bath. Controlling triggers of this sort is of course very difficult. Where the guardian is not the perpetrator, he/she needs to exercise judgment when delegating these intimate tasks to others. Where the offender is already in therapy, avoiding such high-risk situations will be likely to form part of a relapse prevention program. For other offenders, we may need to rely on them to instigate their own situational prevention strategies. This is perhaps not as unlikely as it may sound. In an early report on Vermont's *Stop It Now!* program, almost one-quarter of all calls to a sexual abuse prevention hotline were from otherwise undetected offenders (Chasan-Taylor and Tabachnick, 1999). Similarly, almost 30% of callers to the *Stop It Now! UK and Ireland* helpline during 2003 were from people expressing concern about their own behavior (Stop It Now! UK and Ireland, 2005). It may be possible to use such opportunities to educate men to recognize and manage situations that they might personally find tempting. If, as we have argued, the potential to be sexually aroused by children is more common than is usually acknowledged, then the current media focus

demonizing sexual offenders may be counterproductive because it leaves many men who are struggling with temptations confused about their urges and without guidance.

In some cases, accommodation pressures can create the temptations and opportunities to offend. Sexual offending by adolescents often involves incest among siblings, which may be more common when siblings share beds or bedrooms (Finkelhor, 1984). Similarly, a high prevalence of child sexual abuse has been reported in some semi-remote Australian Aboriginal communities (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Task Force on Violence, 1999), and this may be partly facilitated by cramped, open-plan housing where families are forced to share sleeping quarters (Smallbone et al., 1999).

Reducing Permissibility

Offenders may minimize the criminality of their behavior by invoking various excuses to free themselves from the inhibitory effects of self-blame (Sykes and Matza, 1957). Situations can assist in this process by obscuring the offender's contribution to the harm-doing. Sexual offenders are noted for their tendency to justify their behavior with cognitive distortions such as "I was educating the child," "the child enjoyed the relationship," "I could not help myself," and so on. Reducing permissibility involves strategies that help clarify the offender's role in his behavior. This strategy is likely to be most effective with situational and opportunistic offenders who retain an underlying belief that sexual offending against children is morally wrong. Specific techniques include clarifying responsibility, personalizing victims, rule setting and clarifying consequences (Wortley, 2001).

Citing loss of control through alcohol is perhaps the most obvious way that offenders may seek to deny personal responsibility for their offences. Irrespective of debates about whether the effects of alcohol are the result of physiological disinhibition or cognitive expectancies (Marlett et al., 1973), the fact remains that up to two-thirds of sexual offenders against children have serious problems with alcohol (Looman et al., 2004). Excessive alcohol consumption is, of course, a major general public health issue with much broader implications than its contribution to the sexual abuse of children. Nevertheless, the link between alcohol and sexual offending may be particularly strong in some specific settings that are also amenable to situational intervention. We noted earlier the high incidence of child sexual abuse in some Australian Aboriginal communities. The task

force investigating this problem identified widespread and chronic alcohol abuse as the single biggest causal factor[6] (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Task Force on Violence, 1999). Recently, many of these communities have developed alcohol management plans that involve severe restrictions on the sale of alcohol, and in some case they have established "dry" communities. However, there has at this stage been no formal evaluation of the impact of these measures on sexual offending.

Environmental conditions can also blur for the offender the link between their behavior and the harm done. The tendency for perpetrators to excuse their behavior may be particularly prevalent in residential institutions for children such as orphanages, homes for the intellectually disabled and juvenile correctional facilities. The capacity of "total institutions" to engender abuses of power by staff has been well documented (Goffman, 1959; Haney et al., 1973). Institutional regimes divest residents of human qualities and individuality, facilitating neutralizations by staff that justify abuse ("they're all the same," "they're just a number," etc.). In addition, staff are afforded a degree of anonymity and a cloak of collective responsibility that minimize their sense of personal accountability for their actions ("everyone is doing it," "I am just doing my job"). Abuse may be reduced by empowering and humanizing residents (personalizing victims) and curbing the sense of license that staff may have to act as they please (rule setting, clarifying responsibility). Strategies include: ensuring that residents receive adequate levels of physical care that affords them human dignity; minimizing institutional features of the environment and unnecessary regimentation; introducing explicit codes of conduct and induction procedures for staff that clearly spell out acceptable and unacceptable behavior and leave no room for the exploitation of ambiguity; providing formal opportunities for residents to make complaints if abuse occurs; and opening the institution to outside scrutiny, including instituting a process of regular independent inspections and reviews.

Finally, self-exonerating cognitions may be directly challenged. Again, accessing potential offenders is problematic, and public education campaigns would seem to provide the best forum for getting these messages across. Interestingly, as shown in Table 5, Smallbone and Wortley (2000) found that a common tactic of offenders was to spend time watching TV with their victim prior to the abuse. This would seem to provide an ideal opportunity to reach potential offenders at the very time that offending was being contemplated. These messages might particularly challenge the

comforing neutralizations that the offender is performing a service for the child (clarifying consequences) by setting out the harm suffered by children through abuse.

CONCLUSIONS

The application of situational prevention to sexual offenses against children involves two separate questions – is it theoretically plausible, and is there practical utility in doing it? In response to the first question, we argue that situational factors are a crucial and theoretically neglected element of these offenses. Situations are an unavoidable component of all behavior. It is perhaps trite, but nevertheless true, that no behavior can occur without opportunity – an experienced and determined pedophile confined to a deserted island (or prison) will not commit pedophilic acts. But the role of situations is more subtle than this. As research increasingly emphasizes the lack of specialized pedophilic commitment of many sexual offenders, then greater attention needs to be paid to the role that conducive environmental conditions play in facilitating the behavior.

As to the applied implications of a situational perspective, we acknowledge that devising practical interventions for sexual offending is not without its problems. The majority of offenses occur within the home and may be carried out by the very person who is responsible for protecting the child. It is not only difficult to reach such offenders through situational means, but to emphasize the commonplace nature of much sexual abuse runs the risk of encouraging a siege mentality. Care needs to be taken to ensure that sensible protective behaviors do not turn to paranoia. It would be a pity – and ultimately counterproductive from the perspective of encouraging healthy adult-child relationships – if fathers felt they were unable to show affection to their children, if people were reluctant to baby-sit their friends' children, or if teachers felt that they could not comfort a distressed pupil for fear of raising suspicions that they were involved in sexually abusive behaviors.

But equally, the current tendency to demonize sexual offenders and to assume that they form a clearly identifiable group in the community is problematic. As our data show (Smallbone and Wortley, 2000), screening for previous sexual offences will fail to identify most offenders. Moreover, while the focus remains on "stranger danger" people are likely to be less aware of the dangers that exist for their children close to home. The alternative message to stranger danger – that many men experience, if

infrequently and fleetingly, a sexual response to a child – is a challenging one. Nevertheless, frank acknowledgement of this may help men deal with these feelings and better prepare parents/caregivers to protect the children under their care.

We have provided some modest suggestions for situational prevention of sexual offenses against children. We do not do think that our proposals are by any means the last word on the matter. Indeed, we hope that we have stimulated debate and further research on the topic.

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NOTES

1. These analyses also involved additional cases. The final sample comprised the official records of 362 prisoners and self-report data from 213 prisoners.

2. However, a problem with this term is that it implies the other forms or offending are not situational. As we argue, all crime has a situational element.

3. Smallbone and Wortley (2000) also found that many offenders were seeking an emotional relationship with their victims. Confident and assertive children are less likely to form dependency relationships with offenders and thus will not provide the emotional response many offenders seek. This might also be considered an example of Cornish and Clarke's (2003) reducing rewards.

4. Pornography use may also be conceptualised as a situational prompt. It might also be noted that images of children do not need to be pornographic for them to be stimulating. As Tremblay (this volume) reports, the television program *Malcolm in the Middle* was very popular among the pedophiles in his sample.

5. Arguably there is a case for a fourth setting for offending – a virtual setting.

6. The task force also cited the ready availability of pornography in these communities as a contributing factor to the high levels of sexual abuse.

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ATTACHMENT 3

Chapter 7

Victim-focused prevention

In this chapter we shift our attention from prevention strategies targeting offenders and potential offenders, to those targeting victims and potential victims. Intervention with victims of CSA can occur at two points. First, as a primary or secondary prevention strategy efforts may be directed at potential victims to minimise the chances that they will be sexually abused. To date, personal safety programmes, which seek to teach children self-protective skills, are the usual way of operationalising this strategy. Second, as a tertiary prevention strategy interventions with known CSA victims may minimise their chances of ongoing or future abuse. This may involve facilitating the role of victims in the disclosure and prosecution of sexual abuse cases, and addressing factors that may lead to their re-victimisation in the future. We argue in this chapter that interventions with victims form a crucial part of CSA prevention. However, too often victim-focused approaches have pushed responsibility for prevention onto children. Victim-focused interventions should not be interpreted as interventions *by* victims. Rather, we need to consider ways that responsible adults can more effectively intervene on behalf of victims to prevent their abuse.

Interventions with potential victims

According to routine activity theory, a suitable target is one of the three minimal elements – along with a likely offender and the absence of a capable guardian – in any crime (Cohen and Felson 1979). One way

to prevent crime is to 'harden' potential targets to make them less vulnerable to criminal attack. In routine activity terms, this section considers ways to turn children from 'suitable' to 'unsuitable' targets for CSA. Before we examine attempts to achieve this aim through personal safety programmes, we begin by considering what makes a child a suitable target and how their victimisation occurs.

Victims and victimisation

Victim risk factors

The appearance, behaviour and demeanour of children may increase their risk of sexual victimisation. In Chapter 1, we examined the gender and age characteristics of CSA victims. We reported that girls are more likely to be victimised than boys (around twice as often); and that younger children are more at risk of familial abuse while older children have a greater risk of non-familial abuse. We can add here that, in comparison to non-abused children, abused children are more likely to have poorer academic performance (Paradise et al. 1994), lower IQ scores (Manion et al. 1996) and more behavioural problems (Paradise et al. 1994). They also tend to come from more dangerous neighbourhoods; to come from unhappy families characterised by divorce, separation or discord; and to have histories of neglect, physical abuse and prior sexual victimisation (Boney-McCoy and Finkelhor 1995; Finkelhor et al. 1990; Finkelhor et al. 1997; Mian et al. 1986). There emerges a close statistical association between CSA and other forms of child abuse and neglect. Sexual abuse is both predicted by, and predictive of, more general maltreatment of the child, and both are predicted by the same family and environmental risk factors.

Interviews with offenders provide further information on preferred victim characteristics. Conte et al. (1989) asked perpetrators what they looked for when selecting victims for CSA. Most perpetrators had a specific preference for certain physical characteristics, but were generally attracted to friendly and vulnerable children. Similarly, Elliot et al. (1995) found that perpetrators are most likely to target victims who are alone, who have family problems and who are physically small, pretty and 'provocatively' dressed. Perhaps more tellingly, they also looked for children who appear to lack confidence and have low self-esteem, and who seem innocent, curious and trusting. Such children may crave attention and affection from adults leaving them open to emotional exploitation.

The victimisation process

The sexual abuse of children typically occurs within a broader relationship between the victim and the perpetrator and as the culmination of an incremental process. As we reported in Chapter 1, Smallbone and Wortley (2000) found that around 95% of offenders already knew their victim prior to the abuse, and almost half (47%) were related to, or lived with, the child. The child is likely to have established emotional ties and loyalties to the offender that may compromise his or her ability to identify sexual abuse and the illegitimate use of adult authority. This is particularly so when the adult has a guardianship or supervisory role with the child. Under these circumstances, it may be difficult for children to distinguish between appropriate and inappropriate care-giving activities that may be associated with sexual abuse (bathing, dressing and so forth).

Moreover, as we noted above, children may develop relationships with perpetrators in order to satisfy unmet emotional needs. Offenders typically build non-sexual, emotional bonds with victims prior to engaging in sexual contact. In terms of our integrated theory, relationship-building may be employed as a deliberate grooming strategy by offenders, or sexual attraction for the child may arise as a consequence of the relationship. In any event, Smallbone and Wortley (2000) found that prior to sexual contact most perpetrators invested a lot of time with the child, touching him/her non-sexually (67%), giving him/her a lot of attention (65%), and playing with him/her (57%). In most cases, sexual contact was introduced gradually and rarely involved overt coercion or violence. The perpetrator said nice things about the child (51%), touched him/her sexually more and more (49%), and talked lovingly to him/her (45%). Similarly, offenders relied on the emotional bonds established with the child to prevent disclosure of the abuse. The most commonly used methods of keeping a child from disclosing was saying he (the offender) would go to jail or get into trouble if the child told anyone (61%), and relying on the child not wanting to lose the offender because of the affection he provided (36%).

It should not be assumed, however, that victims are necessarily oblivious to the sexual nature of the relationship or that they recognise it as immediately traumatic. For example, Wolak, Finkelhor and Mitchell (2004) investigated sexual offences against minors that had begun with online encounters. The most common victims in these circumstances were females between the ages of thirteen and fifteen and the most common offenders were males aged over twenty-five years. Contrary to media stereotypes that emphasise the deceptive

nature of online grooming, in most cases the perpetrator made few efforts to disguise his age or his sexual intentions. Victims generally went to the meeting fully expecting a sexual liaison with an older man. More generally, many offenders, as part of their modus operandi, try to engage the sexual curiosity of children by talking explicitly about sex and showing the children pornography (Smallbone and Wortley 2000). Sanderson (2004) makes the perhaps uncomfortable point that victims may well experience sexual contact with the perpetrator as stimulating and pleasurable, and that hypersexualisation is sometimes a consequence of sexual abuse. The sexualisation of victims is more likely to occur if the sexual relationship with the perpetrator develops gradually over time (Berliner and Conte 1990).

Personal safety programmes

Personal safety programmes seek to reduce CSA by equipping potential victims with knowledge and skills to recognise and avoid sexually risky situations, and with strategies to physically and verbally resist sexual advances by offenders. Personal safety programmes began in the early 1970s and have emerged as the most common primary prevention strategy for CSA. A literature search using the key words 'child sexual assault' and 'prevention' will produce an overwhelming majority of articles describing programmes of this sort. They are, however, a controversial strategy. While there is good evidence that programmes can achieve significant increases in children's knowledge about CSA concepts and self-protection strategies, there is almost no available research that can demonstrate behavioural transfer of knowledge to real-life situations and resultant reductions in CSA for participants. Moreover, there has been criticism of both the content and conceptual foundations of the programmes, with concerns expressed about the appropriateness of shifting the burden of prevention onto children. We begin this section with a description of personal safety programmes, and an assessment of the empirical evidence of their success. We then summarise the criticisms of personal safety programmes. We conclude that ultimately adults must be responsible for the safety of children, and that situational and developmental prevention approaches offer more appropriate models of intervention with potential victims.

Description of programmes

Programmes are designed primarily for school children from kindergarten to sixth grade (twelve years old), and most are delivered in

schools by visiting experts (Roberts and Miltenberger 1999). Finkelhor and Dziuba-Leatherman (1995) estimated that two-thirds of US school children have been exposed to a programme at some stage. Typically, programmes seek to teach children three things: 1) definitions of sexual abuse and the ability to recognise sexually inappropriate behaviour; 2) strategies to avoid risky situations and to resist sexual advances of perpetrators; and 3) the message that they should tell a trusted adult if any inappropriate advances have been made or if actual abuse has occurred (Sanderson 2004; Taal and Edelaar 1997). In their review of thirty published studies on personal safety programmes, MacIntyre and Carr (2000) identified the following core concepts contained within the curricula: the child's body belongs to him/her and he/she has a right to control access to it (body ownership); there is 'good', 'bad' and 'confusing' touch, and the child has the right to reject bad or confusing touch (touch); a child has the right to say no to an adult if the adult suggests something inappropriate (saying no); the child should try to get away if in danger (escape); there are appropriate secrets and inappropriate secrets, and the child should tell someone if he/she is asked to keep an inappropriate secret (secrecy); the child should trust his/her instincts if he/she believes something is wrong (intuition); the child should be prepared to be persistent if the first adult does not believe him/her (support systems); the child is never to blame (blame); and the child should be assertive with bullies and help friends who are bullied (bullying).

While the exact format of personal safety programmes varies, most are delivered within a Behavioural Skills Training (BST) model (Wurtele 1986). BST is based on social learning principles and emphasises skill acquisition through instruction, modelling, rehearsal and feedback. MacIntyre and Carr (2000) identified three modalities of programme delivery. The first was group training. This essentially involved standard classroom instruction and discussion, which may be supplemented with handouts. Twenty-eight programmes evaluated included this technique. The second method of delivery was behavioural practice, included in twenty-one programmes. This typically involved role plays and behavioural rehearsal of safety skills. The third method of delivery was video training, found in fourteen programmes. This involved video presentation of programme content and the use of video in modelling exercises. Programmes may also utilise live plays with actors (Taal and Edelaar 1997) and puppet shows (Roberts and Miltenberger 1999). However, there is wide variation in programme 'dosage'. MacIntyre and Carr found that the

shortest programme was twenty-five minutes in total, and the longest was 1.5 hours per week for a term. Most interventions comprised three sessions of between fifteen minutes and 1.5 hours.

Outcomes of personal safety programmes

Most published programmes utilise some form of evaluation, usually involving a pre-test/post-test design. The follow-up period varies from between one week to one year, with one to three months typical (MacIntyre and Carr 2000). Five outcome measures have been variously employed – knowledge gains, skill gains, disclosures, negative effects and subsequent incidence of CSA.

There is good evidence that personal safety programmes are successful in imparting sexual abuse concepts and skills to children. Rispens *et al.* (1997) conducted a meta-analysis involving sixteen studies. They found that all studies yielded positive post-treatment gains (effect size, .71) although effect sizes varied widely. While there was evidence of decay over time, overall significant gains were maintained for the specified follow-up period (effect size .62). MacIntyre and Carr's (2000) evaluation produced similar results. Gains in knowledge were found in twenty of twenty-five training conditions examined, and gains in skills in seventeen of twenty training conditions. In all programmes for which gains occurred, these gains were maintained over the post-testing period. As an alternative to meta-analysis, Finkelhor and Dziuba-Leatherman (1995) conducted a national telephone survey of 2,000 children who had participated in various personal safety programmes. They found that two-thirds of respondents reported that the programmes covered key safety skills training, and three-quarters reported that they found the programmes were helpful. Forty per cent of respondents said that they had used skills learnt in the programme to get out of fights or avoid suspicious strangers and 5% said they had said 'no' to an adult as result of what they had learnt.

There is more limited evidence that victim-focused programmes increase disclosure rates. MacIntyre and Carr (2000) found disclosure rates after participating in a programme of between 4% and 8% across four studies. Finkelhor and Dziuba-Leatherman (1995) found that 14% of their telephone respondents said they told an adult about an incident as a result of programme participation. The interpretation of findings is restricted by the lack of comparative data.

The issue of collateral negative impacts has also been less extensively investigated and available evidence is mixed. MacIntyre and Carr (2000) found slight increases in anxiety and wariness about

being touched among participants in four studies. Taal and Edelaar (1997) found older children developed discomfort about being touched. Finkelhor and Dziuba-Leatherman (1995) found that 2% of their telephone sample worried more as result of the programme. However, other studies have found little evidence of collateral negative effects (Sarno and Wurtele 1997).

Finally, few studies have examined whether programme participation results in a lower incidence of CSA, and fewer still have reported positive results. As part of their national telephone survey, Finkelhor and colleagues (Finkelhor and Dziuba-Leatherman 1995; Finkelhor et al. 2005) found that, while respondents who had participated in victim-focused programmes reported that they were more likely to utilise self-protective strategies, there was no evidence of any decrease in the percentage of threatened victimisations that were actually completed or in the level of injury reported. The only study to date to have found evidence of reduced victimisation was by Gibson and Leitenberg (2000). They surveyed 825 female undergraduates on their prior participation in victim-focused programmes and their self-reported experience of child sexual victimisation. Eight per cent of programme participants had been subsequently sexually abused, compared with 14% who had not participated in a programme.

In sum, much of the supportive evidence for personal safety programmes is confined to the learning of key self-protection concepts. The evidence for the long-term retention of those concepts, and more importantly, behavioural transfer into the adoption of successful self-protective strategies in real-world settings, is at this stage largely lacking. The evidence that the programmes cause harm to participants is mixed.

Criticisms of personal safety programmes

Personal safety programmes have been criticised at two levels. At a surface level, some criticisms are directed at the content of particular programmes. For example, programmes have been criticised for having an undue focus on girls as victims and neglecting the needs of boys (Sanderson 2004). Such criticisms accept the basic validity of personal safety programmes as a prevention strategy and are directed at improving them. Other criticisms, which we will focus on here, challenge the conceptual foundations of personal safety programmes. According to this view, children both cannot and should not bear the burden of preventing their own child sexual abuse.

From a purely evidence-based perspective, the objectives and methods of personal safety programmes are at odds with the

realities of most CSA. Personal safety programmes are based on a resistance model of prevention. They assume that children can be taught to recognise sexual contact with an adult as unwelcome, and will have the personal resources to rebuff sexual advances. In fact, as we outlined earlier in this chapter, grooming strategies by offenders are often subtle and incremental, and the child is gradually desensitised to the sexual nature of the advances. This, coupled with the child's lack of sexual knowledge and sophistication, means that the sexual intentions of the offender may not always be obvious to the child. Moreover, the child may come to feel a special emotional attachment towards the perpetrator and it can be difficult for him/her to separate the sexual and non-sexual aspects of that relationship. Perhaps more challenging is the fact that children may enjoy 'bad touch' and become sexually precocious as a result of their abuse. This both limits the effectiveness of the prevention message (e.g. if it doesn't feel bad then it can't be abuse), and may increase feelings of shame in abuse victims who assume that there is something wrong with them if they enjoyed being touched.

Even if children recognise 'bad touch' when it occurs, they are ill-equipped to negotiate with adults about their safety. As we have discussed, the most vulnerable children are those who lack confidence and have low self-esteem. These are also the children who benefit least from personal safety programmes and are likely to be the least resourceful in implementing self-protection strategies (Bagley et al. 1996; Fryer, Kerns-Kaiser and Miyoshi 1987). But even resourceful children face an overwhelming power-imbalance. Children are physically smaller than their abuser, naturally submissive to adult authority and are cognitively and socially immature. Personal safety programmes require them to make complex decisions about the appropriate use of adult authority and to challenge that authority when it is judged to be illegitimate. Should the child decide to report the abuse, there is then the dilemma of deciding to whom it should be reported. This is especially so where the perpetrator is the primary care-giver, but even in other cases the child may judge that the perpetrator has an unchallengeable position of trust within the family.

Just the same, there remains the fact that some children are more likely to be sexually abused than others, and any attempt to 'target-harden' these children by changing the factors that put them at risk is intuitively appealing. But of course in other areas of crime, targets do not harden themselves. If a person wants to prevent their car from being stolen, then it is that person's responsibility to ensure that the car is adequately protected. Likewise, a more appropriate

way to target-harden children is to provide for them more effective guardianship and safer environments in which to live. We consider such strategies at length in the following chapter on situational prevention.

This does not mean we should ignore the personal characteristics of children that increase victimisation. However, the question we should be asking is not how to teach children to rebuff sexual advances, but rather why some children get into relationships with adults that put them at risk of sexual abuse. An alternative to strengthening victim resistance is bolstering victim resilience. This approach involves developing the protective factors that make children less vulnerable to the attentions of perpetrators, and this fits much better with what we know about the dynamics of victimisation. When perpetrators are asked to provide advice on prevention of CSA, among the most common suggestions involve providing children with a loving home environment that allows them to feel confident and secure (Elliott et al. 1995). Interventions may directly target at-risk children – for example, providing them with self-esteem programmes (Daro and Salmon-Cox 1994) – or operate indirectly by providing services and resources to at-risk families (Larner, Stevenson and Behrman 1998). In Chapter 4 we discussed developmental prevention with potential offenders, pointing out the long-term benefits of early intervention. The same logic applies to interventions with potential victims. In fact, prospective victims and perpetrators of CSA share many developmental risk factors, and, given the intergenerational nature of much CSA, developmental interventions may be simultaneously targeting both populations. We will return to the issue of resilience later in this chapter.

Interventions with known victims

There is an extensive literature on responding to victims after they have been sexually abused. A good deal of the available research is conducted within a harm reduction model. It focuses on the identification of the short- and long-term negative psychological outcomes of CSA for victims, and the provision of services to ameliorate these outcomes (e.g. Briere and Elliott 1994; Kendall-Tackett, Williams and Finkelhor 1993; Molnar, Buka and Kessler 2001). Much of this research falls outside the scope of our analyses. We will focus here instead on interventions with known victims that are directed at the prevention of further CSA. We examine two

issues: stopping the abuse that the victim is currently suffering, and ensuring that the victim is not re-abused at a later date.

Ending the current abuse

Victims may be involved in stopping their abuse at four stages of a disclosure process. First they may disclose to another trusted adult that they are being abused. Second, they, or someone on their behalf, may formally report the abuse to the authorities. Third, they may provide evidence against the offender as part of the formal investigation of the case. Fourth, they may testify in court against the offender. In this section we examine the how each of these stages contribute to the prevention of CSA, and what can be done to facilitate the victim's participation in these activities.

Initial disclosure

The protection of children from continued abuse begins with the awareness by others that the abuse is occurring. The sexual abuse may become known to someone close to the child – a parent, neighbour or family friend – or may be uncovered by a teacher, doctor, social worker or the like in the course of their professional work. The child may disclose the abuse to that person, or that person may observe direct physical or behavioural evidence of abuse. In one study (Sauzier 1989), just over half of substantiated CSA cases came to light through disclosure by the victim, with the rest through discovery by an adult. However, most victims do not tell others about their abuse. In their review of the literature, London et al. (2005) report a modal self-disclosure rate of 33%. Even when self-disclosure does occur, it may not be immediate. For example, Ussher and Dewberry (1995) found that only about half of disclosures occurred during the victim's childhood, with the mean age at disclosure of twenty-six years, a delay of some twelve years on average from the time of the abuse.

We have already discussed in this chapter some of the reasons why a child may not disclose abuse. It can be extraordinarily difficult for the child victim to first recognise sexual abuse and then find a trusted adult to whom to report. The child may also be deterred from reporting because of the loyalty felt to the offender, or the shame and embarrassment felt about the sexual abuse. Lawson and Chaffin (1992) found that disclosure increased with the level of support towards the child provided by care-givers. In an examination of cases where sexual abuse had been discovered accidentally by the diagnosis of a sexually transmitted disease, children were nearly four times more

likely to deny that they were sexually abused if care-givers would not concede that sexual abuse was a possibility or if they otherwise displayed a punishing attitude towards the child. However, there are few other reliable predictors of disclosure. As might be expected, several studies have found disclosure decreases the more closely the victim is related to the offender (e.g. Hanson et al. 1999; Wyatt and Newcomb 1990), but others have not supported this finding (e.g. Arata 1998; Kellog and Hoffman 1995). Likewise, victim age, gender and ethnicity, and abuse severity, do not seem systematically related to the likelihood of disclosure (see London et al. 2005, for a review).

Psychologically, disclosure of the abuse that is accompanied by a supportive response is associated with more positive subsequent adjustment (Arata 1998; Harvey et al. 1991; Testa et al. 1992). Indeed, victims who receive a non-supportive response can fare worse than those who do not disclose in the first place (Everill and Waller 1994). However, there is surprisingly little research on the extent to which the revelation of CSA alone (i.e. without formal intervention from child protection or the police) puts a stop to the abuse. It seems likely that in many cases the exposure of the abuse will be sufficient to deter the offender, at least in the short term, but we do know that there are some exceptions to this. Where the perpetrator is a family member, other family members may take the perpetrator's side against the victim. Classically, this occurs when the accusation of abuse is made to a non-abusing mother about her partner. Heriot (1996) found that in approximately a quarter of substantiated familial CSA cases, the child's mother did not believe the accusation. Almost one-third of mothers failed to take action to protect the child (e.g. making the perpetrator move out of the home) and approximately the same number withdrew maternal support from the child (e.g. became hostile towards the child). The most powerful predictors of the mother's reaction were her feelings towards the perpetrator, and the severity of the abuse. Less protection and support were provided when the mother had positive feelings towards the perpetrator and, surprisingly when the abuse involved penetration.

Undoubtedly, disclosure by victims is a positive step in the prevention of abuse and should be encouraged. However, most CSA is not self-disclosed at the time of the abuse, and almost half of cases that come to light are detected by means other than self-disclosure. We saw in the section on personal safety programmes that directly schooling children to disclose abuse has a limited effect. The strongest predictor of disclosure is a supportive family response, suggesting again the need to invest in family-level interventions to create the

environment in which children feel confident to talk about sensitive issues. Even so, we cannot rely on victims to protect themselves by reporting their own abuse. Like the protection of children generally, responsibility for the discovery of CSA ultimately depends upon the vigilance and the diligence of adults.

Reporting to authorities

Self-report victimisation surveys indicate that between 3% (Finkelhor and Dziuba-Leatherman 1994) and 15% (Kilpatrick and Saunders 1997) of all CSA cases are reported to authorities. Non-reported abuse includes cases that were not disclosed by the victim to anyone, and those that came to the attention of an adult but were not on-reported. In this latter category, Finkelhor (1984) found that only 42% of sexual abuse cases known to parents were reported to police. We have mentioned one reason for this above. In addition, parents might elect to deal with the matter informally in the belief that this is in the best interests of the child. The parents may predict that the child will be doubly traumatised by having the abuse investigated and made public. A recent study found that two-thirds of legal professionals involved in CSA cases would not put their own child through the legal process if the child was sexually abused because they judged that it was not worth the emotional cost (Eastwood 2003). Even among mental health professionals who work in the area of CSA, it has been estimated that between 30% (Besharov 1994) and 54% (Pence and Wilson 1994) of known CSA cases are not reported to authorities. The main reasons given by professionals for not reporting (apart from a lack of evidence) are concerns that the case will not be properly dealt with by the authorities, and that reporting may deter victims and perpetrators from seeking treatment (Pence and Wilson 1994).

In an effort to increase reporting rates, most jurisdictions have mandatory reporting laws, in some cases dating back to the 1970s. In some jurisdictions these laws apply only to certain professionals dealing with children (e.g. doctors and teachers), while in other jurisdictions all citizens are obliged to report suspected CSA (Higgins, Bromfield and Richardson 2007; Pence and Wilson 1994). Where mandatory reporting has been introduced it has generally led to an immediate increase in notifications (Besharov 1994). However, mandatory reporting has also attracted some criticism. One unintended consequence has been an increase in unsubstantiated cases, suggesting that it may encourage reports based on weak evidence. Besharov reported that unsubstantiated cases rose from 35% to 65% following

the introduction of mandatory reporting in the US. Over-reporting not only taxes child protection resources, but also has the potential to unfairly stigmatise innocent people.

The other main criticism, to which we have already alluded, is that reporting abuse does not always lead to positive outcomes for victims. In fact, the research on the experiences of child victims after reporting their abuse is mixed, and no doubt depends on the way cases are handled in the particular jurisdiction in which the report is made. In recent years there have been efforts by many police departments, child protection services and courts to deal with victims of CSA in a more compassionate and professional manner, and research from the last ten years or so tends to paint a more positive picture than that from the 1970s and 1980s. Berliner and Conte (1995) found that while children experienced various aspects of the reporting process as daunting and humiliating, they mostly felt that they were being treated with respect and accepted the process as a necessity. Victims described the main benefits of reporting as stopping the abuse and ending the emotional distress. In a pattern that is becoming consistent in this chapter, positive experiences with reporting were associated with the level of family support. Ninety-seven per cent of children said that they were glad that they reported the abuse and all but one in the sample would advise other children to tell. Henry (1997) found that victims had more positive views on reporting if they were not required to give multiple interviews, and if they developed a trusting relationship with the investigating professional. Eastwood, Patton and Stacy (2000) found that negative experiences of reporting were lessened if victims were interviewed by female officers and if empowering interviewing techniques were employed.

One advantage of formal reporting, of course, is that child welfare agencies can act to secure the protection of the child if required. Where the alleged perpetrator is a member of the household, in-home risk-management strategies may be offered (see Chapter 8), or if necessary the child or offender may be removed from the home. In Berliner and Conte's (1995) sample of CSA cases, 38.5% of which involved abuse by a care-giver or another relative, the offender left the home in 21% of cases and the victim was removed in 8% of cases. The reaction of victims in these cases was mixed but most victims were relieved that the abuse would end.

On balance, reporting abuse would seem to have positive psychological and practical outcomes for most victims. While reporting sexual abuse will unavoidably be an emotionally difficult experience for victims, with sensitive handling, the trauma can be minimised.

Providing evidence
We have discussed reporting sexual abuse from the point of view of victims. From the perspective of the interviewing officer, a key concern is how to elicit reliable accounts of the abuse from victims.

Whether children are prone to deny abuse in the face of physical evidence, and to recant disclosures once they have been made, have proven to be contentious issues. Early research suggested high rates of denial and recantations. Sorenson and Snow (1991) proposed a five stage disclosure process: 1) initial denial; 2) tentative disclosure; 3) active disclosure; 4) recantation; and 5) reaffirmation of disclosure. They found that 78% of victims initially denied the abuse, and 22% recanted their disclosure, with 93% of those who recanted later reaffirming the allegations. However, the objectivity of this and similar research has since been criticised, with the suggestion that in many cases there was insufficient evidence to objectively substantiate abuse, and that children were led by the researchers to make false allegations (see London et al. 2005). In other words, many of the initial denials may well have been true, thus accounting for the high level of recantation. Studies with more rigorous substantiation criteria typically produce lower rates of denial and recantation. Lawson and Chaffin (1992), who used the presence of a sexually transmitted disease as the substantiation criterion, found a denial rate of 57%. However, this figure is likely to be inflated since to qualify as a participant in the study the child had to have previously denied being abused. Thus these children were by definition already deniers. Bradley and Wood (1996) examined a sample of case files in which sexual abuse was substantiated after a thorough investigation by child protection services, they found denial and recantation rates of 4% and 6%, respectively. In all cases, the denial or recantation was associated with external pressure from the victim's care-giver.

On the other side of the coin, there are also concerns about the accuracy of children's allegations of abuse. Concerns have been expressed that children's developmental limitations leave them more suggestible, more prone to lying and fantasy, and more likely to forget facts, than are adults. Research suggests that there are grounds for some of these concerns. Goodman and Aman (1990), for example, found that a quarter of five-year-olds gave inaccurate answers to the question: 'Did he touch your private parts?' In a review of the extensive literature, Ceci and Bruck (1993) concluded that young children are especially vulnerable to suggestibility, that children (like adults) will lie when it is in their self-interest and that generally

children have good recall for information, although young children do not recall as much detail as do older children.

To improve the accuracy of children's accounts, a number of forensic interviewing techniques have been suggested. Open-ended questions have been found to elicit more accurate responses than closed or focused questions, especially where the questions are repeated (Memon and Vartoukian 1996; Sternberg et al. 2001). However, an examination of interviews conducted in the field reveal that practitioners rarely adhere to interviewing best-practice. Many interviewers rely heavily on asking suggestive questions, or posing options for interviewees that potentially contaminate the accuracy of responses (Hershkowitz et al. 1997). Interviewing practices and victim accuracy can be substantially improved with the use of structured interview protocols (Sternberg et al. 2001).

Testifying

The end stage of the disclosure process is prosecution of the case. There is a heavy attrition of cases before this stage is reached. In an Australian study of 3,351 cases substantiated by child protection authorities, 2,143 were reported to police, 630 accused were charged, and 404 (12% of substantiated cases) were found guilty of at least one charge (Gallagher, Hickey and Ash 1997). This pattern seems fairly typical across jurisdictions (Goddard and Hiller 1992; Hood and Boltje 1998; Parkinson et al. 2002). These figures highlight the different standard of proof required for the purposes of intervention by child protection services, and that required to satisfy a court of law. There is also evidence that while prosecution rates for CSA are increasing, conviction rates are dropping (Cashmore 1995). This suggests that while people are being encouraged to report more incidents of CSA, and police are more inclined to charge those against whom allegations are made, they are doing so on less legally-rigorous grounds.

Testifying in court is potentially the most stressful event for victims who have reported CSA. In an adversarial system the victim may be forced to come face-to-face with the accused, and be put through a gruelling cross-examination (Eastwood 2003; Myers 1994). Some jurisdictions have introduced reforms to courtroom practices to accommodate CSA victims. These include reducing waiting times to go to trial, allowing victims to testify via closed-circuit television (CCTV), the use of pre-recorded testimony and limits to cross-examination (Eastwood 2003; Myers 1994; Sas, Wolfe and Gowdey 1996). Typically, modifications to courtroom procedures are available but not necessarily utilised, and it is unclear how widespread changes

have actually been. For example, CCTV may be an option reserved for 'special' cases (Eastwood 2003). The experiences of victims are varied, and depend upon the particular court-room practices they encounter. Eastwood (2003) describes abusive and intimidating experiences of victims under cross-examination. In these cases victims and their parents regretted their decision to take the matter to court. Participants in Berliner and Conte's (1995) study, on the other hand, generally found the court-room experience was not as bad as they had expected and were glad that they had the opportunity to testify.

Preventing re-victimisation

The phenomenon of repeat victimisation is commonly reported in the general criminological literature. It is known that for a wide variety of crimes – including burglary, domestic assault, bullying and credit card fraud – being a victim on one occasion significantly increases the chances of being a victim again some time in the future. Repeat victimisation has obvious crime prevention implications. For example, victims of burglary can be given advice on how to improve security in the event that the same or another burglar returns. We begin by reviewing the available research on the serial victimisation of children, then go on to consider protective factors that might reduce the risk of re-victimisation.

Repeat victimisation

There are two main ways that sexual re-victimisation of children has been studied, each of which examines a slightly different aspect of the issue. Some studies have used self-reported experiences of sexual victimisation. In most cases, re-victimisation is operationalised as incidents of unrelated incidents involving different perpetrators. Various samples have been examined, producing different re-victimisation rates, but showing a consistent pattern of more severe symptomology for repeat victims. Long and Jackson (1991) surveyed female college students. They found that 5% of the sample, representing 10% of those reporting childhood sexual abuse, had been abused by multiple perpetrators. When compared to single-perpetrator victims, repeat victims were younger at the onset offence, were more likely to be abused by a familial perpetrator and experienced greater levels of family discord. Children abused by a familial perpetrator on the first occasion tended to be abused by familial offenders on subsequent occasions, with a similar level of consistency for non-familial abuse. Kellog and Hoffman (1997) surveyed adolescent waiting-room patients at four clinics, including a sexual abuse clinic. Thirty per

cent of the sample reported unwanted sexual experiences by a single perpetrator and 18% of the sample reported multiple perpetrators. Those reporting multiple perpetrators experienced higher levels of family violence, had greater self-blame and were more likely to delay disclosure of the abuse due to shame. Boney-McCoy and Finkelhor (1995) conducted telephone interviews with 2,000 children between the ages of ten and sixteen. They found that 29% of respondents who were sexually abused prior to the previous year, were also sexually abused during the previous year. (Note that in this study prior victimisation may have included the same perpetrator, and so re-victimisation rates are likely to be inflated.) Both sexual and non-sexual victimisation increased the likelihood of future sexual victimisation and led to higher levels of post-traumatic stress, even when controlling for demographic and offence-related factors.

The second method of investigating repeat victimisation is the analysis of substantiated CSA cases recorded in official hospital and child-welfare files. Because intervention by authorities is the measure of victimisation, repeat victimisation may or may not involve a different perpetrator. Fryer and Miyoshi (1994) followed children on a state abuse and neglect registry for four years. Sexual re-abuse was greater for females (8.5%) than for males (7.1%), and decreased with the age of the victim. Levy et al. (1995) followed a sample of children for five years after their discharge from a child abuse inpatient assessment programme. The sexual re-abuse rate was 16.8%, with greatest risk occurring in the first two years. Re-abused children were more likely to live in public housing, and have unmarried or unemployed parents. Swanston et al. (2002) took a sample of substantiated CSA cases over a designated time period, then determined if there were other substantiated notifications prior to, and during the six years following, the reference notification. One in six had subsequent notifications and one in ten had prior notifications for sexual abuse. Sexual abuse was a marker for family dysfunction and also predicted subsequent non-sexual abuse and neglect.

There are three possible explanations for repeat victimisation. First, there may be stable, pre-existing characteristics of the child (e.g. low self-esteem) that make him/her particularly vulnerable to abuse, and account for both the initial victimisation and subsequent victimisations. Second, there may be stable environmental or sociodemographic factors (e.g. family dysfunction) that similarly put the child at a higher risk across time. Third, the initial victimisation may somehow contribute to subsequent victimisations. With respect to this last explanation, the experience of victimisation may exacerbate

both victim and environmental risk factors. Feelings of shame and a sense of one's self as 'spoilt goods' may deplete already low levels of self-esteem and emotional security. Sexual abuse can also lead to premature sexualisation that may expose the child to increased risk. Compared to non-victims, victims of CSA have been found to begin consensual sexual activity earlier, to have more sexual partners, to have higher rates of teenage pregnancy and to have higher rates of sexually transmitted diseases (Browne and Finkelhor 1986; Fergusson, Horwood and Lynskey 1997; Krahe et al. 1999). Additionally, the disclosure of the abuse may contribute to further family dysfunction and reduce the quality of guardianship available to the child. Where the perpetrator was the father or stepfather, the family may be reduced to a single parent. As we noted earlier, it is also not uncommon for the non-abusing mother in these circumstances to withdraw emotional support for the victim (Heriot 1996).

Resilience among CSA survivors

Most interventions with victims of CSA are designed to help victims and their families deal with the immediate impact of the abuse, and to reduce negative psychological sequelae. While interventions may be driven largely by a therapeutic concern with harm minimisation, there are clear overlaps between this objective and re-victimisation prevention. The uncovering of sexual abuse gives child protection workers the opportunity to address some of the personal and environmental risk factors that caused the initial abuse, and which, if left unchanged, may also facilitate re-victimisation. Additionally, many of the negative consequences of abuse, which may be the focus of harm minimisation interventions, may also increase the risks of re-victimisation. Treating issues such as feelings of powerlessness, diminished self-esteem, self-blame, early sexualisation, stigmatisation and social isolation, all of which may follow the experience of sexual abuse, is likely to have both harm minimisation and prevention benefits.

Unfortunately, there is a dearth of research that specifically evaluates the success of post-abuse interventions on preventing re-victimisation. However, there is a promising line of research examining the relationship between resilience and victimisation that may have prevention implications. Earlier in this chapter we reported that victims of CSA often lack confidence and emotional security, and we suggested that resilience in children might be a protective factor against becoming a victim of sexual abuse. Research also shows that resilience may be a protective factor that minimises the negative impacts of sexual abuse for children who have been victimised. As we outlined

in Chapter 1, there is considerable variation in the psychological reactions of victims to their abuse, with 25% of maltreated children in one study showing no detectable long-term symptoms (McGloin and Widom 2001). It is theoretically plausible – and there is some suggestive research to support the proposition – that these resilient children are also at a lower risk of re-victimisation. There have been two main areas of research in this area – resilience as a function of social support and resilience as a function of cognitive style.

Resilient survivors of CSA report closer relationships with their parents than non-resilient survivors (Romans et al. 1995; Spaccareli and Kim 1995). Unfortunately, one of the possible consequences of sexual abuse, as we have seen, is that even greater stress is placed on what is often an already vulnerable family. In particular, at the very time that the child requires greatest emotional support, that support may be withdrawn by the non-abusing care-giver. However, social support does not have to come from the care-giver. In cases where the child is taken from the home, then valuable support may be provided by relatives or by foster parents (Egeland et al. 1993). Having at least one supportive person to whom to turn at the time of the abuse reduces the likelihood that the victim will perpetuate child abuse into the next generation (Egeland, Jacobitz and Sroufe 1988). Non-familial support can also be provided by structured social institutions such as schools and churches, and through involvement in extracurricular hobbies and activities (Heller et al. 1999). For example, adult survivors of CSA who had positive school experiences, an active social life and were involved in sports had higher self-esteem and fewer psychological problems than did other survivors (Romans et al. 1995).

The other area of research has examined dispositional features of resilient survivors. Heller et al. (1999) identified four key adaptive cognitive styles. The first is positive self-concept. A number of studies have reported positive associations between measures of self-esteem and resilience among adult survivors of CSA (Moran and Eckenrode 1992; Valentine and Feinauer 1993). The second is a belief in personal control over life events. Females are generally prone to have an external locus of control (i.e. they hold factors outside themselves responsible) for positive events, but an internal locus of control (i.e. they hold themselves responsible) for negative events. Resilient survivors of CSA have been found to buck this trend by having relatively a high internal locus for both positive and negative events (Moran and Eckenrode 1992). The third is an external attribution of blame. While resilient CSA survivors do not have a generalised

external locus of control for negative events, they do attribute greater blame to the perpetrator than do non-resilient survivors (Moran and Eckenrode 1992). Some research has shown higher levels of re-victimisation among children who blame themselves for their abuse or rationalise the offender's behaviour (Berliner and Conte 1990; Kellog and Hoffman 1997). The fourth is ego control. This refers to the ability to insulate oneself from adverse environmental influences and stressors. Ego control is associated with self-assertion, persistence, emotional expressiveness and self-reflection. Cicchetti et al. (1993) argue that ego-controlling individuals are more attuned to cues that may put them at risk of victimisation.

Himelein and McElrath (1996) make the point that resilient cognitions are not necessarily realistic, and in fact, there can be psychological advantages to possessing distorted beliefs. They found that CSA survivors who displayed 'unrealistic optimism' about their abuse fared better than survivors who had no such illusions. Optimism manifested in a number of ways. Resilient survivors tended to minimise the seriousness of their abuse, and downplay the impact that it had on their lives. They may have even reframed the abuse in positive terms, for example, claiming that they became stronger through the experience. They also were less likely to dwell on the experience, and rather, tried to put it out of their minds. At the same time, resilient abuse survivors were more likely than non-resilient survivors to have confided in someone about their abuse, and to openly discuss their abuse histories with family and friends. Himelin and McElrath conclude that these findings do not indicate that resilient survivors are in denial about their abuse, but rather that they have 'worked through' their experiences. The research calls into question the wisdom of challenging rationalisations just because they seem unrealistic.

Summary

The popular stereotype of CSA is of a cunning and predatory offender who makes sudden and overt sexual advances to unsuspecting and reluctant victims, who in turn invariably suffer psychological trauma as a result of their victimisation. This view fails to acknowledge the complexity of CSA and, in particular, the emotional component of the victim–offender relationship. Without suggesting that children are complicit in their victimisation, or diminishing the negative psychological consequences of sexual abuse for many victims, we

need to frankly acknowledge that victims often have, or develop, close emotional ties with offenders. Interventions that target potential CSA victims must begin with this understanding.

Only a small proportion of CSA cases become known to adults other than the perpetrator, and of those that do come to light, very few result in the conviction of the offender. However, while we may desire a conviction to satisfy our sense that justice has been done, worthwhile protection for the child can be achieved in its absence. Informal measures by child protection services, can end the abuse for the child. Clearly it is desirable that as many cases of CSA as possible should be brought to light, although whether all cases should be subject to mandatory reporting is less clear-cut. A recurring theme as we progressed through the stages of the disclosure process was that few of the predictors of disclosure resided within the victim. The most important factors were the support the victim received by his/her family, and the way the victim was treated within the child welfare and criminal justice systems. Again the responsibility for children's safety must be accepted by adults.

Children who have once been victimised are at an increased risk of repeat victimisation. As such, they are a group of children who warrant special attention. At present, most post-abuse treatment is directed at the amelioration of the psychological distress. We believe that intervention at this time also provides the opportunity to address factors that might decrease the chances of re-victimisation. While the evidence at this stage is somewhat speculative, one promising approach is to develop interventions that increase resilience among CSA survivors.

In conclusion, as one of three necessary elements of any crime, victims are an obvious target for prevention efforts. However, we have argued from both philosophical and empirical positions that we should not expect children to be responsible for their own safety. At both the pre-abuse and post-abuse stages, we have highlighted the critical role in protecting children played by supportive adults, be they care-givers, family and friends or professionals within the child protection and criminal justice systems. We may strive to make children more confident and resilient in order to give them the best chance of avoiding abuse, or, if they have been abused, surviving the experience with minimal psychological damage. But at the end of the day, we must provide safe environments where all children are protected. How this goal might be achieved through situational interventions is the topic of the following chapter.

Chapter 8

Situational prevention

In Chapters 4, 5 and 6 we examined various ways in which preventing CSA might be achieved by targeting offenders and potential offenders. In the previous chapter (Chapter 7) we examined alternative approaches focused on victims and potential victims. In the present chapter we consider how CSA can be prevented by targeting the immediate environments in which it occurs. We borrow the situational crime prevention model from criminology and show that the same prevention principles can be applied to the problem of CSA. Situational crime prevention does not aim to change offenders in any permanent way, but rather to eliminate or reduce their inappropriate behaviour in prescribed settings. It does this by systematically identifying and modifying aspects of potential crime scenes that encourage or permit misbehaviour. Situational prevention, then, is about creating safer environments rather than creating safer individuals.

Advocates of situational prevention frequently face resistance from other social scientists who doubt the efficacy of their interventions. The situational approach is accused of neglecting the 'root' causes of problem behaviour, namely (depending upon one's discipline) social disadvantage and the antisocial dispositions of offenders. In comparison to these factors, critics contend, situations play a trivial role in behaviour and, at best, situational prevention will only succeed in displacing the problem to another location or victim. We begin by addressing these concerns, reviewing the conceptual and theoretical foundations of situational prevention. We show that situations have as much claim to the label of 'root' cause of CSA as do traits and

ATTACHMENT 4

Conclusion

CHILD PORNOGRAPHY IS a topic that generates strong emotions. The thought of innocent and vulnerable children being callously exploited in such debased ways elicits our compassion for the victims and anger toward those who are responsible for the exploitation—whether they produce and distribute the abuse images or help perpetuate the abuse by viewing the images. Our collective abhorrence of child pornography is a relatively modern phenomenon and contrasts with the situation in previous ages in which the sexual exploitation of children was often disbelieved, ignored, tolerated, or even condoned. The discovery of child pornography as a serious social problem has resulted in the creation of specific child pornography legislation, significant investment in law enforcement resources to rescue victims and catch offenders, the forming of numerous nongovernment advocacy organizations dedicated to raising awareness, and the emergence of child pornography as an active area of academic interest.

Along with strong emotional reactions to child pornography comes the danger of polarized views. In our fervent desire to "do something" about the problem of ICP, we risk falling victim to a moral panic in which the Internet is portrayed as awash with ICP, and our responses are dominated by the stereotype of the ICP offender as a cunning and remorseless deviant. Inevitably, some have reacted against the attention now given to ICP by claiming that the extent of the problem has been grossly exaggerated, warning of the threats to liberty posed by Internet controls designed to prevent ICP and, in some cases, defending the rights of individuals to access to ICP.

We have endeavored in this book to present a balanced view of the ICP problem. We have acknowledged that child pornography is a serious social issue that has been dramatically exacerbated by the advent of the Internet. We regard the sexual exploitation of children as morally indefensible and do not doubt the devastating psychological and physical effects that ICP can have on many victims. We also believe that there is a core of persistent, technically skilled, and well-organized offenders who are consumed by a sexual attraction to children and who are very difficult to catch or deter. At the same time, we need to treat with caution claims that are made about the size of the ICP problem. Most of the figures in circulation concerning the extent of ICP are little more than

guesses—made in some cases, one suspects, by those with a vested interest in stressing the seriousness of the problem.

We also need to try to separate our moral outrage about ICP offenders from our efforts to understand their behavior. With this, we believe, comes the uncomfortable acceptance that there is a widespread potential to become sexually aroused by ICP and that what defines many ICP offenders is their ordinariness, not their deviance. Characterization of ICP material itself in terms of its worst and most unusual examples—involving violent sexual degradation of very young children—makes it all the more difficult to see this. To be sure, such terrible images exist, and the knowledge that some offenders derive sexual pleasure from them stretches our sense of the bounds of human behavior. But the truth is that the severity of ICP images ranges along a continuum, ultimately toward the legally and morally ambiguous. Fundamentally, we have argued that effective responses to ICP must be based on a dispassionate analysis, not on myths and moral assumptions.

The idea that ICP use is not limited to an easily definable group of sexual deviants presents us with a double-edged sword when it comes to dealing with the problem. On the one hand, it can make the control of ICP seem all the more challenging. If the potential to be sexually responsive to images of children and young people is endemic—a component of male human nature—then how can we hope to contain the ICP problem? The Internet has placed child pornography within the reach of any individual who has so much as a fleeting thought about children as sexual objects. Indeed, the problem we have with child pornography today—as opposed to the situation pre-1980—exists precisely because the Internet has made it so easy for individuals to act on their latent sexual desires. On the other hand, we can draw some comfort from the fact that the majority of ICP offenders do not have a deep-seated sexual attraction to children nor are they particularly sophisticated in their offending strategies. The stereotypical compulsive offender is the extreme end of a continuum. There may be more child pornography offenders than ever before, but controlling the behavior of many of these offenders may not be as challenging as is often assumed.

This interpretation of the dynamics of ICP offending has important implications for how we need to respond to the problem. First and foremost, it reinforces the view that the prevention of ICP offending *before it occurs* must be our priority. The apparatus of law enforcement and of the criminal justice system more broadly are designed to react to the commission of crime. That is, our dominant crime-response strategies are to catch and punish known offenders. To the extent that these activities have a prevention function, it is largely in terms of reducing reoffending by incapacitating the offender for some period of time, during which they are restrained from offending (e.g., imprisonment), and/or by hoping that the received punishment will serve as a deterrent against future criminality. Of course, we believe that ICP offenders should be held accountable for their crimes and prosecuted if they are apprehended, and the evidence suggests that the reconviction rates for ICP offenders are low. We have also argued that publicizing the

risk of arrest may have general deterrent effects, helping to counter perceptions by potential offenders that the Internet is an anonymous and safe environment in which to offend. However, the growth of the child pornography problem since the Internet began means that the arrest of a few thousand individuals each year will have a trivial impact on the overall numbers of ICP offenders. Even with a considerable increase to resources now devoted to policing ICP, the number of potential arrestees and the time, effort, and logistic difficulties involved in securing convictions makes the arrest of anything approaching a significant proportion of offenders simply not viable.

For similar reasons, we should not place too much faith in rehabilitation—the traditional focus of most psychological approaches to ICP—to make any significant dent in the problem. If few offenders are arrested for ICP, fewer still are offered places in a rehabilitation program. Even the best rehabilitation programs, in turn, are never completely effective in eliminating reoffending. There are no figures available for the success rates of ICP treatment programs in particular, but based on research examining general offender treatment programs, the best that could be hoped for is a reduction in recidivism of between 12 percent (Redondo, Sánchez-Meca, and Garrido 1999) and 25 percent (Landenberger and Lipsey 2005). In any case, based on Seto et al.'s (2011) findings, the reoffending rates for untreated ICP offenders are so low that any additional benefit that might be derived from rehabilitation would seem negligible. Concentrating rehabilitation resources on the most persistent and disturbed ICP offenders would seem to be the most sensible approach, although assistance should also be made available for those willing to self-refer.

A central thread in our analysis of ICP has been the crucial role of the person-situation interaction in offending, and it is this that provides the key to devising effective preventative strategies. The person side of the equation refers to the psychological capacity to gain sexual gratification from sexual images of children. At a community level, we need to continue to reinforce the abhorrent nature of ICP and challenge perceptions that downloading images is a victimless crime. Beyond this, the apparently ordinary profile of the ICP offender presents special challenges to the usual offender-focused prevention strategies of early intervention and detection. Focusing prevention efforts on those most at risk of becoming ICP offenders makes sense, but more needs to be known about how ICP offending more commonly begins and progresses. Because ICP is usually produced in the context of contact sexual abuse, prevention efforts also need to focus on victims and potential victims and on the settings in which such abuse occurs.

The situation side of the equation refers to the opportunity to access such images provided by the Internet. Here, the goal is clearer, although the task is not unproblematic. If increased opportunity is responsible for the proliferation of ICP, then reducing opportunity must be a major part of any prevention effort. We need to continue in the efforts to make ICP offending more difficult to carry out, to entail greater risks of detection, to deliver fewer rewards, to be less

excusable in the eyes of the offender, and to be less likely to be triggered by environmental cues or stresses.

However, the person-situation interaction means more than that each factor is individually important in behavior; it is the way that personal and situational factors combine that is often the most interesting. In the case of ICP offending, we saw how interacting in a virtual environment can profoundly affect an individual's sense of self and his perceptions of risk. The Internet has a disinhibiting effect, and people will behave in ways online that they would not behave in "real life." Thus, for example, situational strategies do not just need to increase the risk of offending; they need to increase the risk of offending as it is *perceived* by the individual interacting online.

There are difficulties in implementing person-focused and Internet-focused interventions, and neither guarantee the elimination of ICP. It is easy to feel overwhelmed by the size of the ICP problem and to be pessimistic about the prospects for success. It is certainly unlikely that we will ever be able to make the confident assertions about having broken the back of the child pornography problem as were made in the report by the General Accounting Office some 30 years ago (Ahart 1982) and quoted at the beginning of this book. However, we believe there are encouraging signs of success and that without the efforts currently being made, the ICP problem would be far greater than it is. At the same time, offenders are adaptable, and we are locked in an ongoing struggle to keep one step ahead. To tip the battle in our favor, it is vital that our approach to the prevention of ICP derives from a sound research base.

THE WAY AHEAD: WHAT DO WE NEED TO KNOW?

It has become a cliché to end academic works with a call for more research. Be that as it may, there is much we do not know about ICP offending. There is surprisingly little empirical research; moreover, much of the limited research activity is, in our view, misdirected and contributes little to a prevention agenda. In the following sections, we list some areas we see as priorities for future research.

The Behavior of Offenders

Much of the available empirical research on ICP offenders comes from the behavioral sciences and sets out to identify stable trait differences between offenders and nonoffenders and among different types of offenders. As we have detailed, few distinguishing psychological features of ICP offenders have been found. But even if certain psychological peculiarities were to be identified, one must ask the question of the usefulness of such information and how exactly might it be used to help reduce offending? What is desperately lacking is research on the *behavior* of ICP

offenders—how they go about the task of offending. Situational prevention involves countering the strategies employed by offenders. More needs to be known about when and where offenders access ICP, the emotional and environmental triggers for offending, the Internet search strategies employed, the security precautions taken, and the way that risk is perceived and responded to. This information may be obtained by asking offenders about their behavior and/or directly examining records of online offending. The research design developed by Demetriou and Silke (2003), which examined responses on a bogus website, offers a model for directly examining online behavior under experimental conditions.

Offending Onset

In particular, as we explore the behavior of offenders, we need to know more about the dynamics of the onset of offending. We have made the point elsewhere (Smallbone, Marshall, and Wortley 2008) that for contact child sexual abuse, the dynamics surrounding the very first offense are likely to be very different from those surrounding subsequent offending. The first offense is special. At this point, the offender has no routine modus operandi and may not even have formed an established sexual attraction toward children; that may come as a consequence of offending. Therefore, preventing the onset offense is particularly important, and it may also be the easiest offense to prevent. We think the same principles are likely to apply to ICP offenders. Research needs to establish how and why people commit their first ICP offense and to track the psychological and behavioral progression—where progression does occur—to pathological levels of offending.

Nontreatment and Nonprisoner Samples

Almost all the information we have on ICP offenders comes from studies involving incarcerated samples—often comprising prisoners in treatment. There is a danger that what we think we know about ICP offenders is based on a narrow band of serious offenders, giving us a highly skewed picture of the dynamics of ICP offending. The confidential hotlines we described in Chapter 6 may provide an unusual opportunity to learn about how ICP offenders begin, progress, and desist from their offending behavior, but even these help-seeking offenders are unlikely to be representative. In one of the few studies involving a community sample of Internet users, Seigfried et al. (2008) found that roughly 15 percent of males had accessed ICP, supporting our contention that there is likely to be a great deal of opportunistic and undetected ICP offending. Particularly surprising was the finding that about 5 percent of females had also viewed ICP, a level of offending that greatly exceeds the levels found in official arrest figures. It seems there may be much more to learn about the individuals who comprise this "gray area" of offending.

Getting Specific

ICP offending is a term that covers a diverse range of behaviors involving the production, distribution, and downloading of images. In addition, there is a range of related crimes that come under the more general heading of Internet child exploitation (ICE), and that includes the online sexual grooming of children, cyberstalking and sexual harassment, child sexual tourism, and the trafficking of children. While the same offender may be involved in multiple types of ICE offending, in many cases, each type of offense comprises distinct populations of offenders. For example, some offenders who download ICP are also involved in its production by recording their own sexual abuse of children, but the majority of those downloading ICP are not involved in contact child sexual abuse. The prevention strategies—person centered and situational—required for the production of ICP are very different from those required for the downloading of ICP. Very often, however, research on Internet child exploitation fails to make distinctions between different types of online offenders or between different types on online offending. If we are to develop effective interventions, we need to unpack online child exploitation and produce research findings that are specific to the different types of exploitation. Making clear the distinctions between various types of Internet child exploitation also allows us to better prioritise our prevention efforts, focusing particularly on offenses that involve contact sexual abuse.

Joining Up Research Efforts

We conclude by returning to our central theme—that of the person-situation interaction. In this book, we have reviewed research that has addressed both sides of this dynamic. What was striking to us is that this research exists essentially as two separate literatures. One source of research is the behavioral sciences, which, as previously noted, focus on the characteristics of offenders. The other source of research is computer science, which focuses on the technical aspects of detecting, tracking, and blocking illegal Internet use. It is apparent how little each of the literatures refers to or even shows any awareness of the other. Furthermore, in many cases, research papers are written in technical terms that assume prior disciplinary knowledge and that make the findings largely inaccessible to those outside the discipline. What is lacking is research that brings behavioral and computer science perspectives together. Behavioral scientists and computer scientists have much to learn from each other, and the contributions of both are required. It seems to us that the behavioral scientist cannot fully understand how to prevent the behavior of ICP offenders unless he or she also has some understanding of how the Internet is used in offending; likewise, the computer scientist must be proficient not just in the technical aspects of the Internet but must also appreciate how the individual experiences the Internet at a psychological level. For example, the rational choice perspective that underpins situational

crime prevention is a product of behavioral science, but many of the strategies required to implement situational crime prevention require the expertise of the computer scientist. Like calls for more research, calls for greater levels of multidisciplinary research are so frequent as to be almost cliché. Multidisciplinarity is often held as an aspiration, but it is difficult to achieve in practice. However, ICP is an area where the need for a multidisciplinary approach and the benefits that such an approach may yield would seem to be self-evident.