Dodging justice: characteristics of men with multiple victims who evade detection for long periods

Samuel J. Nicol, James Ogilvie, Mark R. Kebbell, Danielle A. Harris & Ashley Phelan

Published online: 26 Dec 2022.

Submit your article to this journal ✎

View related articles ✎

View Crossmark data ✎

NOTA
Supporting Professionals to
Prevent Sexual Abuse

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Check for updates

Dodging justice: characteristics of men with multiple victims who evade detection for long periods

Samuel J. Nicol [a], James Ogilvie [b], Mark R. Kebbell[c], Danielle A. Harris[a] and Ashley Phelan[c]

[a]Griffith Criminology Institute, Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia; [b]Department of Psychology, Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia; [c]Child Protection Offender Registry, Queensland Police Service, Brisbane, Australia

ABSTRACT

Little is known about men who sexually abuse multiple children and evade detection for long periods. This group is responsible for inflicting significant harm due to the severity, and longevity of their offending. The aim of the study was to identify men who perpetrate persistent sexual offences against children and differentiate them by those with long detection lags (LDLs) ($n = 35$) and short detection lags (SDLs) ($n = 35$) using police databases and case files. The men were compared on demographic characteristics, lifestyle factors, victimisation, psychopathic traits, antisocial orientation, atypical sexual interest, and descriptive sexual offence variables. The LDL participants had more psychopathic traits, more pre-pubescent child victims, more often be in professional employment and have less antisocial and criminogenic indicators than the comparative SDL group. These findings have significant practical implications for reduced victimisation through early identification, forensic risk assessment, treatment and earlier prevention strategies for CSA.

Practice impact statement

The current findings have important and practical implications within forensic risk assessment, especially Structured Professional Judgement (SPJ) when assessing specific groups of offenders. In addition, research informed SPJ can better prioritise policing investigative resources, both retrospectively (e.g. identifying victims) and prospectively (e.g. reducing detection lags and victimisation) while defensively informing the criminal justice system of the most appropriate supervision intensity and intervention modalities for men with clinical and forensic indicators of potential high victimisation and longer detection lags.

Child sexual abuse (CSA) is considered one of the most harmful criminal offences which results in a number of adverse effects for survivors, often including inter-generational impacts (Liggins et al., 2019; Sherman et al., 2016). The psychological (Cashmore & Shackel, 2013; Cutajar et al., 2010; Nelson et al., 2002) and physiological (Brown et al., 2013; Dong et al., 2004; Dube et al., 2009) harm experienced by survivors is well established and varies greatly. Abuse which has occurred more frequently, over longer durations, and with greater severity, has been correlated with an increased likelihood of survivors experiencing poorer outcomes across multiple physical, social, and mental health domains (Dong et al., 2003; Papalia et al., 2017).

Knowledge of CSA perpetrators is biased toward offenders who are detected, often earlier in their offending trajectories. Our current CSA knowledge may not necessarily be representative of all men who perpetrate CSA, especially those with multiple CSA victims and long detection lags (LDLs). Large community-based surveys consistently show the prevalence of CSA far exceeds the prevalence from official crime records (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017; Dunne et al., 2003; Mills et al., 2015; Ogloff et al., 2012; Price-Robertson et al., 2010). With a large discrepancy between official and estimated CSA, it can be reasonably assumed that a significant number of CSA remains undetected, and that these offences are committed by a cohort of persistent perpetrators for extended durations.

Nicol et al. (2022) identified characteristic differences between those with long and short detection lags (SDLs) for sexually abusing multiple children from police. In a comparative study of 340 participants (LDL: $n = 170$; SDL: $n = 170$) using administrative data, the men with persistent CSA offending and LDLs were identified as younger at the onset of their sexual offending, less likely to be Indigenous, and with fewer indicators of criminal versatility, whilst being more likely to have a greater number of child victims and particularly of pre-pubescent age than the SDL participants. This study enabled comparative analysis across three broad constructs often associated with sexual offending: demographic and personal characteristics, indicators of sexual deviancy, and general criminality (Beech & Craig, 2012; Hanson et al., 2010; Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2005; Seto, 2019). Although the groups were created and distinguished by the lag between CSA commencement and subsequent reporting (to police), there is still a gap in identifying more varied characteristics of men with the highest number of victims. The present study attends to this gap through broadening the scope of the research by including in-depth analysis of a smaller group of men most persistent in CSA victimisation but who evade detection for long periods more broadly across the domains of antisocial orientation and psychopathy, sexual deviancy, demographic and lifestyle characteristics and CSA offending characteristics.

Antisocial orientation (ASO) and psychopathy have been strongly associated with criminal behaviour, including sexual offending (Babchishin et al., 2016; Brouillette-Alarie et al., 2016; Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2005). ASO includes antisocial personality patterns, antisocial personality disorder and psychopathy (Babchishin et al., 2016) and is typified by a general lack of self-regulation and proneness to reckless and impulsive behaviour (Babchishin et al., 2016; Beech & Craig, 2012). This tendency to act without self-regulation is why those men caught for repeat CSA offending are often identified as "generalist" criminal offenders, as opposed to "specialising" in sexual offending (Harris et al., 2009; Lussier, 2005; Wortley & Smallbone, 2014). Despite the strong correlation between ASO and persistence, subsets of men have been identified with persistent CSA but lacking in overt indicators of ASO (Wortley & Smallbone, 2014). A notable example is Wortley and Smallbone's (2014) identification of "specialised predatory" offenders who were identified with more victims and longer offence durations than criminally versatile men with persistent CSA. The findings from the Australian Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse (2017) also identified many men with convictions for CSA who were not otherwise criminogenic but abused multiple children and have LDLs.

Lifestyle indicators of ASO include substance abuse, the inability to maintain long-term relationships or employment, and transient housing or periods of homelessness (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2005; Hare et al., 2000). Despite these often being highlighted as increasing the likely perpetration of CSA, the opposite can be considered protective from CSA. Stable housing, employment and relationships are considered to lower the risk of committing abuse. With some persistent offenders however, these factors can increase access to children and help facilitate their evasion (Wright et al., 2017).

There are overlapping characteristics between ASO and psychopathy including criminal versatility, juvenile offending, irresponsible and impulsive behaviours (Cale & Burton, 2018; Egan & Duff, 2018; Hare et al., 2000; Krstic et al., 2018; Seto et al., 2015a). Sohn et al. (2020) completed the Psychopathy Checklist Revised (PCL-R) on 451 men separated into exclusive groups of child sexual offenders (CSOs), adult sexual offenders and non-sex offenders and found CSOs had more problems in the interpersonal (facet 1) and affective (facet 2) traits than men who had committed non-sex

offences (Sohn et al., 2020). More broadly, those who committed sexual offences against adults or children were found to be higher in psychopathic traits than those with non-sex offences (Sohn et al., 2020). At present, there remain gaps in our knowledge on how men with different types of CSA offences compare on facets of the PCL-R. Importantly, there may be important differences in psychopathic traits amongst those who commit sexual offences as part of a general criminogenic lifestyle compared to those who specialise in CSA.

Atypical sexual interest

Atypical sexual interest (ASI), and particularly paedophilia is consistently associated with persistent CSA (Finkelhor, 1984; Seto, 2019). ASI is defined as possessing statistically abnormal sexual interests, that are likely to cause harm if acted upon (Hildebrand et al., 2004). Despite the preponderance of paedophilia being considered in public discourse to be the primary cause of CSA, there are a range of other factors contributing to persistent CSA including other paraphilic tendencies, antisocial orientation, and situational factors (Barbaree & Blanchard, 2008; Finkelhor, 1984; Seto, 2019; Stephens et al., 2017).

Research using behavioural indicators of paedophilia (i.e. the SSPI-2; Seto et al., 2017) has identified multiple victim counts, pre-pubescent victims, male victims, and extrafamilial abuse as correlating to paedophilic sexual arousal (Seto et al., 2017).[1] Although there is some overlap with actuarial risk factors for recidivism, such as male victims being an aggravating factor (i.e. STATIC 2002R; Babchishin et al., 2016 or Risk Matrix-2000/S; Thornton, 2007), there remain gaps in our understanding of their relationship to evading detection. There are also gaps in knowledge about other characteristics that might enable these crimes to remain undetected for long periods. If men with multiple victims and LDLs have paedophilia, it is also likely that their sexual offending onset occurs at an earlier age to align with sexual age identity development likely to be in mid to late adolescence (McPhail, 2018).

Factors facilitating evasion

Researchers have tried to account for why some people are able to evade detection for CSA. Elements of note have included grooming behaviours (Lanning & Dietz, 2014; Winters et al., 2020, 2022), social competence (Leroux et al., 2016) and the nature of the relationship between the offender and victim (Lanning & Dietz, 2014; Lyon, 2014). Many barriers exist within intrafamilial environments for victim disclosure. Sexually abused children may be subject to physical violence in the home and fear the consequences of reporting the abuse (Loinaz et al., 2019). Familial child victims may fear family separation or even feel a sense of loyalty towards the perpetrator prohibiting abuse disclosure (Jones, 2021). Intrafamilial offenders are also less likely than men with extrafamilial CSA to come to police attention for antisocial and criminal behaviour (Seto et al., 2015b). Some men recorded with extrafamilial CSA and professional occupations resemble the characteristics of intrafamilial offenders, such as lacking ASO typically highlighted through criminal versatility (Sullivan et al., 2011) but limited research exists incorporating a broad range of offender characteristics for men with extrafamilial CSA and evading detection.

It has been posited that adopting an expertise framework can explain why some offenders with multiple victims for CSA have LDLs (Fortune et al., 2014; Ward, 1999). Expertise is somewhat of a troubling, and misleading term for sexual abuse perpetration, as clearly it does not involve official training and coaching or a set of criteria to determine the expertise (Ward, 1999). However, persistence in sexual abuse, both in terms of victimisation and longevity, do result in extensive experience over a long period and acquired knowledge about those experiences which can facilitate the successful evasion of those crimes (Ward, 1999). As identification of a sexual interest in younger, pre-pubescent children often becomes apparent in adolescence for men with paedophilic interest (McPhail, 2018), many persistent offenders could develop their offence scripts in adolescence through experience or fantasy (Seto, 2012). The acquired knowledge through experience means that some men with

persistent CSA can draw on past behaviour and apply it to offence scripts to better evade detection for future offences. Whilst much of the literature on CSA focuses on the social and intimacy deficits amongst men who have committed CSA, a focus on their competencies enables a greater understanding of their ability to evade detection for their crimes.

Some men with persistent CSA offences possess cognitive and interpersonal characteristics which enable them to access victims and evade detection for their crimes (Fortune et al., 2014). Cognitive processing and decision-making abilities of men with persistent CSA exceed that of other people who commit CSA (Bourke et al., 2012; Fortune et al., 2014; Vernham & Nee, 2016). In a study of 47 men convicted of CSA offences in New Zealand, Bourke et al. (2012) identified that the most persistent offenders were able to store a variety of offence scripts adapting to differing dynamic situational factors, problem solve their mistakes (such as victim resistance) and find the "best solution" to offence problems. These cognitive processing abilities resulted in learned behaviours which enabled these men to better identify opportunities to offend by navigating through barriers and constraints toward CSA (Bourke et al., 2012). Men committing persistent CSA have also been shown to better identify vulnerability in their victim selection which contributes to non-disclosure (Lyon, 2014).

Current study

This exploratory study uses Australian police information to examine the most persistent offenders (based on their victim count) and differentiates them using LDLs and SDLs. This approach facilitated the identification of a group who evaded detection of their crimes for significant periods and not typically captured in previous research. Gaining a better understanding of this cohort is important as they cause considerable harm through victimisation and longevity of their offending. We conducted a detailed analysis of 70 police case files of men adjudicated for extrafamilial CSA offences with high victim counts. Men with long and short detection lags were compared on a range of characteristics including demographics, lifestyle factors, victimisation, psychopathic traits, antisocial orientation, atypical sexual interest, and descriptive sexual offence variables. Based upon prior research, it is hypothesised that the persistent offenders with long detection lags will: (1) have more victims and more serious offending behaviours; (2) more male victims; (3) less criminal versatility and antisocial indicators; (4) more interpersonal psychopathic traits; (5) more often employed in professional occupations; and (6) with more indicators of paedophilic interest than the comparative persistent shorter detection lag cohort.

Method

Data source and participants

Information for analyses was derived from 70 case files for men adjudicated for extrafamilial CSA between January 1990 and November 2020. The totality of their officially recorded criminal records throughout this period were assessed, with the detection lag (reported date minus commencement date) recorded for each CSA offence. All participants had some recency to their offending with an extrafamilial offence recorded between 2007 and 2020.[2] Manual coding of extensive archival records included: witness/victim/offender statements, offence summaries, police reports, and any other relevant information contained in police holdings. The lead author completed all coding, with the mean time to code each file being 16.9 h. The participants were selected from a broader administrative dataset consisting of men convicted for CSA offences involving at least one extrafamilial victim ($n = 2435$). This initial sample was further reduced by including only those who were non-Indigenous and had multiple victims (two or more) ($n = 812$). The decision to exclude Indigenous Australians was based upon prior research identifying significant differences in the

characteristics and developmental pathways for Indigenous men convicted of sexual offences when compared to non-Indigenous men convicted of sexual offences (Adams et al., 2020; Allard et al., 2016). Indigenous Australians experience a multifaceted range of disadvantage compared to non-Indigenous people. This has resulted in over-representation both offenders and victims in the criminal justice system, including for sexual offending (Adams et al., 2020). Whilst the pathways for sexual offending by Indigenous offenders is valuable to ongoing research, consistent with the Warawwarni-gu Guma Statement (Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety [ANROWS], 2018) it was inappropriate to include them in this study as a comparison group. The Warawwarni-gu Guma statement states that continual comparisons between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous people in Australia are harmful and do not adequately tell the story of First Nations people. Indigenous people of Australia have a lot of diversity between groups, and this cannot be adequately explored in the present study. Investigation of their unique characteristics remains a question of high importance and we look forward to attending to that in future work.

The remaining participants ($n = 812$) were arranged in descending order by victim count, and the top 10% ($n = 94$) were selected for inclusion. This sample represented all non-Indigenous men from the original dataset who had six or more victims.[3] These data were then sorted in ascending order by their longest detection lag (reported date minus known sexual offence onset date). The group participants were selected based upon their longest detection lag (see Figure 1). The LDL participants comprised of all participants with a detection lag of more than 10 years. This created a natural cut-off point for further analysis[4] and was matched against 35 participants with the shortest detection lag, which equated to those men with a detection lag of 3 years or less. There were 24 participants whose detection lags did not meet this threshold and were not included in the final analysis. The LDL participants ($n = 35$) (Range = 11.6–55.3 years; $M = 30.1$ years; SD = 12.9 years) and SDL participants ($n = 35$) (Range = 0–3.2 years; M = 1.2 years; SD = 1.0 years) were then included for case file retrieval and further analysis. This in-depth analysis of case files enabled an examination of many variables that were not recorded in the initial administrative dataset ($N = 2435$).

Measures

Participants were measured on a selection of variables spanning the domains of personal and demographic characteristics, lifestyle factors, ASO indicators, psychopathic traits and ASI. Operationalisation of these measures is detailed below.

Victim summary and offending behaviours

These measures focus on the characteristics of frequency through child victim counts and severity of abuse committed by the comparative groups. The LDL group was compared with the SDL group on their victim count (continuous variable). Five additional offence behaviours were operationalised: online CSA, non-contact CSA, indecent touching, penetrative abuse, and abuse involving overt violence. These categories were created to gauge the severity of the type of abuse recorded against each of the victims.
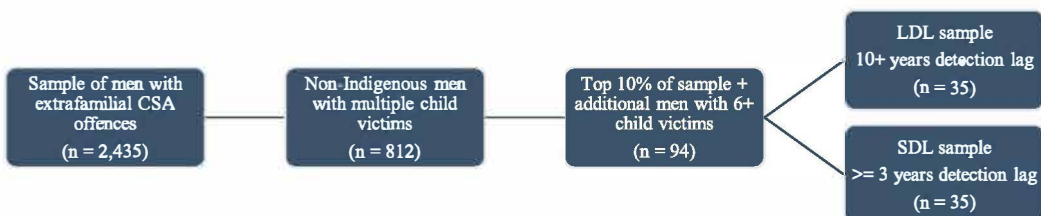

Figure 1. Flowchart for sample selection.

Victim demographics

The victim demographics include the age group (pre-pubescent (under 13 years), pubescent (13 years and over), and gender (female, male).

Antisocial orientation

Several indicators of ASO are included in the analysis. First, the degree of sex offence specialisation and criminal versatility were included. Sex offence specialisation was calculated by dividing CSA charges by the total number of criminal charges across the participant's official criminal record. The degree of specialisation was calculated as a continuous variable. The number of overall court appearances was also measured as a continuous variable. Additional indicators of ASO included a dichotomous item for illicit drug use, and a count of interactions with police (non-crime related).

Psychopathy

Psychopathic traits were measured using the Psychopathy Checklist Revised (PCL-R). The PCL-R consists of 20 items, 18 of which were divided into two factors consisting of interpersonal and affective traits (factor 1) and lifestyle and antisocial traits (factor 2) (Hare et al., 2000). These factors were later separated into four facets consisting of interpersonal (facet 1), affective (facet 2), lifestyle (facet 3) and antisocial traits (facet 4) (Hare et al., 2000). Items and subscales from assessment tools such as the Psychopathy Checklist Revised (PCL-R) have been useful in distinguishing risk factors for perpetrators of sexual offences (Egan & Duff, 2018). Each of the 20 items was endorsed as fully present (2 points), partially present (1 point) or absent (0 points). Items with insufficient information were omitted. If the participant had more than one item omitted from each facet, the prorated facet score was omitted. Prorated scores were calculated to account for the omitted items across the remaining facets and included in the final analysis. The first and third authors were formally trained in the use of the PCL-R. Prorated scores were included for each of the facets, factors, and total scores across participants.

Demographics and lifestyle factors

Age was a continuous variable (in years) operationalised as age at known start date of sexual offending. Lifestyle factors included occupation (categorical), and relationship status (dichotomous). Occupation type was classified using the Australian and New Zealand standard classification of occupations (ANZSCO) used extensively in census data (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2009). An additional category of long-term unemployed was created for analysis. Long term unemployment was defined as never being employed for more than six months consecutively. Relationship was defined as whether the participant was recorded with a long-term relationship (1) or single (0). Long-term relationship were defined as being in a marital or de-facto type relationship for two or more years, consistent with actuarial measures (i.e. STATIC 2002R; Babchishin et al., 2016 or Risk Matrix-2000/S; Thornton, 2007).

Paedophilia and victim access

Variables used in the measurement of paedophilia were guided by factors associated with the Screening Scale for Paedophilic Interests (SSPI) (Seto et al., 2017). These measures included the count of child victims of paedophilia, and demographic factors, such as the count of pre-pubescent and male victims. The presence of additional paraphilias was recorded and included a range of ASIs (aside from paedophilia). Predominantly this related to exhibitionism or voyeuristic behaviours which may, somewhat have been biased from selecting those participants with SDLs for CSA. The coding of exhibitionism and voyeurism was based upon the description of the sexual offending and admissions from the participant that the exposure offence or voyeuristic behaviour resulted from a sexual motivation. It was operationalised as present (1), absent (0) of unknown (blank). The participants' access to child victims was also included as a categorical variable with the following

options: meeting online, meeting in a public place (such as a shopping centre or public street), meeting through caregivers or family members, or meeting through their employment or associated organisation.

Analytical strategy

Where applicable, parametric tests were conducted on continuous variables. Independent sample t-tests were used to compare group means on specialisation, and court appearances. For variables with abnormal distributions (child victim count and police interactions), a non-parametric equivalent (Mann Whitney U test) was used to compare groups. Multiple analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed separately to measure the between-group differences for offence behaviours and PCL-R facets. Due to the prorated scores omitting 51 participants from facet 2, this was excluded from the multivariate analysis and a separate independent samples t-test was performed. For victim demographics, a non-parametric Kruskal–Wallis test was used as an alternative for multivariate analysis of variance. The between-groups differences for the remaining categorical variables were assessed using a chi square test.

Results

Victim summary and offending behaviours

A total of 833 child victims were attributed to the 70 participants in the sample of interest ($M = 11.9$; SD = 9.99). The LDL participants recorded more total victims overall ($n = 475$; $M = 13.57$; SD = 12.40), compared to the SDL group ($n = 358$; $M = 10.23$; SD = 6.59), although this was not demonstrated as a statistically significant difference in median comparisons. Due to abnormal distributions for the child victim counts across the whole sample, a non-parametric Mann–Whitney U test was conducted, and this did not identify a significant difference between the LDL participants (Md = 9, $n = 35$) and SDL participants (Md = 8, $n = 35$), $U = 747.50$, $z = 1.60$, $p = .11$, $r = .19$ (hypothesis 1).

A one-way between-groups MANOVA was performed to examine differences in offence behaviours. The variables of online CSA and overt violence were excluded from analysis due to the limited response data for these variables,[5] leaving three remaining variables: non-contact offending, indecent touching, and penetrative abuse (see Table 1). Due to significance identified for Box's test of equality of covariance matrices ($p < .001$) and the small sample size, Pillai's Trace test was used due to its robustness for assumption violations. There was a statistically significant difference between LDL and SDL participants on the combined dependent variables, $F(3, 66) = 3.73$, $p = .02$; Pillai's Trace $= .15$; $\eta^2 = .15$. When the results for the dependent variables were examined separately, the only statistically significant variable using a Bonferroni adjusted alpha level of .017 was penetrative abuse (see Table 1). These results indicated that the LDL participants ($M = 4.49$, SD = 4.91) had significantly more incidents of penetrative sexual abuse than the SDL participants ($M = 1.91$, SD = 2.38).

Victim demographics

Due to the abnormal distribution for the group data on victim demographics, a Kruskal–Wallis Test was used as a non-parametric alternative to MANOVA. The Kruskal–Wallis Test identified a statistically significant difference in the demographics of the victims from the LDL and SDL groups (see Table 1). The LDL participants had more male victims (Md = 6) than the SDL participants (Md = 0) $\chi^2(1, n = 70) = 9.02$, $p < .01$, with a moderate effect size ($r = .36$) (hypothesis 2). Conversely, the SDL participants had more female victims (Md = 6) than the LDL participants (Md = 1) $\chi^2(1, n = 70) = 4.16$, $p = .04$, $r = .24$. The LDL participants also recorded more pre-pubescent victims (Md = 7) than the SDL participant group (Md = 5) $\chi^2(1, n = 70) = 8.97$, $p < .01$, $r = .36$. The group difference in pubescent victims was not significant $\chi^2(1, n = 70) = 1.41$, $p = .24$.

8   S. J. NICOL ET AL.

Table 1. Variables associated with persistent offenders with long (LDL) and short detection lags (SDL).

	LDL		SDL			
Measure	M	SD	M	SD	F(3, 66)	η2
Behaviours in CSA offending						
Non-contact	2.20	7.65	3.66	6.67	2.08	.03
Indecent Touching	8.03	7.85	4.63	5.47	4.42	.06
Penetrative	4.49	4.91	1.91	2.38	7.76*	.10
Psychopathic traits from PCL-R	M	SD	M	SD	F(1,64)	η2
Interpersonal**	4.41	2.12	2.78	2.20	9.30	.13
Affective	4.00	1.89	2.50	1.85		
Lifestyle***	2.32	2.99	5.21	3.11	14.86	.19
Antisocial***	2.55	3.09	5.26	3.27	11.94	.16
	LDL		SDL			
	n	%	n	%	χ^2	Cramer's V
Victim access						
Primary caregivers/parents	26	74.3	13	37.1	9.79**	.37
Child orientated organisation	17	48.6	3	8.6	13.72***	.44
Public domain	6	17.1	19	54.3	10.52**	.39
Online	2	5.7	9	25.7	5.29*	.28
Victim demographics	Md		Md		χ^2	r
Male victim count	6		0		9.02**	.36
Female victim count	1		6		4.16*	.49
Pre-pubescent victim count	7		5		8.97**	.36
Pubescent victim count	2		4		1.41	.14

$*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.$

Antisocial orientation

The LDL participants had a significantly higher degree of sexual offence specialisation (M = 85.43, SD = 19.23) compared to the SDL participants (M = 64.88, SD = 26.64) t(61.87) = 3.70, p < .001 (Cohen's d = .89, 95% CI [.39, 1.37]) (hypothesis 3). Nearly a third of the LDL participants recorded 100% specialisation (n = 11; 31.43%), compared to just four (11.43%) of the SDL participants. The LDL participants also had significantly fewer court appearances overall (M = 4.77, SD = 3.90) compared to the SDL participants (M = 7.77, SD = 6.30), indicating that they were less frequently adjudicated for their crimes t (56.71) = 2.40, p = .02 (Cohen's d = .57, 95% CI [.09, 1.05]). As there was an abnormal distribution for police interactions, a Mann Whitney U test was conducted to identify the LDL participants (Md = 2, n = 35) with significantly fewer police interactions than the SDL participants (Md = 11, n = 35), U = 339.50, z = 3.22, p < .001, with a moderately large effect size (r = .38). Substance abuse was also identified significantly more frequently amongst the SDL participants (n = 17; 48.6%) than the LDL participants (n = 8; 22.9%), χ^2(1, n = 70) = 5.04, p = .03; Cramer's V = .27.

Psychopathy

Endorsement for the items on the PCL-R was examined for LDL and SDL participants with four possible outcomes for each: invalid response (insufficient information to code), not endorsed, or partially or fully endorsed (see Table 2).

A one-way between-groups MANOVA was performed to examine differences in psychopathic traits from facets of the PCL-R. Pro-rated scores from facet 2 were excluded due to the high amount of missing data (n = 52). A separate independent samples t-test did not show a significant difference between groups for facet 2, t(17) = 1.72, p = .10. The three remaining facets were included in the MANOVA: Facet 1 (interpersonal), 3 (lifestyle), and 4 (antisocial). Preliminary assumption testing was conducted to check for normality, linearity, univariate and multivariate outliers, homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices, and multicollinearity and no serious violations identified.

There was a statistically significant difference between LDL and SDL participants on the combined dependent variables, F(3, 62) = 7.33, p < .001; Wilks' Lambda = .74; η^2 = .26 (hypothesis 4). When the

Table 2. Response rate for items of the Psychopathy Checklist Revised (PCL-R).

Facet and item	LDL			SDL		
	Valid responses	Not endorsed	Fully or partially endorsed	Valid responses	Not endorsed	Fully or partially endorsed
Facet 1 – Interpersonal						
1 – Glibness/Superficial charm	35 (100%)	14 (40%)	21 (60%)	34 (97.14%)	24 (68.57%)	10 (28.57%)
2 – Grandiose Sense of Self worth	30 (85.71%)	20 (57.14%)	10 (28.57%)	27 (77.14%)	18 (51.43%)	9 (25.71%)
4 – Pathological lying	26 (74.29%)	6 (17.14%)	20 (57.14%)	26 (74.29%)	8 (22.86%)	18 (51.43%)
5 – Conning/Manipulative	35 (100%)	1 (2.86%)	34 (97.14%)	34 (97.14%)	13 (37.14%)	21 (60%)
Facet 2 – Affective						
6 – Lack of Remorse or Guilt	18 (51.43%)	3 (8.57%)	15 (42.86%)	17 (48.57%)	11 (31.43%)	6 (17.14%)
7 – Shallow Effect	6 (17.14%)	3 (8.57%)	3 (8.57%)	6 (17.14%)	3 (8.57%)	3 (8.57%)
8 – Callous/Lack of Empathy	24 (68.57%)	1 (2.86%)	23 (65.71%)	13 (37.14%)	4 (11.43%)	9 (25.71%)
16 – Failure to Accept Responsibility for Own Actions	19 (54.29%)	7 (20%)	12 (34.29%)	26 (74.29%)	8 (22.86%)	18 (51.43%)
Facet 3 – Lifestyle						
3 – Need for Stimulation/ Proneness to Boredom	34 (97.14%)	22 (62.86%)	12 (34.29%)	32 (91.43%)	5 (14.29%)	27 (77.14%)
9 – Parasitic Lifestyle	35 (100%)	27 (77.14%)	8 (22.86%)	34 (97.14%)	23 (65.71%)	11 (31.43%)
13 – Lack of Realistic, Long-Term Goals	34 (97.14%)	24 (68.57%)	10 (28.57%)	34 (97.14%)	14 (40%)	20 (57.14%)
14 – Impulsivity	35 (100%)	20 (57.14%)	15 (42.86%)	35 (100%)	7 (20%)	28 (80%)
15 – Irresponsibility	35 (100%)	22 (62.86%)	13 (37.14%)	33 (94.29%)	10 (28.57%)	23 (65.71%)
Facet 4 – Antisocial						
10 – Poor Behavioural Controls	35 (100%)	17 (48.57%)	18 (51.43%)	35 (100%)	10 (28.57%)	25 (71.43%)
12 – Early Behavioural Problems	12 (34.29%)	8 (22.86%)	4 (11.43%)	10 (28.57%)	6 (17.14%)	4 (11.43%)
18 – Juvenile Delinquency	35 (100%)	27 (77.14%)	8 (22.86%)	35 (100%)	21 (60%)	14 (40%)
19 – Revocation of Conditional Release	35 (100%)	24 (68.57%)	11 (31.43%)	35 (100%)	9 (25.71%)	26 (74.29%)
20 – Criminal versatility	35 (100%)	23 (65.71%)	12 (34.29%)	35 (100%)	12 (34.29%)	23 (65.71%)
Additional items						
11 – Promiscuous Sexual Behaviour	35 (100%)	2 (5.71%)	33 (94.29%)	32 (91.43%)	6 (17.14%)	27 (77.14%)
17 – Many Short-Term Marital Relationships	35 (100%)	35 (100%)	0 (0%)	31 (88.57%)	31 (88.57%)	0 (0%)

Notes: LDL = long detection lag; SDL = short detection lag.

results for the dependent variables were examined separately, all PCL-R facets significantly differentiated the groups using a Bonferroni adjusted alpha level of .017 (see Table 1). The LDL participants ($M = 4.41$, SD = 2.12) had significantly more psychopathic interpersonal traits than the SDL participants ($M = 2.78$, SD = 2.20), $F(1, 64) = 9.30$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .13$. This was particularly evident with the items of glibness/superficial charm and conning/manipulation. Twice as many LDL participants ($n = 21$) than SDL participants ($n = 10$) demonstrated glibness/superficial charm. Conning/manipulative traits were demonstrated partially or fully for most participants for both groups, but more so for the LDL participants ($n = 34$) compared to SDL participants ($n = 22$). Grandiose sense of self-worth (LDL = 10; SDL = 9) and pathological lying (LDL = 10; SDL = 9) did not distinguish between the groups. Conversely, the SDL participants ($M = 5.21$, SD = 3.11) indicated significantly more psychopathic lifestyle traits than the LDL participants ($M = 2.32$, SD = 2.99), $F(1, 64) = 14.86$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .19$. The SDL participants were more likely than their LDL counterparts to exhibit needing stimulation/proneness to boredom (LDL = 12; SDL = 27), lacking realistic long-term goals

(LDL = 10; SDL = 20), impulsivity (LDL = 15; SDL = 28) and irresponsibility (LDL = 13; SDL = 23). The SDL participants (M = 5.26, SD = 3.27) were also noted to present with significantly more antisocial psychopathic traits than the LDL participants (M = 2.55, SD = 3.09), F(1, 64) = 11.94, p < .001, η^2 = .16. This was particularly evident with juvenile delinquency (LDL = 7; SDL = 14), revocation of conditional release (LDL = 11; SDL = 26) and criminal versatility (LDL = 12; SDL = 23).

Participant demographics and lifestyle factors

The LDL participants were in significantly higher skilled occupations than the SDL participants χ^2(9, n = 70) = 23.41, p < .01; Cramer's V = .58 (hypothesis 5). Forty percent of the LDL participants (n = 14) were in professional occupations, compared to just two SDL participants. These professional occupation types included teachers, priests, and other child-serving occupations. There were also twice as many LDL participants in the technician and associate professional occupations (n = 4; 11.4%), compared to the SDL participants (n = 2; 5.7%), although the numbers for both groups were low in this category. Conversely, more than half of the SDL participants were either in elementary[6] occupation or were long term unemployed (n = 18; 51.4%), compared with five LDL participants (14.3%) in these occupational categories. The remaining occupation categories had similar distributions.[7]

The LDL participants were identified as significantly older (M = 32.43, SD = 16.50) than the SDL participants (M = 25.57, SD = 9.95) at the start date of their first CSA offence t(55.83) = 2.11, p = .04 (Cohen's d = .50, 95% CI [.03, .98]). The groups could not be significantly differentiated by long-term relationships χ^2(1, n = 70) = .52, p < .01; Cramer's V = .09 and most participants (LDL = 21, SDL = 18) were known to have had a long-term relationship.

Paedophilic interest and victim access

The SDL participants (n = 13) had significantly more indicators of paraphilias (aside from paedophilia) than the LDL participants (n = 4), χ^2(2, n = 70) = 8.49, p = .01; Cramer's V = .35 (hypothesis 6). This was particularly evident with indicators of exhibitionism being prevalent amongst the SDL participants. The LDL participants accessed victims significantly more through caregivers χ^2(1, n = 70) = 9.79, p < .01; Cramer's V = .37, and child orientated organisations, χ^2(1, n = 70) = 13.72, p < .001; Cramer's V = .44, than the SDL participants. Conversely, the SDL participants accessed victims significantly more through public domains χ^2(1, n = 70) = 10.52, p < .01; Cramer's V = .39 and online χ^2(1, n = 70) = 5.29, p = .02; Cramer's V = .28 than the LDL participants (see Table 1).

Discussion

Summary of findings

This study examined the characteristics of men who committed persistent CSA but evaded detection for long periods. These men are not well understood from existing research. This exploratory research approach identified defining characteristics of men who commit persistent CSA and evade detection for long periods and compared them with a group of men with persistent CSA who were caught comparatively quickly for their crimes. The study found that men with LDLs and SDLs had similarly high victim counts but the men with LDLs had more serious offence behaviours, such as penetrative abuse. The more serious offending might well correlate with lags to detection and escalation in severity of offending, but the identification of frequent and severe abuse perpetrated by these men indicates high harm offending and warrants further investigation.

This study proposes a tentative profile for offenders with LDLs. In sum, the men with LDL are generally employed, and in professional occupations, often in positions of status or authority and those occupations bring them into contact with children. They also have a higher proportion of male and

generally pre-pubescent victims, who are usually known to them. This finding is important given the higher rates of non-disclosure of CSA amongst boys (Alaggia et al., 2019) and the well-known barriers to disclosure that exist for victims of known or related abusers. They appeared to specialise in sexual offending and did not appear to present with other offending or ASIs. Their personal characteristics overlapped with some key features of psychopathy suggesting that they may manipulate, lie, and use superficial charm and a grandiose sense of self-worth to gain access to children.

Contrary to hypothesis one, LDLs did not present with more child victims but did identify as having engaged in more penetrative abuse than SDLs. Despite the small samples, the large effect size indicates that this is an important distinguishing factor and might be explained by LDL participants being older at the time of their index sexual offence. Further, the longer duration of their offending also suggests longer exposure to their victims, possibly permitting (or increasing) the likelihood of an escalation in seriousness in offence behaviours. This exploratory finding does, however, attest to the significant harm perpetrated by LDLs.

Our conclusions suggest that LDLs had more male, and more pre-pubescent victims than the SDLs (i.e. supporting hypothesis two). Prior research on sexual recidivism has confirmed a connection between the abuse of male victims and persistence (Babchishin et al., 2016; Thornton, 2007) but this was a factor that differentiated two groups of persistent offenders. This finding corresponds to prior research identifying the low rates of CSA disclosure from boys (Alaggia et al., 2019) which contributes to longer periods of detection evasion from LDL participants. The pronounced vulnerability of pre-pubescent victims is also likely related to fewer disclosures of CSA. This can contribute to their LDLs in several ways. First, young pre-pubescent victims may be non-verbal or have difficulty articulating the nature of the abuse. Second, pre-pubescent victims may have confusion about the meaning associated with the sexual abuse, particularly if the offender has used manipulation to normalise the behaviour. Third, if the offender is in a position of trust or authority, or in a respected professional occupation, a pre-pubescent victim might feel less confident in reporting the sexual abuse. These factors are especially relevant if the offender is known to the child or to their primary caregivers. Pre-pubescent victims may also not have a good understanding of the different options available to report abuse outside of their immediate family. If they were to disclose the abuse to peers, those peers are less likely to understand the seriousness of the disclosure. The identification of LDL participants having high victim counts, extrafamilial abuse, high rates of pre-pubescent and male victims are all indicators of paedophilic interest (in support of hypothesis six) (Seto et al., 2017).

In support of hypothesis three, the LDL participants were found to have significantly less anti-social and criminogenic characteristics than the SDL group. Contrary to preceding specialisation research suggesting criminal versatility to be common amongst recidivist sexual offenders, this study identified those with persistent CSA based on victim counts to be more specialised than criminally versatile. The LDL participants had fewer court appearances overall, fewer interactions with police, and lower average scores on the PCL-R for lifestyle and antisocial psychopathic traits than the SDL participants. The psychopathic traits that differentiated the groups most distinctly were that the SDL participants experienced needing stimulation/proneness to boredom, lacking long term goals, impulsivity, irresponsibility, juvenile delinquency, revocation of conditional release and criminal versatility.

The LDL participants demonstrated more interpersonal psychopathic traits (in support of hypothesis four). Although this finding had a relatively small effect size overall, the distinction between the groups for glibness and superficial charm and conning/manipulative traits was evident. When coupled with their lower antisocial and erratic lifestyle traits, their interpersonal psychopathic traits could be somewhat protective against the attention of authorities and members of the community.

Lifestyle factors such as occupation differentiated the groups (hypothesis five). The higher frequency of professional and child-serving careers amongst the LDL group had a moderate effect size. This is an important finding and demonstrates that the men employed in these professions and in child-serving organisations are more able to evade detection. It raises the question of

whether the institutions/organisations that these men are employed act as facilitators of the CSA through a culture of not reporting or prioritising the reputational status of the institution over the safety and wellbeing of the children under their care, as highlighted by the Royal Commission in Australia and prior research (Wortley & Smallbone, 2014). Concurrently, the paedophilic interest and interpersonal psychopathic traits of these men suggest they may have intentionally targeted institutions to facilitate their offending or simply pursued careers likely to bring them into contact with children and environmental factors have precipitated the opportunities to offend. Perhaps it is both, but the ability of the LDL participants to access children in multiple ways appears to have enhanced their scope and increased the extent of their offending. The groups were equally likely to be in relationships. Further analysis of the types and longevity of those relationships may yield useful results but was outside the scope of this study.

Implications for practice

This study has identified a group of men with persistent engagement in CSA who evade detection for long periods but present with distinct characteristics from those commonly found to perpetrate these crimes. This attends to a gap in our knowledge regarding distinctive characteristics of men who evade detection for CSA for significant periods. These results have several implications for early intervention, forensic risk assessment, treatment, and prevention.

First, these men tend to ingratiate themselves into well respected positions of trust and authority in the community, often through their occupation. Anecdotal evidence would also support our conclusion that they are quite often the teacher, priest, or business owner. Stable, fulfilling employment is often considered a protective factor against criminality including sexual abuse (Raissian, 2015; Wilpert et al., 2018) but for these men it may instead serve as a risk factor. This supports prior research identifying those convicted of CSA who were working with children had more indicators of paedophilic sexual interest than those convicted of CSA but not working with children (Turner et al., 2016). Although important not to deter or take an accusatory approach with the recruitment of men into child orientated organisations, robust child protection policies can act as a primary prevention strategy (Smallbone et al., 2008). This can include employment screening to go beyond officially recorded offending behaviour and include questions on family background, an applicant's experiences of sexual abuse, emotional congruence with children and identification of cognitive distortions about adult–child relationships (Turner et al., 2016). Caution should be applied here however, in balancing the applicant's personal rights with potential benefits of such an approach in reducing risk (Turner et al., 2016). Smallbone et al. (2008) propose other organisational strategies to prevent CSA including formalised job descriptions which include appropriate and inappropriate behaviour towards children, an organisational position dedicated to managing risks of harm to children, a formal action plan for minimising risks of harm to children and even organisational design which increases visibility and reduces situations of unsupervised contact. Post-conviction for CSA, Structured Professional Judgement (SPJ) for forensic risk assessment for men with persistent CSA should be applied in addition to conventional actuarial risk assessment. In conducting SPJ it is also important to consider in what ways their occupation contributes or counteracts their sexually abusive behaviour.

Second, the current findings build on prior research regarding high rates of non-disclosure from male victims. Although all CSA is significantly under-reported, the rate of non-disclosure from boys exceeds that of girls (Alaggia et al., 2019; Hébert et al., 2009). Hébert et al. (2009) conducted a telephone survey with a representative sample of adults in Quebec ($n = 804$), identifying that although women and girls were more likely to be victimised for CSA, men and boys were half as likely to disclose the abuse. The way boys are socialised, including perceptions of masculinity, may contribute to an increased likelihood of boys experiencing shame and blaming themselves for not preventing the abuse (Alaggia et al., 2019; Hébert et al., 2009). Given the predominance of male-on-female violence, including sexual violence, the vulnerability of young boys could be overlooked in awareness-raising

campaigns and typical prevention strategies. This research reinforces the need to engage boys in conversations about sexual abuse and ensure that media prevention campaigns aim to identify concerning behaviours by any adult towards any child. Incorporating these strategies could be an additional layer in earlier prevention strategies and promote more timely disclosure from young boys enabling earlier intervention.

Finally, this research highlights that there are men who accrue many CSA victims but do not engage in other criminal behaviour. Research has previously identified men such as these, but they are generally considered to occupy only a small percentage of larger samples. This research demonstrates that whilst relatively few, their high rates of victimisation and longevity in offending make them worthy of attention. This is consistent with criminological research identifying a small proportion of people committing disproportionately large amount of crime (Moffitt, 1993; Wolfgang et al., 1972). Whilst it is accurate to suggest that many men with recidivation commit CSA amongst a broad range of antisocial and criminogenic behaviours, these findings suggest that some who specialise in CSA also cause a considerable amount of harm. In addition to victim and community harm, they also cause reputational harm to child protection and law enforcement agencies by eroding public confidence in their ability to identify victims and offenders expediently. It is therefore prudent to consider these characteristics in risk assessment, investigative priorities, and treatment protocols.

Limitations

There are limitations to be acknowledged in this study. First, we extracted a small sample of outliers from a large group of men convicted of CSA. Although intentional, the selection of these small groups creates problems around generalisability of the findings. Second, the limited access to unredacted files meant that a single researcher (the first author) coded the files due to organisational limitations in data collection. This limitation impacts the replicability of findings due to potential bias and unreliability specific to this coder. Third, it is acknowledged that the distinguishing variable (detection lag) may create a confound for victim counts and offence behaviours. The inherent longevity of CSA prior to detection may be explanatory for the high victim counts and the apparent escalation in offence behaviours due to prolonged exposure to the victim. The SDL selection criteria may also have biased the group towards certain types of offences, such as exposure type offending. Fourth, as the data were collected from police holdings exclusively, scope of some variables, such as lifestyle factors were limited. It is also possible that information around some variables was more readily available for some participants than others. Fifth, the operationalisation of the "longest detection lag" variable does not preclude the possibility of these same men also having shorter detection lags for other offences. Sixth, this research does not account for time in custody, and the impact this may have on disclosure of abuse. Seventh, the coding of case files across a 30-year period (1990–2020) does not exclude the possibility of recency in offending having a role in detection lag. Eighth, the small sample sizes meant the differences with Indigenous Australians who commit CSA on multiple children could not be adequately examined and therefore excluded from analysis. Research suggests that Indigenous Australians are more likely to have shorter detection lags (Nicol et al., 2022), but this focus of research should be broadened before further generalisations can be made. There were also two participants from ethnic minority groups included in the analysis, which further limits the generalisation of findings. Finally, although case files can be used to code the PCL-R, it is recommended that prior to coding, an interview is also conducted with the participant. This was not possible for this study and so several items were omitted, particularly in Affective (facet 2) items, which were often difficult to determine from case file analysis alone. It is recommended that further research of this nature includes participant interviews to add value to these findings. We are already pursuing such interviews as a natural progression of our research agenda.

Conclusions

The findings allowed for a tentative profile to be developed of men who have multiple victims but have LDLs. They tended to be in professional, often child-related occupations. They also often specialise in sexual offending across their criminal career and lacked criminal versatility. They often targeted young boys and demonstrated a high degree of manipulation and conning, as well as superficial charm used to access victims, often through the children's primary caregivers and families. They were neither impulsive nor led irresponsible lives and did not often interact with police. These characteristics contributed to not only facilitating the sexual abuse, but also their evasion from detection.

Notes

1. The SSPI-2 also included the additional independent measure of child sexual exploitation material offending as significantly associated with paedophilic sexual arousal (Seto et al., 2017).
2. This was the period from which victim offender relationship information was available
3. The top 10% of the sample was equal to 81 participants but 12 of these had 6 or more victims, so the decision was made to include, rather than exclude the additional participants with the same number of victims.
4. There was at least a 1 year gap between those selected for analysis and the next closest detection lag.
5. Only six participants recorded any online CSA offending, and two participants were recorded with overt violence in the course of their sexual offending.
6. This was a classification in ANZSCO referring to low skilled foundational occupations.
7. There is a supplementary table available for the distribution across all occupation types.

Acknowledgements

Disclosure statement

Ethical approval

In order to conduct this study, an ethics application was made to Griffith University (ref: 2020/134) on 28 February 2020 and subsequently accepted on 5 March 2020. On 5 May 2020 the QPS Research Committee approved a research application (QPSRC-0420-3.04) to conduct research on administrative data.

ORCID

Samuel J. Nicol 🆔 http://orcid.org/10000-0002-5133-177X
James Ogilvie 🆔 http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2294-5665

References

Adams, D., McKillop, N., Smallbone, S., & McGrath, A. (2020). Developmental and sexual offense onset characteristics of Australian indigenous and non-indigenous male youth who sexually offend. *Sexual Abuse, 32*(8), 958–985. https://doi.org/10.1177/1079063219871575

Alaggia, R., Collin-Vézina, D., & Lateef, R. (2019). Facilitators and barriers to child sexual abuse (CSA) disclosures: A research update (2000–2016). *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 20*(2), 260–283 https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838017697312

Allard, T., Rayment-McHugh, S., Adams, D., Smallbone, S., & McKillop, N. (2016). Responding to youth sexual offending: A field-based practice model that "closes the gap" on sexual recidivism among indigenous and non-indigenous males. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, *22*(1), 82–94. https://doi.org/10.1080/13552600.2014.1003107

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2009). *ANZSCO - Australian and New Zealand standard classification of occupations*. https://www.abs.gov.au/

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2017). *Personal safety survey (4906.0). Australian Government*. http://www.abs.gov.au

Babchishin, K. M., Hanson, R. K., & Blais, J. (2016). Less is more: Using static-2002R subscales to predict violent and general recidivism among sexual offenders. *Sexual Abuse*, *28*(3), 187–217. https://doi.org/10.1177/1079063215569544

Barbaree, H. E., & Blanchard, R. (2008). *Sexual deviance over the lifespan*. In R. Laws & W. O'Donohue (Eds.), *Sexual deviance: Theory, assessment, and treatment* (pp. 37–60). Guilford Press.

Beech, A. R., & Craig, L. A. (2012). The current status of static and dynamic factors in sexual offender risk assessment. *Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research*, *4*(4), 169–185. https://doi.org/10.1108/17596591211270671

Bourke, P., Ward, T., & Rose, C. (2012). Expertise and sexual offending: A preliminary empirical model. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *27*(12), 2391–2414. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260511433513

Brouillette-Alarie, S., Babchishin, K. M., Hanson, R. K., & Helmus, L.-M. (2016). Latent constructs of the static-99R and static-2002R: A three-factor solution. *Assessment*, *23*(1), 96–111. https://doi.org/10.1177/1073191114568114

Brown, M. J., Thacker, L. R., & Cohen, S. A. (2013). Association between adverse childhood experiences and diagnosis of cancer. *PLoS ONE*, *8*(6), e65524. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0065524

Cale, J., & Burton, M. (2018). Psychopathy and sexual aggression. In M. DeLisi (Ed.), *Routledge international handbook of psychopathy and crime* (pp. 334–350). Taylor & Francis Group. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/griffith/detail.action?docID=5579998

Cashmore, J., & Shackel, R. (2013). *The long-term effects of child sexual abuse (No. 11)*. Australian Institute of Family Studies. https://aifs.gov.au/cfca/publications/long-term-effects-child-sexual-abuse/

Cutajar, M. C., Mullen, P. E., Ogloff, J. R. P., Thomas, S. D., Wells, D. L., & Spataro, J. (2010). Psychopathology in a large cohort of sexually abused children followed up to 43 years. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *34*(11), 813–822. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2010.04.004

Dong, M., Anda, R. F., Dube, S. R., Giles, W. H., & Felitti, V. J. (2003). The relationship of exposure to childhood sexual abuse to other forms of abuse, neglect, and household dysfunction during childhood. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *27*(6), 625–639. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0145-2134(03)00105-4

Dong, M., Giles, W. H., Felitti, V. J., Dube, S. R., Williams, J. E., Chapman, D. P., & Anda, R. F. (2004). Insights into causal pathways for ischemic heart disease: Adverse childhood experiences study. *Circulation*, *110*(13), 1761–1766. https://doi.org/10.1161/01.CIR.0000143074.54995.7F

Dube, S., Fairweather, D., Pearson, W. S., Felitti, V. J., Anda, R. F., & Croft, J. B. (2009). Cumulative childhood stress and autoimmune diseases in adults. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, *71*(2), 243–250. https://doi.org/10.1097/PSY.0b013e3181907888

Dunne, M. P., Purdie, D. M., Cook, M. D., Boyle, F. M., & Najman, J. M. (2003). Is child sexual abuse declining? Evidence from a population-based survey of men and women in Australia. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *27*(2), 141–152. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0145-2134(02)00539-2

Egan, V., & Duff, S. (2018). Psychopathy and sexual offending. In M. DeLisi (Ed.), *Routledge international handbook of psychopathy and crime* (pp. 359–370). Taylor & Francis Group. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/griffith/detail.action?docID=5579998

Finkelhor, D. (1984). *Child sexual abuse: New theory and research*. Free Press.

Fortune, C.-A., Bourke, P., & Ward, T. (2014). Expertise and child sex offenders. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, *20*, 33-41. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2014.12.005

Hanson, R. K., Helmus, L., & Thornton, D. (2010). Predicting recidivism amongst sexual offenders: A multi-site study of static-2002. *Law and Human Behavior*, *34*(3), 198–211. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10979-009-9180-1

Hanson, R. K., & Morton-Bourgon, K. E. (2005). The characteristics of persistent sexual offenders: A meta-analysis of recidivism studies. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *73*(6), 1154–1163. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-006X.73.6.1154

Hare, R. D., Clark, D., Grann, M., & Thornton, D. (2000). Psychopathy and the predictive validity of the PCL-R: An international perspective. *Behavioral Sciences & the Law*, *18*(5), 623–645. https://doi.org/10.1002/1099-0798(200010)18:5<623::AID-BSL409>3.0.CO;2-W

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*(1), 37-44. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2008.12.002

Hébert, M., Tourigny, M., Cyr, M., McDuff, P., & Joly, J. (2009). Prevalence of childhood sexual abuse and timing of disclosure in a representative sample of adults from Quebec. *The Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, *54*(9), 631–636. https://doi.org/10.1177/070674370905400908

Hildebrand, M., de Ruiter, C., & de Vogel, V. (2004). Psychopathy and sexual deviance in treated rapists: Association with sexual and nonsexual recidivism. *Sexual Abuse*, *16*(1), 1–24. https://doi.org/10.1177/107906320401600101

Jones, M. J. (2021). Sex crimes against children. In M. G. Worthen (Ed.), *Sexual deviance and society: A sociological examination* (pp. 434–456). Routledge.

Krstic, S., Longpré, N., Knight, R., & Robertson, C. (2018). Sadism, psychopathy, and sexual offending. In M. DeLisi (Ed.), *Routledge international handbook of psychopathy and crime* (pp. 351–358). Taylor & Francis Group. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/griffith/detail.action?docID=5579998

Lanning, K. V., & Dietz, P. (2014). Acquaintance molestation and youth-serving organizations. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *29*(15), 2815–2838. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260514532360

Leroux, E. J., Pullman, L. E., Motayne, G., & Seto, M. C. (2016). Victim age and the generalist versus specialist distinction in adolescent sexual offending. *Sexual Abuse*, *28*(2), 79–95. https://doi.org/10.1177/1079063214535814

Liggins, A., Ratcliffe, J. H., & Bland, M. (2019). Targeting the most harmful offenders for an English police agency: Continuity and change of membership in the "Felonious Few". *Cambridge Journal of Evidence-Based Policing*, *3*(3), 80–96. https://doi.org/10.1007/s41887-019-00039-7

Loinaz, I., Bigas, N., & Sousa, A. M. d. (2019). Comparing intra and extra-familial child sexual abuse in a forensic context. *Psicothema*, *31*(3), 271–277. https://doi.org/10.7334/psicothema2018.351

Lussier, P. (2005). The criminal activity of sexual offenders in adulthood: Revisiting the specialization debate. *Sexual Abuse*, *17*(3), 269–292. https://doi.org/10.1177/107906320501700303

Lyon, T. D. (2014). Interviewing children. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, *10*(1), 73–89. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-lawsocsci-110413-030913

McPhail, I. V. (2018). Age of onset in pedohebephilic interests. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, *47*(5), 1313–1317. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-018-1198-3

Mills, R., Kisely, S., Alati, R., Strathearn, L., & Najman, J. (2015). Self-reported and agency-notified child sexual abuse in a population-based birth cohort. *Journal of Psychiatric Research*, *74*, 87–93. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpsychires.2015.12.021

Moffitt, T. E. (1993). Adolescence-limited and life-course-persistent antisocial behavior: A developmental taxonomy. *Psychological Review*, *100*(4), 674–701. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.100.4.674

Nelson, E. C., Heath, A. C., Madden, P. A. F., Cooper, M. L., Dinwiddie, S. H., Bucholz, K. K., Glowinski, A., McLaughlin, T., Dunne, M. P., Statham, D. J., & Martin, N. G. (2002). Association between self-reported childhood sexual abuse and adverse psychosocial outcomes: Results from a twin study. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, *59*(2), 139–145. https://doi.org/10.1001/archpsyc.59.2.139

Nicol, S. J., Harris, D. A., Ogilvie, J., Kebbell, M. R., Craig, C., & Knight, R. (2022). Evading detection: What do we know about men charged with extrafamilial child sexual abuse following delayed detection? *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, *31*(3), 333–352. https://doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2022.2047856

Ogloff, J. R., Cutajar, M. C., Mann, E., Mullen, P., Wei, F. T. Y., Hassan, H. A. B., & Yih, T. H. (2012). Child sexual abuse and subsequent offending and victimisation: A 45 year follow-up study. *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, *440*, 1–6. https://search-informit-org.libraryproxy.griffith.edu.au/doi/10.3316/agispt.20130937

Papalia, N. L., Luebbers, S., Ogloff, J. R. P., Cutajar, M., & Mullen, P. E. (2017). Exploring the longitudinal offending pathways of child sexual abuse victims: A preliminary analysis using latent variable modeling. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *66*, 84–100. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2017.01.005

Price-Robertson, R., Bromfield, L., & Vassallo, S. (2010). Prevalence matters: Estimating the extent of child maltreatment in Australia. *Developing Practice: The Child, Youth and Family Work Journal*, *26*, 12–20. https://search-informit-org.libraryproxy.griffith.edu.au/doi/10.3316/informit.458427973479515

Raissian, K. M. (2015). Does unemployment affect child abuse rates? Evidence from New York State. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *48*, 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2015.06.008

Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse. (2017). *Final report: Preface and executive summary*. https://www.childabuseroyalcommission.gov.au/sites/default/files/final_report_-_preface_and_executive_summary.pdf

Seto, M. C. (2012). Is pedophilia a sexual orientation? *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, *41*(1), 231–236. ProQuest Central. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-011-9882-6

Seto, M. C. (2019). The motivation-facilitation model of sexual offending. *Sexual Abuse*, *31*(1), 3–24. https://doi.org/10.1177/1079063217720919

Seto, M. C., Babchishin, K. M., Pullman, L. E., & McPhail, I. V. (2015b). The puzzle of intrafamilial child sexual abuse: A meta-analysis comparing intrafamilial and extrafamilial offenders with child victims. *Clinical Psychology Review*, *39*, 42–57. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2015.04.001

Seto, M. C., Harris, G. T., & Lalumière, M. L. (2015a). Psychopathy and sexual offending. In *C.B. Gacono (Ed), The clinical and forensic assessment of psychopathy* (pp. 403–418) (2nd ed.). Routledge.

Seto, M. C., Stephens, S., Lalumière, M. L., & Cantor, J. M. (2017). The revised screening scale for pedophilic interests (SSPI–2): development and criterion-related validation. *Sexual Abuse*, *29*(7), 619–635. https://doi.org/10.1177/1079063215612444

Sherman, L., Neyroud, P. W., & Neyroud, E. (2016). The Cambridge crime harm index: Measuring total harm from crime based on sentencing guidelines. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, *10*(3), 171–183. https://doi.org/10.1093/police/paw003

Smallbone, S., Marshall, W. L., & Wortley, R. (2008). *Preventing child sexual abuse: Evidence, policy and practice*. Willan Publishing. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/griffith/detail.action?docID=449558

Sohn, J. S., Reyes, N. C., & Kim, H. (2020). Interpersonal and affective facets and items of the psychopathy checklist-revised (PCL-R) in predicting child sex offending. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *37(9-10)*, NP6720–NP6732. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260520958411

Stephens, S., Cantor, J. M., Goodwill, A. M., & Seto, M. C. (2017). Multiple indicators of sexual interest in prepubescent or pubescent children as predictors of sexual recidivism. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *85*(6), 585–595. https://doi.org/10.1037/ccp0000194

Sullivan, J., Beech, A. R., Craig, L. A., & Gannon, T. A. (2011). Comparing intra-familial and extra-familial child sexual abusers with professionals who have sexually abused children with whom they work. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, *55*(1), 56–74. https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624X09359194

Thornton, D. (2007). *Scoring guide for risk matrix 2000.9/SVC*. Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre. https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/college-les/psych/RM2000scoringinstructions.pdf

Turner, D., Rettenberger, M., Yoon, D., Klein, V., Eher, R., & Briken, P. (2016). Risk assessment in child sexual abusers working With children. *Sexual Abuse*, *28*(6), 572–596. https://doi.org/10.1177/1079063214564390

Vernham, Z., & Nee, C. (2016). Dysfunctional expertise and its relationship with dynamic risk factors in offenders. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, *22*(1–2), 47–67. https://doi.org/10.1080/1068316X.2015.1109090

Warawarni-gu Guma Statement. (2018). *Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety Limited*. https://www.anrows.org.au/warawarni-gu-guma-statement/

Ward, T. (1999). Competency and deficit models in the understanding and treatment of sexual offenders. *Journal of Sex Research*, *36*(3), 298–305. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499909552000

Wilpert, J., van Horn, J. E., & Boonmann, C. (2018). Comparing the central eight risk factors: Do they differ across age groups of sex offenders? *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, *62*(13), 4278–4294. https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624X18758899

Winters, G. M., Jeglic, E. L., & Kaylor, L. E. (2020). Validation of the sexual grooming model of child sexual abusers. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, *29*(7), 855–875. https://doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2020.1801935

Winters, G. M., Kaylor, L. E., & Jeglic, E. L. (2022). Toward a universal definition of child sexual grooming. *Deviant Behavior*, *43*(8), 926–938. https://doi.org/10.1080/01639625.2021.1941427

Wolfgang, M. E., Figlio, R. M., & Sellin, T. (1972). *Delinquency in a birth cohort*. University of Chicago Press.

Wortley, R., & Smallbone, S. (2014). A criminal careers typology of child sexual abusers. *Sexual Abuse*, *26*(6), 569–585. https://doi.org/10.1177/1079063213503689

Wright, K., Swain, S., & McPhillips, K. (2017). The Australian royal commission into institutional responses to child sexual abuse. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *74*, 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2017.09.031