

“A Picture Is Worth A Thousand Words”

What Do We Know About  
Child Pornography Offenders?

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Services de santé  
**Royal Ottawa**  
Health Care Group

# Overview

- I. Characteristics of CP offenders
- II. Possible motivations of CP offenders
- III. Risk and recidivism
- IV. Implications for policy and practice

# Defining Child Pornography (CP)

- Visual depiction of a minor engaged in sexually explicit conduct:

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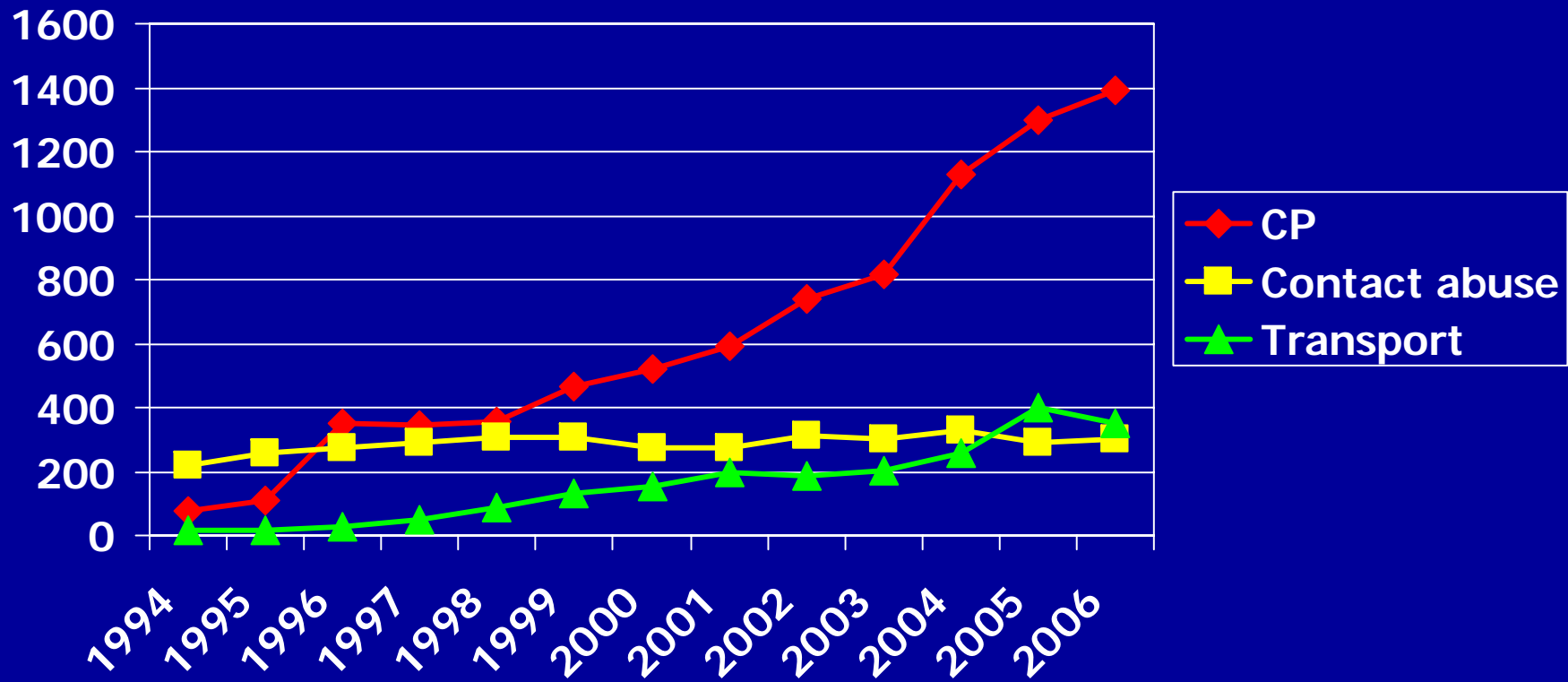
- Visual depiction of a minor engaged in sexually explicit conduct:
  - Minor is someone under the age of 18
  - Can include suggestive content (United States v. Knox, 1993)
  - Possession includes accessing online; does not require downloading images

Wortley & Smallbone (2006)

# A New Frontier: Increasing Number of CP Cases

- More U.S. arrests: Approximately doubling from 2001 to 2006 (CaCRC)
- More U.S. federal prosecutions (Motivans & Kyckelhan, 2007)
- Increased arrests in Canada, UK, and elsewhere
- More clinical cases

# More U. S. Federal Prosecutions for Child Sexual Exploitation



# More Clinical Cases: Centre for Addiction and Mental Health (Canada)



# Internet has Increased CP Activity

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- Internet: Anonymity, Affordability, Accessibility
- Increase in CP cases parallels increases in Internet access and digital cameras over past 10 years
- Peer-to-peer, newsgroups, private FTP sites, etc.

# Online CP Activity

- Typical image is of prepubescent girl (COPINE, NCMEC)
- Trend of younger children & more explicit (NJOV1 & 2)
- Some commercialization, but predominantly amateur content; made by adult or self-produced
- Part of online pedophile & hebephile subculture





**BOYCHAT**  
YOU ARE NOT ALONE





# I. Characteristics of CP Offenders

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- Very likely to be male (99%)
- Disproportionately Caucasian (Babchishin et al., under review)
- Likely to be pedophilic (Seto et al., 2006)
- Average intelligence (Blanchard et al., 2007)
- Better educated than other offenders (Blanchard et al.)
- Contact > CP > controls in sexual and physical abuse histories (Babchishin et al.)

## II. Possible Motivations of CP Offenders

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- Pedophilia or sexual interest in CP
- Indiscriminate sexual interests
- "Sexual addiction", "pornography addiction"
- Incidental (e.g., blackmail, for-profit)
- Curiosity
- Misinformed (e.g., "sexting")
- Accidental access (e.g., redirected, viruses)

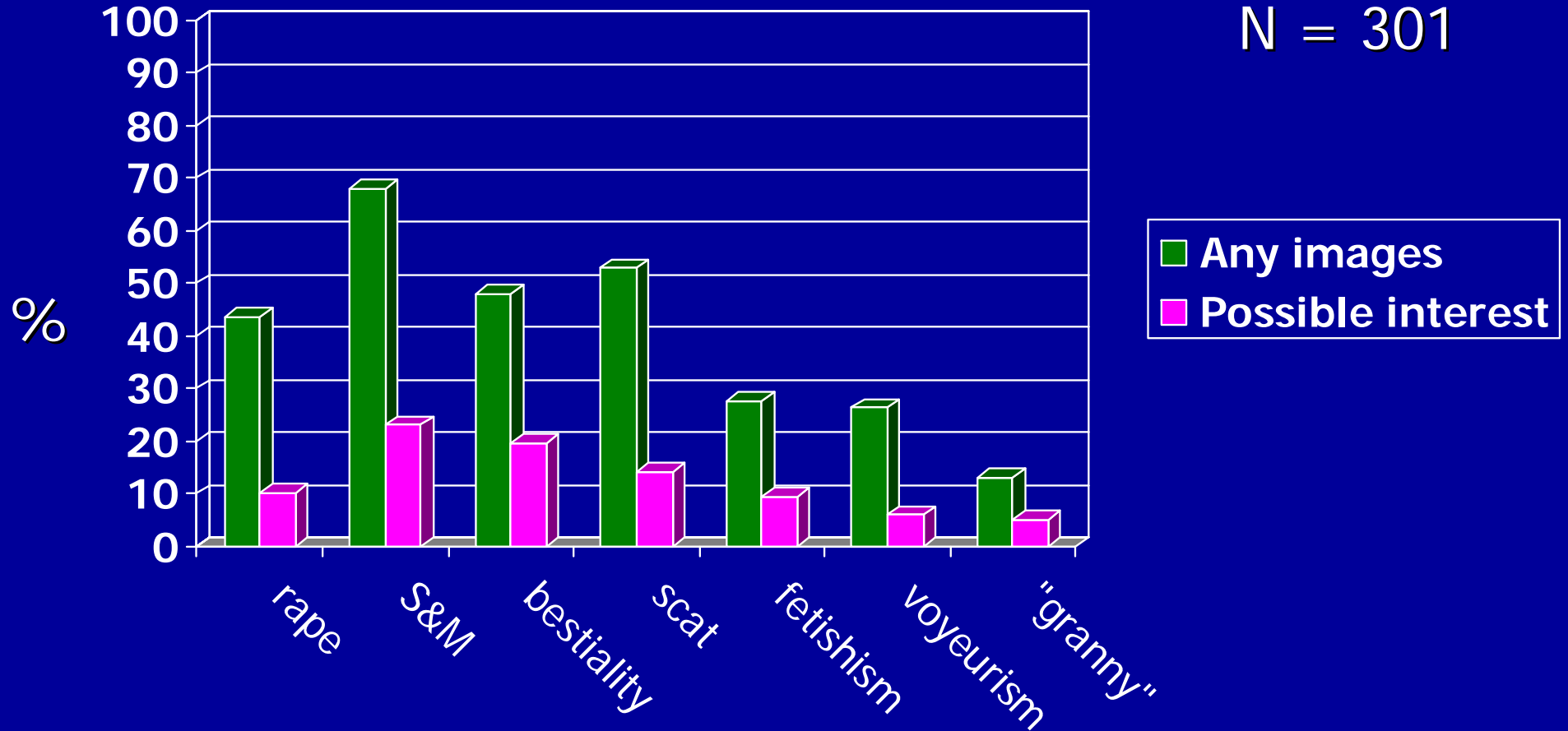
# Explanations Given By Child Pornography Offenders

(Seto, Reeves, & Jung, 2009)

	Police <i>n</i> = 50	Clinical <i>n</i> = 34
Sexual interest in children/CP	46%	38%
Indiscriminate sexual interests	6%	3%
"Pornography addiction"	10%	29%
Curiosity	40%	27%
Accidental access	40%	32%

# Possibility of Other Paraphilic Interests

(Seto & Eke, 2008)



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  - Age and gender of children
  - Ratios of content themes
  - Frequency and recency of viewing



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- One in eight CP offenders have official record for contact sexual offending
- Approximately half self-report contact offending

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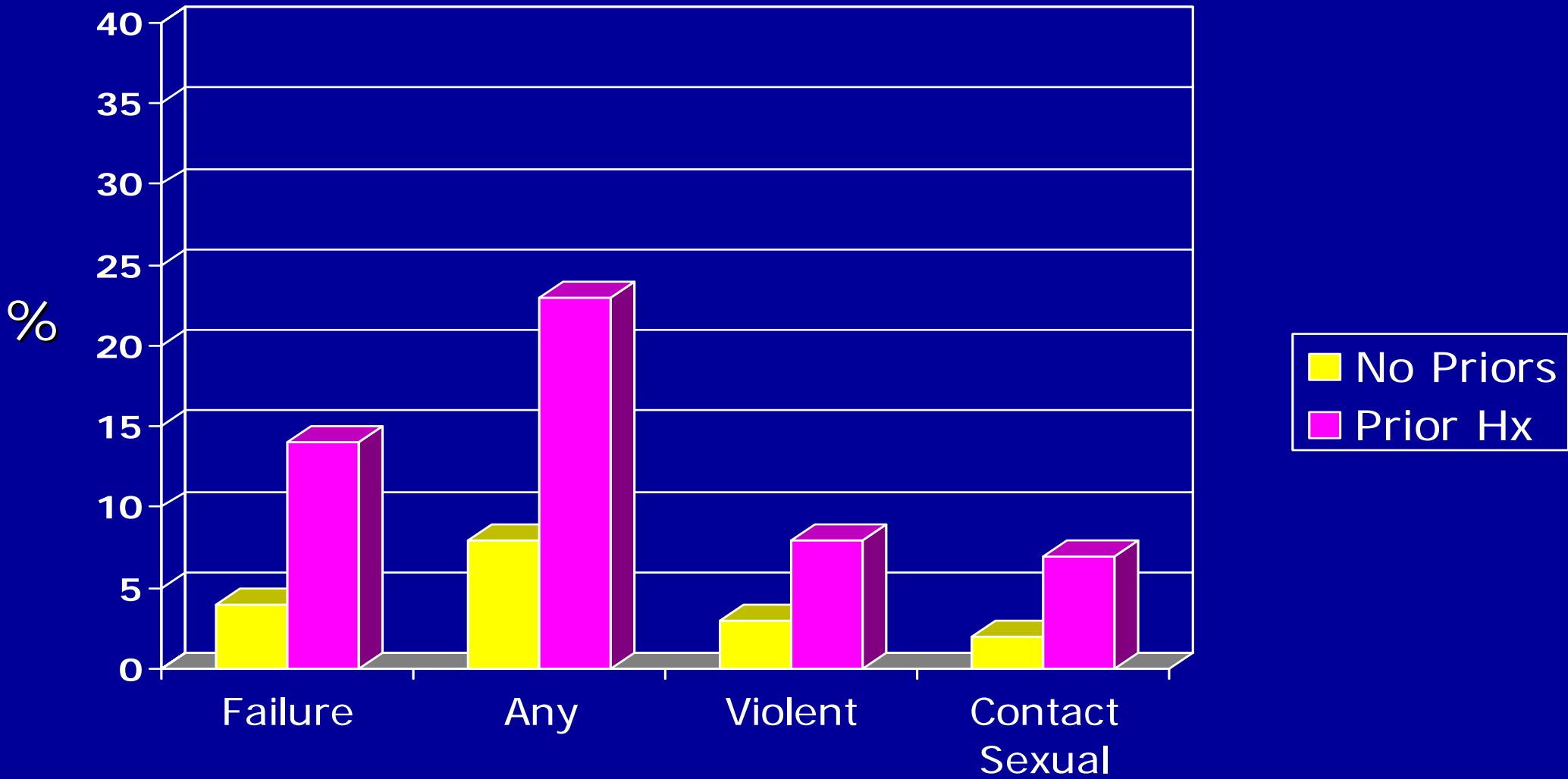
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- 2.2% new contact sexual offense
- 3.6% new CP offense
- 4.2% new violent (including sexual) offense



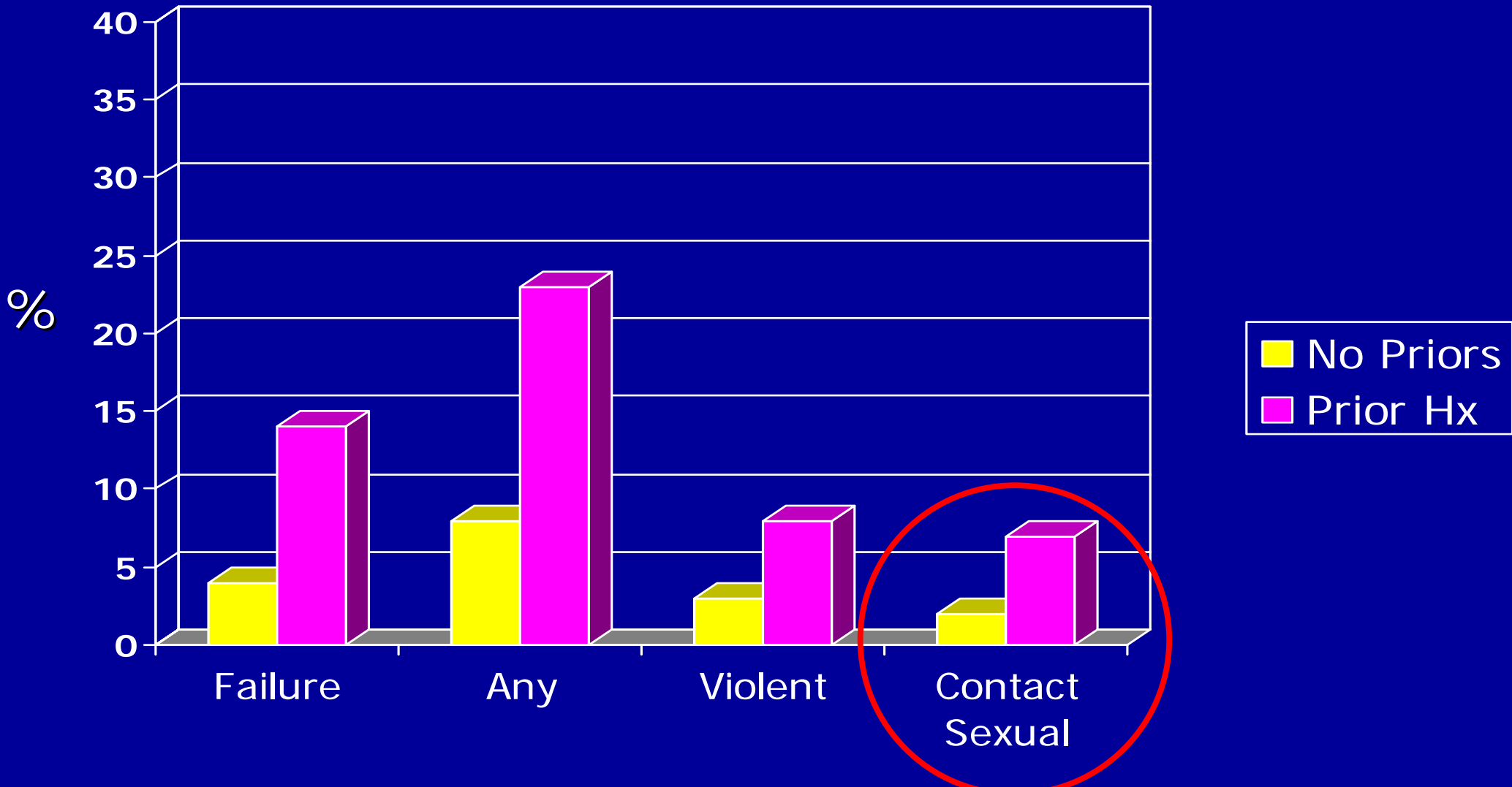
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# New Follow-up

(Eke & Seto, 2008)

- Convicted adult male CP offenders
- Criminal history & recidivism from records
- Now 541 offenders, mean followup = 4 years
- Original sample of 201 followed for 5.9 years

# Predictors of Contact Sexual Recidivism

- Offender age at first charge (negative)
- Prior contact sexual offenses
- Prior violent offenses
- Pre-index Cormier-Lang violence score

# Predictors of Child Pornography Recidivism

- Offender at first charge (negative)
- Any prior offense
- # index nonviolent offenses
- Any conditional release failure

# Outcome: Failure on Conditional Release

- One in four offenders had at least one conditional failure on bail, probation or parole
- Half of known failures for being around children or accessing Internet
- e.g., music teacher who gave lessons to young boys alone; individual found at cybercafe accessing child pornography

# Other Risk Factors: Police Case Study

(Seto & Eke, 2008)

- 301 adult male CPOs (79% overlap with OSOR sample)
- Police files reviewed by RAs
- Criminal history, substance use, CP content, access to children, self-reported sexual interests
- Recidivism information obtained after file review completed

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$p < .05$	Offender age at first charge (neg)
	Any juvenile criminal record
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Similar predictors for violent (incl. sexual) recidivism and child pornography recidivism; CP recidivism also predicted by boy:girl content

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	Had specific info about children ( $p = .088$ )
	CP unorganized ( $p = .077$ )
	Had drug use problems ( $p = .053$ )

## Risk Measures: Webb et al. (2007)

- 90 convicted CP offenders
- Stable 2000 scores predicted probation failures and “sexually risky behavior”
- Stable-2000 factors: Negative social influences, general self-regulation, offense-supportive attitudes, cooperation with supervision, sexual self-regulation, intimacy deficits

# Risk Measures: Barnett et al. (submitted)

- Risk Matrix 2000 among 513 CP offenders
- RM2000: offender age, sexual and any sentencing history, male victim, stranger victim, ever live-in, any noncontact offenses
- Risk measure predicted contact recidivism, though lower recidivism rates than for other sex offenders

# Risk Assessment

- Antisociality factors predict contact sexual & violent recidivism
- Antisociality and boy:girl content predict CP recidivism
- Consistent with models of sexual offending emphasizing antisociality & sexual deviance
- Pedophilia is not sufficient explanation for contact sexual offending



## Risk Assessment, cont'd

- Established risk measures for CP offenders with contact offense history
- Generalize to any CP offenders?
- Risk measures can rank order CP offenders
- Probabilistic estimates may not be correct

# Summary

- CP offenders are usually male and often Caucasian
- Different IQ & education than other offenders
- Types of pornography suggest sexual preferences; CP suggests pedophilia
- Approx. half of CP offenders have no known contact sexual offense history
- CP offender observed recidivism rates low

## IV. Implications for Policy & Practice

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- Note other atypical pornography content, even if not illegal
- Use of Internet to contact children or to network with other CP users?
- Has information about children and contacts with children?
- Assess risk using established measures



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- Need valid risk assessment to make decisions

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- CP investigations detecting previously invisible group of pedophiles and hebephiles
- Technological arms-race; # CP users exceed law enforcement resources
- Subgroup of low-risk CP-only offenders?
- "users" vs. "producers/traffickers"
- Underscores need for effective prevention and management strategies (Neutze et al., 2009)

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