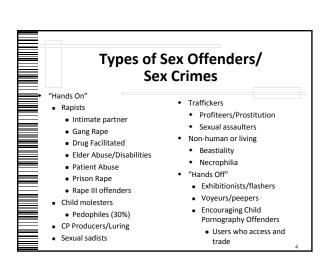


1968 to 2018 - 50 Years! A Historical Perspective

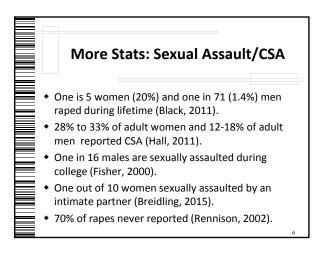
- We are starting to forget what we previously learned!
- Some of it was wrong, but some of it was right!
- Some of you haven't been exposed to this information before and it is important to your work.
- Our field has moved on to bigger and "better" things.

Sex Offenders
Are Not All the Same

• Heterogeneous group that come in all shapes and sizes
• Variety of histories and risk levels (low, medium and high)
• Different treatment/supervision needs in the community
• Complex etiologies
• Children with sexual behavior problems
• Sexually reactive children
• Youth with sexual behavior problems
• Adult sex offenders
• Child molestation, pedophilia, sexual assault, rape, exhibitionism, voyeurism, bestiality and internet crimes against children.



The Adverse Childhood Experiences Study (ACES, 1998) with more than 17,000 HMO members indicated that 24.7% (1 in 4) of women and 16% (1 in 6.25) of men reported being sexually abused.



Selection, Engagement and Seduction of Children and Adult by Child Molesters, (Jewell Jensen, Jensen & Bailey, 2002

- Why does grooming work?
 - Most adult don't know what to look for.
 - Most adults don't want to see it or believe it.
- How does grooming work?
 - By targeting specific children, families and communities to exploit.
 - Seducing the child/ren and adults.
 - Preparing for disclosure/confrontation
 - Learning from experience.

PROTECTING YOUR CHILDREN: "Advice From Child Molesters"

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- Oregon State & USA

"No one wants to have to tell their children about sexual abuse. On the other hand, do you want them to learn about it from a child molester instead?"



Research on Grooming 80's to now

- How Sex Offenders "Lure" Children (Lang & Frenzel, 1988)
- What Sex Offenders Tell Us About Prevention Strategies (Conte, Wolf & Smith, 1989)
- Modus Operandi: Accuracy in selfreported use of threats and coercion. (Kaufman et al. 1993)
- Child Sexual Abuse Prevention:
 What Offenders Tell Us.
 (Elliot & Brown, et al., 1995)
- Child Sexual Abuse: Offender Characteristics and Modus Operandi (Smallbone & Wortley,
- A comparative study of demographic data related to intra –and extra-familial child sexual abusers and professional perpetrators. (Sullivan & Beech, 2004)
- Modus Operandi of Sexual Offenders Working or Doing Volunteer Work with Children and Adolescents (Leclerc, et al. 2005)
- Examining the modus operandi of sexual offenders against children and it's practical implication (Leclerec, et al. 2009)

Few Victims Disclose or Identified

- Approximately 40% of child victims are asymptomatic (American Psychological Association, 2014).
- Only 5% to 13% of children told anyone they were being abused (London, 2005).
 - Only 12% of CSA reported (US Dept of Justice, 1992-2002).
- Of the cases reported, only 30% result in arrest (Finkelhor, 2009).

10

Disclosure/Reporting Rates of CSA

- Between 5% and 16% of children who are being sexually abused disclose.
- Between 10% and 12% of 2015 disclosures were reported to authorities.
- 2018 Lahtinen,H., Laitila, A., Korkman , J., & Ellonen, N.
 - laggia, R., Collin-Vézina, D., & Lateef, R.
- 2016 Münzer, A., Fegert, J. M., Ganser, H. G., Loos, S., Witt, A., & Gold, L. 2015 - Collin-Vézina, D., De La Sablonnière-Grin, M., Palmer, A. M., & Milne, L.
 - 2014 Foster, J. M., & Hagedorn, W. B. 2008 - Sorsoli, L., Kia-Keating, M., & Grossman, F. K.
 - 2007 Hershkowitz, I., Lanes, O., & Lamb, M. E.
 - 2005 London. S. 2000- Smith. R.

- Low Rates of Reporting and Delayed Disclosure
- Delays increase with age of victim, closer relationship to offender, belief that harm "will come to others," and feelings of responsibility/compliance (Goodman-Brown, et al, 2003).
- Delays increased by grooming and instrusiveness of abuse (Hershkowitz, 2006)
 - Victim resistance (44%), passive (51%) or compliant/cooperative (62%)
 - Exposure (36%), fondling (55%), penetration (68%).

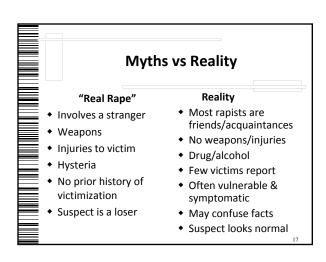
Empirical Studies into the True Rates of False Allegations in CSA Trocme, N. & Bala, N. (authors of three large scale national Canadian studies that took place between 1994 and 2005) Rate of false allegations in cases of CSA was 2%-6%. False allegation rates in physical abuse/neglect =4% Rate of false allegations that arose during custody disputes was 12% False allegations were more frequently made by a non-custodial parent, usually a father (15%) than custodial

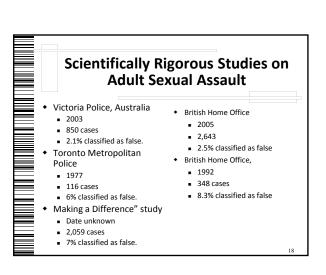
parent or mother (2%).

Department of Education Study United Kingdom, 2016 • Interviewed 2,504 adults • One third said they have suspected child abuse and failed to report it. • 36%-37% of those who failed said reporting would be "more challenging that delivering news about the death of a friend or family member or reporting a crime committed by a family member. • Fear about possibly "misreading" the situation or "wrongly accusing the person were deterrents to reporting.

More under detection Simons, Heil and "While attrition rates (the dropping of a legal English (2004) found that only 5% of rapes case by authorities, for and child sexual various reasons) assaults that were selfoccurs for all types of reported by offenders offenses, it appears to in treatment had be particularly previously been pronounced for sexual identified. crimes and offenders" (Gelb, 2007).

False Allegations in Rape Cases
 Study of 2.059 cases from eight U.S. communities found a false allegation rate of 7.1% (Longsway, Archambault and Lisak, 2009).
 Study of 136 rape/sexual cases in Massachusetts found a 5.9% false allegation rate (Heenan & Murry, 2006)



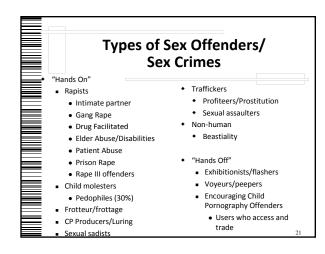




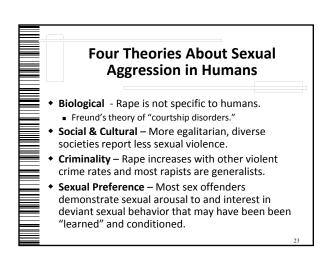
Statement of APA President Regarding the PSYCHOLOGICAL Science Behind Why Women May Not Report Sexual Assault

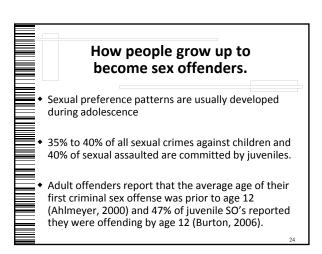
"A lack of reporting does not mean an assault or attempted assault did not happen or is exaggerated. Research demonstrates that false claims of sexual assault are very low between 2 and 7 percent. This tells us that far more women are assaulted and don't report than women who make false claims."





Disorder	Characteristics
Pedophilic disorder	Sexual arousal for children or adolescents
Exhibitionistic disorder	Derive sexual arousal from exposing their genitals to unsuspecting stranger
Voyeuristic disorder	Derive sexual pleasure from observing nudity or sexual activity of others
Fetishistic disorder and partialism	Fetishism is sexual arousal from an object Partialism is sexual arousal from a part of the body
Frotteuristic disorder	Sexual urges and sexually arousing fantasies of rubbing against or fondling a nonconsenting person
Sexual masochism and sexual sadism	Masochism is aroused by being made to suffer Sadism is aroused by inflicting suffering on another person
Transvestic disorder	Engages in cross-dressing associated with intense distress or impairment



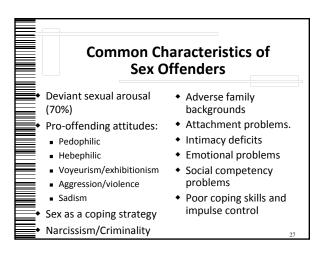


How Some People Become Offenders • Early exposure to pornography, sexual behavior, sexual abuse. • Over-sexualization at young age. • Stimulating or arousing sexual contact with other children or aggressive sexual activity. • Repetition, "imprinting" or "hardwiring." • Negative attention/culture messages. • Lack of early detection and intervention.

Developmental antecedents of sexual coercion in juvenile sexual offenders.
(Johnson & Knight, 2000)

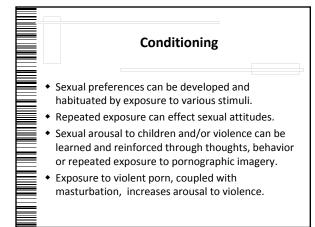
- Juveniles who engage in sexually assaultive behavior are more likely to have engaged in sexually compulsive behavior and demonstrated hyper-masculinity than JSO whose crimes are less aggressive.
- Later study (2004) identified 3 pathways to offending.
 - Sexual drive/preoccupation
 - Antisocial behavior/impulsivity
 - Callous/unemotional trait

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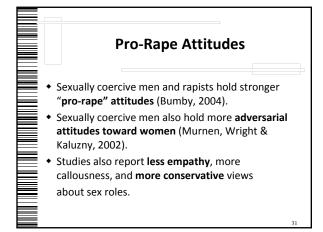


Pornified: How Pornography is Damaging our Lives, our Relationships and our Families. By Pamela Paul, 2005

- One in 4 Internet users reported Internet porn use.
- Average age of first exposure to Internet porn is 11.
- 32% of males and 11% of females report viewing online porn.
- 80% of 15 to 17 year olds have had multiple exposures.
- Younger adults reported being more likely to have viewed porn online.
 - 37% of 18 to 24 year olds.
 - 22% of 35 to 54 year olds.







Polygraph Testing Leads to Better **Understanding of Adult and Juvenile Sex** Offenders (Hindman, J. & Peters, J., 2001) **Adult Offenders** Pre-polygraph Post-polygraph Ave. # of 2.9 11.6 Victims Sexually Abused 61% 30% As Child Sexually Abusing 27% 76% As Child

A Prospective Examination of Whether Childhood Sexual Abuse Predicts Subsequent Sexual Offending (Widom & Massey, 2015)

Published in the Journal of Pediatrics

- 908 children (age 0 to 11 at time of abuse) with substantiated physical abuse, sexual abuse or neglect
- 667 control cases
- Mean age of 51 years at time of study.
- Criminal history collected from both federal and state.
- Childhood abuse was found to increase risk for arrest for adult sex crime but childhood sex abuse, by itself, did not. Physical abuse and neglect did pose increased risk.
- Physically abused males (not females) had a higher mean number of sex crime arrests.

Adverse childhood experiences in the lives of male sex offenders (Levenson and Socia, 2016)

- 670 Adult male sex offenders
 - 42% physically abused
 - 38% sexually abused

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Early Atypical Sexual Experiences in Children Leading to Heightened Sexual Interests and Pedophilic Interest in Adults

- Early sexual contact with other children and animals, and early masturbation.
 - (Houtepen, Sijtsema & Bogaerts, 2016; Levenson, et al., 2017; Neutz et al., 2011; Riegel, 2004.
- ◆ Early intercourse
 - (Kjellgren, et al. 2010; Seto & Lalumiere, 2010)
- Early intentional viewing of pornography or sexually explicit material (SEM),
 - (Simons et al., 2008; Smallbone & McCabe 2008).

Adverse childhood experiences, paraphilias, and erious criminal violence among federal sex offenders (Drury et. al, 2016)

- 225 Federal sex offenders
 - ullet 36% reported abandonment by father/neglect
 - 28% physical abuse
 - 27% sexual abuse
 - 24% verbal/emotional abuse
- Reported an average of 5 paraphilias

The dark figure of sexual offending: new evidence from federal sex offenders (DeLisi, et al. 2016)

- After beginning specialized treatment in various programs, sex offenders initially under-reported the number of sex crimes by 5-8X to 75X
- Typical number of child victims was 8 to 13
- Average number of events per victim was
 10
- 80 to 130 events

37

Sexual Assault of Young Children as Reported to Law Enforcement: Victim, Incident and Offender Characteristics (Snyder, 2000)

- 40% of the offenders of children under 6 were other children.
 - 13% of offenders were age 7 to 11
 - 27% were age 12 to 17.
- 39% of offenders of children age 6 to 11 were juveniles.
- 27% of juvenile victims (11 yrs+) were abused by juvenile offenders.

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Common Characteristics of Child Molesters

- Deviant sexual arousal (70%)
- Pro-offending attitudes:
 - Pedophilic
 - Hebephilic
 - Voyeurism/exhibitionism
 - Aggression/violence
 - Sadism
- Sex as a coping strategy
- Narcissism/Criminality

- Adverse family backgrounds
- Attachment problems.
- Intimacy deficits
- Emotional problems
- Social competency problems
- Poor coping skills and impulse control

40

Are cognitive distortions associated with denial and minimization among sex offenders?
(Nunes & Jung, 2012)

"Sexual crimes are acts of secrecy, and denial is a place where offenders often seek psychological refuge."

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Mean Accuracy Scores (*Telling Lies*) Eckman. 1969-2008

Mean accurate – lies	Mean accurate – truth
80.0	66.1
77.7	55.8
71.0	63.9
64.3	59.8
60.9	63.1
57.0	58.4
47.8	53.9
	80.0 77.7 71.0 64.3 60.9 57.0

Sexual Interest in Children 4% of college women reported at least one sexual experience that met the criteria for sexually abusing a younger child at least <5 yrs (Fromuth & Conn, 1997) 6% of college students admitted they felt "more attracted" to children than teens adults (Smith, 1993 & 2011) 9% of college students admitted to having sexual fantasies about children, 5% admitted masturbating to sexual fantasies about children (Briere & Runtz, 1989). 10.4% of adult males expressed a sexual interest in prepubescent children, 9% reported sexual fantasies about children, 6% admitted masturbating to fantasies about children and 4% admitted sexual contact with children (Ahlers, 2011). 19% of adults said they would engage in sexual contact with children if they were assured they would not be punished (Wurtele &Klebe, 1995)

More Recent Studies 4% of German men reported sexual fantasies about having sex with pre-pubescent children (Dombert, 2016). 4.2% of Swedish men reported they were likely to have sex with a child under 10 (Seto, 2015). 3.5% of American men endorsed fantasies, masturbation and sexual attraction to children and 6% reported that they would

44

How Many Are Out There? (Child Sex Offenders)

- ◆ 5% of the male population (1 in 20 men) suffer from pedophilia (Seto, 2008).
- 4% to 7% "Dunkelfeld" (male and females combined) offenders in population (Abel,2012).

5

Sexual Crimes Among Males

have sex with a child if they were guaranteed they would not

be punished (Wurtele, Simons & Noreno, 2014).

- 5% to 40% of males have committed at least one sexual offense (Grotpellier & Elliot, 2002; Koss, 1987; Lisak & Miller, 2002, Abbey, et al. 2001, Bolen, 2013).
- 1% to 2% of the adult male population will be convicted of a sexual crime (California Office of the Attorney General, 2004; P Marshall, 1997).
- ◆ Between 5% and 10% of adult males have molested children (Lewis, 1986 & DOJ, 1997).
- As of May 2017, one out of every 77 men was a registered sex offender (NCMEC, 2017).

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U.S. Male Average = 1 / 189 (NCMEC, 2017)



Predators: Pedophiles, Rapists and Other Sex Offenders (Salter, 2003)

Fewer than 5% of sex offenders are ever apprehended.

This does not account for the fact that most commit multiple offenses prior to arrest.

Repeat Rape and Multiple Offending Among Undetected Rapists (Lisak & Miller, 2002) 1882 urban college males Self report survey and interview 120 (6.4%) admitted acts of rape or attempted rape (more than 1 in 20).

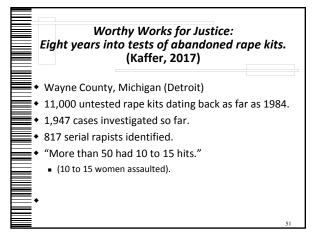
- Of the 120, 76 (63%) admitted multiple rapes.
 - 2 to 50 completed rapes
 - Average 6 completed rapes

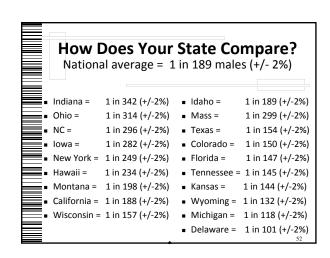
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Self-Reported Sexual Assault in Convicted Sex Offenders and Community Men (Widman, Olson & Bolen, 2013)

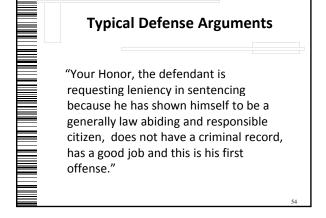
- ◆ 40 sex offenders
 - 68% admitted sexual offending
- 49 community men
 - 59% admitted coercing/manipulating/ intimidating a woman into sex.
 - 14% admitted attempting or succeeding in forcibly raping a woman.

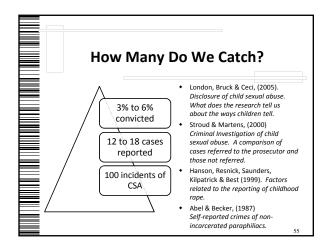
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Women that Molest Children (Carson, 2006) - Teacher/Lover - "Mary Kay Letourneau" – offender seeks a loving sexual relationship with victim, usually an adolescent male who is troubled and needy. - Seducer - "Debra LaFave" – offender seduces victim for lust, power, revenge, or simply recreational sex. - Molester - Abuses younger children, possible own children, aroused to children, more likely pedophilic, personal abuse history. - Helper - Offender aids or collaborates with another person to offend, may procure victims, observe, or actively participate - Coerced - In abusive relationship, dominated or controlled by another person, past victim of abuse.





Average Crime Statistics 100% / 10%-30% / 30% • Offenders commit an (Dept of Justice, 1996; average of 119.7 sex NYPD SVU, 2015; crimes before they are Delaware SP, 2018; Hawaii caught (Weinrott, 1998). PD, 2018; Ohio PDs, 2018) Men who primarily abuse Of the cases reported, only girls, abuse an average of 30% result in arrest 12 girls (Hindman & (Finkelhor, 2009). Peters, 2001, CBI, 1992). Only 3% of crimes had Men who primarily abuse been reported & boys, abuse twice as many prosecuted (Abel, 1986). (CBI, 1992).

"For child molesters, the actual extent of their abusive activity, and therefore their threat to society, is likely to be far greater than he/she will voluntarily admit, or that law enforcement and the courts are traditionally able to detect."

The Sexual Predator, Anita Schlank, Ed., pp. 20-1 to 31, Civic Research Institute 2010.

The Neccessity of Polygraph • Ahlmeyer et. al. (2000) • Grubin, (2010) Sex offenders in TX • Sex offenders in TX and on supervision in and on supervision in Colorado **United Kingdom** FD polygraphs Offenders in TX and required to pass FD Less than 1% of victims had been • Reported 14X more identified in official crimes than records. previously detected

Using Polygraph Testing to Assess Deviant Sexual History of Sexual Offenders (O'Connell , 1998) Average of 28 deviant • Mean number of felony sexual incidents in official sex offenses reported in records. referral reports was 22. Clinical interview • 24 disclosed during clinical increased number to 65 interview incidents. 45 more disclosed during An average of 198 polygraph. incidents disclosed after Mean of 7 types of DSB polygraph 30% admitted 9 or more DSB



Grooming Dynamics Eenter for Missing and Exploited Children, 2016)

- Identifying and targeting victim
- Gaining trust and access
- ◆ Playing a role in the child's life
- · Isolating the child
- Creating secrecy around the relationship
- Initiating sexual contact
- Controlling the relationship

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sexual Grooming of Children: Review of literature and theoretical considerations.
(Craven, Brown and Gilcrist, 2006)

- ◆ Self-grooming
- Grooming the environment
- Grooming significant others and potential onlookers
- · Grooming the child

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How Victim Age Affects the Context and Timing of Child Sexual Abuse (McKillop, Brown, Wortley and Smallbone, 2015)

Age of victims

- 11% of victims under 5.
- 42% age 6-11
- 47% 12 and older
 Abuse of younger children
- Occurred during "normal"
- activities in the home
- Perpetrator was a relative or live in
- 2/3 of incidents occurred while another person was nearby, in the same house or present in the same room.
- Most abuse of teens occurred during later hours (9 PM and 6 AM), outside the home and perpetrators was more often uppelated.
- 53% of offenders reported that a relative was their first victim.
- 66% knew 1st victim for a year or

An Exploration of Crossover Sexual Offending (Kleban, et al., 2012)

- Archival records of 789 incarcerated sex offenders with multiple "known" victims
 - 13% had victims of both genders
 - 14% had victims from different age groups
 - 13% had victims from varying relationship categories
- Archival records of offenders with multiple convictions
 - 20% had victims of both genders
 - 40% had victims from different age groups
 - 48% had victims from varying relationship categories

..

The Effect of Polygraphy on the Self Report of Adolescent Sex Offenders: Implications for Risk Assessment (Emerick & Dutton, 1993)

- Average number of incidents increased from 21 at intake to 77 post poly.
- Victims of both genders increased from 29% at intake to 54% post poly.
- Pre poly 22% acknowledged offending children through multiple social relationships, 47% post poly.

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Crossover and Stability of Victim Type in Child Molesters (Sim and Proeve, 2010)

- ◆ Age/gender/relationship cross-over
- Australian study of 128 offenders in outpatient treatment (no polygraph)
- 63% disclosed cross over in victim type
 - 48% in age group (-5) (6-12) & (13+)
 - 22% in gender
 - 26% in relationship

Assessing crossover in a sample of sexual offenders with multiple victims (Cann, Friendship & Gozna, 2010)

File reviews of 1,345 sex offender prison release files revealed crossover in age group, gender or relationship to victim in 24.5% of cases.

actuarial risk: Reoffending rates for rapists, child molesters and mixed offenders.
(Voss and Skelton, 2010)

Sexual and violent recidivism by offender type of

Of those offenders who were detected reoffending, 37% of men with previous convictions for adult rape, were found to have recidivated against child victims.

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Crossover Between Adult Sexual Assault and Child Sexual Abuse

- 70% of offenders admitted both child and adult victims with poly (Heil, 2003)
- 78% of child molesters admitted that they had also sexually assaulted adults and 52% of rapists admitted sexually assaulting children with poly (Heil, Ahlmyer & Simons, 2003)
- 64% of rapists sexually assaulted a child with poly (O'Connell, 1998)
- 50% of rapists admitted sexually assaults against children, no poly (Abel, 1992).
- 32% of rapists sexually assaulted a child, no poly.
 (Weinrott & Saylor, 1991)

Gender Cross Over and MC = Proxy for Pedophilia

- Polygraph studies:
 - 36% of child molesters abused both boys and girls (Heil, 2003)
 - 45% of men who had molested boys also admitted girl victims(O'Connell, 1998)
- Non-poly studies:
 - 22% admitted victims of both genders (Sim and Proeve, 2010)
 - 23% of child molesters whose known victims were girls, admitted boy victims and 63% of child molesters whose known victims were boys admitted girl victims (Abel & Osborn, 1992)
 - 28% admitted child victims from both genders (Elliott & Browne, 1995)

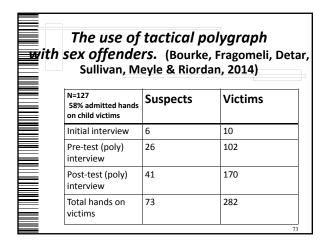
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"Incest" and "Out of Home" Child Victims

- 66% of incest offenders admitted out of home child victims (Abel, 1992).
- 69% of intra-familial offenders offended outside the home (O'Connell, 1998).
- 64% of men whose convictions were related to "incest" also admitted abusing children outside of the home (Heil et al., 2003).

Crossover Sex Offenses (Heil, Ahlmyer & Simons, 2003)

- Colorado study with 489 sex offenders in treatment program that used polygraph:
 - 64% of incest offenders admitted abusing nonrelated children
 - 53% of out of home offenders admitted abusing their own or related children



Online Solicitation or Internet Grooming

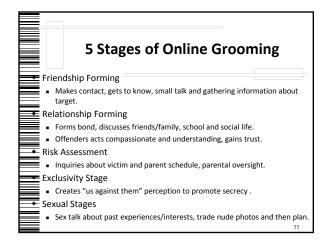
- The danger of online solicitation by a stranger is much lower that off-line risk from someone know to the child.
- Online grooming allows the offender to move from "stranger" status to "known" friend.

Typologies

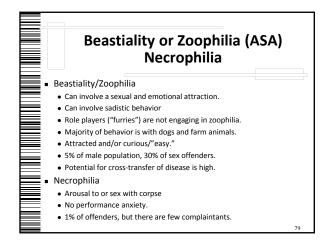
- Child pornography offenders
- ◆ Contact driven offenders (who groom for the purpose of offline sex)
- Fantasy driven offenders (who seen to be satisfied with keeping the relationship online and is satiated by discussing taboo sexual topics with minors online)

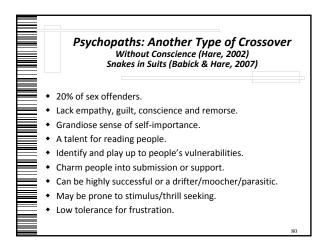
A linguistic analysis of grooming strategies of online sex offenders: Implications for our understanding of predatory sexual behavior in an increasingly computer-mediated world. (Black, et al. 2015)

- Team analyzed and coded transcripts of online offender communication with decoys.
- Identified 5 stages (friendship forming, relationship forming, risk assessment, exclusivity stage, sexual stages.
- Determined that online offenders had fewer "gates" to control for (non-verbal communication, fewer potential observers), which made the various stages in grooming easier to move through more quickly.

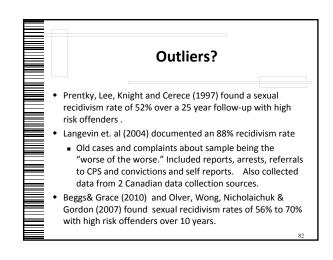


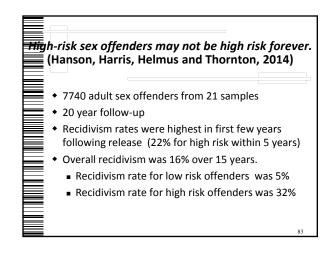
Exhibitionism and Voyeurism Exhibitionism: • One of the three most common sexual offenses reported to police. About 50% of women have witnesses this crime. Described as a "courtship disorder." • Most are in their late teens or early 20's but 50% are married. Voyeurism: The practice of spying on or recording people while they are dressing, using the bathroom or engaged in sexual activity for sexual gratification. Can involve "upskirting" or peeping. Both crimes usually begin during adolescence and may become preferred method of sexual activity.

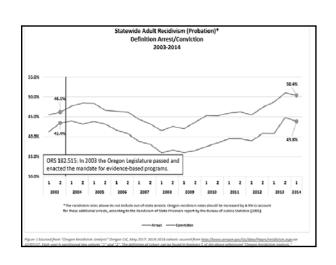




Estimated Sexual Recidivism Rates Hanson, 2007 Years of Observed/ **Estimated** Follow-up **Detected** 10-15% 30-40% 5yrs 10yrs 15-25% 30-45% 20yrs 30-40% 40-55%







FFY 2016 Incidents of Child Abuse/Neglect

		Percent Change
Abuse/Neglect type	Number	From Last Year
Sexual Abuse	1,045	25.8%
Physical Abuse	1,217	20.7%
Threat of Harm	6,254	19.9%
Neglect	6,590	10.8%
Mental Injury	248	3.3%
Total Incidents	15,354	15.9%

The Big Lie About Sex Offenders (By Radley Balko, The Watch as reported in the Washington Post, March 9, 2017).

"In the most comprehensive single study on reoffense rates to date, the U.S. Department of Justice followed every sex offender released in almost 15 states for three years. The recidivism rate? Just 3.5 percent. These numbers have been subsequently verified in study after study."

Treating sexual offenders: How did we get here and where are we headed? (Hanson, 2014)

- "The overall evidence for treatment effectiveness is weak at best" (Dennis, et al., 2012).
- "Knowing which type of treatment works for each which type of offender is still a dream" (Langstrom, et. Al., 2013).

Quality Evaluations (Schmucker & Losel, 2015) • Published in the Journal of Experimental Criminology.

The Effects of Sexual Offender Treatment on

Recidivism: An International Meta-Analysis of Sound

- Combined sample of 10, 387 sex offenders
 - 4939 treated sex offenders
 - 5448 untreated sex offenders.
- 13.7% recidivism rate for untreated group
- 10.1% recidivism rate for treated group
- Overall different was 3.6%
- "...the evidence basis for sex offender treatment is not yet satisfactory."

New Evidence Says US Sex Offender **Policies Are Causing More Crime** (Yoder, 2016)

- · Journal of Law and Economics (2011)
- 1.6% increase in recidivism rates in states that publicly expose sex offenders via registries.
- Homeless, isolation, unemployment and lack of community support can also increase risk.

Recidivism Rates for Juveniles

- 5 year follow-up = 13%
 - Reitzel & Carbonell, 2006
- 5 year follow-up = 5%
 - Caldwell, 2016
- 20 year follow-up = 21% (no TX) 9% (TX)
 - Worling, Littlejohn & Bookalam, 2010



