

THE MODUS OPERANDI OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE MATERIAL OFFENDERS

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The argument

Most research on online CSA offenders focuses on psycho-social characteristics of offenders Online offending demands a different response to offenders

- Cross jurisdictional issues
- Volume overwhelming police resources
- Most offenders never identified much less arrested
- Need to triage law enforcement to focus on most serious cases
- Desperate need for effective prevention strategies

More research needed on what offenders do

Current study

Survey of 75 male offenders in community treatment programme

20 participants also agreed to be interviewed

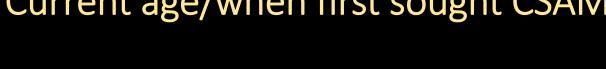
Three areas covered:

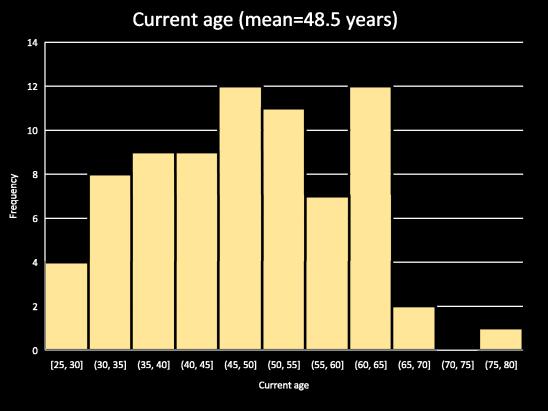
- Pathways to offending
- Offending behaviour
- Triggers, deterrents, and disruptions

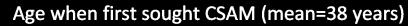
Sample description at time of offence

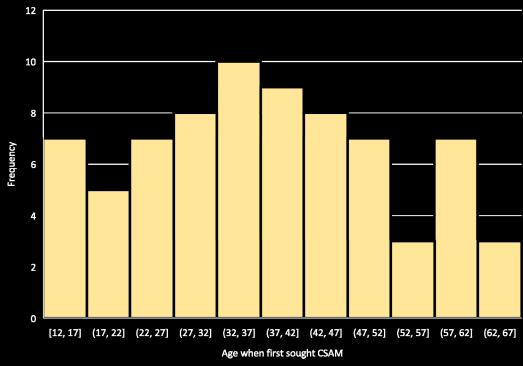
Characteristic	%	Characteristic	%
Sexual Orientation:		Living arrangements:	
Heterosexual	76	With partner/family/share	81
Homosexual	16	Alone	19
Bisexual	8	Relationship status:	
Employment Status:		Married/de facto	57
Employed	64	Single/widowed/divorced/separated	43
Self employed	23	Living with children <18 years old:	
Retired	13	No	79
Education:		Yes	21
University – undergraduate	29	Previous criminal justice involvement:	
Secondary school	28	No	87
University – post graduate	22	Yes – for other offences	8
Senior secondary school ('college')	21	Yes – for sex offences	5

Current age/when first sought CSAM







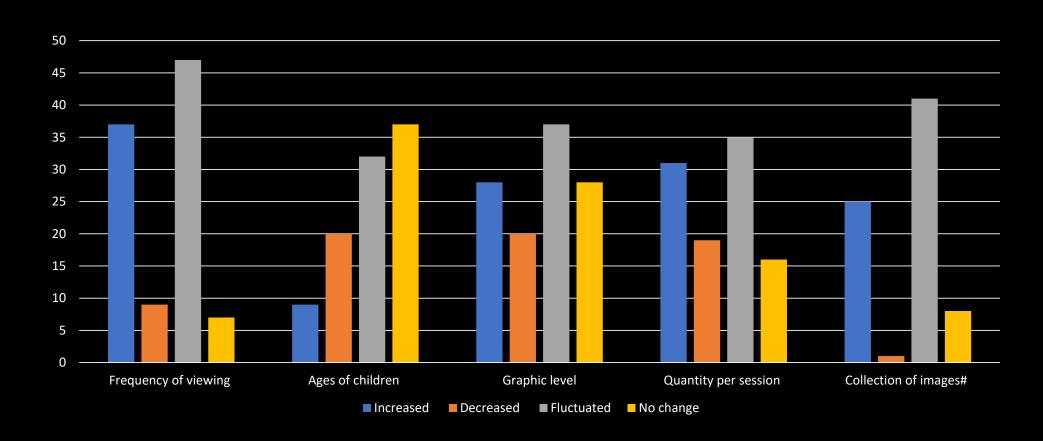


Progression of CSAM engagement

Engagement	%	Engagement	%
How CSAM first encountered#		Initial source of CSAM	
Curious after viewing adult pornography	51	Open websites	48
Curious after viewing barely legal pornography	43	Peer-to-peer file sharing	19
Accidentally encountered on another site	40	Chatrooms	12
Followed a pop up long	12	Newsgroups	12
Sought it out from the start	8	Dark web	1
Received images sent by acquaintance	4	How did interest in CSAM develop?	
		I gradually became more sexually interested	52
		I do not/have never had a sexual interest in CSAM	29
		I was sexually interested from the start	9
		I gradually became less interested	8

#multiple responses permitted

Changes in CSAM viewing behaviour over time



#24% of participants did not collect images

What participants said

My coming across the images of children was through adult pornography where, where I would click on an image and it would actually take you to the sites and particularly in the early days that I know, the internet's changed a lot in terms. I click on something and literally you could get snowballed with ah, pages coming up, websites, you've not clicked on and stuff like that.

When I first started looking it was only a little bit and then it sort of just got longer and longer and longer and worse... I think it was taking over my life.

I'd find myself getting into things, into types of pornography and types of sexuality that I don't think I ever would have got into had I not I had the internet. I'd have had no interest. It just seems to have built up over time. I don't know why.

Without sounding clichéd I stumbled across them. And then, after a while, I started to search for them.

Because it was easy to access there and it was free and it was seemingly anonymous and I could go in and view images and at the end I could shut it all down and pretend that it doesn't, it hadn't happened.

When I first. I saw it some years ago and I was com, yah, I was completely shocked by it. And I thought. Yah. I don't want to look at this. And as time went on, as I got more and more in, and that's probably I got addict, addicted to you know porn.

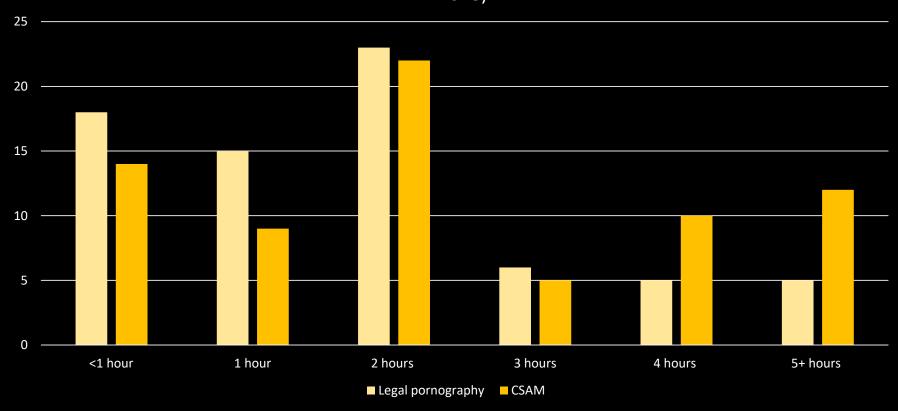
You've got used to what you're looking at and it no longer does it for you. And then you're starting to, you get, you'll get involved in harder and harder stuff.

Offending behaviour

Behaviour	%	Behaviour	%	Behaviour	%
When accessed:		Source of CSAM:		Contact with other offenders:	
No particular time	39	P2P	48	No	63
6.00pm - midnight	39	Website	43	Yes	37
Midnight – 6.00am	15	Chatrooms	25	Steps to avoid detection:	
6.00am - noon	15	Email	13	Deleting files	57
Noon – 6.00pm	5	Dark web	12	Deleting internet history	51
Where accessed:		Online stories	13	Wiping computer	32
Home	88	Newsgroups	3	Anonymising identity	27
Work	8	5 most common search terms:		Hidden folders	20
Other (Car, hotel, café)	8	Loli/Lolly/Lolita	31	Remote storage	17
Device used:		PTHC (pre-teen hard core)	25	Password protection	16
Desktop	48	Pre-teen	21	Encrypting files	11
Laptop	43	Underage (sex)	16	Renaming files	3
Smartphone	5	Young	16	Proxy servers, PAYG SIM	1

Viewing time legal pornography/CSAM

Viewing time per day (Legal pornography mean=2 hours; CSAM mean=2.7 hours; r=-.048)



What participants said

And you know I'd have a couple of hours where I could view, view the material so it would kind of depend on. Kind of how occupied I was. You know, if I was really really busy with work, up against deadlines I might not view it so much. But I might just manage about half an hour at the end of the day, if it's really stressful.

Go early to the office or wherever or go in to the, the loo. Um. To be able to view things or chat about things without people overlooking. So, I, I would make myself scarce more often than probably ah, I would have done otherwise.

File sharing programme showed you more intense and more disgraceful images because they were there and they were available.

For to find more images, newer images that I hadn't seen and by communicating with people in the chat rooms they typically would be other people who had the better knowledge of this or longer time doing this so would have acquired other images and it would be people surprisingly willing to sort of share sort of images and things that they had... there's probably a feeling of probably camaraderie and things and not being alone sort of on there which probably helps to kind of support what you are doing and yeah that whole yeah I'm not alone thing there are others like this you know maybe you know I'm not quite as bad and things so there's kind of that thing and also in the chat sort of you know sharing fantasies with people.

It was almost like a routine and you know an addiction that every, every night I had to sit down and look at porn.

I purged many times and replaced discs and drilled holes in them.

Triggers, deterrents and disruptions

Triggers	%	Deterrents	%	Disruptions	%
Being alone in the house	61	Feeling guilty, ashamed	73	Partner walking in	59
Viewing adult pornography	56	Worry being caught by police	67	Social interactions	49
Feeling lonely	51	Working patterns	65	Blocked sites	37
Feeling sexually aroused	45	Worry what others would say	60	Virus alert	36
Not having sex for a while	44	Worry being caught by family	57	Slow internet speed	33
Viewing barely legal pornography	43	Feeling happy	55	Warning messages from LE	23
Feeling angry, upset	37	Partner being home	48	POP ups	17
Surfing the Internet	23	Healthy relationship	44	Hackers demanding money	7
Argument with spouse, partner	15	Thinking of victim	44		
Financial trouble	13	Social plans/commitments	43		
Depressed, low self esteem	13	Desire for self improvement	32		
Alcohol, drugs	11	Recent sexual activity	31		
Loss of job, retirement	11	No internet access	29		
Divorce, separation	8	Taking care of children	13		
Seeing attractive child/picture	8	Having children	11		

What participants said

And you know I'd have a couple of hours where I could view, view the material so it would kind of depend on. Kind of how occupied I was. You know, if I was really really busy with work, up against deadlines I might not view it so much. But I might just manage about half an hour at the end of the day, if it's really stressful.

Anyhow I suppose it's a case of that I have, I've got time on my hands. I'm more on my own in the home or in the office. Ah. There's a computer sitting there and I could, there's nothing to stop me from going to look. It was that kind of situation really.

After you finish looking at those indecent images and you've done whatever you've done, you, your immediately brought back into the real world and the, the, the initial thought is guilt absolutely ad disgrace and disgust in yourself for what you're doing.

But actually at the end of the day loneliness boredom and, were very much the triggers. So. Um. I noted times when I was very very busy things like that and I barely looked at my computer.

Barriers to getting online would be having the time, the alone time, the privacy to be able to do that.

So, first of all I would be at work bored on my own as a for instance then I, sort of think oh, I'm feeling a bit horny, ... a distraction or it might in the evening and I um, and I might have had a drink and feeling a little bit lonely... I might have sort gone for a look.

It was just purely opportunistic. If happened to have the time to do it, then I'd do it.

Key findings

Few distinguishing sociodemographic features – most employed, welleducated, no criminal history, late offending onset

Most reported initially 'stumbling' on CSAM, especially via legal pornography

Ease of accessing online images highlighted

CSAM involvement typically described as becoming progressively more serious, with periodic attempts to stop

Increasing use over time of P2P, dark web, and chatrooms

Around a third networked with other offenders for information, exchanging images, and social support

Patterns of accessing CSAM generally dictated by opportunities

Generally weak security measures employed

Feelings of guilt and shame common

Limitations

Participants have all been caught – perhaps less experienced and less likely to adopt effective security precautions

Participants all volunteered for treatment – may have higher levels of guilt and desire to change

Self report method – answers to give good impression and/or assuage their own feelings of guilt

Implications for prevention

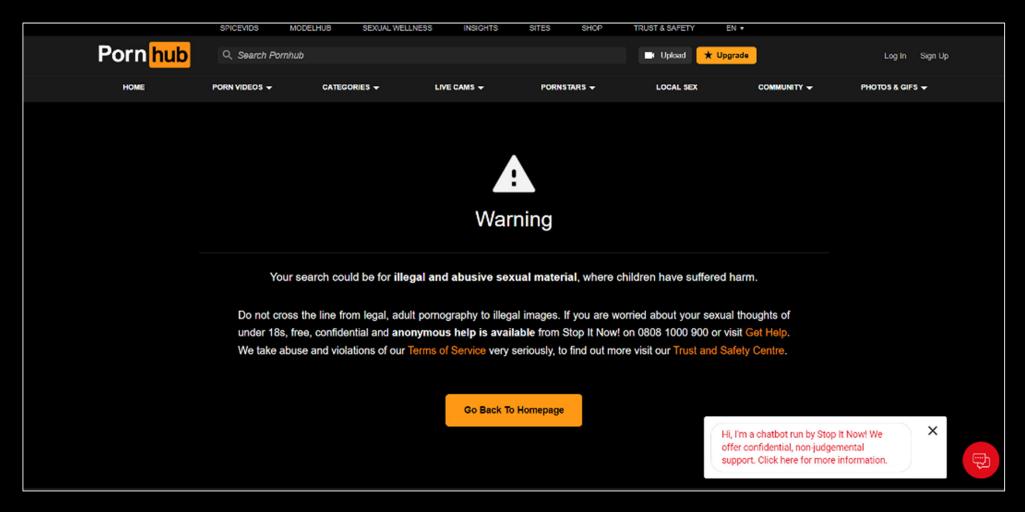
Intervention early in the offending pathway - e.g., greater effort removing CSAM from adult pornography sites

Continue efforts making accessing CSAM more difficult and riskier to access – rapid take-downs, financial blocks on purchasing CSAM, sting operations

Automated warning messages from law enforcement

Counselling support for individuals worried about starting to use CSAM, or trying to stop current use – e.g., Stop It Now, Lucy Faithful Foundation programme.

Warning message used by Pornhub



Conclusions

Internet has transformed the problem of child sexual abuse material

Usual CJ paradigm of investigate-arrest-sentence not fit for purpose

Offenders vary in their level of interest in CSAM and their technical skill

Law enforcement resources need to be devoted to most serious cases

Prevention strategies needed, especially for individuals in early stages of offending pathway

Require more interdisciplinary research on the strategies employed by offenders and how those strategies may be disrupted