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Understanding Female-Perpetrated Child Sexual Abuse in Organisational Contexts

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Abstract

Organisational child sexual abuse has received unprecedented attention over recent years with numerous local, national and international inquiries taking place. At the same time interest in female sex offenders has increased, however, despite this focus in both areas there is an almost total lack of research examining the phenomenon of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts. This thesis combines these fields of inquiry and addresses this gap.

Situational crime prevention theory framed the mixed methods approach examining 136 cases of sexual abuse perpetrated by women against children they worked with in organisational contexts. The sample originates from the UK, USA and Canada between 2000 and 2016. Freedom of Information request data from the Ministry of Justice and professional regulators was used to examine the current context of this abuse. Qualitative and quantitative content analysis of court reports, professional regulator decisions and media articles then examined 92 variables addressing: perpetrator and victim characteristics; offence processes and modus operandi and situational and environmental factors. The responses of organisations and criminal justice and child protection systems were also investigated, as well as the short- and long-term impacts upon victims.

The findings show most women offend alone against a single, post-pubescent male victim, often with particular vulnerabilities. Abuse occurs predominantly outside the organisational environment and the use of electronic communication is common. The findings indicate these women were not pre-disposed offenders but rather their behaviour was influenced by socio-cultural, situational and contextual factors. This highlights the significant influence organisations can have in preventing this abuse and wider implications for policy and practice are also discussed.

This thesis makes an original contribution to knowledge by being the first systematic investigation specifically examining female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in a range of organisational contexts.

Understanding Female-Perpetrated Child Sexual Abuse in Organisational Contexts

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Abbreviations

CCW	Care Council for Wales
CSA	Child sexual abuse
DfE	Department for Education
DMFSO	Descriptive Model of Female Sexual Offending (Gannon, Rose & Ward, 2008)
DBS	Disclosure and Barring Service
EWC	Education Workforce Council
EPMFSO	Ecological Process Model of Female Sexual Offending (DeCou, Cole, Rowland, Kaplan & Lynch, 2015)
FOI	Freedom of Information (regarding the Freedom of Information Act 2000)
GDC	General Dental Council
GMC	General Medical Council
GOC	General Optical Council
GPhC	General Pharmaceutical Council
GTCS	General Teaching Council for Scotland
GTCW	General Teaching Council for Wales
HCPC	Health and Care Professions Council
ISA	Independent Safeguarding Authority
ITCSA	Integrated Theory of Child Sexual Abuse (Smallbone, Marshall & Wortley, 2008)
NCTL	National College for Teaching and Leadership
NMC	Nursing and Midwifery Council
OCT	Ontario College of Teachers
SCP	Situational crime prevention
SPM	Situational Prevention Model (Kaufman, Mosher, Carter, & Estes, 2006)

Glossary of Terms

Abuse of Trust: In broad terms this refers to situations where an adult abuses their position of authority or trust over a child or young person. More specifically an 'abuse of trust' offence relates to sexually activity between a young person aged between 16 and 18 years old and an adult in a position of trust. The Sexual Offences Act (2003) re-enacts and extends the abuse of position of trust offences set out in the Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act (2000). While young people aged between 16 and 18 can legally consent to some types of sexual activity this is not the case in a situation where there is an abuse of trust (Safe Network, 2015).

Child: Any person who has not yet reached their 18th birthday (United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989).

Children and Young People: The term 'children and young people' is used throughout this thesis. Definitions are inconsistent or lacking in the literature. For example, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) defines 'child' as being anyone who has not yet reached their 18th birthday yet the UN also defines 'youth' or 'young person' as being those aged 15-24 (United Nations A/36/215, 1981). Here 'young person' or 'young people' refers to adolescents under the age of 18.

Child sexual abuse: The UK government definition used here defines 'child sexual abuse' as that which:

> *Involves forcing or enticing a child or young person to take part in sexual activities, not necessarily involving a high level of violence, whether or not the child is aware of what is happening. The activities may involve physical contact, including assault by penetration (for example, rape or oral sex) or non-penetrative acts such as masturbation, kissing, rubbing and touching outside of clothing. They may also include non-contact activities, such as involving children in looking at, or in the production of, sexual images, watching sexual activities, encouraging children to behave in sexually inappropriate ways, or grooming a child in preparation for abuse (including via the internet). Sexual abuse is not solely perpetrated by adult males. Women can also commit acts of sexual abuse, as can other children* (HM Government, 2015, p.93).

Organisational contexts: institutional and agency environments involving the care and supervision of children and young people. This includes schools, colleges, churches, residential homes, care facilities, youth clubs, local authority child protection departments, hospitals, sports clubs, nurseries etc. (This is not an exhaustive list). The distinction here is a more formal arrangement for care and supervision of children rather than familial or friendship contexts such as babysitting. This includes opportunities for children and adults to interact outside of the physical organisational environment but within the context of their relationship established in the organisation, e.g. during day trips from residential care, at school or youth group sports events or at school leaving parties.

Position of Trust: A 'position of trust' is a role where an adult has power or authority in a child's life and may have a key influence on their future, by the nature of their role within an organisation. An adult is considered to be in a position of trust in relation to a younger person if they care for, advise, train or have sole charge of them in the community on a one-to-one basis because of a court order (Safe Network, 2015). Sexual offences law in the UK (Sexual Offences Act 2003) defines specific roles and settings which apply to positions of trust, and the term covers a large range of professionals and workers including teachers, medical staff, youth workers, care staff etc. (This is not an exhaustive list). However, currently some significant roles working or volunteering with children are not covered by the existing legislation (NSPCC, 2015). This includes sports club coaches, armed forces cadet leaders, independent tutors and music teachers. The scope of those considered as being in positions of trust in this research is extended beyond the legal definition to include those additional roles and others like them. This is because adults in such positions have the opportunity for one-to-one contact and to develop closer relationships with children by virtue of those roles and the current legal definition is considered too restrictive.

Professional Perpetrators: This term was introduced by Sullivan and Beech (2002) referring to those individuals who use the institution/organisation in which they work (either paid or unpaid) to target and sexually abuse children and young people. Their research involved male perpetrators only but the term is used here to also refer to female abusers.

Declaration and Statement of Copyright

Declaration

I confirm that no part of the material presented in this thesis has previously been submitted by me or any other person for a degree in this or any other university. In all cases, where it is relevant, material from the work of others has been acknowledged.

Statement of Copyright

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without the author's prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

Signed:

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This work, as with all I have achieved in life, has been the result of the love and support of my family, in particular my Mum and Dad, who have given me the strongest of foundations in life and have always expressed their pride in all I do.

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For my Dad, Chris Darling (1945-2015)

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1   Background

Institutional child abuse has received unprecedented public and political attention over recent years, being subject to intense scrutiny and regular media coverage (Barlow & Lynes, 2015; Cortoni, Hanson & Coache, 2009). There have also been numerous investigations and public inquiries at local and national level, for example; the Australian Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse; the UK Independent Inquiry in Child Sexual Abuse; the US Department of Education review into sexual abuse in schools (Shakeshaft, 2004) and the Robins (2000) review into sexual abuse in schools in Canada. This attention has highlighted the need for research into the factors evident in the perpetration of such abuse in order to help inform prevention strategies, support victims and treat offenders more effectively. At the same time as this increasing political and public interest in organisational child sexual abuse, there has also been growing academic and research interest in female sexual offenders (Reid, 2011). Media reports and court cases as well as depictions in film, television and literature have resulted in the public consciousness being confronted with female-perpetrated child sexual abuse more regularly than in the past. Despite this increasing exposure and the gradually expanding research base on women who commit sexual offences, there has been very little empirical research conducted examining females who sexually abuse children in organisational contexts. The lack of attention to this phenomenon is somewhat surprising, given that organisational settings are the second most prevalent environments in which child sexual abuse occurs (the domestic setting being the first) (Wortley & Smallbone, 2014) and childcare provision has been considered to be the second most common context for female child sex offending specifically (Faller, 1987). This study addresses this under-researched type of abuse and the women who perpetrate it.

Although official criminal justice system statistics reflect low rates of female-perpetrated child sexual offending in comparison to male sex offenders, the number of women abusing in this way equates to a potentially large number of victims. Furthermore, conviction and caution rates are also highly likely to be an under-representation of the extent of the problem. These rates are also potentially influenced by gender biases and there is evidence that sexual offences perpetrated by women are taken less seriously by professionals than those perpetrated by males (Bunting, 2005; Denov, 2004; Dunbar, 1999; Saradjian, 2010), as McLeod (2015, p108) highlights:

Somewhere between the offenses occurring and the social systems empowered to deal with them there is a critical gap. We are systematically missing opportunities to identify and address child sexual offending behaviors in a gendered capacity. This allows for particular populations of offenders to evade prosecution, sentencing, tracking, and treatment.

Irrespective of the actual prevalence and incidence of this type of offending in organisational contexts, the impact of such abuse is damaging and research has found female-perpetrated child sexual abuse to have particularly harmful consequences for victims (Denov, 2004; Saradjian, 2010).

1.2   Rationale, aims and objectives

In response to the lack of knowledge and understanding about this offender population, the circumstances in which this abuse occurs and the impact on victims described above, drawing on mixed methods this thesis aims to further understanding of this under-researched form of abuse. This is significant because increasing attention paid to child sexual abuse in organisational contexts may result in more victims reporting offences by females in positions of trust. Moreover, without empirical understanding of this type of abuse there is a risk that victims will not receive the specific support they need and perpetrators will not be responded to appropriately or receive suitable treatment.

This research stems from my professional experience as a senior safeguarding casework manager which highlighted the problems that arise when early indicators of concern in relationships between female adults in a position of trust and children in their care are not appropriately recognised or responded to, as well as the harm that can be caused by this type of abuse. The driving focus for this work, therefore, was the development of understanding of how this abuse occurs in organisations and what can be learned in terms of practical solutions and prevention measures which can be implemented to make a difference in reducing its occurrence in future.

Existing responses to child sexual abuse continue to focus on misperceptions of the abuse only resulting from the actions of pre-disposed offenders determined to access children to harm. This has led to pre-employment vetting being over-

emphasised as the solution to the problem. Arguably there also needs to be a shift in policy focus towards primary and secondary prevention, which requires new research priorities examining how, and under what circumstances, child sexual abuse first occurs (Smallbone, Marshall & Wortley, 2008, p.49). The setting in which abuse occurs is fundamental to understanding and preventing the problem (Smallbone & McKillop, 2016) and empirical understanding of child sexual abuse in organisations is critical for guiding prevention efforts (Leclerc, Feakes & Cale, 2015). This thesis explores the issue of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts by primarily focussing on the situations and environments in which it occurs, how it is perpetrated and the way relationship dynamics, context and culture influence abusive behaviour.

Ford (2006, p.105) identified three levels of female child sexual abuse prevention:

1) Raise awareness that women do abuse and that the impact on victims can be as harmful as being abused by a male;
2) Identify high risk groups and offer support, and
3) Intervene once known to prevent further victimisation and offer appropriate specialised support to victims.

However, these suggestions focus on secondary and tertiary prevention measures, and therefore, to develop primary approaches we also need to:

4) Understand how women perpetrate this abuse (in organisational settings) and use this knowledge to develop primary prevention measures.

This research addresses these key prevention opportunities.

The aim of the research is to develop wider understanding about women who sexually abuse children in organisational contexts, the impacts of this type of abuse and the responses to it. The research also aims to educate those involved in employing women in positions of trust as well as other professionals, parents and carers to improve responses and outcomes for victims.

As an initial exploration of this phenomenon, a further aim of this thesis is to focus attention upon and conceptually understand this abuse in its own right, rather than constitute a wholly comparative piece against male-perpetrated abuse. The thesis does include references to work relating to male offenders, however, this is simply a

reflection of the fact that the vast majority of previous research has been undertaken with men rather than a broader attempt to provide an overall comparison between male and female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts.

Overall, the research objectives are to:

- Contribute to the on-going development of empirically-based theory into female sexual abusers, which is still in its infancy, and in turn the development of empirically-validated risk assessment tools as those developed for male offenders are not appropriate (Gannon & Cortoni, 2010);

- Increase awareness among carers and practitioners to be alert to this particular type of abuse in the same way as that perpetrated by males;

- Influence operational safeguarding policies and procedures at organisational, local and national level to include relevant steps to address identified areas of risk relating to female abusers;

- Assist in informing treatment and support services for victims as well as the development of more informed responses to female perpetrators (including treatment where relevant).

The specific research questions relating to these objectives and arising from the review of the existing literature are detailed at the end of Chapter Three on page 74.

1.3   Contribution to knowledge

In addressing the research aims and objectives, this thesis makes a valuable and original contribution to knowledge by being the only international study to empirically examine this issue. The study involves a large sample and extensive analysis of the phenomenon, analysing 92 variables and categories. It offers an important contribution to theoretical understanding of this type of sexual offending and practical approaches to it.

Theoretically, this thesis:

- Applies a situational crime prevention approach to female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts for the first time;

- Presents a categorisation of women who abuse in this way that takes account of the offence process and situational factors omitted by previous female sex offender typologies (developed only through examination of perpetrator and victim characteristics and demographics);

- Examines the offence process of female abusers by also including situational and environmental factors largely omitted by the Descriptive Model of Female Sexual Offending (DMFSO) (Gannon, Rose & Ward, 2008); the only comprehensive existing theory and model for women who sexually abuse.

Practically the findings of the research:

- Describe the offence processes and situational and contextual factors involved in the perpetration of this type of abuse providing an important empirical basis on which future action can be taken;

- Suggest practical prevention measures which can be implemented by employers, organisations, families and carers, in order to reduce the occurrence of such abuse in the future;

- Describe the impacts of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts on victims (and others) providing important evidence on which support systems for victims and survivors can be developed.

1.4   Concepts and Definitions

A full list of definitions, concepts and abbreviations used in this thesis can be found in the glossary and list of abbreviations, however, the key terms used are outlined here.

The term 'children and young people' is used throughout this thesis. Definitions of 'child' and 'young person' are inconsistent or lacking in the literature. For example, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) defines 'child' as being anyone who has not yet reached their 18th birthday yet the same organisation also defines 'youth' or 'young person' as being those aged 15-24 (United Nations A/36/215, 1981). Here 'young person' or 'young people' refers to adolescents under the age of 18.

It is considered preferable to include 'young people' within the terminology used. Doing so acknowledges the relative maturity and agency of those adolescents in comparison to younger children. This use also reflects the right of participation for young people enshrined in the United Nations Convention on the Right of the Child (1989). Use of this terminology is also most relevant given this type of abuse appears to be particularly evident among adolescent victims.

Although there is general agreement on the definition of 'child sexual abuse', succinct and accurate definitions have been lacking (NSPCC, 2013). The English government definition is used here, which defines 'child sexual abuse' as that which:

> *Involves forcing or enticing a child or young person to take part in sexual activities, not necessarily involving a high level of violence, whether or not the child is aware of what is happening. The activities may involve physical contact, including assault by penetration (for example, rape or oral sex) or non-penetrative acts such as masturbation, kissing, rubbing and touching outside of clothing. They may also include non-contact activities, such as involving children in looking at, or in the production of, sexual images, watching sexual activities, encouraging children to behave in sexually inappropriate ways, or grooming a child in preparation for abuse (including via the internet). Sexual abuse is not solely perpetrated by adult males. Women can also commit acts of sexual abuse, as can other children* (HM Government, 2015, p.93).

This definition is used here as it is considered the most comprehensive and descriptive of those in the jurisdictions included in this research. It includes the wide range of behaviours that can constitute child sexual abuse and takes account of the fact the behaviour need not be forceful or violent in nature. Nor does the definition require the behaviour to associated with the sexual gratification of the perpetrator or

others. The definition is also explicit in making reference to the reality of female perpetration.

Child sexual abuse in organisational contexts refers to abuse that is perpetrated by an adult working with children, either in a paid or volunteer capacity (Erooga, 2012). 'Organisational contexts' are defined as institutional and agency environments involving the care and supervision of children and young people. This includes schools, colleges, churches, residential homes, care facilities, youth clubs, local authority child protection departments, hospitals, sports clubs, nurseries etc. (This is not an exhaustive list). The distinction made here is that the arrangement for care and supervision of children is more formal, rather than within the context of familial or friendship relationships, such as babysitting. The use of 'context' in addition to 'organisational', provides for those situations where there are opportunities for children and adults to interact outside of the physical organisational environment but within the context of their relationship established in the organisation, e.g. during day trips from residential care, at school or youth group sports events or at school leaving parties.

A 'position of trust' is a role where an adult has power or authority in a child's life and may have a key influence on their future, by the nature of their role within an organisation. An adult is considered to be in a position of trust if they care for, advise, train or have sole charge of a child in the community on a one-to-one basis because of a court order (Safe Network, 2015). The law on sexual offences in the UK (Sexual Offences Act 2003) defines specific roles and settings which apply to positions of trust, and the term covers a large range of professionals including teachers, medical staff, youth workers, care staff etc. (Again, this is not an exhaustive list). However, currently some significant roles working or volunteering with children are not covered by existing legislation (NSPCC, 2015). This includes sports club coaches, armed forces cadet leaders, independent tutors and music teachers. The scope of those considered as being in positions of trust in this research is extended beyond the legal definition to include those additional roles and others like them. This is because adults in such positions have the opportunity for one-to-one contact and to develop closer relationships with children by virtue of those roles and the current legal definition is considered too restrictive.

The terms 'abuser', 'perpetrator' and 'offender' are used interchangeably throughout the thesis to refer to women who have sexually abused others (mostly

children but the context of the use makes clear when this refers to women who have abused adults or where the victims are not defined).

There has been some debate over the use of the terms 'victim' and 'survivor' when describing those who have been sexually harmed. The traditional use of 'victim' has been criticised as portraying the individual as dependent and helpless, with inherent victim-blaming conations (Walker, 1984). Consequently, feminist theorists have advocated the use of the term 'survivor' as it recognises individual agency and is seen to be more empowering (Kelly, 1988). The literature is somewhat inconsistent in the use of the two terms, however, generally 'victim' is typically used in sexual offending research and used almost exclusively in the criminal justice system, while 'survivor' is increasingly seen in studies of adults who were abused as children or in therapeutic work. Given the dominance of the former in the literature referred to in this study, and the general tendency to refer to children as 'victims' of sexual abuse (especially where the abuse is more contemporaneous), this term is used here also.

1.5   Thesis Structure and Outline

This thesis comprises thirteen chapters. This chapter is followed by two chapters reviewing the literature to date, and subsequently the methodology and methods employed in this study. Thereafter, seven empirical chapters describe the research findings leading to a chapter identifying potential prevention opportunities and a final concluding chapter.

Chapter Two reviews the literature around the prevalence of female sexual offending and organisational child sexual abuse and discusses what is known about perpetrator and victim characteristics as well as the aetiology of female sexual offending and typical modus operandi. The chapter also reviews how female-perpetrated sexual abuse is responded to and addresses attitudes towards female offending and female sexuality, revealing a culture of denial about this type of abuse. It then outlines the theoretical understanding of female sexual offending to date and goes on to examine our limited understanding of the impact of female-perpetrated abuse upon children. The chapter closes by discussing the sparse literature to date around women who abuse children whilst in positions of trust.

In Chapter Three, the literature around child sexual abuse in organisational contexts is reviewed, identifying how this almost exclusively addresses male-perpetrated abuse. Victim and perpetrator characteristics and modus operandi are discussed then the results of existing studies examining the impact of organisational abuse are considered. The influence of organisational culture and perceptions of 'statutory sex crime relationships' (Hines & Finkelhor, 2007) are then appraised, the impact of gender upon these perceptions becoming apparent. The key theories explaining child sexual abuse and situational approaches to criminology used in the study are then evaluated. The chapter concludes by identifying the gaps in the literature, leading to the formulation of the research questions this thesis addresses.

Chapter Four describes the methodology underpinning the study and the methods employed in conducting the empirical work. It discusses the mixed-methods approach taken, describing the research strategy, design, data and specific qualitative and quantitative content analysis methods employed. The chapter concludes by discussing ethical considerations and reflects on method strengths and limitations.

Chapter Five provides some contextual basis on which the research topic is developed. It provides an overview of statistical data obtained from open access sources and Freedom of Information requests made to professional regulatory bodies in the UK. It goes on to present findings from the first element of the study around conviction rates and sentencing outcomes for female and male child sexual offenders and those who abuse whilst working in positions of trust. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the mixed findings, which suggest that manifestations of both chivalry and double deviancy theories remain evident in criminal justice outcomes.

Chapter Six presents findings regarding the characteristics of perpetrators and victims, comparing these to those found in the existing literature on female sexual offenders and organisational abusers.

Chapter Seven describes the findings regarding risk factors and vulnerabilities identified in female perpetrators and victims, contributing to understanding how and why this abuse occurs. It presents a theoretical categorisation of women who sexually abuse children in organisational contexts, reflecting their heterogeneity and differences in their motivations, vulnerabilities and behaviours leading to sexual abuse. This categorisation is discussed in light of the existing typologies of female sex offenders and characteristics of organisational abusers.

Chapter Eight focuses on the offence process and modus operandi identified in the research sample, examining the pre-offence, offence and post-offence stages of the abuse and analysing how an official adult-child relationship becomes an abusive one. The different offence processes identified are exemplified with reference to case examples and the findings are compared with other female sex offender pathways (Gannon, Rose & Ward, 2008) and the Ecological Process Model of Female Sexual Offending (DeCou, Cole, Rowland, Kaplan & Lynch, 2015).

Chapter Nine presents the study findings regarding responses to disclosures and reports of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts. It describes the responses of parents and guardians, employers and organisations, child protection services, criminal justice systems and professional regulators. The chapter also discusses how the women themselves respond when the abuse is discovered or disclosed, and reviews common mitigation and explanations provided.

Chapter 10 examines the responses of victims themselves at the time and in the immediate aftermath of the abuse and goes on to present the findings about short- and long-term impacts. It also explores the wider impacts of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts on friends, family, colleagues, organisations and wider communities. The findings are compared with those of other studies examining the impact of female-perpetrated and organisational child sexual abuse. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the role of gender and context on the impact experienced by victims.

Chapter 11 focuses on the situational, environmental, contextual and socio-economic factors in which this abuse occurs. It examines the extent to which these factors can be considered facilitative, or preventative, in the development of sexually abusive relationships between women in positions of trust and children in their care. The limited actions of employers, colleagues, parents/guardians and other bystanders in intervening when indicators of concern become apparent are discussed, along with potential reasons for these failures. The chapter closes by synthesising the findings regarding situational and contextual factors identified in an adapted version of the Situational Prevention Model for child sexual abuse (Kaufman, Mosher, Carter & Estes, 2006).

Chapter 12 draws on the empirical findings described in the preceding chapters and discusses the specific opportunities for prevention they have identified. It reflects on key strategies proposed in a situational crime prevention approach to child sexual abuse and uses these to discuss the situational risk factors identified in organisational contexts pertaining to female-perpetrated abuse. Suggested practical prevention measures are summarised in a table at the end of the chapter.

As the concluding chapter, Chapter 13 draws together the study findings and discusses them with regard to the aims, objectives and research questions. The chapter also summarises the key implications for practitioners and policy makers and outlines suggestions for future research. The thesis closes by considering the key contributions to knowledge arising from this research.

Chapter Two: Female Sexual Offending

2.1 Introduction

There are three key areas of existing academic literature and research relevant to this study. Firstly, literature on female sex offending; secondly, research and literature concerning child sexual abuse and finally, the literature around organisational and institutional child abuse. This chapter and the following one examine the existing knowledge around female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts within the wider literature around these key areas.

This chapter reviews the literature on prevalence and discusses what is known about perpetrator and victim characteristics. It also explores findings on the aetiology of female sexual offending and considers typical modus operandi. The influence of gender and sex script theories are also discussed in examining how this type of abuse is perceived and responded to. The chapter reflects on the little-known impacts of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse and discusses the sparse literature to date on women who abuse while working in positions of trust.

Although female sexual offending against children is far from a new phenomenon it has received minimal interest compared to that perpetrated by males. Academic, as well as public, interest in women who sexually offend does appear to be increasing, however, and there has been a growing number of worthy studies undertaken over the last two decades; nonetheless, the empirical research base remains relatively sparse.

2.2 The Extent of Female Sexual Offending

Assessing the true prevalence of female sexual offending, and female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in particular, is problematic for a number of reasons, which include definitional differences and data collection weaknesses (Stemple, Flores & Meyer, 2017; Vandiver & Walker, 2002). Prevalence rates tend to reduce depending on where in the system they are obtained from and they tend to increase when the data arises from victim studies (Hislop, 1999). Data does not always reflect sufficient detail to isolate the age of the victim or the context in which the abuse occurred. Furthermore, there is a perceived problem of significant under-reporting of this type of abuse, partly due to victim disclosure reluctance exacerbated by the responses of professionals and

within the criminal justice system (Denov, 2004b; Saradjian, 2010; Vandiver & Walker, 2002).

2.2.1 Prevalence of female sexual offending

Recently studies indicate that female-perpetrated sexual violence is more common than previously understood (Cortoni, Babchishin & Rat, 2016; Stemple et al., 2017). Estimates of the actual number of women who sexually offend vary over the years of research and are dependent on the view of the researcher or author as well as the geographical location, population sampled and time period in which the data is collected. Research based on population or victimisation studies in particular, show much higher levels of alleged abuse than official statistics suggest. For example, when examining US national victimisation survey data Stemple and colleagues (2017) observed that lone female offenders were reported in 28% of rape and sexual assault incidents on men and 4% on women. Perhaps the most comprehensive and reliable overall estimate results from a recent international meta-analysis which found that in victimisation studies women were reported to have been responsible for 11.6% of sexual offences, whereas at the same time they constituted only 2.2% of those reported to police (Cortoni et al., 2016). This indicates that around 1 in 9 sexual offences are committed by women.

2.2.2 Prevalence of child sexual offending by females

Conservative estimates suggest that women account for 5 to 10% of all sexual abuse against children (Bunting, 2005; Freel, 1998; Gannon & Cortoni, 2010). However, the Lucy Faithfull Foundation, a UK child protection charity, has estimated that up to 20% of suspected paedophiles in the UK are women (Townsend & Syal, 2009) and McLeod's (2015) study of substantiated child sexual abuse cases reported to child protection services in the US found that women were the main perpetrators in 1 in 5 (20.2%) cases, although the majority of those were mothers.

It appears that reporting of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse may be increasing. For example, between 2004 and 2009 a UK charity saw an increase of 132 per cent in the number of children counselled by a telephone support service in respect of sexual abuse by a woman (NSPCC, 2010).

Interestingly, and somewhat worryingly, the estimates and reporting rates identified above are far removed from official data reflective of what is happening in the

criminal justice system. For example, according to official police data, female offenders constituted only 1.7% of all those recorded as receiving cautions and convictions for child sexual offences (excluding incest) in England and Wales between 2006 and 2016 (Ministry of Justice, 2016). These official statistics will be discussed in more detail later in this thesis, in Chapter Five.

2.2.3 Prevalence of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations

Ascertaining even estimated prevalence rates for female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts is even more challenging. The same data limitations discussed above apply and are compounded by the fact that typically the relationship between victim and offender is not routinely recorded in criminal justice or child protection systems.

Research by the NSPCC (2011) in the UK, found that 5.3% (n= 101) of victims reporting maltreatment by non-resident adults reported sexual abuse. For the most part these perpetrators included those in official positions of trust (e.g. teachers, babysitters, youth leaders) but also included neighbours and family friends. Unfortunately, no data is provided to determine how many women were involved. The findings from more recent research found that 15% of suspected perpetrators of child sexual abuse in schools in England and Wales were teachers or other staff, but, again, no breakdown of gender is provided (Ross, 2016).

Previous estimates that do identify gender suggest that 5 to 31% of female-perpetrated sexual abuse against children is perpetrated in an organisational setting, primarily whilst babysitting, but also including abuse by nurses, teachers, scout leaders, foster parents and the clergy (Hunt, 2006). Babysitters and day care providers have been considered to be the most prolific of females who abuse in organisational settings with teachers featuring as one of the next most frequent (Elliot, 1994; Hunt, 2006; Kaufman, Wallace, Johnson & Reeder, 1995; Whetsell-Mitchell & Morse, 1998).

Shakeshaft's (2004) review of educator sexual abuse estimated that between 4 and 43% of educator abusers were women and concluded that female educator abuser rates are higher than in the general population of sexual abusers. Two other more recent studies in Canada found around 8 and 9% of sexually abusive teachers to be female (Jaffe et al., 2013; Mototsune, 2015) and a study in the US found a much higher

rate, with female teachers constituting more than a quarter (26%) of the sample (Ratliff & Watson, 2014).

More recent data from national inquiries into child sexual abuse and institutions indicate between 9 and 11% of abusers are women. The Australian Royal Commission reported that 10.7% of victims were abused by females (although this figure includes both adult female perpetrators and female children with harmful sexual behaviours) (Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse, 2017a). Data arising from the UK Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse shows similar results in that the percentage of female versus male suspects referred to police has remained consistently around 9% and that almost 90% of those suspects, both male and female, abused within organisational contexts (National Police Chiefs' Council, 2017b). McLeod′s (2015) study of child protection services data also found an even higher rate, where women were responsible for 19% of child sexual abuse perpetrated whilst in positions of professional trust. In other words almost 1 in 5 of professionals abusing children in their care were female.

It is not possible to determine how many of the female sexual offenders captured in the UK police statistics cited above committed their offences whilst in positions of trust, given the police do not consistently record the victim/perpetrator relationship. However, data regarding the specific sexual offence category of 'Abuse of Position of Trust' (as defined by the Sexual Offences Amendment Act 2003) is available. These offences relate to sexual activity with young people aged 16 or 17 where the offender is in a legally defined 'position of trust' in respect of that young person. In that regard, official data reports that women constituted 11.9% of all those receiving cautions and convictions for such offences in England and Wales between 2006 and 2016 (Ministry of Justice, 2016), a notably higher proportion than found in rates of female child sex offenders more generally.

2.3   The Extent of Male Perpetrated Sexual Abuse in Organisations

As the data above and extensive previous research shows, the majority of reported child sexual abuse is perpetrated by men and the vast majority of studies into institutional and organisational abuse have focussed on male offenders also. However, again, estimates of the prevalence and extent of organisational child sexual abuse perpetrated by men are also difficult to obtain and mired by definitional differences (Smallbone & McKillop, 2016; Wolfe, Jaffe, Jette & Poisson, 2003).

Despite increasing attention on organisational child abuse over the past two decades and calls for further research and better prevention initiatives to address this widespread issue (Spröber, Schneider, Rassenhofer, Seitz, Libehart, Konig & Fegert, 2014; Wolfe et al., 2003) very little is actually known about the incidence and prevalence nor the impacts of this specific type of abuse (Blakemore, Herbert, Arney & Parkinson, 2017; Gallagher, 2000; Spröber et al., 2014; Wolfe et al., 2003).

Gallagher's (2000) seminal study in the UK found that institutional child sexual abuse accounted for 3% of referrals made to child protection services and 2% made to police at that time. A decade later, six per cent of child support service calls in the UK reported allegations of sexual abuse by a person in a position of trust (NSPCC, 2010) and a subsequent victimisation study found that 5.3% of victims who reported maltreatment by non-resident adults reported sexual abuse by an adult in a position of trust (although this did include babysitters and other informal carers) (NSPCC, 2011). Shakeshaft's (2004) review of educator sexual misconduct in the US again estimated a higher rate of adult perpetrators of sexual abuse in education, reporting that 9.6% of school students experience sexual abuse by an education professional.

In summary, estimates suggest around 5 to 6% of all child sexual abuse is perpetrated by adults in positions of trust, most of them male (NSPCC, 2010, 2011; Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse, 2017). Definitive prevalence rates of female-perpetrated sexual offending cannot be discerned from the extant literature. Suggested proportions of women sexually abusing children range from 5 to 20% (Bunting, 2005; Freel, 1998; Gannon & Cortoni, 2010; McLeod, 2015; Townsend & Syal, 2009), and between 9 and 20% of women sexually abusing children in organisational contexts (McLeod, 2015; National Police Chiefs' Council, 2017; Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse, 2017b). This suggests that women account for between 1 in 5 and 1 in 20 child sexual abusers. Rates and estimates vary according to a range of factors around: sampling; definitional variations; data recording and data availability, and are consistently believed to be under-reported. Samples studied to date have also included significant proportions of intra-familial abusers, female children and young girls with harmful sexual behaviour and those who perpetrate the abuse alongside male offenders.

Although estimated numbers of female child sexual offenders may appear low in comparison to males according to the literature to date, the overall rate of female-

perpetrated abuse still equates to a potentially large number of victims, particularly given there is a widespread belief that this type of offending is significantly under-reported and taken less seriously by professionals than that perpetrated by males (Bunting, 2005; Denov, 2004a; Dunbar, 1999; Saradjian, 2010). As an illustration Allen (1991) estimated that 1.5 million females and 1.6 million males in the US may have been the victims of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse.

2.4 Culture of Denial

We must address the existence and uniqueness of female sexual offenders in our criminal justice systems, direct mental health practices, and through mechanisms of social policy development. Failure to adopt this empirical evidence of female involvement in child sexual abuse perpetration has significant implications for the health, safety, and well-being of our nation's children. (McLeod, 2015 p.108)

The assumed under-reporting of female-perpetrated sexual offending has been linked to an apparent reluctance on behalf of the public and professionals to accept the reality that women can and do sexually abuse (Bunting, 2007; Denov, 2004a; Saradjian, 2010). Denov (2004a) describes this as a 'culture of denial' due to the social construction of women and sexual role stereotypes, which results in widespread denial and minimisation. Views that sexual abuse by a female is less harmful, women who do it are psychologically damaged and not in control of their own behaviour or coerced by male partners, are held not only by the public but also by professionals with contact with children (Clements, Dawson & Das Nair, 2014).

Inaccurate perceptions of female offenders result from cognitive reconstructions which aim to consolidate sexually abusive behaviour with traditional stereotypes of women (Elliott & Bailey, 2014). Female child sexual offenders challenge traditional gender roles dictated by hegemonic masculinity and femininity (Hayes & Baker, 2014). Theories of 'double deviancy' (Heidensohn, 1985), 'selective chivalry' and 'evil woman thesis' (Chesney Lind, 1977) point to female offenders being considered to have transgressed both social norms; by offending, and gender norms; by not behaving appropriately as a women, wife or mother for example (Carlen, 1998; Embry & Lyons, 2012; Heidensohn & Gelsthorpe, 2007). The alternative view of 'chivalry theory' (Pollak, 1950) supposes that due to a protective and patriarchal view of women, those who unexpectedly commit crimes such as child abuse tend to be 'medicalised' or

'psychologised', ultimately ensuring that the crime committed is exonerated or minimised (Daly, 1989; Embry & Lyons, 2012; Heidensohn & Gelsthorpe, 2007). Gartner (2005) also argues a double standard exists in current society about adult-child sexuality; how we look at male children being involved in sexual activity with female adults is very different to how we look at the situation when it's a female child and male adult for example. Stennis (2006) argues that male victims of female teachers are not equally protected in the USA because of a lack of equitable judicial enforcement and a lack of uniformity of gender-neutral laws. Although few differences have been identified in the offence severity and impact on victims of abuse by male and female offenders, there is an enduring perception that female-perpetrated abuse is less harmful (Elliott & Bailey, 2014). Male victims in particular are seen by the public to be significantly less harmed (Frketic & Easteal, 2010; Mackelprang & Becker, 2015). Elliott and Bailey (2014) refer to this vicious cycle of public and professional minimisation of female-perpetrated abuse, which in turn underestimates the reality of such abuse and then simply maintains the minimisation.

Studies into professional perceptions of female sexual offenders have included the views and responses of psychiatrists, police officers, social workers and probation workers (Clements et al., 2014; Denov, 2001, 2004b; Gakhal & Brown, 2011; Hetherton & Beardsall, 1997; Kite & Tyson, 2004; Mellor & Deering, 2010; Nelson, 1994; Sandler & Freeman, 2011; Turton, 2010). Denov (2004a) argues that the consequences of this denial, at individual, societal and institutional level, impact social policy and practice. These existing studies have consistently demonstrated a gender bias in favour of female perpetrators on the behalf of key professionals charged with dealing with allegations and management of such cases. There is an increased likelihood for professionals to consider female child sex offenders more leniently than male offenders (Bunting 2005; Denov, 2004b; Hetherton & Beardsall, 1998; Kite & Tyson, 2004; Mellor & Deering, 2010). Despite their inherent roles and assumed better education in matters relating to child sexual abuse these professionals continue to demonstrate the same gender bias as found in studies of the general public, seeing female-perpetrated abuse as less serious, less harmful and less deserving of investigation (Clements et al., 2014). These professional and public opinions are in clear contrast to the perspectives of victims.

2.4.1 Feminist denial

Traditionally, feminists have found the problem of female sexual abuse of children difficult to discuss objectively, only going so far as to recognise its existence but rationalising it in the context of patriarchal oppression (Young 1993). The feminist model has tended to view only men as sexually abusive and only women/girls as victims, thereby contributing to the lack of recognition of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse (Allen, 1991; Brayford, 2012; Finkelhor, 1984; Hislop, 1999).

'The lone female who sexually abuses children appears to undermine the foundation of feminist theory' (Brayford, 2012, p.221). Brayford (2012) proffers that feminists' reluctance to explore female perpetrated sexual violence lies in the worry this will detract from the greater problem of sexual violence by males. Feminists who argue that sexual abuse is all about the abuse of power are failing to recognise the potential for wider motivating factors and discouraging deeper exploration. Yet Young (1993) argues that just as the feminist movement helped make great advances in child protection so it should help in educating the public about female-perpetrated sexual abuse.

Regardless of which theoretical position is adopted, traditional and cultural sexual scripts can be seen as a barrier to the recognition of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse (Denov, 2003a).

2.5 Perceptions

As discussed above, the existing literature supports the view that professionals can minimise female-perpetrated child sexual abuse which impacts on victims as well as the practical management and outcomes in cases. The beliefs and attitudes held by the public, and those in the social environment of victims and perpetrators, are equally as important and are also likely to have significant consequences on the recognition of this type of abuse, initial identification of abusive behaviours and the handling of disclosures.

According to existing research parents' understanding about child sexual abuse is generally obtained from the media and many believe the greatest risk to their children is posed by strangers when the reality is very different (Babatsikos, 2010). Many parents feel their children are at little or no risk of sexual abuse, attributing this low risk to the level of trust they had in people they associated with and with whom they

would entrust their children (Babatsikos, 2010). Presumably this view extends to formal and informal child-care, education and leisure environments where children spend much of their daily lives under the supervision of other adults. The inherent trust placed in teachers was also demonstrated in a UK poll (Hart, 2010) which found that teachers are the second most trusted profession behind family doctors, with 76% of respondents saying they would 'entirely or mostly' trust teachers to tell the truth. Such attitudes, if combined with evidenced public attitudes to female sexual offenders, enhance the risk of the denial or minimisation of any allegation of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in schools and other organisations. However, the findings discussed above relate to studies done internationally between 1994 and 2010 and may not necessarily be representative of current attitudes. The situation may be different today due to the increasing political and media attention paid to child sexual abuse, and institutional abuse in particular, over the last decade.

The media portrayal of female-perpetrated sexual abuse, through the particular use of tone, language and style, contributes to the notion of 'pariah femininities' (Schippers, 2007) and influences how it is perceived and responded to (Allsop, 2014; Barlow & Lynes, 2015; Hayes & Baker 2014; Hayes & Carpenter, 2013). A study of media representations found female child sexual offenders were primarily represented as doubly deviant (Allsop, 2014). The overwhelming majority of British and Australian media articles examined in another 2014 study portrayed female offenders in such a way as to 'draw them back into gender hegemony' (Hayes & Baker 2014, p.5); sensationalising, romanticising and minimising the abuse, representing the women as nurturers.

It is argued that gender roles in society are changing; moving away from traditional scripts towards more egalitarianism in gender roles (Christensen, 2017; Fine-Davis, 2016). Christensen (2017) found there are indications of more gender egalitarian media discourses and that rather than medicalising and romanticising female offenders contemporary Western media reports more often reflected their perceived accountability and dangerousness than seen previously. The irrelevance of gender was also a key theme influencing these perceptions of accountability, often found in reported comments on gender parity in sexual offending made by judges. Christensen (2017) argues this suggests the potential of a newer discourse on female sex offenders and one which may change public perception over time.

There is very limited discussion in the literature of public and professional perceptions of women who sexually offend against children in organisations specifically. A few studies have explored gender impacts on public perceptions of teacher-student sexual abuse; all finding a gender bias in favour of female teachers, who were viewed less seriously and less punitively (Frketic & Easteal, 2010; Geddes, Tyson & McGreal, 2012; Mackelprang & Becker, 2015). Attributions made by the public regarding teacher-student sexual relationships were consistent with traditional role gender stereotypes (Geddes et al., 2012), sexual abuse was less likely to be constructed as rape if the perpetrator was female and there were perceptual differences held with regard to culpability and harm when the offender was female (Frketic & Easteal, 2010; Mackelprang & Becker, 2015). Participants favoured lower bail amounts, less incarceration and less time on the sex offenders register for female sex offenders than male offenders (and were even more favourable when the female offender was deemed attractive) (Mackelprang & Becker, 2015). When Gakhal and Brown's (2011) study compared public and student responses to general female sex offenders with those of professionals (probation officers) they found that the public and student participants held significantly less positive attitudes towards women who sexually offended compared to the professionals in their sample. This is an interesting but concerning finding when considered in light of the results of studies reflecting clear professional biases towards female sexual offenders discussed earlier.

The literature to date provides evidence of the dominant influence of traditional sexual scripts and gender stereotypes in public and professional perception of, and responses to, female-perpetrated child sexual abuse. Such views reflect and can be explained by way of various gender and sex script theories, including double deviancy and pariah femininities on the one hand, and chivalry theory and hegemonic femininity on the other. These perceptions are held to be dominant in public and political discourses of female sexual offending, influenced by, and reflected in, the contemporary media. In some areas there appears to be a slight shift towards gender egalitarianism but the research base remains limited to date.

What limited evidence that currently exists with regard to perceptions of women who sexually abuse children in organisational contexts arises from a few studies on teacher-pupil sexual relationships. Although these studies reflect similar views of these abusers as other female sexual offenders the evidence is very limited and conducted on very specific samples in small geographical locations leaving questions about their general representativeness. A further gap in the literature lies in the fact that while

several studies to date have examined wider professional responses to female-perpetrated abuse, none have explored the perceptions and responses of employers, managers, teachers, childcare workers and other staff working in organisations; the very people in the environments where a significant degree of this abuse occurs and who would be most likely to identify early indicators of concern or be required to respond to initial allegations of female-perpetrated abuse.

2.6   Female Sexual Offenders

2.6.1   Theories and models of understanding

Although there has been a gradually increasing amount of research on female sex offenders over the last thirty years there are only three gender-specific theories and models developed from female sex offender samples: the Descriptive Model of Female Sex Offending (DMFSO) (Gannon, Rose & Ward, 2008); the Ecological Process Model of Female Sex Offending (EPMFSO) (DeCou et al., 2015) and the crime scene behaviour model for female sex offending (Almond, McManus, Giles & Houston, 2015). All three were developed in the last ten years after existing sex offender theories, developed from male offender samples, were considered to be unsuitable for use with women.

Prior to these models, theoretical considerations of female sexual offenders were limited to the numerous typologies that had been developed (Faller, 1987; Finkelhor & Williams, 1988; Mathews, Matthews & Speltz, 1989; Matravers, 2008), most based on very small clinical or forensic samples without statistical confirmation. Those that were empirically derived from larger samples within the criminal justice system (Sandler & Freeman, 2007; Vandiver & Kercher, 2004) focus on the use of descriptive demographic information (Harris, 2010). Harris (2010) suggests four areas of convergence among existing typologies: women who abuse adolescent boys; women who abuse their own or other young children; women who co-offend with males and women who abuse or coerce other adults. The group with the most apparent relevance to this study is the women who abuse unrelated male adolescents. They have been referred to in existing typologies as: *teacher/lover* (Mathews et al., 1989); *heterosexual nurturer* (Vandiver & Kercher, 2004); *adolescent abusers* (Faller, 1987) and *criminally limited hebephiles* (Sandler & Freeman, 2007).

These various typologies are generally descriptive in nature, focusing on perpetrator and victim characteristics and none of the typology-generating studies to

date have included more than minimal, if any, women who abuse in professional positions of trust. Therefore no existing typologies appear particularly suitable for the categorisation of the women examined in this research.

In contrast to these earlier typologies the DMFSO offers a micro-level theory developed by examining offence chains and outlines the three phases of the offending process; the pre-offence, offence and post-offence periods (Harris, 2010). It is a comprehensive model, expanding previous understanding of female sex offending. However, it has some limitations in that it was developed on a small sample of offenders, and although it has since been revalidated in a further study (Gannon, Waugh, Taylor, Blanchette, O'Connor, Blake & Ó Ciardha, 2014) the overall sample numbers remain low. The model was also developed to guide the treatment process for female offenders and while evidently beneficial in offering assistance in this hitherto neglected area, it is also limited in its consideration of situational and environmental factors. It also lacks some context-specific features of offending identified as important in male sex offender theories (Smallbone et al., 2008; Ward & Siegert 2002; Ward & Beech 2005, 2017) and relevant to this study of abuse occurring in organisational environments specifically.

DeCou et al. (2015) addressed this weakness to some extent, extending the DMFSO by also considering the ecological factors at play in female sex offending, based on the theory of ecological layers (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). This model has some strengths with regard to the research undertaken in this study, given the fact it was developed on a sample of child sexual offenders almost exclusively and that it offers some interesting insights into social system level factors such as child-adult boundaries and how and why female sex offenders develop relationships with their victims. However, the model was developed solely from the narratives of a small sample of female offenders, obtained from short interviews (apparently offering limited opportunity for a comprehensive exploration of offender accounts) and the data does not appear to have been validated by triangulation with other sources. Overall the EPMFSO offers a description of limited research findings rather than significantly contributing to a more fully developed theory of female sex offending.

Arguing that models such as the DMFSO are informative from a clinical perspective but have limited use in investigations, Almond et al. (2015) recently turned their attention to the crime scene behaviours of female sex offenders and developed the first model exploring these. It is a multivariate model designed as an investigative

tool for profiling women who sexually harm. The model reflects three dominant themes identified in the modus operandi of female sex offenders in individual offences: *control*, *involvement* and *hostility* and the research found that 'involvement' behaviours (where the offence centres on intimacy and social context) were the most dominant demonstrated by female sex offenders (52%) and that the majority of those who behaved in this way offended against a student or child they had a care-giving role for. The model has some relevance to the research undertaken in this study given the sample used in its development included women who had abused children almost exclusively, the majority were extra-familial offenders and offended alone. It also offers some contribution to the detection and investigation of female sex offending. However, there are some weaknesses in the suggested framework. Firstly, the authors used multiple offences by the same offenders within the analysis, which would potentially have introduced bias in the outcomes, with the behaviours of those women who offended more frequently being over-represented in the identified themes. Secondly, with regard to this research more specifically, the model examines only the crime scene itself and neglects the pre- and post-offence phases as well as socio-ecological, situational and environmental factors which are likely to contribute to offending behaviour and in that regard diminishes its relevance in seeking to understand organisational abuse more fully and in addressing the key research questions here.

2.7   Methods to Date

Research to date has been hindered by difficulties in accessing relevant populations and receiving permission to work with female abusers or their victims (Johansson-Love & Fremouw, 2004). Methodologically, this means the subject has primarily been addressed in two distinct ways: through qualitative analysis of interviews with small clinical samples of female abusers and quantitatively by means of case file analysis of large samples of convicted populations. The majority of existing research has been undertaken in the UK and North America and, as discussed above, there has been a general emphasis on examining the characteristics of perpetrators and victims. The literature lacks consideration of wider geographical samples and of non-convicted populations. By primarily including criminal justice system and clinical samples the results of existing studies potentially reflect only the most serious cases, and obviously only abuse that has been formally reported. Qualitative research on small samples has no doubt produced rich and valuable individual case accounts but has lacked the ability to provide more generalisable findings able to be used for more robust comparative studies. The large forensic studies on the other hand whilst addressing wider

applicability have been too large to allow detailed investigation of the more nuanced integrated elements of motivation, offence process and situational contextual factors which come together in female sexual offending behaviour.

2.8 Female Sexual Offenders: Characteristics and Aetiology of Offending

The existing literature does tend to agree on a number of common characteristics of female sexual offenders: that most are aged between 26 and 36 years old at the time of first offence (Colson, Boyer, Baumstarck & Loundou, 2013; Faller,1995; Gannon & Rose, 2008; Vandiver & Kercher 2004); most are white (Faller, 1987; Gannon & Rose, 2008; Lewis & Stanley, 2000; Vandiver & Kercher, 2004); most fall into the low and middle range in terms of socio-economic status (Danvin, 1999; Hislop, 1999; Lewis & Stanley, 2000; Mathews et al., 1989; Nathan & Ward, 2001); many lack social skills, have low self-esteem (Danvin, 1999; Darling & Antonopoulos, 2013; Hislop, 2001; Saradjian, 1996; Williams, Gillespie, Elliott & Eldridge, 2017) and experience difficulty in relationships (Darling & Antonopoulos, 2013; Ford, 2006; Gannon & Rose, 2008; Gigeure & Bumby, 2007; Green & Kaplan, 1994; Hislop, 2001; Nathan & Ward, 2002; Saradjian, 1996). At first consideration, some of these identified characteristics are not those that might normally be associated with female professionals such as those to be examined in this study.

Other typical vulnerabilities of female sex offenders identified in the literature are: insecure attachment style (Lewis & Stanley, 2000; Mathews et al.,1989; Nathan & Ward, 2001); social exclusion or social isolation (Lewis & Stanley, 2000; Mathews et al., 1989; Nathan & Ward, 2001; Williams et al., 2017); loneliness and emotional loneliness (Hislop, 2001; Saradjian, 1996; Williams et al., 2017); intimacy deficits (Gannon et al., 2008; Grayston & De Luca, 1999; Nathan & Ward, 2001; Williams et al., 2017) and emotional instability (Lewis & Stanley, 2000; Mathews et al.,1989; Nathan & Ward, 2001). Female sex offenders have also frequently been found to have: histories of sexual victimisation (Colson et al., 2013; Gigeure & Bumby, 2007; Levenson, Willis & Prescott, 2015); backgrounds characterised by other childhood abuse, victimisation, family violence and instability (Colson et al., 2013; Gigeure & Bumby, 2007; Green & Kaplan, 1994; Levenson et al., 2015; Wijkman, Bijleveld & Hendriks, 2011; Williams et al., 2017) and victimisation through adult sexual, physical or domestic abuse (Gannon et al., 2008; Wijkman, Bijleveld & Hendriks, 2010).

The literature reflects contradictory findings in a number of areas including: rates of lone offending and co-offending; the severity of the abuse perpetrated and the use of violence and victim gender selection (Hunt 2006). Some studies have found substance misuse to be a particular problem among female sex offenders (Allen, 1991; Faller, 1995; Gannon et al., 2008; Gigeure & Bumby, 2007; Strickland, 2008; Wijkman et al., 2010; Williams et al., 2017) whilst others have found lower rates of alcohol or drug abuse (Colson et al., 2013; Gannon et al., 2008; Lewis & Stanley, 2000). Existing studies also reflect differing findings about mental health and psychiatric problems among the women in their samples. Some report high rates of mental health difficulties (Faller, 1987, 1995; Gannon & Rose, 2008; Gigeure & Bumby, 2007; Green & Kaplan, 1994; Lewis & Stanley 2000; Wijkman et al., 2010; Williams et al., 2017) and others found mental health issues among female sex offenders to reflect similar rates found in other offender populations (Colson et al., 2013; Fazel, Sjostedt, Grann & Langstrom, 2010).

Gannon et al. (2008) summarised the key vulnerability factors evident in females who have abused children in particular as being: mental health problems; cognition and empathy; deviant sexual interest; intimacy and social deficits; dependency issues and emotional self-management problems. A number of these vulnerabilities are also common to male sex offenders. According to the extant literature female sex offenders have a number of features in common with male offenders, these include: abusive and chaotic backgrounds; poor coping skills, relationship difficulties, cognitive distortions and victim empathy deficits (Allen, 1991; Gannon & Rose, 2008; Gigeure & Bumby, 2007; Grayston & De Luca, 1999; Mathews et al., 1989; Nathan & Ward, 2002). However, they have been found to differ in that female offenders are more likely to have sexual victimisation histories, to co-offend and to offend in the context of care-giving situations (Davin, Hislop & Dunbar, 1999; Faller, 1995; Grayston & De Luca, 1999; Nathan & Ward, 2001; Vandiver & Walker, 2002).

2.9 Victim Characteristics

2.9.1 Victim gender

Previous study findings differ on the preferred gender of victims of female sex offenders, and those who abuse children in particular. Colson et al.'s (2013) meta-analysis determined rates of 60% offending against male victims compared with 40% female, with numerous individual studies finding a preference for male victims (Finkelhor & Russell,1984; Fromuth & Conn, 1997; Ramsey-Klawsnik, 1990; Williams &

Brierie, 2015)**.** Other studies found that victims are more likely to be female (Elliott, 1994; Faller, 1995; Mathews et al., 1989) and one psychiatric sample of sex offenders found women more frequently had victims of both genders than men (West, Friedman & Kim, 2011). It is likely the different findings here are influenced by sample selection. Some commentators conclude that female sex offenders are less discriminating as to the gender of their victims than male offenders (Johansson-Love & Fremouw, 2009; Williams & Brierie, 2015) and that this is influenced more by accessibility and opportunity than by specific preference (Faller, 1995; Colson et al., 2013; Vandiver & Walker, 2002; Williams & Brierie, 2015). Indeed, previous studies have also found victims are more likely to be close family members (Colson et al., 2013; Faller, 1995; Lewis & Stanley, 2000; Vandiver & Kercher, 2004; Vandiver & Walker, 2002; Williams & Brierie, 2015).

Existing data on the victim preferences of women who abuse in organisational contexts is very limited but where available shows a tendency to abuse boys more than girls. More than 80 per cent of victims of female teachers in one study were male (Mototsune, 2015) and in another a slight majority (57.2%) of adult female abusers had male victims (Moulden et al., 2007).

2.9.2 Victim age

In their meta-analysis Colson et al., (2013) concluded they could not determine a typical victim age for female offenders due to lack of standardisation in the data collection since age of majority varies from country to country. Some individual studies have found that most victims of female offenders tend to be young and pre-pubescent (Faller, 1987*;* Vandiver & Walker, 2002) whilst others have found pubescent or post-pubescent victims to be more typical (Gillespie, Williams, Elliott, Eldridge, Ashfield & Beech, 2015; Ratliff & Watson, 2014; Vandiver & Kercher, 2004). These findings are no doubt influenced again by the nature of samples used. For example, those samples dominated by maternal abusers find younger victims (Williams & Brierie, 2015) and those considering female teachers find older victims to be more common (Mototsune, 2015). Also samples often include a large proportion of co-offending women, typically mothers who abuse their own, often, young children along with a male co-perpetrator. A recent study comparing solo and co-offending female sexual abusers found that most victims of solo perpetrators were pubescent or post-pubescent (Gillespie et al., 2015).

Again, existing findings regarding preferred age of victims among women who abuse in organisational contexts are limited and appear to be dependent on the organisations studied. Studies in day care and childcare organisations have found female offenders more likely to abuse pre-pubescent children (Finkelhor & Browne, 1988; Moulden et al., 2007) but this is likely to be related to the nature of these environments and the higher likelihood that care would be provided to younger children. Solo female sex offenders in a range of authoritative positions of trust were more likely to abuse male victims who were older than solo offenders not in professional positions of trust (ten Bensel, Gibbs & Burkey, 2016). Interestingly, the few studies that included samples of female teachers have all found victims to be pubescent or post-pubescent (Mototsune, 2015; Ratliff & Watson, 2014; Stranger, 2015). Ratliff and Watson's (2014) study found that female teachers were more likely to commit offences against older students (aged 13 and over) and male teachers more likely to abuse those 12 years or younger.

2.10 Modus Operandi

Despite exploration of aetiological factors and perpetrator and victim characteristics, for the most part there has been very limited consideration to date of how female sexual offenders perpetrate their abusive acts. The DMFSO and Gannon et al.'s (2010) subsequent pathways to offending model were the first attempts to document the patterns in women's sexually abusive behaviour based on empirical findings. Notwithstanding the common misconception that most female child sex offenders co-offend or are coerced, supported by some studies (Gigeure & Bumby, 2007; Grayston & De Luca, 1999), the majority of research to date has found that most women actually offend alone (Denov, 2001; Kaufman et al., 1995; Johansson-Love & Fremouw, 2004; Lewis & Stanley, 2000; Mathews et al., 1989; Nathan & Ward, 2001; Vandiver, 2006). In fact, Colson et al.'s (2013) meta-analysis identified that two-thirds (66.7%) of women offended alone. Previous studies have indicated that female child sex offenders are less likely to use violence, abuse for shorter durations and less frequently than male offenders (Jennings, 1993; Matthews, 1993). However, in terms of the sexual acts carried out, female offenders sexually abuse in all the ways males do, except they use objects instead of a penis for penetration (Bunting, 2007; Faller, 1995; Kaufman et al., 1995; Saradjian, 1996).

The vast majority of female child sex offenders appear to use persuasion rather than physical violence or force to coerce their victims or prevent disclosure (Jennings,

1993; Kaufman et al., 1995; Matthews, 1993; Saradjian, 1996). Saradjian (1996) found this was true in her sample of females who targeted adolescents, explaining they were more likely to use bribery, coercion, fear of abandonment and attribution of responsibility to the child. Kaufman et al. (1995) also found that women were more likely to use exploitation while men were more likely to use bribes (material goods) in coercing their victims. However, the use of emotional manipulation rather than violence has also been found to be typical in the grooming behaviours of both women and men who sexually abuse children in organisational contexts (Darling & Antonopoulos, 2013; Gallagher, 1998; Jaffe et al., 2013; Knoll, 2010; Shakeshaft, 2004; Sullivan & Beech, 2004).

Women who abuse children in organisational environments have also typically ingratiated themselves into the victim's peer group and held sexualised discussions with the victim and others in the workplace (Darling 2013; Darling & Antonopoulos, 2013). In common with male offenders in organisations, female abusers often meet the victim(s) outside of the organisational environment; taking them away on trips, allowing them to visit them at home and even allowing them to stay overnight (Darling 2013; Darling & Antonopoulos, 2013; Erooga, Allnock & Telford, 2012; Kaufman et al. 1995; Sullivan & Beech, 2004). More recently the use of technology has been typical in the grooming and perpetration of child sexual abuse in organisational contexts (Darling 2013; Darling & Antonopoulos, 2013; Erooga et al., 2012; Jaffe et al., 2013; Mototsune, 2015).

2.11 Responses to Female-Perpetrated Child Sexual Abuse

A review of the very limited existing literature with regard to the employment and criminal justice outcomes and consequences for female child sexual offenders once the abuse is disclosed, reveals some interesting findings. As referred to earlier in this chapter, cultural and social perceptions of female offenders are influential in how this type of abuse is responded to. It was evident in Clements et al.'s (2014) review that professional responses were relatively homogenous and indicated a view that official involvement is less appropriate in cases involving women, including interventions by social services, police investigation, prosecution and the judiciary.

2.11.1 Employment outcomes

There is currently very little comprehensive information available about the employment consequences for women who abuse in organisational contexts. Most studies concerning those who abuse in organisations have few or no female offenders

included in their samples. Even where they do, the findings regarding employer outcomes are not reported, or in the rare instances they are, they are not broken down by gender so it is not possible to determine outcomes in relation to female abusers specifically (Erooga et al., 2012; Jaffe et al., 2013; Shakeshaft, 2004). One study reported that female teachers were much more likely to have their teaching licence revoked by their professional regulator than male teachers (90.5% compared to 64.4%) (Mototsune, 2015) and another found 60% of women who abused 16 and 17-year-olds in organisational contexts were dismissed by their employers, with most of the rest resigning from their posts (Darling, 2013). However, both of these findings result from studies with very small samples of female abusers providing limited insight into employment consequences.

2.11.2 Child protection services outcomes

Interviews with professionals in one study suggested that female perpetrators of child sexual abuse are more likely to be dealt with through health and child protection services rather than criminal justice systems (Bunting, 2005) but data regarding the ultimate outcomes for female abusers involved with child protection services is rarely available. Nonetheless, one recent comprehensive study of gender disparity in the treatment of male and female sex offenders by child protection services found women were given more counselling and support for mental health, substance abuse, family and economic issues than men, and the authors concluded gendered pathways exist in child welfare systems (McLeod & Craft, 2015). Most of the women in Mathews et al.'s (1989) study of female sex offenders had their children put into care or voluntarily adopted but the majority of the sample were maternal offenders, thereby impacting the results.

2.11.3 Police outcomes

Official figures for convictions and cautions indicate that relatively small numbers of females enter the criminal justice system for child sex offences and that of those that do, few convictions result. In addition to these potential prejudices a number of further factors have been considered to influence the prosecution of female child sex offenders, including: legal technicalities; insufficient evidence; incompetent witnesses; limited resources in prosecutors' offices; withdrawal of parental/victim cooperation and concern about the trauma to child witnesses (Finkelhor, Burns, Williams & Kalinowski, 1988). A study in the UK also identified that a lack of suitable risk assessment tools for female sex offenders was found to impact on the downgrading of risk and effective

management of female child sex offenders in the community (Bunting, 2005). This minimisation in risk assessments resulted in child protection implications not being sufficiently addressed and post-release licences for female offfenders not being as stringent.

An issue also exists regarding victim disclosures of sexual abuse by adults in positions of trust, with allegations being ignored or disbelieved and which have been shown in some studies not to have been reported to police (Shakeshaft, 2004; Sullivan & Beech, 2004). Yet false allegations are rare despite the widespread belief that they are common (Shakeshaft, 2004)

2.11.4 Sentencing outcomes

Studies exploring sentencing outcomes demonstrate that in most cases, women who sexually abuse children are less likely to be arrested, charged or convicted and where they are, they are likely to receive lower sentences than male offenders (Embry & Lyons, 2012; Finkelhor et al., 1988; Sandler & Freeman 2011; Williams & Farrell, 1990). For example, an Australian study found that less than 2% of cases involving this type of abuse which were reported to police resulted in imprisonment, compared to 16.5% for males (Hunt, 2006). Gender has arguably been more influential in sentencing decisions for all types of crime than race, age or ethnicity (Sandler & Freeman, 2011; Wilbanks, 1986). This may be influenced by a paternalistic and stereotypical view of women by those in the criminal justice system (Bunting, 2005; Denov, 2004a). However, the converse has been found in a small number of other studies supporting 'selective chivalry' or 'evil woman' hypotheses, where women were more harshly treated at court (Allen, 1991; Wilbanks, 1986).

Embry and Lyons' (2012) research into sentencing discrepancies between male and female sex offenders in the US supported the chivalry thesis and they found that judges were more apt to consider extra-legal circumstances in sentencing decisions for women (e.g. child care, health). However, the sentencing decisions in that research related to the period between 1994 and 2004 and more contemporary findings are not available.

Other previous studies have also shown that female childcare workers are less likely to be prosecuted (Finkelhor et al., 1988; Williams & Farrell, 1990). Indeed Williams and Farrell (1990) argued gender offence stereotyping was operational in

legal decision-making in cases of child sexual abuse in day care. It remains to be seen whether this situation continues today given heightened public awareness of institutional child sexual abuse and legal challenges on gender bias in sentencing. There have been a number of high profile challenges to the perceived lenient sentencing of female sex offenders in childcare positions in the last few years. For example, the Ellis case in Australia (*DPP v Ellis*, 2005) and the Salisbury and Berriman cases (*R v Caroline Jane Salisbury,* 2015; The Telegraph, 17 November 2015) in the UK have all resulted in increased sentences following successful challenges to the respective appeal courts. These outcomes may potentially indicate a more serious and determinative consideration of child sexual offences perpetrated by women in positions of trust by the courts and perhaps better recognition of the extent of harm such abuse can cause victims.

In summary, it is evident in the current literature that female sex offenders generally receive more lenient outcomes in criminal justice and child protection systems. However, although there are some studies examining theoretical responses to women who abuse in organisational contexts, there are virtually none that provide empirical data on the actual responses to such cases and outcomes in criminal justice and child protection systems nor the professional consequences following child sexual abuse.

2.12 The Impact of Female-Perpetrated Child Sexual Abuse

There has been considerable research literature generated to date about the consequences of child sexual abuse on victims. However, this is predominantly based on studies conducted with victims of male offenders and there remains a dearth of research regarding the consequences for victims of female perpetrators (Denov, 2004b). Furthermore, existing research into female sex offenders has neglected victims' perspectives, which Denov (2004b) argues are of critical importance to understanding the nature and impact of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse.

Those pieces of research that have concentrated on, or at least included, samples of victims of female-perpetrated sexual abuse have been biased towards victims of maternal, or other intra-familial abuse as well as clinical or criminological populations (Kelly, Wood, Gonzalez, MacDonald & Waterman, 2002; Krug, 1989; Ogilvie & Daniluk, 1995; Peter, 2006, 2008). Therefore their applicability in understanding the impacts of sexual abuse perpetrated by women in organisational contexts is questionable. It might be supposed that the particular circumstances of

intra-familial abuse (being probably the greatest abuse of a child's trust) might then cause even more severe consequences than for extra-familial victims, or more specifically those abused by women in organisational contexts. However, this remains speculation as no studies have been found to date, which explore the consequences for victims of this type of abuse.

Even attaining a clearer understanding of the impacts and consequences of wider female-perpetrated child sexual abuse is subject to a number of limitations. Populations studied in research to date have not been random samples thereby impacting on true understanding of the extent and nature of harm suffered by victims (Hislop, 2001). Samples have also often included both victims of childhood sexual abuse as well as those victimised by women as adults, making it difficult to extract specific findings with regard to child sexual abuse. A further difficulty in attempting to understand the specific impacts of female-perpetrated sexual abuse lies in the difficulty of separating out those consequences more directly relating to this specific type of victimisation from other types of abuse or negative life experiences victims may have suffered (Sgroi & Sargent, 1993).

Notwithstanding these aforementioned limitations there remains a range of consequences consistently identified in studies undertaken with victims who have experienced sexual abuse by a female. These impacts will be discussed below. However, first it must be noted that discord exists in the literature surrounding the extent of harm experienced when the abuser is a female compared to a male.

Back in the mid-1980's Browne and Finkelhor's (1986) review concluded that sexual abuse by a woman was less disturbing than by a man and victims of female abusers displayed fewer symptoms. Other studies have also found lower levels of harm claimed to have been experienced by adults, predominantly male, who experienced sexual abuse by females in childhood (Deering & Mellor, 2011; Ogilvie & Daniluk, 1995). There is some debate around the issue of subjective assessment of harm with a number of commentators speculating that male responses to victimhood may be influenced by cultural disinclinations to view their experiences as abusive, or to talk about any harms suffered (Ford, 2006; Hislop, 2001; Saradjian, 2010). Research that identifies harm to victims based on their subjective opinions may limit identification of behavioural problems (Hislop, 2001) and in their work some researchers have found that clear behavioural issues were present in those victims sexually abused by females, but who claimed not to have been harmed by the experience (Denov 2004b;

Harris & Mayba, 2017). For example, Harris and Mayba's (2017) study reporting the experiences of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse among adult male sex offenders found a dominant theme to be the confusion these offenders felt about the harm caused to them. Most were reluctant to identify themselves as victims and almost none of the participants identified the abuse as harmful at the time, but years later (and for some after significant therapy) they were able to recognise it as being potentially damaging. Initial perceptions of abuse experiences have also been found to be unreliable predictors of later outcomes in life (Fromuth & Burkhart, 1989; Kelly, et al., 2002).

Not all victims in previous studies reported negative impacts, some described confusion experiencing a mixture of positive and negative emotions (Clements et al., 2014; Hislop, 2001). Some argue that the literature reflecting more trauma from victimisation by a female offender over-represents the situation given that cases where little or no trauma is caused are less likely to be reported and therefore feature in samples (Bunting, 2005). Male victims in particular are more likely not to view the sexual contact as abusive, especially if it happens in adolescence (Bunting, 2005; Clements et al., 2014). However, such responses have been associated with the cultural inclination for males to mask negative trauma reactions (Hislop, 2001). It is also important to consider the impact of increasing public awareness of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse as well as recognising the extent of historical abuses. More victims are coming forward and speaking out about this type of abuse, which may in turn impact on other victims' recognition of the behaviour they experienced as being abusive.

In contrast to the findings suggesting lesser harm, a number of studies have found victims experience similar harms regardless of the gender of their abuser (Dube, Anda, Whitfield, Brown, Felitti, Dong & Giles, 2005; Johnson & Shrier, 1987; Lisak, 1994). Some researchers have also indicated their view that the impact of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse may in fact be more harmful than that of male-perpetrated abuse (Denov, 2004b; Saradjian, 1996). Victims who have been abused by both males and females have reported that the abuse by the woman was more harmful and detrimental (Denov, 2004b; Sgroi & Sargent, 1993; Wakefield & Underwager, 1998). For example, in Denov's (2004b) study a number of men experienced particular humiliation because their abuser was a woman leaving them questioning their masculinity.

Regardless of the debate over whether male or female-perpetrated abuse might be more harmful, research has found that female-perpetrated child sexual abuse can have very negative effects on victims (Denov, 2004b; Dube et al., 2005; Ramsey-Klawsnik, 1990; Saradjian, 1996). Dube and colleagues (2005) reported that female-perpetrated child sexual abuse increased the risk of negative behavioural and social outcomes for male victims in particular. They found the long-term consequences for victims of male and female perpetrators were similar with regard to alcohol problems and depression, but victims of female perpetrators were more likely to suffer family problems in adulthood and have used drugs at some point in their lives. Victims were, however, less likely to experience marriage problems or to have attempted suicide if they were sexually abused by a woman as opposed to a man.

Although it is certainly not the case that all victims of child sexual abuse go on to become abusers themselves, some studies have found high frequencies of sexual abuse by a female in childhood in the histories of male sex offenders and rapists (Burgess, Hazelwood, Rokous, Hartman, & Burgess,1988; Groth & Burgess, 1979; Hislop, 2001; Saradjian, 2010). In another study males who had been sexually coerced by women were found to be more likely to have committed sexual offences and to have higher levels of violence in their intimate adult relationships (Duncan & Williams, 1998). However, interestingly the same study found no such long-term effects in males who had earlier non-coercive sexual contact with older females.

Clements and colleagues' (2014) recent systematic review summarised the extent of impacts resulting from female-perpetrated child sexual abuse and these are summarised in Table 1 (original studies reflecting the findings are included in the references for each of the impact factors).

Table 1: Impacts of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse (Clements et al., 2014)

IMPACT	LITERATURE
Interpersonal	
Feelings of betrayal	Hislop, 2001; Ogilvie & Daniluk, 1995; Peter, 2008; Saradjian, 1996; Saradjian, 2010.
Difficulties in forming or maintaining	Deering & Mellor, 2011; Denov, 2004b;

adult relationships	Dube et al., 2005; Hislop, 2001; Krug, 1989; Lawson, 1991; Sgroi & Sargent, 1993.
Family problems	Dube et al., 2005; Rosencrans, 1997.
Mistrust of women	Denov, 2004b; Mitchell & Morse, 1998; Sgroi & Sargent, 1993.
Social isolation	Deering & Mellor, 2011; Saradjian, 2010.
Sexual	
Increased sexual difficulties and sexual discomfort	Denov 2004b; Johnson & Shrier, 1987; Shrier & Johnson, 1988; Hislop, 2001; Mitchell & Morse, 1998; Sgroi & Sargent, 1993.
Confusion over sexuality and sexual identity	Denov, 2004b; Johnson & Shrier 1987; Hislop, 2001; Krug, 1989; Saradjian, 1996, 2010; Sgroi & Sargent, 1993.
Increased promiscuity or problematic sexual behaviour	Deering & Mellor, 2011; Hislop, 2001; Krug, 1989; Ramsey-Klawsnik, 1990; Saradjian, 2010.
Psychological	
Self-hatred and low self-esteem	Deering & Mellor, 2011; Hislop, 2001; Ogilvie & Daniluk, 1995; Peter, 2008; Saradjian, 2010.
Feeling stigmatised, shamed and deserving of further abuse	Hislop, 2001; Ogilvie & Daniluk, 1995; Saradjian, 1996, 2010.
Depression, anxiety and mental health problems	Deering & Mellor, 2011; Denov, 2004b; Dube et al., 2005; Hislop, 2001; Krug,

	1989; Mitchell & Morse, 1998.
Rage, anger and aggression	Denov, 2004b; Kelly et al., 2002; Ramsey-Klawsnik, 1990; Saradjian, 2010.
Self-harm	Denov, 2004b; Saradjian, 2010.
Suicidal ideation or attempts	Deering & Mellor, 2011; Denov, 2004b; Saradjian, 2010.
Feelings of guilt	Hislop, 2001, Saradjian, 2010.
Self-identity problems	Denov 2004b; Ogilvie & Daniluk, 1995; Saradjian, 2010; Sgroi & Sargent, 1993.
Fear of abusing children themselves	Denov, 2004b; Hislop, 2001; Ogilvie & Daniluk, 1995; Sgroi & Sargent, 1993.
Other	
Maladaptive coping (including drug and alcohol abuse)	Denov 2004b; Dube et al., 2005; Hislop, 2001; Krug, 1989; Peter, 2008; Saradjian, 2010.
Sleeping difficulties	Ramsey-Klawsnik, 1990; Saradjian, 2010.
Sexual offending	Burgess et al., 1988; Denov, 2004b; Groth & Burgess, 1979; Harris & Mayba, 2017.

Victim impacts are also understood to be most affective when the perpetrator is related to victim, where the abuse occurred in childhood and where the abuse was

coercive in nature (Kelly et al., 2002; Hislop, 2001). However, it difficult to see how representative such conclusions are, as it is notable that many of the key impact studies to date have addressed maternal abuse rather than extra-familial victimisation. This is likely to influence the relativity of findings to wider victim groups and in particular the impacts for those abused by women in organisational contexts.

A strong argument has also been made that the impact of child sexual abuse by a woman is exacerbated by societal attitudes and responses to it (Denov, 2004b; Saradjian, 2010; Schiedigger, 2008). Victims of this type of abuse have been found to experience a greater sense of desolation and isolation due to the particular silence and lack of recognition of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse by others, including professionals (Hislop, 2001).

In their systematic review, Clements and colleagues (2014) found that professionals' views about the seriousness and impact of female-perpetrated sexual abuse differed from those of victims and that this impacts on the recognition victims experience as well as the level of support they might receive. (Bunting, 2005, 2007; Clements et al., 2014; Denov, 2004b).

In reviewing the literature to date several limitations have been identified impacting on the relevance of existing findings in understanding the specific victim impact of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations. These include sample biases, contradictory findings, the relative neglect of victim perspectives and the influence of cultural attitudes towards female-perpetrated abuse. All of this means there is a significant deficit in current understanding regarding the way in which female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations impacts victims both in the short and long term. Without understanding these impacts more specifically there is a danger that potential victimisation may not be identified early in children, as well as the likelihood of victims not being appropriately supported.

2.13 Female Perpetrators of Child Sexual Abuse in Organisations

It is clear from existing literature into female-perpetrated child sexual abuse that much research has tended to focus on, or demonstrate higher numbers of females who sexually abuse in domestic settings, often against their own, young children, either alone or with a male co-offender.

Chideckel (1935) was one of the earliest to report on women in positions of trust who sexually abused children, including teachers and policewomen who had beaten children for sexual gratification. However, very few studies since have actually examined female sexual abusers in positions of trust specifically or exclusively. Very little existing research has included other positions involved in caring for children beyond teachers and day care workers. Finkelhor et al.'s, (1988) study of sexual abuse in day care included a sample where 36% of abusers were female and over three-quarters of those acted along with other offenders. The study concluded that much abuse in day care settings was opportunistic rather than a result of a specific sexual attraction to young children. This highlighted the role of availability and vulnerability in the victimisation of children in organisational circumstances (Erooga, 2012). In 2003, another study (Freel, 2003) examined sexual interest in children among male and female childcare workers and found that 4% of female participants expressed a sexual interest in children, with 2% admitting they might have sex with a child 'if it was certain no-one would find out and there would be no punishment' (Erooga, 2009, p5). Later, Moulden et al. (2007) studied male and female sex offenders in formal and informal childcare environments with a sample which included juvenile offenders. They found that most of the women offended alone against young children and that all of them were considered to have been sexually motivated. Female offenders were found to be more violent than male offenders in similar circumstances, although fondling was the most frequent type of abusive behaviour demonstrated by women. Much of the female-perpetrated abuse took place at the offender's or victim's home.

Surprisingly, given the mandatory participation in education for children in many countries, limited knowledge exists with regard to child sexual abuse occurring in education and day care in particular, as demonstrated in a recent review of institutional abuse, where only a quarter of the studies related to those settings (Blakemore et al., 2017). A few studies that have considered sexual abuse in education institutions, that perpetrated by teachers in particular (Erooga et al., 2012; Jaffe et al., 2013; Mototsune, 2015; Moulden et al., 2010; Ratliff & Watson, 2014; Shakeshaft, 2004, 2013) have either included only a very small number of female teachers or none at all. The minimal extant literature on educator child sexual abuse mentioning female perpetrators primarily consists of literature reviews (Shakeshaft, 2004; Solis & Benedek, 2014), comment pieces (Elkins, 2014; Knoll, 2010; Stennis, 2006) or high-level descriptive research (Jaffe et al., 2013; Moulden et al., 2010; Ratliff & Watson, 2014) and generally originates in the USA and Canada. Those few studies that have included small numbers of female perpetrators, (Elkins, 2014; Jaffe et al., 2013; Mototsune, 2015;

Ratliff & Watson, 2014) typically report findings focussing on demographic information and beyond that findings are not reported by gender, making it difficult to extract relevant data regarding female perpetrators. In these studies perpetrators have been found to be predominantly male (Jaffe et al, 2013; Mototsune, 2015; Moulden et al., 2010; Shakeshaft, 2004) and victims female (Jaffe et al., 2013; Mototsune, 2015; Shakeshaft, 2004). Perpetrators generally have low rates of psychological or substance abuse issues (Moulden et al., 2010) in comparison to other child sex offenders. The use of violence is rare in educator sexual abuse (Jaffe et al., 2013; Moulden et al., 2010; Shakeshaft, 2004) and abuse tends to occur following considerable grooming through special relationships and electronic communications (Jaffe et al., 2013; Motosune, 2015; Solis & Benedek, 2012) with most abuse taking place in school or online (Jaffe et al., 2013; Moulden et al., 2010). However, given the small proportion of female abusers included in these studies and the failure to report findings by gender it is not known how reflective of female perpetrator behaviour in organisational contexts such findings are.

Only three studies have been identified which have substantively and exclusively examined women who abuse children in organisational contexts. Hunt's (2006) work in Australia primarily involved a review of existing studies into female-perpetrated child sexual abuse and focussed on trying to determine prevalence of female-perpetrated abuse in organisations. The only empirical work it included was the collection and discussion of statistical data obtained from the Australian criminal justice system but there was insufficient information to reach a conclusion about prevalence. Hunt examined other international studies and suggested that between 5 and 31% of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse takes place in organisational settings.

More recently two postgraduate theses based on case studies have focussed on women who sexually abused in organisations (Darling, 2013; Stranger, 2015). One examined the abuse of 16 and 17 year old adolescents by women in positions of trust in the UK (Darling, 2013) finding that some of the factors of aetiological significance in these women were common to those found in female sex offenders and female child sexual offenders in general, such as unstable lifestyles, low self-esteem, relationship difficulties and emotional self-management problems. Differences related to lower levels of substance abuse, a higher age range and socio-economic status, less prevalence of severe social skills deficits and to some extent chaotic and abusive backgrounds in this subject group. Where there were differences, they appear to be explained in part by the specific employment type, suitability factors for those employed

in this type of work and the specific typology characteristics of those who abuse adolescents rather than wider sample groups covered in other research. Motivations appear to have been primarily driven by intimacy needs rather than any particular sexual deviancy and abusers tended to explain their behaviour as resulting from a genuine romantic and emotional relationship with the adolescent. Most failed to recognise or accept the impact of the position of trust and all demonstrated a range of cognitive distortions contributing to the occurrence of the abuse in the first place and its continuation The women in that study displayed a number of similarities found in other studies of men who abused children in the course of their work (e.g. Colton & Vanstone, 1996; Sullivan & Beech, 2004) such as being older, having higher IQs, having fewer problematic personal experiences in their own backgrounds and less previous convictions (sexual and non-sexual). Like these male perpetrators the women in that study demonstrated high levels of emotional over-identification with children, and generally lower levels of distorted sexual attitudes and empathy distortions.

The other recent empirical study was an exploration of female teachers in the US who sexually offended against students (Stranger, 2015). This was a psychology thesis, concentrating on mental health issues and adverse childhood experiences. The study found: lower rates of the offender's own child sexual abuse victimisation than other female sex offender samples; similar rates of substance abuse and mental health issues, and that mental health, especially bipolar disorder may play a role in this offending; similar cognitive distortions; the use of similar grooming methods to male educators and that the women were similar to other male educator abusers in being high achievers in their careers. However, given that this study involved a sample of only five cases the ability to draw conclusions in comparison to other female offenders abusing in organisational contexts is very limited.

The other contributions to the literature regarding women who abuse in organisational contexts have been literature reviews (Shakeshaft, 2004; Solis & Benedek, 2014) or comment pieces (Knoll, 2010; Reid, 2011; Stennis, 2006) only. They have generally discussed the lack of uniformity in gender sentencing laws, lenient sentencing of female teachers and the cultural minimisation of female-perpetrated abuse of male adolescents in particular.

The few empirical studies that have been done which included female perpetrators in the samples describe offender and victim characteristics but provide very little detail on the offending process and risk factors relating to female offenders.

Ratliff and Watson's (2014) study of public school teachers who sexually offended against children had a sample where over a quarter of the offenders were female. The study compared data across gender and found that women were more likely to commit offences against older students (aged 13 and over) and males more likely to abuse those 12 years or younger. Although there was no real difference across genders in the grade level (elementary, middle and high school) the teachers working in at the time of the abuse there was a significant difference in ways male and female teachers were caught and prosecuted. While males were more likely to be caught by victim disclosure; school administration discovery or 'police sting', females were more likely caught as a result of reports by other students or the victim's own parents or guardians. This finding suggests that victims may be less likely to disclose such abuse when the teacher is female (although this could also be influenced by cultural expectations and the reluctance of male adolescents in particular to report their experiences as 'abusive') and that school administrators may be less alert to inappropriate behaviour by female teachers.

In Jaffe et al.'s (2013) research just over nine per cent (n=10) of the sample of Canadian teachers were female but they offer no breakdown of data relating to gender, therefore specific findings with regard to female teachers cannot be ascertained. Mototsune (2015) expanded on that earlier study and 8% per cent (n=24) of the sample in her research were women. They had a mean age of 31.4 years and two-thirds had offended in secondary schools. Most women offended against one victim (72.3%). On average there were five years between the teacher qualifying and the onset of her sexual offending and the average offending period was 19.7 months. The study found that female teachers were more likely to abuse in their own or the victims home (although 42% abused in schools) and electronic communication was a facilitator in the abuse in three-quarters of cases. Over seventy per cent of cases involved intrusive sexual behaviour (vaginal/anal intercourse or oral sex). Female teachers were more likely to have their teaching licence revoked but less likely to be convicted or imprisoned than male teachers.

Existing studies involving female perpetrators of organisational child sexual abuse have focussed on different elements, meaning effective comparison across and between them is limited and the ability to build a comprehensive picture of commonalities of this type of abuse is difficult. Where limited, cross study comparisons can be made, female teachers have been found to: abuse older students (Darling & Antonopoulos, 2013; Ratliff & Watson, 2014; Stranger, 2015); typically be aged in their

early to mid-thirties (Darling & Antonopoulos, 2013; Mototsune, 2015); abuse a sole victim (Darling & Antonopoulos, 2013; Mototsune, 2015); often have mental health issues (Darling & Antonopoulos, 2013; Stranger, 2015) and are high achievers in their career (Darling & Antonopoulos, 2013; Stranger, 2015).

Overall, then there is very little empirically-based understanding of women who sexually abuse children in other professional roles in organisational contexts. The lack of research into this specific field is somewhat surprising given that childcare provision is considered to be the second most common context for female-perpetrated child sexual abuse (Faller, 1987) and a number of authors and researchers have called for more research into this field (Bunting, 2005; Hunt, 2006; Proeve, Malvaso & Delfabrro, 2017; Sullivan et al., 2002, 2004). This is a fundamental gap in knowledge that this research aims to address.

Having reviewed the existing literature concerning female sexual offenders and female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts the following chapter will examine the key features, strengths and limitations of the wider literature around child sexual abuse in organisational contexts.

Chapter Three: Child Sexual Abuse in Organisations

3.1   Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on child sexual abuse in organisational contexts. It discusses victim and perpetrator characteristics and identified modus operandi and goes on to consider the known impacts of organisational child sexual abuse and the influence of organisational culture on the perpetration of abuse and responses to it. Theories on sexual offending and situational crime prevention are introduced and gaps in knowledge with regard to this specific type of abuse are identified. The chapter concludes by stating the specific research questions in light of the findings of the literature review described in this chapter and the preceding one.

3.2   Child Sexual Abuse in Organisational Contexts

The concept of institutional child abuse as a named social problem did not exist until the 1970s (Daly, 2017). A survey of the extant literature around organisational child sexual abuse since that time reveals that many studies have concerned abuse within religious organisations, particularly the Catholic Church, and have focussed on the long-term impacts for victims and survivors of non-recent abuse (Böhm, Zollner, Fegert & Liebhardt, 2014; Firestone, Moulden & Wexler, 2009; Parkinson, Oates & Jayakody, 2010; Spröber et al., 2014; Terry & Ackerman, 2008). Prior to 2000 the limited research that existed in the area focussed on narrow groups of children such as looked after children and children with disabilities and much of the knowledge at that time also resulted from case studies and official reports, making it difficult to generalise findings (Gallagher, 2000). National inquiries into child abuse in churches undertaken to date have emphasised the need for a wider focus on organisational safety and on the opportunities for unmonitored contact between children and adults in positions of trust (Radford, Richardson Foster, Barter & Stanley, 2017).

A recent report by the Australian Royal Commission Inquiry into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse found that the majority of abuse reported occurred in institutions run by religious bodies (58.1%) followed by government-run institutions and non-government, non-religious institutions. More specifically, abuse took place most often in out-of-home environments, schools and during religious activities (Australian Royal Commission, 2017a). An interim report from the UK Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse (2017) indicates that the majority of reported organisational abuse here took place in schools (28%) and welfare institutions (16%) and was perpetrated by

educational or teaching staff (22%) and the clergy or other church-affiliated staff (18%). So, despite the relative sexual abuse occurring in a range of organisations research efforts to date have predominantly been directed towards religious institutions.

3.2.1 Victim and perpetrator characteristics

Gallagher's (2000) seminal study found that although institutional child sexual abuse constituted a small number of all child protection referrals made at that time, they reflected a large number of victims. Perpetrators were found to be almost exclusively male (there were only three women in the sample) and were most commonly foster carers, teachers, social workers or music tutors with the largest group of offenders being aged 40-49 years old. A high proportion (43%) of victims had special needs (particularly learning difficulties or challenging behaviour) and/or had previously experienced maltreatment (most often in the domestic environment). It should be noted that although this is a well-cited and relatively large sample (n=65) the findings related to abuse occurring over 25 years ago. Therefore care must be taken in interpreting the relevance of those findings to what is happening in organisations today. Also, given the very small number of women included it offers little insight into female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations.

Gallagher's (2000) study also indicated that institutional child sexual abuse shared characteristics with intra-familial abuse (with most perpetrators being male and abusing alone and most victims being female) but also found important differences; particularly with regard to the number of male victims and the extent to which abusers target vulnerable victims and use a range of entrapment techniques. A later review also found there were few differences between abusers who offend in professional/institutional contexts and other extra-familial abusers, the only exception being less evidence of antisocial characteristics in professional/institutional perpetrators (Proeve et al., 2016).

Most cases of institutional abuse concern a single victim (Erooga et al., 2012; Gallagher, 2000; Proeve et al., 2016) and victims are generally older at the onset of abuse than found in other forms of child sexual abuse (Blakemore et al., 2017; Gallagher, 2000). In educational settings, the majority of victims have so far been found to be female (Proeve et al., 2016) and in religious institutions the majority are male (Spröber et al., 2014). Again, these findings represent outcomes from studies primarily examining male perpetrators. Several studies concur that perpetrators who abuse

children in the course of their work tend to be better educated, less antisocial and have less documented criminality in their backgrounds (Sullivan et al., 2002; Proeve et al., 2016; Turner et al., 2014).

The findings from the Australian Royal Commission (2017) show that on average victims were 10.4 years old at the onset of the abuse, most experienced multiple episodes of abuse and more than half (55.7%) of victims had experienced penetrative abuse. However, again, the findings from this inquiry appear to be based on the testimony of mostly older adults (aged 40 or over), therefore relating to abuse occurring more than 25 years ago.

Leclerc, Feakes and Cale (2015) reviewed the three main bodies of empirical research into sex offenders working in youth-serving organisations (Erooga et al., 2012; Leclerc & Cale, 2015; Leclerc, Proulx & McKibben, 2005; Sullivan and Beech, 2004; Sullivan et al., 2011) and identified a number of key findings: offenders who abuse in organisations generally have a high number of victims; are less likely to have any previous sexual convictions and are likely to have long offending histories before they are caught.

Attempting to recognise gender issues in organisational abuse, in their recent review Kaufman and Erooga (2016) noted some commonalities between male and female perpetrators. Similarities were identified as: perpetrators being older and better educated, with higher IQs; fewer reported adverse childhood experiences than child sexual abuse offenders in other settings; limited use of alcohol in the perpetration of abuse; power and authority was used to facilitate the abuse and both commit similar sexually abusive acts upon their victims. Proeve et al. (2016) also identified that both male and female offenders appear to exhibit poor self-esteem and social skills, leading to loneliness and difficulty forming lasting intimate relationships. However, these comparisons and conclusions are drawn from very limited evidence regarding female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations and should be regarded with some caution. The differences identified in the review were reflective of general differences between male and female sex offenders rather than those who specifically abuse in organisational contexts.

There are no existing empirically-based typologies specifically describing those who sexually abuse in organisational contexts (Proeve et al., 2016) although Doran and Brannan (1996) suggested two main types of institutional abusers can be

identified; one is the charismatic, caring professional who is articulate, well-respected and often involved in organisational leadership, the other is a dutiful, but generally isolated, staff member who takes on extra duties and is overly helpful to colleagues and children in their care.

While some existing research indicates that abusers with a specific sexual interest in children use organisations as a way to access and perpetrate abuse (Faller 1987; Sullivan & Beech, 2002) other studies have found that some perpetrators have no known predisposition or motivation to abuse prior to working in organisational contexts (Darling & Antonopoulos, 2013; Erooga et al., 2012a, 2012; Finkelhor et al., 1988). It is argued that it is probably much more common for abuse-related motivations and behaviours to arise within the course of the individual's involvement in the child or youth-serving setting (Erooga et al., 2012; Finkelhor et al., 1988; Smallbone & McKillop, 2016; Smallbone & Wortley, 2000). These contradictory findings with regard to why organisational child sexual abuse occurs and the motivations of different perpetrators emphasise the need for both protection and prevention systems within organisations where adults work with children (Erooga, 2012). No existing research has examined this issue with regard to female perpetrators in organisational settings leaving important questions unanswered about the motivations and modus operandi of these women.

3.2.2   Modus operandi

Perpetrators who abuse in organisational contexts have been found to use a range of non-coercive strategies (Erooga et al., 2012a, 2012; Leclerc et al., 2005; Proeve et al., 2016). They give extra attention, privilege and rewards to children to gain trust and use discussion of sexual matters and gradual normalisation of sexual activity to encourage the child's cooperation. When selecting victims these offenders tend to target children who demonstrated some existing sexual awareness or understanding and often those who were emotionally vulnerable. These offenders use the trust-based relationship with victims in order to prevent disclosure (Erooga et al., 2012; Leclerc & Cale, 2015; Leclerc et al., 2005; Sullivan & Beech, 2002, 2004; Sullivan et al., 2011). A typical method of abuse among organisational perpetrators is taking children away on trips or overnight excursions (Erooga et al., 2012; IICSA, 2017; Lerclerc et al., 2015; Sullivan & Beech, 2004).

3.2.3 'Professional Perpetrators'

Associated with the body of literature on organisational abuse there has also been some research into male 'professional perpetrators' (Sullivan & Beech, 2002) i.e. those who use the organisations within which they work to target and abuse children (Colton & Vanstone, 1996; Erooga et al., 2012; Kaufman et al., 2006; Leclerc & Cale, 2015; Leclerc et al., 2005; Leclerc et al., 2015; Sullivan & Beech, 2002, 2004; Sullivan et al., 2010). Several of these studies have used offender-based research (with male offenders) to develop situational crime prevention approaches to child sexual abuse in organisations. Prior to this work actions to address the problem of organisational sexual abuse had primarily concentrated on imposing external controls on abusers while neglecting options to better understand the characteristics of this specific type of abuser and the nature of their behaviour (Sullivan et al., 2002). Again, no previous research has been undertaken with women who abuse in organisational contexts in this regard.

Sullivan and Beech's (2004) study compared demographic data relating to male non-work-based (intra- and extra-familial) sexual abusers and professional perpetrators. These professional perpetrators were less likely to be in adult sexual relationships or have children of their own (although this may have been influenced by the clergy/church bias of the sample). Most perpetrators reported several different areas of contact with children with some moving to the voluntary sector to continue abusing after being discovered committing abuse in their professional posts. Just over 40 per cent also admitted they had a reputation among children for sexually inappropriate behaviour. Sullivan and Beech (2004) suggest this indicates that if children were aware then perhaps adults were also. Sullivan et al.'s (2011) later study found that professionals were three times more likely to offend against post-pubescent children and had significantly higher levels of reported sexual pre-occupation and emotional over-identification with children as well as significantly lower levels of distorted sexual attitudes about their victims. However, they also had significantly higher levels of victim-blaming attitudes than the other groups but along with the intra-familial offenders, professionals held less empathy distortions than the extra-familial abusers.

3.3 The Impact of Organisational Child Sexual Abuse

Accepting the limitations on being able to exclusively identify impacts of abuse discussed in Chapter Two, the findings of previous research suggest that the impacts of institutional child sexual abuse are generally consistent with those found in other types of child sexual abuse (Blakemore et al., 2017) and that institutional abuse is also associated with vicarious trauma for other individuals, families and communities (Blakemore et al., 2017; Kelley, 1994; Wolfe et al., 2006). However, given that institutional abuse generally occurs via the particular exploitation of the power differential between children and adults in positions of trust (Blakemore et al., 2017; Gallagher, 2000) then the impact on victims may be exacerbated as a result.

With respect to the specific impact on victims, organisational abuse has been considered to be qualitatively distinct from other forms of extra-familial abuse in being more severe, longer lasting and more likely to involve multiple perpetrators than other forms of extra-familial abuse (Australian Senate, 2004; Blakemore et al., 2017; Spröber et al., 2014). However, in their recent literature review, Blakemore and colleagues (2017) found that the dynamics and impacts of institutional child sexual abuse may also be more similar to those identified in intra-familial abuse cases than extra-familial cases with regard to the particular dynamics of trust involved in these adult-child relationships. For example, the sense of betrayal and shame experienced in intra-familial abuse is similar to that experienced by victims of sexual abuse perpetrated by teachers, where the pseudo-parental relationship is exploited (Finkelhor & Hashima, 2001). Furthermore, the impacts of institutional abuse may also be exacerbated by the abuse dynamics within organisations which may well prevent the disclosure of such abuse, influence belief in victim disclosures and reduce the support or future protection from harm, experienced by victims (Palmer & Feldman, 2016).

Previous research examining the psychological, social, economic and physical consequences of child sexual abuse perpetrated in organisations has identified wide-ranging short- and longer-term impacts for victims and survivors. However, these existing studies have been based on work almost exclusively with victims who were abused by male adults in positions of trust and have focussed on the long-term consequences reported by adult survivors. Nevertheless, they provide a useful basis from which to compare the findings of this research examining female-perpetrated organisational abuse and are summarised in Table 2.

Mental health difficulties were by far the most common negative impacts of abuse experienced by victims reporting to an interim report of the UK Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse with 82% suffering this type of harm (IICSA, 2017). The next most prevalent impacts reported were relationship problems (41%) and difficulties in education and employment (39%).

Table 2: Impacts of Institutional Child Sexual Abuse

IMPACT	LITERATURE
Interpersonal	
Social and relationship difficulties	Australian Senate, 2004; Faller, 1987; Spröber et al., 2014.
Social isolation	Colton & Vanstone, 1996.
Feelings of betrayal	Finkelhor & Hashima, 2001.
Fear of adults in positions of authority	Bode & Goldman, 2012; Finkelhor & Browne, 1985; Goldman & Bode, 2012; Wolfe et al., 2003.
Sexual	
Sexual problems	Australian Senate, 2004; Burgess et al., 2010; Wolfe et al., 2006.
Psychological	
Psychological/psychiatric impacts	Blakemore et al., 2017; IICSA, 2017; Spröber et al., 2014.
Depression and anxiety	Australian Senate, 2004; Spröber et al., 2014.

Personality and obsessive-compulsive disorders	Spröber et al., 2014.
Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder	Australian Senate, 2004; Spröber et al., 2014; Wolfe et al., 2006.
Suicidal ideation, suicide attempts and self-harm	Australian Senate, 2004; Blakemore et al., 2017; Spröber et al., 2014.
Self-blame, shame	Australian Senate, 2004; Colton & Vanstone, 1996; Finkelhor & Hashima, 2001; Shakeshaft, 2004; Wolfe et al., 2003.
Low self-esteem	Bryant, 1993; Burgess et al., 2010; Colton & Vanstone, 1996; Shakeshaft, 2004.
Anger	Australian Senate, 2004; Colton & Vanstone, 1996; Shakeshaft, 2004; Wolfe et al., 2003.
Other	
Physical health impacts	Australian Senate, 2004; Finkelhor & Browne, 1985; Shakeshaft, 2004; Spröber et al., 2014.
Maladaptive coping (including drug and alcohol abuse)	Australian Senate, 2004; Wolfe et al., 2006.
Criminality	Australian Senate, 2004; Wolfe et al., 2006.
Parenting difficulties	Australian Senate, 2004.

Educational difficulties	Bode & Goldman, 2012; Finkelhor & Browne, 1985; Goldman & Bode, 2012; Wolfe et al., 2003.
Employment and work difficulties	Australian Senate, 2004; Bode & Goldman, 2012; Burgess et al., 2010; Bryant, 1993; Colton & Vanstone, 1996; Shakeshaft, 2004; Wolfe et al., 2006.
Financial detriment	Australian Senate, 2004; Bode & Goldman, 2012; Burgess et al., 2010; Bryant, 1993; Colton & Vanstone, 1996; Shakeshaft, 2004; Wolfe et al., 2006.

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The consequences for victims of sexual abuse in organisational contexts, like those of female-perpetrated sexual abuse, can be extensive and pervasive for victims throughout their lives. It is likely the impacts are exacerbated by the particular and significant breaches of trust and power involved in both contexts as well as the responses of others to any disclosures made. The importance society places on those in positions of trust and in women in primary care roles are also likely to influence the severity of impact on victims (Brayford, 2012; Jaffe et al., 2013). However, to date no research has been undertaken to explore the specific impact of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations and therefore a significant gap exists in the literature in this regard.

Further to the direct impacts organisational child sexual abuse has been found to have on victims, existing research has also described, to some extent, the impact on those close to, or associated with, both the victims and perpetrators. For example, studies on the impacts of child sexual abuse on the parents and families of victims reveal their emotional and psychological difficulties, their distrust of authorities and difficulties in their on-going relationship with their child (Australian Senate, 2004; Kelley, 1994; Wolfe et al., 2003). Colleagues and peers of perpetrators have also been reported as experiencing upset and difficulties following on from the disclosure of child

sexual abuse occurring in organisations (Shakeshaft, 2004; Skinner, 2001; Wolfe et al., 2006). All existing research has explored this issue with regard to male-perpetrated abuse, but there is no data enabling an exploration of the vicarious impacts of female-perpetrated organisational abuse.

3.4   Organisational culture

Just as cultural views of women can impact on the perception and response to female-perpetrated child sexual abuse, so can cultural views on organisations and those in positions of authority facilitate the perpetration of child abuse and undermine responses in organisational contexts (Palmer & Feldman, 2017). The final report of the Australian Royal Commission (Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse, 2017) summarised the cultural risk factors associated with child sexual abuse in organisations as being: a lack of understanding or awareness of child sexual abuse; a failure to listen to children; a failure to educate children about healthy and appropriate sexual development; prioritisation of the reputation of the institution over children; culture which cultivates secrecy and isolation; a failure to see the prevention of child sexual abuse as a shared responsibility; a failure to address racism and prejudice and the normalisation of harmful practices.

Palmer and Feldman (2017) identify several key ways in which organisational culture may foster an environment, which effectively facilitates child sexual abuse. Firstly, they argue that youth-serving organisations tend to be patriarchal and that this undermines effective responses to child sexual abuse. In some organisations men remain in the top positions of power and women are more likely to occupy lower-level posts. This means that if women discover concerns about child sexual abuse in their daily work and report these to men in senior positions these concerns might not be robustly acted upon (Green, 2001; Parkin & Green, 1997). The presence of macho-culture in organisations, which sees boys and men possessing strong sexual impulses and women and girls having weaker sexual drives, means that boys and adolescent males may be viewed as sexually willing and sexually aggressive, contributing to the minimisation of female-perpetrated abuse or in victim-blaming attitudes. Secondly, Palmer and Feldman (2017) suggest that organisational culture may endorse and encourage the development of intimate and affectionate relationships between children and adults (Colton et al., 2010; Shakeshaft, 2004). Such a culture may arguably then increase the likelihood that adults who were not previously aware of any motivation to abuse children will discover a latent sexual interest in them and increase the likelihood

of abuse. Organisational culture which encourages close relationships between adult staff and children can also undermine the ability to identify perpetrators of child sexual abuse if their behaviour is construed as simply being their approach to fostering and maintaining such close relationships. In these circumstances grooming behaviour can be interpreted as normative. Finally, Palmer and Feldman (2017) proffer that authoritarian, patriarchal organisations can regard children as untrustworthy which means that disclosures of abuse may be disbelieved and others involved in the organisation may be unwilling to report concerns doubting they will be believed and placing the potential implications of allegations upon adult perpetrators, and themselves, above the safety of children.

3.5   Limitations of Organisational Abuse Studies

There are numerous evident limitations in existing studies into organisational child sexual abuse, including: a limited range of institutions having been studied previously (Proeve et al., 2016); many studies reflect experiences and findings regarding non-recent abuse and are not therefore representative of more contemporary circumstances of organisational child sexual abuse (Spröber et al., 2014); the questionable representativeness of research samples made up of those coming forward to participate in research studies or national inquiries and the situation that existing research on shorter-term impacts of organisational abuse is now dated with limited studies having been conducted over the last twenty years (Blakemore et al., 2017). Furthermore, and critical to this doctoral research, the fact that female perpetrators are all but neglected in the wider literature on organisational abuse to date, leaving many unanswered questions regarding why and how women abuse in these environments, what their motivations are, how organisations respond and how this specific type of abuse impacts upon victims.

3.6   Statutory Sex Crime Relationships

A particularly interesting piece of literature of relevance to organisational child sexual abuse is Hines and Finkelhor's (2007) review article on what they refer to as *'statutory sex crime relationships'* or *'statutory relationships'*. These are defined as non-forcible, voluntary sexual relationships between adults and juveniles including youths aged 13 or over. Such relationships between adults and children in organisational contexts are covered by specific legislation in some jurisdictions; such as 'abuse of trust' offences in the UK. These statutory relationships appear to potentially be highly relevant in the investigation of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational

contexts given the relative regularity with which such cases feature in the media and the rate of 'abuse of trust' offending discussed in Chapter Two.

It is acknowledged this is a contentious issue but as Hines and Finkelhor (2007) argue, adolescents can consent to and initiate sexual activity and we need to understand this reality in order to respond appropriately; both within the criminal justice system but also in prevention efforts. Clearly, we need to understand such incidences better to prevent future occurrence, and arguably, interventions in these cases based on models from the literature on sexual abuse and sexual assault are not sufficient. As these relationships are illegal then a good understanding of their dynamics and outcomes is important to inform rational decision making about them in the criminal justice system (Hines & Finkelhor, 2007).

Being younger and coming from a disadvantaged background have been identified as risk factors for adolescent males to engage in statutory relationships with adult females, with a larger age gap between the parties than identified in equivalent adolescent girl and adult male relationships. (Manlove, Moore, Liechty, Ikramullah & Cottingham, 2005). Hines and Finkelhor (2007) identify that statutory relationships between adolescent females and adult women are the least researched type of relationship here and consequently little is known about the nature and circumstances of such relationships. These initial findings are, however, reflective of research using samples including adult women not in official positions of trust, therefore the risk factors specific to those who are remain unexamined.

As a result of their analysis of statutory relationships the authors proposed an expanded version of the 'teacher-lover' category in Mathews et al.'s, (1989) typology discussed in Chapter Two. They suggest *lovers* are those women who view themselves as in love with the youth and who think of the relationship as a sustainable one; *teachers* are those women who regard themselves as providing sexual initiation or experience to the youth, but who do not see this as a romantic or sustainable relationship; the *convenience/unaware* category refers to situations where an adolescent youth and young adult women may have casual sexual contact under conditions where no one is paying attention to age, or where youths may actually be trying to appear older than they are; *prostitutes* concern situations where adolescent boys pay adult female sex workers for sex; and the *exploitation* category refers to older women who may take advantage of a confused or inexperienced youth in the same way that predatory men do.

Despite the reality of statutory relationships, including those which occur within organisational contexts, due to the difficult policy and moral issues these relationships pose, the existing literature concerning this phenomenon remains poorly defined and the research weak (Hines & Finkelhor, 2007). Regardless of the controversial nature of the subject, informed public policy requires a deeper understanding of such relationships. The research reported in this thesis hopefully offers a contribution to understanding the issue with regard to women who engage in statutory relationships with adolescents whilst working in organisational contexts.

3.7 Theories and Models of Understanding Child Sexual Abuse

Historically, theories of male sex offending and child sexual abuse have concentrated on individual pathology but more contemporary approaches have begun to consider wider social and environmental factors that might contribute to such offending, emphasising the need for more integrated theory (Kaufman et al., 2006; Smallbone et al., 2008; Smallbone & McKillop, 2016; Wortley & Smallbone, 2006). In order to enhance theory researchers have examined crime scripts and offender pathways for male offenders (Kaufman et al., 1995; Erooga et al., 2012; Leclerc et al., 2006; Leclerc & Cale, 2015; Leclerc et al., 2011; Smallbone & Wortley, 2000; Wortley & Smallbone, 2006) but as previously discussed, few have examined the same for female offenders (Almond et al., 2015; Gannon & Rose, 2008; Gannon et al., 2010, 2014; Kaufman et al., 1995).

From its development in the mid 1980's Finkelhor's (1984) Four Preconditions Model of Sexual Abuse has been very popular and highly influential (Erooga, 2012). It is a simple theory, focusing primarily on the individual offender, which describes the four stages an offender needs to progress through for a sexual offence to occur. Since then more sophisticated models and theories have been developed taking into account more multi-dimensional approaches to understanding the problem. Examples are Marshall and Barbaree's (1990) integrated theory of sexual offending; Ward and Hudson's (1998) multiple pathways model; the Integrated Theory of Sex Offending (Ward & Siegert, 2002; Ward & Beech, 2005, 2017) and Smallbone, Marshall and Wortley's (2008) Integrated Theory of Child Sexual Abuse. The two existing theories of female sexual offending, which also offer more integrated ways of understanding abuse, have already been discussed in Chapter Two.

3.7.1 Situational Crime Prevention

Following the development of these integrated theories, there has been a growing interest in situational approaches to understanding and preventing child sexual abuse in recent years, drawing on criminological theory. Situational crime prevention (SCP) differs from traditional criminological theory by taking a practical approach, working with government and criminal justice agencies to address crime (Wortley, 2010). It is an inherently pragmatic and positivist approach characterised as 'administrative criminology' and with theoretical roots in routine activity (Cohen & Felson, 1979) and rational choice (Cornish & Clarke, 1986) theories. Situational prevention is a relatively new concept in the field of sexual offending and studies examining situational prevention of child sexual abuse remain scarce (Leclerc et al., 2015).

Wortley and colleagues (2006) were the first to apply SCP theory to child sexual abuse in the mid 2000's and since then several studies have been undertaken, moving beyond individual pathological explanations and examining situational and environmental factors (Holt & Massey, 2012; Kaufman et al., 2006; Leclerc & Cale, 2015; Leclerc et al., 2006; Leclerc et al., 2011; McKillop, 2012; Smallbone et al., 2008). Further detail on SCP approaches and integrated theories and their particular relevance to this research study will be provided in Chapter Four.

According to Wortley and Smallbone (2014) organisational settings are the second most prevalent environments in which child sexual abuse occurs (the domestic setting being the first), yet very few studies look at child sexual abuse within this context (Hunt, 2006; Sullivan & Beech, 2002, 2004). This is a gap in research practice and understanding, which is significant when it is argued that organisational settings are potentially highly amenable to SCP (Smallbone & McKillop, 2016; Wortley & Smallbone, 2014). By failing to pay due regard to the physical and social environments which exist in organisations, either facilitating or preventing child sexual abuse, a key perspective is being neglected that could make a fundamental difference to safeguarding children from sexual harm. To date only a few existing studies have specifically researched the situational factors and modus operandi of child sexual abuse perpetrated by those working with children (Erooga et al., 2012; Kaufman et al., 2006; Leclerc et al., 2005; Leclerc et al., 2015). Another recent study has explored the crime scene behaviours of female sex offenders (Almond et al., 2015), but no studies have combined both elements and examined the modus operandi of females who

sexually abuse children in organisational contexts and the influence of situational and environmental features on this type of abuse.

Given that sexual abuse does not occur in isolation with only one defining factor, it cannot be explained only by the situational context or by the traditional criminological explanation of the offender themselves. There is an inherent connection between environmental, social and individual factors in the perpetration of child sexual abuse and understanding these combined factors is critical to understanding how and why child sexual abuse occurs in organisational contexts. This literature review has identified the scarcity of any existing research into female-perpetrated abuse in these environments and consequently highlighted the particular necessity for the research in this study.

3.8   Summary

Together this chapter and Chapter Two have provided a detailed review of the extant literature in the fields of female sexual offending, child sexual abuse and organisational abuse and have identified several significant gaps in current knowledge. The current literature originates predominantly from the US, Canada, Australia and the UK. It has shown that longstanding social and cultural perceptions of women as child nurturers, never sexual abusers, reinforced by mass media representations, hold not only for the general public but also among professionals and within the judiciary. This view has been shown to impact on the victims of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse and on the identification, management and safeguarding outcomes in such cases.

Despite a gradual increase in research studies examining both female sexual offending and organisational child abuse over the last thirty years, there remains almost no empirical evidence about women who sexually abuse children in organisational contexts. The existing literature is limited by a lack of studies including, or specifically focusing on women who abuse whilst working in positions of trust, exposing a real deficit in overall understanding about how and why female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts occurs; how it is responded to and the impacts it has upon victims.

Although some useful findings have emerged from these bodies of research, a number of methodological weaknesses have been identified and are highlighted below.

Current theoretical approaches to understanding female-perpetrated sexual offending are also limited by broadly ignoring situational and environmental factors both in their potential contribution to motivations to offend and in how abuse is actually perpetrated. Existing theories have also been developed on small samples of female offenders and have not been widely tested.

To date, female sex offender and child sex offender studies have:

- primarily involved forensic or clinical samples;

- tended to focus on convicted offenders and have been biased towards intra-familial offenders, typically mothers who sexually abuse their own (usually young) children;

- emphasised the characteristics of perpetrators and victims and neglected the motivations, offence processes and situational factors in the abuse;

- broadly neglected data drawn from employment and safeguarding arenas;

- omitted to empirically examine actual responses to women who sexually abuse in organisational contexts instead focusing on the analysis of theoretical perceptions of teacher-student relationships;

- neglected to explore the practical responses of employers, colleagues and other staff working in institutions to female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in these environments;

- included biased samples and reflected contradictory findings with regard to the impact of female-perpetrated sexual abuse;

- been very limited in their theoretical development.

Furthermore, previous organisational abuse studies have:

- predominantly concerned sexual abuse in religious settings or residential care, and featured very few in educational, sports or other settings;

- featured mostly male perpetrator samples; and those that have included small number of females have failed to provide results defined by gender;

- included samples dominated by those prepared to come forward and participate in studies and national inquiries, thereby limiting representativeness;

- been primarily historical in nature (using adult victim accounts of abuse typically occurring between the 1950s and 1980s), and have reflected long-term impacts for adult survivors.

More specifically, the identified omissions in the existing literature have highlighted a number of important unanswered questions regarding female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts to be addressed in this thesis:

3.9   Research Questions

(1) Why do females sexually abuse children in organisational contexts? What motivations and risk factors can be identified?
(2) How do females perpetrate this type of abuse? Are there common modi operandi?
(3) How is this specific type of abuse responded to (with reference to the criminal justice system; child protection arrangements and employment)?
(4) What are the reported impacts for victims?

This research addresses these questions and the identified gaps in knowledge, importantly contributing to an increased awareness and sensitivity about this particular type of under-recognised abuse. It will hopefully help inform prevention efforts, improve recruitment and monitoring of female employees working with children and young people and lead to better outcomes for victims.

Before moving on to the empirical examination of these research questions the next chapter will describe the methodology and methods employed in conducting the study.

Chapter Four: Methodology and Methods

4.1 Introduction

Following on from the research aims and objectives discussed in Chapter One and the research questions derived from the gaps in the literature identified in Chapters Two and Three, this chapter sets out the research strategy, methodology and methods employed in this study to address those aims, objectives and research questions.

The chapter commences by introducing the critical realist perspective framing this research and discussing the associated paradigmatic, ontological and epistemological considerations influencing the methodological approach, research strategy and methods used. The key theoretical ideas and frameworks considered throughout the research are then presented, followed by a discussion of the mixed-method approach employed, detailing the data collection and analysis methods. The chapter concludes by describing the ethical considerations and addresses some of the potential limitations of the methods used.

4.2 Research paradigm

Research paradigms and their consequent research strategies differ in both their ontological (i.e. their view of social reality) and epistemological (i.e. their view on how knowledge of reality can be obtained) assumptions (Blaikie, 2007). The research described in this thesis is based in the realist paradigm; influenced by critical realism in particular.

4.3 Ontology

Critical realism is an ontological and epistemological philosophy rooted in Marxism and one closely associated with the work of Bhaskar (1979), whose work has been particularly influential in the human and social sciences (Collier, 1994). Critical realism considers the world as 'theory-laden but not theory-determined' (Fletcher, 2017 p182). Fletcher (2017) argues it is a useful approach for analysing social problems and suggesting solutions due to its ability to engage in explanation and causal analysis.

In critical realist ontology reality is viewed as structured and changing, and existing on three different levels. First, the 'empirical' level, which is the realm of events as we observe them and which can be understood through human interpretation; second, the 'actual' level, where events occur whether or not we observe them and

may be different from what is observed at the empirical level, and finally, the 'real' level, where causal structures for the events at the empirical level exist but which cannot be observed (Danermark, Ekstrom, Jakobsen & Karlsson, 2002; Fletcher, 2017).

4.4 Epistemology

Context is important in critical realism and both inductive and deductive reasoning can be employed to address research problems. Epistemologically then it offers a pragmatic approach, one that favours inclusion and compatibility and offers a third choice beyond the more traditional approaches of positivism and interpretivism (Brent & Kraska, 2012). A key feature of pragmatism is to uncover practical solutions and by using both positivism and interpretivism, more holistic and rigorous answers to research questions can be found (Brent & Kraska, 2012).

The use of existing theory is supported as a starting point for empirical research in critical realism; these initial theories facilitate deeper analysis and can lead to better explanations of reality (Bhaskar, 1979; Fletcher, 2017). In this research, existing theory concerning female sex offenders, child sexual abuse and SCP is used as a starting point to examine the previously unexplored phenomenon of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts. The work develops these existing theories by comparing the empirical findings with the formulations and arguments inherent in these theories.

The critical realist approach to explaining social problems lends itself particularly well to the production of policy recommendations and practical measures to address these identified explanations (Fletcher, 2017). Given this is the key aim of this research, the critical realist approach adopted appears a highly appropriate strategy. Danermark et al. (2002) comment that as critical realism views the nature of society as an open system then predictions cannot be made in the same way as they can in natural sciences. However, by analysing causal mechanisms the approach can lead to well-informed discussions about the possible consequences of mechanisms working in different settings; precisely the intention of this research with regard to female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts. Critical realist criminology in particular focuses on exploring the conditions necessary for crime to occur and this thesis examines the conditions evident in the development of sexually abusive behaviour by women in positions of trust towards children in their care.

4.5 Methodology

Despite the dominance of quantitative approaches in the field over the last 40 years criminology has more recently embraced pragmatism as a way of moving beyond the traditional quantitative/qualitative divide (Brent & Kraska, 2012). From critical realist and pragmatist perspectives this study adopts a mixed-method quantitative/qualitative approach to address the central research aims and objectives.

Mixed methods are often coupled with pragmatism and offer flexibility to the researcher. By addressing the weaknesses of individual approaches and through the convergence of collected data and findings, they help to enhance research reliability and validity (Brent & Kraska, 2012; Burke Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Mixed methods have been challenged due to the perceived incompatibility of their epistemological commitments and paradigmatic distinctiveness (Bryman, 2008; Burke Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). However, Bryman (2008) points out that as well as this epistemological debate about incompatibility there is a technical debate which gives greater prominence to the relative strengths of data collection and analysis techniques (where research methods can be seen as autonomous) and views the two research strategies as compatible and mixed methods as feasible.

4.6 Theoretical Frameworks

4.6.1 Situational crime prevention

To date research, policy and practice around child sexual abuse has been dominated by a focus on the individual perpetrator; on establishing effective risk prediction methods, treatment programmes and on the detection and punishment of offenders (Smallbone et al., 2008). Rather than taking a primarily risk-based approach based on the identification of static and dynamic risk factors (typical in previous female and male sex offender studies) this research looks at the issue from a process- and place-based approach. Taking a situational approach emphasises the creation of safer environments rather than safer individuals.

SCP, a form of administrative criminology, is used as a theoretical framework in this study. It is a problem-solving methodology and one aligned with a pragmatic approach focusing on practical solutions based on the identification and analysis of offence processes and situational and contextual factors. As identified in Chapter Three organisational settings are the second most prevalent environments in which child sexual abuse occurs and organisational settings are also potentially highly

amenable to SCP (Wortley & Smallbone, 2014). Furthermore, implementing SCP requires a detailed analysis of the problem in question: what is the crime? Where does it occur? When does it occur? Who commits the behaviour and who are the victims? Why does the crime happen and how does it actually occur? (Smallbone et al., 2008). These enquiries are fundamentally the research questions this study seeks to address with regard to female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts. Therefore, given the aims and objectives of the research, as well as the general strengths and limitations of the data and methods used, this is considered to be an appropriate, reliable and valid approach to addressing the research questions.

To a large extent, this research focuses on the more immediate circumstances surrounding the perpetration of abuse, rather than identifying longer-term etiological factors, for the very reason that it seeks to uncover intervention points or situationally relevant factors in the abuse. These can then be used to suggest prevention measures in a more immediate and practical way.

However, although the focus of this research is the practical prevention measures that could make a difference more immediately in organisations it also considers the cultural context in which responses to this type of abuse were framed.

Comparatively speaking, SCP is a modern approach to criminology and one on the margins of the discipline (Cornish, 2007; Ekblom & Tilley, 2000; Wortley & Smallbone, 2006). It differs from traditional criminological theory by being an inherently pragmatic approach with its theoretical roots in routine activity (Cohen & Felson, 1979) and rationale choice (Cornish & Clarke, 1987) theories, as well as in social and environmental psychology.

SCP has been subject to criticism of both its theoretical and conceptual adequacy (Wortley, 2010), however, it is the simplicity, practicality and immediacy that is arguably the strength of the approach and it does have a clearly articulated theoretical underpinning. Being pragmatic about finding solutions to the problem of child sexual abuse in organisational contexts and being able to explain the theoretical approach effectively and less abstractly to non-academic professionals, enabling them to implement practical prevention measures, is a real advantage of the approach and an important ambition of this research.

A further criticism is made by those who argue that SCP only results in the displacement of crime rather than its prevention. This view is arguably the result of a lack of understanding of the propositions of SCP and of the prevailing criminological tradition that continues to overestimate the role of individual criminal disposition in criminal activity (Wortley, 2010). There are also concerns that the application of SCP methods to preventing child sexual abuse can generate invasive and oppressive environments where necessarily close and supportive relationships between adults and children will be inhibited. It is acknowledged that SCP measures usually increase surveillance and supervision and that this needs to be balanced by development of organisational culture that is open, honest and supportive (Smallbone et al., 2008). This issue is discussed further in Chapter 12.

Importantly, Smallbone and colleagues (2008) argue that the situational context must not be regarded purely as a passive backdrop to abuse but also be recognised as actively initiating or maintaining sexually abusive behaviour by individuals not previously disposed to act in criminal ways (Wortley, 2001). Situations and locations can: present a potential offender with cues prompting them to behave in a criminal way; exert social pressure on an individual to offend; weaken an individual's moral restraints and generate an emotional arousal leading to a criminal response. Wortley and Smallbone (2006) argue that there is increasing research data emphasising the lack of specific paedophilic commitment of offenders and that suggests many cases of male-perpetrated child sexual abuse occur in response to opportunities that were made available to the offender. Therefore, understanding situational and environmental factors in the development of sexually abusive behaviour is critical. This research examines whether the same phenomenon is seen in women who sexually abuse children in organisational contexts.

However, sexual abuse does not occur as a result of only one defining factor and cannot be explained by the situational context or by the traditional criminological explanation of the offender themselves in isolation. There needs to be an effective integration of dispositional and situational theories in explaining and preventing crime including sexual abuse (Ekblom & Tilley 2000; Wortley & Smallbone, 2006, 2014). Consequently, this research considers integrated approaches in understanding female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations, with a particular emphasis on situational factors.

The following section discusses the key theories, models and frameworks used to conduct this research, and to compare the research findings with, in order to determine their applicability to this phenomenon and identify necessary theoretical developments.

4.6.2   The Integrated Theory of Child Sexual Abuse

As discussed in Chapter Three several integrated approaches have been proposed which could be of assistance in understanding this phenomenon. These approaches combine understanding of offender behaviour and thinking with SCP via the medium of modus operandi research.

Wortley and Smallbone (2006) applied SCP theory to child sexual abuse and developed the Integrated Theory of Child Sexual Abuse (ITCSA) (Smallbone, Marshall & Wortley, 2008) discussed below. Although the theory was developed from research into male offenders it offers a useful starting point from which to explore female-perpetrated abuse in organisations and an assessment of its compatibility to the sample of women in this research is made in Chapter 13.

The ITCSA was developed as an extension and revision of Marshall and Barbaree's (1990) integrated theory of sex offending and it emphasises explaining the onset of sexual offending. The theory asserts that child sexual abuse occurs as a result of interactions between individual (biological and developmental), eco-systemic and situational factors and it focuses on the construct of individual vulnerabilities rather than the development of stable child sexual abuse-specific dispositions. A brief overview of the theory is provided below.
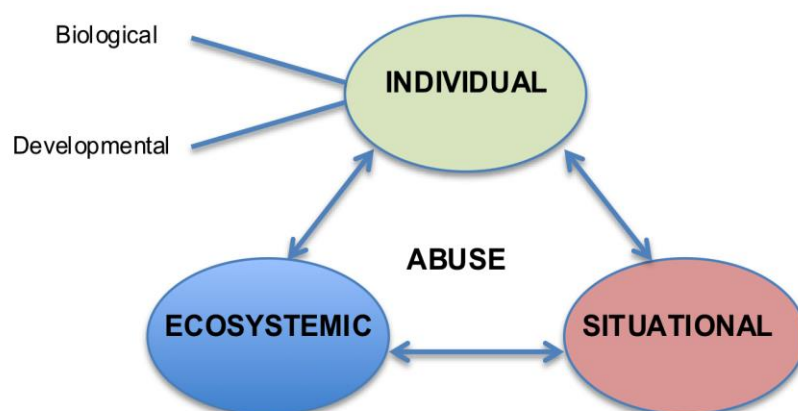
Figure 1: Smallbone, Marshall and Wortley (2008) Integrated Theory of Child Sexual Abuse

4.6.2.1 Individual factors

Drawing on Bowlby's (1969) work on attachment theory, the ITCSA considers that biologically-based nurturing motivations can result in sexually abusive behaviour in the context of close adult-child relationships. Care-seeking (attachment) and care-giving (nurturing) motivations can be strongly elicited in adverse circumstances, such as times of particular vulnerability for a child victim or times of personal stress for adult perpetrators, and can therefore routinely elicit romantic or sexual feelings and behaviour (Smallbone et al., 2008). Dysfunction in attachment can cue sexual feelings or behaviour instead of nurturing behaviour towards vulnerable others (including children). Insecure childhood and adult attachment can create vulnerabilities in an individual's capacity to exercise self-restraint in interpersonal relationships and can also lead vulnerable people to engage in emotionally detached, personally risky or socially irresponsible sexual behaviour. The authors argue that attachment orientation behaviour is also highly situation-dependent and may vary according to any particular interpersonal context. However, severe attachment nurturing or sexual behaviour problems can also occur in individuals with no identifiable earlier attachment problems. Biological outcomes and vulnerabilities can also be mediated by social and cognitive developmental influences which shape later attachment, nurturing and sexual behaviours. The authors posit that biologically-based nurturing motivations are more tenuous for males than females and that gender differences in brain organisation are considered to be responsible for a woman's tendency to experience stronger and more positive emotions in nurturing situations. If this is true, then this might suggest a potentially increased risk of adult women in positions of trust responding sexually where they are in a nurturing relationship with vulnerable children or adolescents.

4.6.2.2 Eco-systemic factors

Referring to social ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) behaviour is seen to be influenced by the multiple ecological systems within which an individual is embedded. This social ecosystem is made up of the individual systems (internal biological and psychological systems), family, peer, neighbourhood and community systems and the broader sociocultural environment. Smallbone and colleagues (2008) argue these social ecosystems: convey the social and cultural norms; influence the resources for child protection and influence opportunities for sexual abuse to occur by delimiting the routine activities of potential victims and perpetrators. According to Smallbone et al. (2008) the child sexual abuse incident itself is a convergence in space

and time of the perpetrator and victim's social ecologies. Therefore, they argue that situational elements of the abuse incident will exert the most powerful and direct effects. Cultural norms are considered to exert influence according to the proximal-distal continuum, i.e. those norms reflected by friends and family of perpetrators and victims will have a stronger influence that those in the wider sociocultural environment.

4.6.2.3   Situational factors

Situations are considered to influence criminal behaviour, such as child sexual abuse, in two ways: by providing opportunities for the crime to occur and by providing cues, social pressures or environmental stressors that lead to criminal responses by individuals. Referring to Clarke and Eck's (2003) work on crime analysis and environmental criminology, Smallbone et al. (2008) maintain that in order to reduce the opportunity for child sexual abuse to occur we need three kinds of 'controllers': *capable guardians*, *place managers* (those responsible for controlling behaviour in specific locations) and *handlers* (person who knows potential perpetrator and can exert positive control over their behaviour). In the context of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations capable guardians would be parents or other carers and organisational staff; place managers would be employers or organisational managers and handlers would be colleagues, friends and family of potential perpetrators.

4.6.3   Situational Prevention Model of Child Sexual Abuse

Kaufman et al. (2006) also drew on Clarke's (1995) crime prevention work and developed the first situational model applicable to child sexual abuse, the Situational Prevention Model (SPM). The SPM encompassed the risks and prevention potential identified in male-perpetrated child sexual abuse research and is considered most applicable to understanding extra-familial child sexual abuse (Kaufman, Tews, Schuett & Kaufman, 2012). It emphasises contextual and environmental features and presents the interplay of offender and situational factors that influence abusive behaviour. However, although labelled a 'prevention model' it does not actually identify prevention measures, instead summarising particular risks identified through empirical research. The findings of the data analysis with regard to modus operandi, situational and context factors arising in these cases of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse described above are synthesised in an adapted version of the SPM in Figure 6 in Chapter 11.

The model represents the following specific factors, all considered as influential in the potential for child sexual abuse to occur: lifestyle and routine activities; physical

environment; offender-specific factors and organisational climate and local community influences. Each of the factors can individually increase the risk of child sexual abuse occurring; the more negative factors that are present in any particular situation and organisational environment the higher the likelihood is for sexual offending behaviour. By systematically assessing the risk factors in specific environments the SPM aids the development of specific prevention strategies.

At the centre of the SPM lies the 'Criminal Opportunity Structure' reflecting the fact that opportunities for child sexual abuse to occur are most directly influenced by the victim's situation, the target locations and the involvement of facilitators. Offender specific factors also impact on this structure dependent on the offender's motivation to engage in sexually abusive behaviour and their perception of the risks involved in doing so. The wider socio-economic structure as well as the more specific organisational climate and local community influences in which the risk of abuse arises are also strongly influencing factors on all components in the model.

4.6.4 The Descriptive Model of Female Sex Offending

The DMFSO (Gannon et al., 2008) is an offence process model developed using grounded theory methodology to describe the sequence of cognitive, affective, behavioural and contextual factors leading to female-perpetrated sexual abuse (Gannon et al., 2010a). It provides the first gender-specific model to help guide the treatment process for female offenders. Like the ITCSA (Smallbone et al., 2008) the model was developed by examining offence chain processes and describes the phases of the offending process; background factors, the pre-offence, offence and post-offence periods (see Appendix 1).

In the 'Pre-Offence' and 'Offence' periods the DMFSO identifies different planning types describing the extent to which female offenders planned their offending behaviour. Three distal planning types are described: *Implicit*, *Explicit* and *Directed* and three proximal planning types: *Implicit-Disorganised*, *Explicit-Precise* and *Directed Proximal*. Turning first to distal planning types, the *Explicit* approach is characterised by an offender's precisely planned actions in perpetrating the offence with the *Implicit* approach referring to those cases where the offender does not acknowledge any conscious planning to themselves, but where they subtly adjust circumstances in a manner highly likely to increase the likelihood of physical or emotional contact with the victim (Gannon et al., 2008, 2010a). *Directed* planning refers to those instances where

the female offender is coerced into sexual offending by a male partner (Gannon et al., 2008). In the proximal planning stage, the women are categorised as *Explicit-Precise* when their actions reflect the execution of an exact plan with regard to the offending in the period immediately preceding the offence. *Implicit-Disorganised* women by contrast behave impulsively or in a disorganised manner when in close proximity to the victim with the opportunity to offend. *Directed* offenders are those who are coerced by a co-perpetrating male in the immediate period prior to the offence commission.

Further to these planning categorisations Gannon et al. (2008, 2010a) also describe three overall pathways to offending taken by female sex offenders. The *Explicit Approach* pathway is characterised by evidence of an intention to offend, explicit planning and positive affect experiences. These women are generally motivated to offend as a result of problematic goals and associated cognitions and values (Gannon et al., 2010a). The *Implicit Disorganised* pathway reflects cases with implicit or no planning, associated with various offence goals and affectual displays and where offending is impulsive and occurs after self-regulatory failure. These women are not generally intending to offend but appear to lose control in the immediate period prior to the offending occurring. Lastly, the *Directed Avoidant* pathway describes women who are directed by male planning, with associated intimacy or fear-related goals and who experience negative affect in relation to the offending (Gannon et al., 2010).

The DMFSO also incorporates four key approaches to the abusive behaviour taken by female offenders during the offence period. The *maternal approach* refers to a coercive, nonaggressive approach where the offender makes no active attempt to avoid offending, either by directly engaging in the behaviour or by using ineffective strategies to avoid offending. *Maternal avoidant* describes women who are also coercive and nonaggressive in their approach, however, it differs from the *maternal approach* in that the offenders actively wish to avoid offending but do so as a result of extreme coercion or violence from abusive partners (Gannon et al., 2008). *Aggressive* approach offenders take an aggressive stance towards the victim(s) and generally offend against adults or work in groups with others and have little sexual arousal, instead offending to humiliate or degrade the victim(s). *Operationalised approach* offenders see the sexual offending as necessary to achieve particular goals such as revenge or financial gain and these women tend to display limited sexual arousal (Gannon et al., 2008).

The research findings are all considered in light of these planning, pathway and offence approach types in Chapter Eight.

As the only comprehensive offence process model and existing theory developed from female sexual offender samples and subsequently validated through further research (Gannon et al., 2010a; Gannon, et al., 2014; Wijkman, 2016) the model will be used to compare with the findings of this research. This will determine its validity and suitability for use in explaining female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts. These considerations are detailed in Chapter 13.

4.6.5   The Ecological Process Model of Female Sex Offending

DeCou and colleagues (2015) considered the ecological factors at play in female sex offending and argued their work conceptualised the risk factors and circumstances of female sex offending in a continuous and dynamic framework rather than in the prescribed sequence presented by Gannon et al., (2008, 2010). Their ecological process model of female sex offending (EPMFSO) was also developed using grounded theory analysis of semi-structured interviews conducted with similar numbers of incarcerated female offenders to Gannon and colleagues (2008, 2010). The model represents the layers of individual and social vulnerabilities identified by the female offenders in their accounts of their behaviour (see Figure 2). The outer-level considers personal history and life circumstances, the mid-level reflects offenders' social systems and the inner level considers the specific offence processes operating at the time of offending. The model depicts the relationships among these vulnerabilities occurring within the different levels and reflects the influence of multiple interdependent processes in female sex offending.

Figure 2: Conceptual ecological process model of female sexual offending (DeCou, Cole, Rowland, Kaplan & Lynch, 2015)

As discussed in Chapter Two the model has various weaknesses. Overall, it is fairly limited in progressing female sex offender theory beyond the DMFSO. Therefore, as the more comprehensive model and theory of female sex offending developed to date the DMFSO is the main work referred to for comparison and contrast with the findings of this research. Nonetheless, the EPMFSO does offer some interesting insights into social system level factors, including child-adult boundaries and the development of relationships between offenders and victims. Consequently, it is used for comparative purposes when assessing the findings of this research with respect to those factors.

4.7   Methods and Approach

As well as being determined by the ontology and epistemology described earlier in this chapter, the choice of methods used in this research was also influenced by the research aims and objectives and a number of practical factors. These included the availability of resources and the practicalities of access to sensitive data sources (Johansson-Love & Fremouw, 2006). As this is an explorative study the objective is to examine a large number of cases in sufficient depth to determine typical characteristics, behaviours and offence processes and develop a broader understanding of a little-known subject. Thereafter more in-depth analysis of a smaller number of case studies drawn from the large sample is offered to capture the richer detail involved in individual examples drawing on the experiences of perpetrators and victims and more specific details surrounding situational and contextual factors.

The study examines identified cases arising in the UK, US and Canada between 2000 and 2016. This period was selected for several reasons, one being the objective to examine more contemporaneous circumstances of both female-perpetrated and organisational child sexual abuse given the historical nature of much of the existing literature as identified in Chapters Two and Three. Safeguarding awareness has improved considerably over the last 10 to 15 years and it has been important to consider whether, in practice, child protection measures were being adopted by organisations in light of this heightened attention. Additionally, 'abuse of trust' legislation has existed in the UK since 2000 and therefore it is important to assess how it is working in practice after 16 years, particularly with regard to female perpetrators. Furthermore, given great advances in personal communication technology in the same time period and the findings from previous studies discussed in Chapter Two indicating the increasing role of such communication methods in facilitating abuse it was considered important to assess this situational and environmental factor in line with the research questions.

International cases are included in the study due to the effective use of similar US and Canadian case data in other contemporary studies of female sex offenders and professional perpetrators (Almond et al., 2015; Jaffe et al., 2013; Mototsune, 2015) and to offer a broad sample of cases. As identified in Chapters Two and Three, the majority of the sparse literature in the field comes from these two countries as well as the UK. The decision to include cases from one professional regulator (the Ontario College of Teachers) resulted from the relative richness of the data, ease of accessibility and

successful use of similar data in other studies. This particular regulator had also been particularly proactive and responsive to the consideration of profession misconduct cases involving child sexual abuse by teachers and in making information publicly available. Time and resource restrictions on the study impacted the decision not to include data from other provinces and states.

The mixed methods study consists of three key component parts:

- Quantitative analysis of criminal justice system and professional regulatory body data obtained via Freedom of Information requests and publicly available crime statistics in the UK (addressing research question 4);
- Qualitative and quantitative analysis of publicly available archival data about criminal justice and regulatory body cases (addressing research questions 1, 2, 3 and 4), and;
- Qualitative analysis of in-depth case studies (addressing research questions 1, 2, 3 and 4).

4.7.1   Quantitative analysis of crime data

Published criminal justice statistics for England and Wales (Home Office, 2007, 2012, 2013, 2017; Ministry of Justice, 2016) were obtained and analysed along with responses to Freedom of Information (FOI) requests made to professional regulatory bodies and the national authorities responsible for vetting the children's workforce in the UK.

FOI requests are particularly useful for uncovering information on marginalised groups who may be difficult to recruit in qualitative research but they are as yet underused in social research (Bows, 2017). Use of the method has been beneficial in this study as it has enabled access to national information that would otherwise be unobtainable, and to information about the victims and perpetrators of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations, both hard-to-reach groups.

The combined data are used to develop an understanding of the extent of this type of abuse and how it is responded to in the criminal justice system and by professional regulatory bodies.

4.7.2   Quantitative and qualitative analysis of documented cases

Secondary analysis of qualitative data has become a growing focus of interest in social research in recent years (Heaton, 2008) and the use of court reports and records, professional regulator decision records and media reports has been successfully employed in other contemporary studies into female sex offenders and organisational child sexual abuse (e.g. Almond et al., 2015; Jaffe et al., 2013; Mototsune, 2015; Moulden et al., 2007; Wijkman, 2016).

Content analysis of these documents (produced for other purposes) is considered an appropriate method as: it is unobtrusive and non-reactive (Crow & Semmens, 2008); using this data addresses the inherent difficulty of accessing such disparate, hard-to-reach and sensitive populations and it allows the examination of a large number of cases.

4.7.3   Case studies

The third element of the research is an in-depth analysis of a case study subsample of the overall study sample.

Case study analysis was developed by Miles and Huberman (1994) and is particularly relevant where research questions seek to explain how or why some social phenomenon works (Yin, 2018). Yin (2018, p.15) describes a case study as:

> *an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in-depth in a real-world context where the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident.*

Consequently, the use of case studies in this study has been highly appropriate to address the research aims and key research questions. As Heckenberg (2011) points out, case study research is advantageous in allowing: focus on the subtleties and intricacies of complex social situations; more detailed and inter-connected understanding of what is happening and analysis of relationships and social processes in a way other methods do not allow.

Case studies are used in the current study to:

- Undertake an in-depth analysis of specific risk factors;
- Develop a more detailed understanding of specific offence processes;
- Identify commonalities and differences between types of offender, methods of abusing and approaches to abuse;
- Develop initial categorisations of female perpetrators of child sexual abuse in organisational contexts.

A standard criticism of the method is that the findings cannot be generalised and therefore have limited external validity (Bryman, 2008; Yin, 2018). However, as Yin (2018) argues case studies are generalisable to theoretical propositions rather than to populations (the traditional view of generalisability), which is the purpose here; the intensive examination of smaller number of cases for the purpose of theoretical analysis. The approach has been used to allow this in-depth examination of this type of abuse whilst retaining a real-world perspective (Yin, 2018).

4.8   Data Collection

4.8.1   National crime data

Criminal justice statistics for England and Wales for the period 2006-2016 were accessed via the Ministry of Justice and Home Office webpages on the governmental web portal (www.gov.uk). Quarterly criminal justice statistics (Ministry of Justice, 2016) detailing criminal offences and outcomes and police recorded crime data (Home Office, 2007, 2012, 2013, 2017) were used to extract national data concerning child sexual offending and 'abuse of trust' offending. The data was used to calculate percentages and rates of offenders receiving different outcomes in the criminal justice process, with the findings compared by gender. The data was also used to identify the trend of recorded 'abuse of trust' offences between 2006-2016.

4.8.2   Freedom of Information data

Public organisations in the UK are required by legislation (the Freedom of Information Act 2000 for England, Wales and Northern Ireland; the Freedom of Information Act 2002 for Scotland) to disclose information to individuals or

organisations on request, where this is available. Requests must be made in writing and authorities have 20 working days in which to respond. There are some exemptions to the provisions, primarily related to the protection of personal data that identifies individuals and the costs taken for the organisation to locate and provide the data.

FOI requests were made to all professional regulators and supervisory bodies specified in the Safeguarding Groups Act 2006 (the legislation specifically used to protect children and vulnerable adults in organisations where they are cared for by professionals) (see Appendix 2) and to the two national safeguarding scheme operators in the UK; the Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) for England, Wales and Northern Ireland, and Disclosure Scotland for Scotland. Details of the specific information requested are presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Freedom of Information requests made

AUTHORITY	INFORMATION REQUESTED
Regulatory bodies; Supervisory authorities; Keepers of Registers (see Appendix 2)	The regulatory bodies were requested to provide statistical information (broken down by year and by gender) on: ● The number of individuals referred over the preceding 10 years where there were concerns relating to sexual misconduct or sexual abuse of children and young people (under 18 years old); ● How many of those cases related to matters that had occurred in the work context; ● The number of cases which had progressed to the regulator's conduct and competency committees for consideration (i.e. those cases where initial investigations identified sufficient evidence of a case to answer); ● The number of cases referred that resulted in any restriction being placed on the individual's ability to practice in the profession (including being struck off from the regulator's professional register). Regulators were also requested to provide copies of relevant committee decisions where these were not already available on their organisation's website. Where professional regulatory bodies had changed over the course of the relevant time period information was

	also sought from the current regulator about whether they were able to provide information with regard to the previous regulatory authority (e.g. the NCTL was asked about earlier decisions by the Teaching Agency and the General Teaching Council for England; the two preceding bodies).
DBS Disclosure Scotland	The authorities were requested to provide the following statistical information relating to sexual misconduct (again broken down by year and gender): ● The number of individuals referred to and barred by the relevant scheme; ● How many of these were automatically barred as a result of relevant cautions or convictions (on receiving specific convictions, specified in legislation, some individuals are 'automatically' barred from working with the relevant vulnerable group without any initial assessment. These are usually convictions relating to sexual or serious violent behaviour); ● How many cases related to non-conviction cases referred by employing or engaging organisations (referred to as 'discretionary cases'); ● How far these referrals proceeded in the scheme's consideration process; ● The number of individuals who had appealed to an independent tribunal against the decision to bar them and how many of these were successful.

4.8.2.1   Issues arising in FOI data collection

In almost all cases the requested data was not provided in its entirety or without additional clarifications, sometimes taking several further exchanges with the organisation concerned. Often this was because the organisation did not record the information in such a format that would allow it to be easily searchable within the applicable time/cost limits specified in the relevant Act or the categories they used for recording information did not align with those of the researcher's specific request. Some organisations were helpful in proactively suggesting ways the request could be limited in order for them to provide some information within the applicable limits, others declined to provide the information initially, citing the time/cost limit and without making any helpful suggestion about what they might provide.

Where time/cost limitations were cited by organisations, the scope of the request was subsequently limited to cover a shorter time period (ranging from a number of months to a couple of years) and/or to only include relevant female cases in the attempt to at least obtain some relevant data for the research. This resulted in limitations to the ability to compare cases by gender or trends over time.

Despite the initial requests being clear some authorities did not initially provide the specific information requested (e.g. by returning information about female cases but not male cases). Following further correspondence in some instances this information was then provided, however, in a few cases certain information continued to be omitted despite clear requests and further polite reminders being made.

The time taken for the return of the information was longer than anticipated in most cases, in some significantly so, primarily due to necessary further email exchanges and clarification with the relevant organisation.

4.8.3 Additional statistical data

In addition to the data received in response to the FOI request to the DBS made in this research, there were also two further relevant responses the organisation (and its predecessor the Independent Safeguarding Authority; the ISA) had made to other FOI requests. These were published on the DBS section of the gov.uk website and the archived website of the ISA. Further statistical information relating to the ISA's handling of sexual abuse cases was also available in two public documents published on the Internet; a set of slides from an ISA presentation at a national child protection conference in 2012 (Independent Safeguarding Authority, 2012b) and a research report commissioned by the ISA 'Safeguarding in the Workplace' (McKenna, Day and Munro, 2012).

Very limited NCTL data was provided via the FOI request made to the Department of Education. Therefore, a manual interrogation of the published decisions on the NCTL website was undertaken to produce some statistical information concerning the cases they had recently considered.

The data from these additional sources is included in the summaries and tables found in Chapter Five to provide a fuller picture of the statistical information publicly available about female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts in the UK. Full details can be found in Appendix 3.

4.8.4 Documentary case data

The documents used in the second stage of the study included court reports, published decisions of professional regulators associated with the children's workforce (e.g. NCTL, the Health and Care Professions Council) as well as media reports of individual cases. Table 4 lists further detail on the data sources.

Table 4: Data types and sources

DATA TYPE	INITIAL SOURCE	n
Court reports	Westlaw UK and Westlaw International legal databases	n=34 Westlaw UK n=3; Westlaw International: USA n=22 Westlaw International: Canada n=9
Employment and regulatory tribunal decisions (England and Wales)	The Care Standards Tribunal; The First-Tier Tribunal (Health, Education and Social Care) The Upper Tribunal (Administrative Appeals Chamber)	n=4
Professional regulatory body decisions	Published openly on the relevant organisation's webpages and/or provided through FOI requests	n=52 England: National College of Teaching and Leadership (n= 20); Scotland: General Teaching Council Scotland (n= 5);

		Wales: Education Workforce Council/ General Teaching Council for Wales (n=4); Care Council for Wales (n=1); Canada: Ontario College of Teachers (n=22)
Court sentencing database contents	Lawpages (www.lawpages.com) a UK-based, publicly accessible, court records and sentencing website	n=21
Media reports	On-line media reports	n=11
Database records	The UK Database (www.theukdatabase.com); a publicly accessible UK online database listing perpetrators of child abuse	n=14

All documents were openly available online or obtained via FOI requests where relevant. Additional cases were identified via references made in cases or case law originally retrieved via the sources listed above as well as via online media reports found when searching for further data on originally identified cases.

The websites of all other relevant professional regulators (defined as 'Keepers of Registers' under section 41 (7) of the Safeguarding Vulnerable Groups Act 2006; see Appendix 2) were also interrogated to identify any relevant cases arising within the period 2000-2016. No cases were found despite extensive searching.

In addition to the initial data identified in individual cases from the sources identified above, further information was obtained by undertaking online searches using the individual's name or other features identifying the organisation or location. Further data included: decision records relating to professional regulators in states or geographical areas beyond those used as main data sources described above; media reports, police press releases and online criminal records published in some states in the USA and Canada.

The content and depth of data varied across sources from highly comprehensive, detailed court records to shorter media articles. The majority of cases contained legal and/or professional hearing investigation reports. These are particularly reliable sources given that they are subject to stringent legal scrutiny making them arguably more accurate than police reports (Almond et al., 2015; Porter & Alison, 2004, 2006). Although some individual sources contained limited information, the combined information for each case provided sufficient detail to identify the data necessary to address the research questions. The triangulation of the various evidence sources increased the reliability of the data in each case.

Each case was allocated a case reference label and a complete case list was created detailing the female perpetrator's name and associated reference label, thereafter the individual names were anonymised and referred to only by the reference label. Electronic case folders were created for each individual case in which all relevant documents and information as well as the data collection sheets and case note files were stored.

The specific search process and search terms used for all of the following data sources are detailed in Appendix 4.

4.8.4.1 Lawpages cases

A UK-based open access online legal database, (www.lawpages.com) was used to search for relevant cases. The database lists cases arising in UK courts from June 2006 so data was retrieved relating to cases from that date to the 31 December 2016.

The database records contain details of the offender, victim, offence, sentence and any court order as well as a short description of the distinguishing features/facts of the case, generally including some sentencing remarks. The records do not contain full court transcripts or complete sentencing remarks. Although these specific records are limited in this respect, they were used in triangulation with other sources.

The sample collected using this method did not include all court cases that took place within the time period. It became apparent through other data sources that some cases were not listed on the lawpages.com website despite a court case taking place during the relevant period. It was initially unclear why this was the case, until it became apparent in a few cases that the gender of the offender was incorrectly recorded on lawpages.com and therefore did not appear on the advanced search for female cases. Therefore, a further complete check of both genders recorded under 'sexual offences' category was undertaken to ensure all relevant female cases were included in the sample. Several other cases identified in other sources could not be found on the database despite extensive searching. It is assumed this was due to error on behalf of the database creators.

4.8.4.2 Westlaw UK and Westlaw International cases

An initial attempt was made to replicate the Westlaw legal database searches used by Almond et al., (2015) in their law report study exploring crime scene behaviours of female sex offenders. This attempt was unsuccessful despite email contact with the researchers to try and determine further detail on the specific search methods they used. They could not recall the specific search terms or search processes used and no longer held the detailed records detailing the searches employed.

Independent searches were then conducted on Westlaw UK and Westlaw International using a wide variety of search terms linked to the case type sought. A few

additional relevant cases were traced via the 'cases cited' section of those individual case records already found.

The support staff at Westlaw online were also contacted twice for assistance in trying to replicate the searches used by Almond et al. (2015) or for further advice on retrieving relevant cases. They were also unable to replicate the searches used in the previous study but suggested five additional search terms and two further search methods, however these methods returned no additional new cases to those that had already been found. All cases retrieved appeared in UK, US or Canadian courts between 2000 and 2016.

4.8.4.3 Tribunals

The First Tier Tribunal (Care Standards) (and the Care Standards Tribunal which preceded it) is the legal body for England and Wales responsible for hearing appeals made against decisions to prevent individuals from working with children or vulnerable adults. In essence this means decisions preventing teachers, social workers, child minders and other professionals from working with vulnerable groups in their respective field.

The Upper Tier (Administrative Appeals) Tribunal is the legal body in England and Wales responsible for hearing appeals against decisions reached by the DBS (the public body that can prevent individuals from being allowed to work or volunteer with children and vulnerable adults). This Tribunal also conducts judicial review of decisions made by first tier tribunals (such as the previous Care Standards Tribunal and the First Tier Tribunal (Care Standards). Cases were retrieved covering the period April 2001 to December 2016.

4.8.4.4 National College of Teaching and Leadership

The NCTL operates the regulatory arrangements for teachers in England on behalf of the Secretary of State for Education. Prior to its formation in 2013 this function was undertaken by the Teaching Agency (TA) and the General Teaching Council England (GTCE). The NCTL investigates cases of serious teacher misconduct and then decides whether to refer to a Professional Conduct panel. This panel will review all evidence and decide whether the teacher should receive a prohibition order, preventing them from being a registered teacher. The panel makes a recommendation to the Secretary of State and the ultimate decision is made by a named decision maker

(civil/public servant) on the Secretary of State's behalf. Data were gathered by retrieving and reviewing online published decisions for NCTL considered cases from July 2012 to December 2016. Several attempts to retrieve earlier (archived) decisions of the TA and GTCE via the Department of Education were unsuccessful.

The published decision documents contain a summary of the evidence, the hearing proceedings and the rationale for the decision reached. They do not include full copies of all evidence considered by the NCTL or full transcripts of the hearings themselves. Although the published data is limited in this respect it can contain considerable detail about the circumstances of the sexual abuse and offence process; demographic information about the perpetrator and victim(s); information about employment/police/court actions and information pertaining to the decision-making factors the regulatory bodies took into account. This information was sufficient to effectively contribute to answering the research questions.

4.8.4.5 General Teaching Council for Scotland

The General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTCS) regulates teachers in Scotland and holds Fitness to Teach hearings in cases where there are concerns about a teacher's/prospective teacher's suitability to teach. Decisions and outcomes are published on the GTCS website for 12 months after they are reached. Relevant cases were retrieved from this website. An FOI request also made seeking copies of all archived decisions that related to female teachers who had allegations of sexual misconduct with children/young people made against them; four archived decision records were provided. The data covered the period 2006-2015.

4.8.4.6 Education Workforce Council

Education Workforce Council (EWC) is the independent regulator of teachers and learning support staff in Wales, replacing the General Teaching Council for Wales (GTCW) in April 2015. It maintains a list of educational practitioners and its Fitness to Practice Committee imposes disciplinary orders prohibiting individuals from working as teachers or learning support staff. Decisions are published on the EWC website for six months after they are reached. The website also holds a live and publicly searchable list of all teachers/support staff subject to restrictions or prohibitions. Relevant cases were retrieved via these two routes. An FOI request was also made to EWC for copies of applicable archived decisions. Six archived decisions were provided. All records retrieved from EWC covered the period 2007-2016.

4.8.4.7 Care Council for Wales

The Care Council for Wales (CCW) is the social care workforce regulator in Wales, set up under the Care Standards Act 2000. Decisions about the registration of social care workers are made by the Fitness to Practice Committee who can de-register or sanction individuals for committing misconduct.

Decisions are published on the CCW's website. The complete list of all cases with published hearing outcomes was checked to identify cases with relevance to the research study. All records searched covered the period November 2007 to 31 December 2016. Only one relevant case was identified.

4.8.4.8 Ontario College of Teachers

The Ontario College of Teachers (OCT) is the body that regulates the teaching profession in that province of Canada. Its Disciplinary and Investigation Committees make decisions on members facing allegations of professional misconduct, including sexual misconduct. Disciplinary decisions are published online and members of the public are able to search the openly accessible register of teachers on the OCT website. The database of OCT decisions was searched and all relevant cases identified. Records retrieved from OCT covered the period 2007-2016.

4.8.4.9 UK Database

The UK Database (www.theukdatabase.com) is a publicly created website listing details of convicted child sexual abusers and murders retrieved from media and court sources. It was designed as a resource tool for parents and communities to obtain information about perpetrators that might be living in their area or have access to their children. The database administrators state on the website that the materials should be used for resource purposes only and that they do not condone any acts of vigilantism after reviewing the material. Relevant cases occurring between 2000-2016 were identified.

4.8.4.10 UK Media

A number of additional cases were identified whilst searching the Internet for secondary information in cases already retrieved from the other data sources. Relevant media reports were reviewed and if critical case criteria were met they were added to

the sample. Further Internet searches were undertaken to identify any additional relevant UK media articles or other information relating to the specific case.

Although there are limitations of mass media reporting (e.g. reporter bias, inaccuracy and lack of contextualisation) the information extracted from these sources and used in the data analysis related to details of the case as heard in police, court or disciplinary procedures and was verified/triangulated with other sources to improve data reliability.

4.9   Study Design

Data collection sheets were devised to provide a consistent and efficient method of capturing the available data in each individual case. Data was collected against 92 variables and categories in total, including: perpetrator and victim demographics and characteristics; information regarding the position of trust; offence process; offending behaviour; situational factors; victim response and impact; disclosure; results and consequences (regarding employment, professional regulation, child protection services and criminal justice system) and offender mitigation. An annotated version of the Data Collection Sheet detailing all variables and categories can be found at Appendix 5.

The data collection sheet was also used to capture how accurately the individual case aligned to key existing theoretical considerations described in the DMFSO (Gannon et al., 2008; Gannon et al., 2010) including motivations, offence approaches and pathways to offending. This facilitated the later comparison of the sample cases to the DMFSO.

Data initially captured on data collection sheets was then transferred to an Excel spreadsheet and later input into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20, to produce descriptive statistics and aid analysis.

4.9.1   Pilot studies

Three pilot studies were undertaken to test the sufficiency and viability of available data from the identified sources to conduct the full study. The first involved quantitative and qualitative content analysis of male teacher cases dealt with by the NCTL. The second involved the same method but used other female (non-position of trust) cases retrieved from the Lawpages website and the final pilot study involved

content analysis of other female sex offender (non-position of trust) cases retrieved from Westlaw UK.

These pilot studies also provided the opportunity to test out the data collection tools and resulted in some data collection categories being refined, the development of further descriptive rationale to assist in the allocation of data to individual variables and categories (e.g. defining 'newly qualified' as a professional within three years of qualifying or starting in the profession in the 'career stage' variable) and the addition of several other variables or categories not previously included (e.g. the addition of 'widowed' to the marital status variable).

4.10 Sample

The research sample includes all relevant cases identified from the data sources described above. Critical criteria for inclusion in the study included:

- the 'position of trust' relationship between the victim and abuser meets the UK legal definition (as described in Chapter One);

- victims are under 18 years old and the perpetrator is over 18 at the time of the abuse;

- the abuse is substantiated (i.e. where a conviction or caution resulted or where official findings of fact had been reached by an authoritative body, such as child protection services or professional regulators);

- sufficient available information regarding the nature and circumstances of the sexual abuse in order for valid data analysis to be conducted.

A small number of cases were not included in the final sample for additional reasons. These included one case where the allegations related to the woman's self-confessed fantasies of child sexual abuse but there was no evidence of any contact or direct sexual behaviour towards children in her care. Four foster carers were also excluded. Although foster carers receive payment they are not classed as 'employees' in UK law and given their caring role is undertaken in a domestic context with limited oversight by other agencies, this was not considered to be a suitable fit with cases arising in 'organisational' or 'institutional' contexts. Cases were also excluded if it was clear there was no official position of trust in place between the adult and child at the point where sexual contact or grooming occurred. However, a small number of cases

were included where the sexual abuse had taken place very soon (i.e. within a few weeks) after the official position of trust had ceased and where there was evidence of an inappropriate relationship between the victim and perpetrator at the time the official position of trust did exist.

This sampling strategy resulted in a total of 136 women who had sexually abused children whilst working in organisational contexts between 2000 and 2016. The geographical location of the cases cover: England (52.2%, n=71); Scotland (3.7%, n=5); Wales (5.1%, n=7); Canada (22.8%, n=31) and the United States (16.2%, n=22). Almost ninety per cent of cases (89%, n=121) concern contemporaneously perpetrated abuse and 11% (n=15) involve non-recent abuse (reported more than five years after the abuse had occurred). Only two cases involve a co-abuser (a male in both cases). Full details concerning the sample demographics and positions of trust the women held are provided in the following chapter.

4.10.1 Case study subsample

The subsample of cases used in the case study element of the research was identified through maximum variation purposive sampling. My professional judgement was used to determine the number, type and diversity of cases selected. The aim was to select a broad range of cases reflecting the heterogeneity of the complete sample (and of female child sex offenders as a whole).

A key requirement in the subsample selection was for the case to have sufficiently rich data available to enable detailed and in-depth analysis of not only the characteristics of the perpetrators and victims but also the modus operandi and offending approach. These information-rich cases enable intensive examination of meanings, processes and theory (Heckenberg, 2011). Thirty-five cases were initially selected. A range of key characteristics were then identified which were broadly representative of the types of heterogeneous cases found in the complete sample. These included: case location; victim age and gender; perpetrator age and ethnicity; position of trust held; number of victims; victim vulnerability and approach and method of abuse. Several cases with more unique circumstances and characteristics were also selected to help represent the broadest range. Twenty-five cases remained after considering these additional criteria.

A sample this size is considered appropriate for this part of the study. This is a comparable size to that used by Gannon and colleagues (2008) in developing the

DMFSO and is sufficient to allow the inclusion of a wide range of cases broadly representative of those found in the complete sample as a whole. Furthermore, it is also a manageable subsample size to conduct the more in-depth analysis required within the time available for the study.

4.11 Data Analysis

The first stage of the study involved the quantitative analysis of statistical data retrieved via the FOI requests and publicly available UK criminal justice system data. Rates of female and male sex offending were calculated and compared, then conviction and sentencing outcome rates were calculated and also compared for both genders. Comparisons were also made between criminal justice system outcomes for female child sex offenders and women who committed abuse of trust offences. The national criminal justice findings were then compared with the equivalent data for the women in the study sample.

The data from the FOI requests made to professional regulators was analysed individually to examine the differences between the number of referred male and female professionals and the subsequent outcomes for those individuals. As discussed earlier, inconsistency in the nature of the data provided by individual regulators made comparisons between and across them impossible. It also meant it was difficult to establish prevalence rates for female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts. Nonetheless, the overall analysis provided some helpful contextualisation in understanding criminal justice and professional regulator responses to this type of abuse.

The second stage of the study involved detailed content analysis of archival data detailing identified cases. Data extracted from sources included demographic information, modus operandi and circumstances of the offending, criminal justice system responses and outcomes as well as offender mitigation or explanations for their behaviour.

The individual case records contained the collated information pertaining to the case, which allowed for cross-referencing between the sources to establish the relevant data required. The extracted data was then uploaded to SPSS and descriptive statistics generated for all variables and categories.

Missing data is a common problem for researchers undertaking quantitative research (Piggott, 2001). As a consequence of the secondary data sources used, there were numerous missing values across the data set as a whole. There was no identifiable pattern to the missing data; it was 'missing at random' (Rubin, 1976 cited in Piggott, 2001 p356). If the specific data for any variable was not available through triangulation of source materials then it was classed as missing. The 'available case analysis' method (Piggott, 2001) was used in analysing the data. This meant that as many cases as possible were retained in the univariate analysis providing a more complete description of each factor under consideration. To ensure the extent, nature and limitations of the findings for each variable were made known to readers, the number of known responses for each is provided in the description of the findings presented alongside the relevant frequencies/percentages. This approach enhanced the reliability and validity of the presented findings by providing a transparent picture of what the data was able to tell us and what it was not.

Throughout this stage of the study the quantitative findings were considered alongside the richer data obtained by qualitative analysis of the content of the documentary sources. A combination of interpretative and direct coding was used to analyse the content, descriptions and language in reports, statements and decision records capturing more detailed information and identifying more subtle indicators of perpetrator motivation, victim impact and response. This method also enabled the literal and inferred identification of specific risk factors and vulnerabilities for victims and perpetrators. The ability to identify risk factors was dependent on the nature of the data source and was, however, limited in some cases, for example, where the perpetrator had denied the abuse and provided no mitigation or explanation.

A range of direct quotations arising from pertinent comments made by perpetrators and victims were used throughout the study to provide richer contextual data exemplifying the findings. These were not selected to be representative of the sample as a whole, but to offer deeper insights into the thoughts, feelings and explanations given by perpetrators, victims and others involved in the cases studied.

Findings were compared with those from other studies examining female sex offenders, male professional perpetrators and male and female teachers, as well as SCP theories and models.

4.11.1 Offence process and situational factors analysis

Similar qualitative and quantitative analysis was used to identify relevant factors in the offence process of perpetrators and the situational and environmental context for victims and perpetrators in the pre-offence, offence and post-offence periods. Several descriptive case examples are used to present the key findings and reflect them in a less abstract way.

The findings were then compared with male sex offender theories and models as well as the DMFSO (Gannon et al., 2008). The findings regarding situational and contextual factors were also used to generate an adapted version of the SPM (Kaufman et al., 2006). This offence pathway and situational factor analysis was used to suggest relevant prevention methods framed within SCP theory.

4.11.2 Case study analysis

In addition to the quantitative and qualitative analysis of all case records described above, further qualitative analysis of the case study subsample was undertaken in the third stage of the study. A modified grounded theory approach (see Charmaz, 2014; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) based in critical realism was employed to develop theoretical ideas on female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts gradually through progressive analysis. In this part of the research a critical realist grounded theory approach was used as the development of understanding around different types of female perpetrators of child sexual abuse in organisations was an area lacking any specific existing theory (i.e. typology of male or female perpetrators of institutional child sexual abuse).

This modified approach remains primarily inductive but differs from purist grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) in accepting literature review in advance of data analysis and provides for the development of inductive themes and categories within existing frameworks (Fletcher, 2017). In this study, the inductive theoretical development specifically regarding female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts was undertaken within the wider context and broader existing literature on child sexual abuse, female sexual offending and SCP. In line with critical realist epistemology, after the development of the theoretical categorisation through inductive open coding these broad initial theoretical frameworks were compared and challenged by the findings in the case studies specific to the abuse in organisational contexts.

Grounded theory has evolved and now accommodates diverse philosophical positions, including critical realism (Bunt 2016; Redman-McLaren & Mills, 2015). More contemporary developments in the methodology reflect a shift from pure induction to abduction and recognise pre-existing theoretical knowledge as a starting point or building block to develop more abstract theory (Oliver, 2011). Oliver (2011) argues that more recent developments in grounded theory can accommodate the use of preconceived analytical categories, such as the high-level offence process codes derived from the DMFSO and used for initial deductive organisation of the data in this study as described below.

Critical realism is considered compatible with the more recent developments in grounded theory since both explore the interface between theory and practice whilst recognising that resultant theory is an interpretation of events (Bunt, 2016). Both also now attend to social structure as well as individual agency and action (Oliver, 2011). The combined approach has been used successfully in numerous studies examining social and organisational phenomenon (e.g. Bunt, 2016; Kempster & Parry, 2011; Redman-McLaren & Mills, 2015) and designed to influence policy and practice. Compatibility and validity concerns of combining both are addressed through the rigorous conceptual ordering associated with grounded theory, while retroduction provides a robust framework to extend analysis and hypothesise about the causal mechanisms (Bunt, 2016). In light of these developments and the particular purpose of this study they were considered suitable to bring together in this research.

The theoretical categorisation development here remained a primarily inductive process with the majority of the coding and the categorisation development being derived directly from the data. However, deductive processes were used to develop the initial, broad highest-level coding framework and in the checking and testing of the initially developed categorisations against the cases in the full sample.

NVivo software (version 10) was used in this analysis. Three initial codes were created representing the pre-defined stages of the offending process referred to in the DMFSO ('pre- offence', 'offence' and 'post-offence') to reflect the high-level pathways and facilitate organisation of findings within that broad structure. Thereafter inductive coding was used to identify relevant factors arising from the data itself.

These findings from the inductive coding of the case study subsample data were used along with the findings of the earlier offence pathway analysis of the whole

sample to group similar cases together. The aim was to reach theoretical saturation rather than representativeness. Through constantly comparing data against the emergent codes, several categories of perpetrators were developed from the different case types. The categories were developed through the in-depth analysis of inductive codes relating to common characteristics of perpetrators and victims, typical modus operandi and perpetrator motivations and responses to the abuse. Memo writing was used throughout to record ideas and rationales for coding and emerging theory. The four provisional categorisations initially identified in the subsample were then deductively compared to the complete research sample in order to verify their wider applicably and establish any missing categories. This process resulted in the minor refinement of some category descriptions and the development of an additional category; 'unrequited infatuated', which was not identified in analysis of the case study subsample.

It was not possible to effectively include 11 per cent (n=15) of the overall sample in the developed categories. This was due to a lack of sufficient information within the individual case data to appropriately allocate them or circumstances where individuals possessed characteristics, which applied across several categories. Additionally, the two co-abusing women could not be classified as there was insufficient information regarding the role both the female and male co-offender played in the abuse and whether or not any coercion was involved.

Case examples were presented to exemplify the developed categories and a comparison was made between the developed categorisation and existing female sex offender typologies as well as the identified characteristics of organisational abusers.

4.12 Access

With the exception of the issues already detailed concerning the FOI data requests, there were no particular access difficulties encountered in the research given that the data used already existed and was freely available in the public domain.

4.13 Ethics

This research was conducted in line with the ethical codes of Durham University and the Economic and Social Research Council Research Ethics Framework. Ethical approval was obtained from the Durham University School of Applied Social Sciences Ethics Committee prior to the commencement of the data collection.

Given the sensitive nature of the subject material confidentiality was important. Although technically no specific measures were required in storing case data (given that the data used was all extracted from the public domain) it was considered ethical and appropriate for all cases to be anonymised during the research process. Specific identifying information was removed from the data presented in the research outputs and this thesis. One electronic copy of the complete case list detailing the case names and associated reference labels was stored with password protection, and thereafter all research materials referred to the case pseudonym only. All research data was also stored on a password protected laptop, and memory sticks and hardcopy case data where produced, were stored in a locked metal filing cabinet.

An interesting ethical question arises in the use of case data derived from other sources, without the knowledge or consent of the individuals themselves or their victims. This is a difficult issue; however, on balance, it was considered ethical to use the case data here given that: the information was already available in the public domain, the research outcomes were anonymised and the data protected. Furthermore, the purpose of the research is ethical (to improve the protection of children), and arguably in the public interest.

The study also involved some potential risk of psychological harm to me as a researcher. However, this risk was considerably mitigated by my existing professional experience of dealing with such sensitive cases over many years. Should any concerns or issues have arisen in this regard, plans were made to notify my supervisors and contact university counselling services at the outset. However, this was not required throughout the research process.

4.14 Limitations

As is typical with any research using secondary data analysis the findings of this study are restricted by the quality and depth of the data sources used. The data are limited by the content of the sources available; which do not constitute complete court records or police evidence files, for example. Consequently, an entirely comprehensive and complete picture of each case is not available. However, this is rarely the case in any study with such difficult-to-reach populations.

It is acknowledged that the source documents used were originally written for a different purpose than that of the research undertaken here and there are many factors that could have influenced the way information was recorded and reported in the documentation used. For example, media interviews or mitigation given by perpetrators in court are likely to represent a particular view, potentially minimising or seeking to justify the abusive action taken in an attempt to minimise negative perceptions of themselves. This is also acknowledged in limiting the extent to which the findings can truly reflect individual motivation, however, the use of triangulated data as far as possible helped to alleviate some of this. All available sources for each case were cross-referenced to improve the validity and reliability of the data extracted. Furthermore, pre-existing, first hand evidence and direct quotes from the women themselves or their victims (e.g. those contained in transcribed text messages or online communications) were also helpful in providing information about the circumstances of the abuse and the abuser's motivations, thinking and behaviour at the time that may not have been openly forthcoming in direct interviews with the subjects themselves.

All data sources have limitations on their reliability. For example, personal interviews with abusers may also be influenced by potential factors such as impression management by the interviewee; lack of truth in their responses; interviewer bias and so on. The benefit of using documentary records was the ability to carefully ascertain the validity of the female perpetrators' responses and descriptions of events by cross comparing these with additional evidence from a range of other sources. This method assisted in addressing some of the particular limitations of numerous existing studies into female sexual offending, which have relied on self-report data and lacked the use of collateral data from other sources thereby impacting on the validity of the findings to some extent (Johansson-Love & Fremouw 2006).

As explained earlier in this chapter, the convenience sample used is intended to provide an overview of a larger number of cases than used in similar research and establish the first comprehensive understanding of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts. In order to achieve this objective, the sample has been drawn from disparate sources, therefore, it is accepted that the findings cannot necessarily be considered generalisable to the wider population. However, it is not the intention of the study to produce generalisable findings as such, but rather to develop theoretical insights and explore this particularly unknown phenomenon in some descriptive depth, and in a way not previously done with such a sample size.

4.15 Summary

The research presented in this thesis was approached from critical realist and pragmatic perspectives, aiming to understand female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts. This chapter has described the research strategy, methodology and methods employed, explained the ethical considerations and acknowledged some study limitations. It has described how the research subject was considered through the theoretical lens of SCP with the specific purpose of assisting the development of relevant prevention strategies. The following chapter will commence the presentation of the research findings derived by employing the methodology and methods described here.

Chapter Five: Contextual Data

5.1 Introduction

Chapter Two identified the difficulties in establishing prevalence rates for female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts. In order to address the overall aim of this research; *understanding female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts* it is helpful to understand the reported size of the problem in the UK. To do this, data was obtained from a range of government agencies and regulatory bodies and extracted from officially published criminal justice system information. The analysis of outcomes presented in this chapter also contributes to addressing the research question: *how is female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts responded to?*

The first part of this chapter will analyse and discuss rates of men and women being convicted of, or cautioned for, child sexual offending and abuse of trust offences. The sentencing and outcomes for such offences will then be compared between genders. The second part of the chapter will present an analysis and discussion of the available data regarding child sexual abuse by women working in organisational contexts. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the findings and suggest that the relative lenience, which can be seen in outcomes for some women who abuse in positions of trust, can be understood as a manifestation of 'chivalry theory' while other female perpetrators may be regarded as 'triply deviant' and face harsher consequences.

5.2 Criminal Justice System Data

5.2.1 Child sexual offences

According to official police data reported by the Ministry of Justice (2016a) female offenders constituted only 1.7% of all those receiving cautions and convictions for child sexual offences (excluding incest) in England and Wales between 2006 and 2016 (Table 5). Breaking this down further this equates to female offenders representing 4.4% of all those cautioned for, and 0.96% of all those convicted of, child sexual offences. Of these women 52.2% received a caution (compared with a male rate of 18.7%) and 47.8% were convicted (compared with a male rate of 81.3%).

5.2.1.1 Sentencing

Following conviction for a child sexual offence 56.9% of female offenders were sentenced to immediate custody, 22.6% received a suspended sentence and 16.3% were given a community sentence. This compares to rates of 67.8%, 8% and 20.4% respectively for male offenders. Average custodial sentences were 57.7 months for female offenders and 63.8 months for male offenders.

Table 5: Child Sexual Offences (excluding incest), England and Wales 2006-2016

	FEMALE	MALE
Cautions (n)	261	5650
Percentage of total offenders receiving cautions	52.2%	18.7%
Convictions (n)	239	24,545
Percentage of total offenders receiving convictions	47.8%	81.3%
Conviction rate (Percentage of those proceeded against that were convicted)	46.7%	55%

Immediate custody	56.9%	67.8%
Suspended sentence	22.6%	8%
Community sentence	16.3%	20.4%
Average custodial sentence	57.7 months	63.8 months

Source: Ministry of Justice, Criminal Justice statistics quarterly December 2016. Accessed via:

https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/criminal-justice-system-statistics-quarterly-december-2016

This means that with regard to child sexual offences, in comparison to male child sexual offenders:

- Female offenders were much more likely to receive a caution and were less likely to be found guilty and convicted;
- Female offenders were less likely to receive immediate custodial sentences and almost three times more likely to receive a suspended sentence;
- Female offenders were less likely to be convicted if the case against them proceeded but when they were convicted they received custodial sentences (both immediate and suspended) more often than male offenders. However, this is influenced by the higher suspended sentence rate for women. Nonetheless female offenders received shorter sentences; on average 6.1 months less.

Given the limitations of criminal justice system data sets in recording the relationship between victims and offenders, it is not possible to establish how many of

the above child sexual offences were committed by adults in organisational contexts. However, there is a range of offences specifically related to the sexual abuse of children by adults who are in an official position of trust over them. These 'Abuse of Trust' offences are examined next, allowing some indication of the extent of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts dealt with by the police and courts.

5.2.2 'Abuse of Trust' offences

'Abuse of Trust' offences were first set out in the Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act (2000) and extended in the Sexual Offences Act (2003). They refer to those sexual offences perpetrated when an adult abuses their legal position of authority or trust by engaging in sexual activity with a young person aged 16 or 17 years old. This is considered illegal because while young people over the age of 16 can legally consent to some types of sexual activity this is not considered to be the case in a situation where there is an abuse of trust. There are four distinct offences defined in the legislation:

(i)   *abuse of position of trust: sexual activity with a child*;
(ii)   *abuse of position of trust: causing or inciting a child to engage in a sexual act*;
(iii)   *abuse of position of trust: sexual activity in the presence of a child* and
(iv)   *abuse of position of trust: causing a child to watch a sexual act.*

Abuse of trust offences constituted 1.8% of all recorded child sexual offences in England and Wales between 2006-2016. During this period a total of 2478 offences were recorded and following an initial high between 2006 and 2008 then a subsequent decline, there has been an increase in the number of recorded abuse of trust offences year on year since 2011 (Home Office, 2007, 2012, 2013, 2017). Unfortunately, these recorded crime statistics are not categorised by gender.

Table 6: Number of recorded 'Abuse of Trust' offences (both genders), England and Wales 2006-2016

FINANCIAL YEAR	No. of recorded 'Abuse of Trust' crimes
2006-07	361
2007-08	328
2008-09	195
2009-10	185
2010-11	146
2011-12	176
2012-13	192
2013-14	194
2014-15	211
2015-16	240
2016-17	258
Total	**2478**

Source: Home Office (2007, 2012, 2013, 2017) Police Recorded Crime Open Data: Police Force Area Tables. Accessed at:

https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/police-recorded-crime-open-data-tables

As this police *recorded* crime data is not broken down by gender it is not possible to calculate the later attrition rate (the rate of reported cases compared to those which ultimately result in conviction or caution) for female compared to male offenders. However, analysis of official police *outcome* data, which is categorised by gender (Table 7), reveals that women constituted 11.9% of all those receiving cautions and convictions for abuse of trust offences in England and Wales between 2006 and 2016 (Ministry of Justice, 2016). More specifically, 14.9% of those cautioned for, and 10.3% of those convicted of, abuse of trust offences in that period were female. In other words, women were responsible for more than 1 in 9 abuse of trust convictions and around 1 in 7 cautions. Comparing the rates of cautions and convictions by gender, 43.1% of female abuse of trust offenders received cautions for abuse of trust offences compared to 33.3% of male offenders and 56.9% of women were convicted compared to 66.7% of men.

5.2.2.1 Sentencing

Following conviction for abuse of trust offences 45.9% of women were sentenced to immediate custody, 40.5% received a suspended sentence and 8.1% were given a community sentence. This compares to rates of 57.1%, 14% and 18.3% respectively for male offenders. Average custodial sentences were 11.8 months for female offenders and 12.1 months for male offenders.

Table 7: Abuse of Trust Sexual Offences Outcomes, England and Wales 2006-2016

	FEMALE	MALE
Cautions (n)	28	160
Percentage of offenders receiving cautions	43.1%	33.3%
Convictions (n)	37	321
Percentage of offenders receiving convictions	56.9%	66.7%
Conviction rate (Percentage of those proceeded against that were convicted)	100%	93.3%
Immediate custody	45.9%	57.1%
Suspended sentence	40.5%	14%

Community sentence	8.1%	18.3%
Average custodial sentence	11.8 months	12.1 months

Source: Ministry of Justice, Criminal Justice statistics quarterly December 2016. Accessed via:

https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/criminal-justice-system-statistics-quarterly-december-2016

These findings indicate that with regard to abuse of trust offences, compared to male offenders:

- Female offenders were more likely to receive a caution;
- Female offenders were slightly more likely to be convicted if the case was proceeded with and when they were, they were given custodial sentences (immediate and suspended) more often. Again, this is influenced by the high rate of suspended sentences for females. Average sentences were broadly comparable across genders;
- Female offenders were less likely to receive immediate custodial sentences and much more likely to receive a suspended sentence;
- The average custodial sentence length is slightly lower for female offenders but this is broadly comparable at around 12 months for both genders.

It is particularly notable that abuse of trust offences constituted 13% of all female-perpetrated child sexual offences between 2006-2016 compared to only 1.6% of male perpetrated offences. This indicates that comparatively, abuse of trust offences constitute a much higher rate of child sexual offences perpetrated by women as opposed to men. These figures also highlight that of all child sexual offence cases proceeded with in the criminal justice system in England and Wales women were less likely to be convicted of general child sexual offences than men (46.7% compared to 55%) but slightly more likely to be convicted of abuse of trust offences (100% v 93.3%) than men.

In summary, although women accounted for only 1.7% of all recorded cautions and convictions for child sexual offences in England and Wales between 2006 and 2016, in the same period they accounted for 11.9% of recorded cautions and convictions for abuse of trust offences. Women were therefore responsible for more than 1 in 9 abuse of trust offences in that period and were comparatively more than eight times more likely to be convicted/cautioned for an abuse of trust offence than other child sex offences than men.

A number of important questions arise from these findings: are women genuinely perpetrating proportionally more abuse of trust offences? Is it just that such offending by women against older children (as opposed to abuse of say younger, interfamilial victims) is more likely to be discovered and/or reported? Is there an association with the potentially higher numbers of women in the child care/child serving organisations workforce? Could it be that of all types of child sex offending abuse of trust offences generally result from the more typically identified motivations of female child sex offenders (e.g. emotional needs); such as those women identified in the 'teacher-lover' type of abuser (Mathews et al., 1989)? These are important issues to explore in future research.

Although least prevalent in the sample used to generate Mathew's et al.'s (1989) seminal typology of female sex offenders, the 'teacher-lover' type or those with similar characteristics, have been found to be the most common type of offender in larger sample studies (Sandler & Freeman, 2007; Vandiver & Kercher, 2004). Vandiver and Kercher (2004) re-labelled this type of offender as 'heterosexual nurturers' and Sandler and Freeman (2007) classified them 'criminally limited hebephiles', however, both of these studies included adult victims and specific findings with regard to female child sex offenders exclusively are not provided.

Further questions arising from these findings concern the prevalence of pre-disposed or opportunistic and situational abusers among female offenders. Are women genuinely less disposed to sex offending than men? Are situational factors even more relevant to females who abuse more opportunistically? These issues will be discussed further in Chapter Seven.

Now that a higher proportional rate of abuse of trust offending has been identified among female child sexual offenders next the different sentencing outcomes for both groups are examined.

5.2.3 Comparing outcomes across female child sexual offenders and female abuse of trust offenders

When the outcomes for female offenders are compared across those convicted of, or cautioned for, child sexual offences and those convicted of, or cautioned for, abuse of trust offences the findings show:

- Perpetrators are more likely to be convicted than cautioned for abuse of trust offences;
- Perpetrators are more likely to receive suspended sentences and less likely to receive immediate custodial or community sentences for abuse of trust offences;
- Custodial sentences are much lower on average for abuse of trust offences (although this is likely due to sentencing guideline differences).

The data show, then, that sentencing of female offenders for abuse of trust offences results in lower rates of immediate imprisonment than other child sexual offences. Given the rates of immediate custodial sentences for men are broadly similar regardless of whether it was an abuse of trust offence or an alternative child sexual offence, this raises a number of questions around gender stereotyping.

This finding could indicate a gender bias and minimisation of the perceived harm to older adolescent victims of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in abuse of trust sentencing decisions. This could also potentially be influenced by cultural stereotypes given that more victims of this type of abuse are male than female (Colson et al., 2013).

5.2.4 Comparing outcomes for female offenders and male offenders

Comparing the outcomes for female and male offenders across both child sexual offences and abuse of trust offences, the findings indicate:

- Female offenders are more likely to receive cautions and less likely to be convicted for both categories of child sexual offences than male offenders;
- Female offenders are slightly more likely to be convicted if proceeded against for abuse of trust offences than male offenders;

- Female offenders are much more likely to receive suspended sentences and less likely to be given immediate custodial or community sentences for both categories of child sexual offences than male offenders;
- Female offenders receive lower average custodial sentences than male offenders for both categories of child sexual offences.

It is interesting that female offenders receive suspended sentences around three times more often than male offenders. The finding that female offenders receive immediate custodial or community sentences less often than male offenders could indicate a particular bias, again potentially reflecting the manifestation of chivalry theory in sentencing decisions. However, it is also possible these outcomes reflect women typically having primary care responsibilities in families that may in turn influence suspended sentence decisions in court.

Overall these findings indicate women were treated more leniently than men for committing child sexual offences by the police and courts in England and Wales between 2006 and 2016, although the available data is not sufficiently detailed to enable an analysis of the reasons for these outcomes. What is also not clear is why there is a particular disparity in the responses to women who perpetrate child sexual offences compared with those who commit abuse of trust offences. Although female perpetrators committing abuse of trust offences are more likely to be convicted if their case proceeds, they are subsequently treated more leniently in sentencing. The higher percentage of convictions in abuse of trust offences may relate to evidential issues given victims will inevitably be older than child victims in most general sexual offending. Lesser sentences in abuse of trust cases could just be a consequence of the particular sentencing guidelines in relation to the different types of child sexual offences. However, they could also reflect gendered cultural views towards this type of abuse and perceptions of lesser harm to, frequently, male victims.

5.3   Outcomes for women in this study

This section describes the criminal justice system and sentencing outcomes found for this study sample. An attempt is made to provide some indicative comparison between these findings and those identified earlier in the official criminal justice system data.

To enable an appropriate comparison and avoid double-counting cases some necessary data adjustments were made. This was necessary as the original research sample included cases arising over a longer period (between 2000 and 2016) and in wider jurisdictions; and that the criminal justice system data for England and Wales (detailed earlier in this chapter) would actually have included some of the cases, which are part of the complete sample used in this study.

First the relevant research cases arising in England and Wales between 2006 and 2016 were removed from the national data set. There were 70 cases in the research sample that arose in England and Wales between 2006-2016. (All cases outside of those time periods and jurisdictions were excluded from the subsample to ensure an appropriate comparison could be made). The remaining national criminal justice system case data was then recalculated and subsequently used as comparison data with the cases in this research subsample. Table 8 below shows the revised national data results following removal of the cases included in this sample.

Table 8: Child Sexual Offences (including Abuse of Trust, excluding incest) England and Wales, 2006-2016 (discounting cases in the research subsample arising in the same jurisdictions in the same period)

	FEMALE
Cautions (n)	257
Percentage of total offenders receiving cautions	57.4%
Convictions (n)	191
Percentage of total offenders receiving convictions	42.6%
Immediate custody	54.5%
Suspended sentence	22%

Source: Ministry of Justice, Criminal Justice statistics quarterly December 2016. Accessed via:

https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/criminal-justice-system-statistics-quarterly-december-2016

Of the seventy women in the research subsample, 67.5% (n=52) were cautioned or convicted for a child sexual offence (Table 9). Cautions were administered in 5.1% (n=4) of cases and 62.3% (n=48) of women were convicted. Three-quarters of the women (n=3) who received cautions did so for abuse of trust offences and 45.8% (n=22) were convicted of abuse of trust offences.

Table 9: Rates of cautions and convictions for Child Sexual Offences in this research subsample (England and Wales, 2006-2016 only)

	Child Sex Offences (excluding Abuse of Trust)		Abuse of Trust Offences		Total
	n	%	n	%	n
Cautions	1	25	3	75	4
Convictions	26	54.1	22	45.8	48

Of those women who were convicted of child sex offences other than abuse of trust offences the majority (84.6%, n=22) received an immediate custodial sentence compared to national rates of 54.5% and only 7.7% (n=2) received a suspended custodial sentence compared to a national rate of 20.8% (Table 10). Therefore, the cases in this sample reflected much higher rates of immediate custody and much lower rates of suspended sentences compared to female child sex offenders in general. When abuse of trust offenders are considered (Table 11) sentencing outcomes between this sample and the national average are much more comparable. This suggests that in cases where female professionals abuse younger children and commit offences other than those categorised as abuse of trust their position of trust may have an additional punitive effect in sentencing outcomes.

Table 10: Comparison of sentencing outcomes for Child Sexual Offences (excluding Abuse of Trust offences) between this research subsample and national average

	Research subsample		National average	
	n	%	n	%
Immediate custody	22	84.6	97	54.5
Suspended sentence	2	7.7	37	20.8

Table 11: Comparison of sentencing outcomes for Abuse of Trust Offences between this research subsample and national average

	Research subsample		National average	
	n	%	n	%
Immediate custody	10	45.5	7	46.7
Suspended sentence	10	45.5	5	33.3

These findings demonstrate that immediate custodial sentences for those child sex offences other than abuse of trust offences are much more frequent (and rates of suspended sentences much lower) in this research subsample than the national averages. However, the rates of immediate custody are comparable between this subsample and the national average for abuse of trust offences. Suspended sentence outcome rates for abuse of trust offences are somewhat higher in this research subsample than the national average.

It seems reasonable to conclude that women in this research sample are punished more severely for other child sex offences than the national average but female perpetrators of abuse of trust offences are treated similarly with regard to immediate custody and more leniently with suspended sentences than the national average. However when comparing this data to criminal justice system data here some key issues must be borne in mind. Given the nature of the data sources used in this study (i.e. court reports and sentencing records), the findings concerning the subsample here will inevitably be reflective of these particular case types. The findings in relation to the abuse of trust comparisons are impacted by the number of abuse of trust offence cases included in this research subsample is larger than the number of remaining abuse of trust offences cases dealt with in England and Wales between

2006-2016. These limitations acknowledged, the data does provide some useful contextual information and the findings did suggest some broad differences across the sample data and national data.

The first part of this chapter has reviewed the official criminal justice system statistics with regard to female child sex offenders and those who abuse in positions of trust. It has also compared this data across genders and with the findings regarding the cases used in this research subsample. The second part of the chapter will now explore whether similar findings arise in the available data from professional regulatory bodies with regard to female perpetrators.

5.4   Professional Regulatory Body Data

To try and determine the rates of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse among those working in different professions within organisations and the outcomes in relation to those cases, statistical data was requested from a range of regulatory bodies under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act 2000 (FOI). Requests were submitted to relevant regulatory bodies identified in the Safeguarding Vulnerable Groups Act 2006 (see Appendix 2). These regulators are responsible for the specific professions where individuals work with vulnerable groups, including children. Requests were not submitted to the General Osteopathic Council and the General Chiropractic Council due to their individual websites containing records of all cases considered by their respective professional conduct committees covering the applicable time period. These records were fully searched and found to contain no relevant cases.

Requests were also made to the two national workforce safeguarding schemes, the Disclosure and Barring Service (for England, Wales and Northern Ireland) (DBS) and Disclosure Scotland. These organisations are responsible for vetting individuals who work, or apply to work, with children and vulnerable adults and also for barring such individuals from future work where concerns about their behaviour are identified. Additional contextual data regarding the safeguarding schemes was also obtained from previously published FOI requests made to the DBS and its predecessor organisation, the Independent Safeguarding Authority (ISA). A manual interrogation of the NCTL website was also undertaken to establish the required statistical information. Full details of the data collection process are described in Chapter Four.

These approaches resulted in some useful data being collected from most regulatory bodies. However, due to data from each regulator differing with regard to time span and different categories of case categorisations, a consolidated and comprehensive overall picture could not be determined. Nonetheless an analysis of the information from each individual regulator provides important insights into the scale and nature of reported female-perpetrated child sexual abuse within organisations as a whole. These findings will be presented in the following section with full details found in Appendix 3.

5.4.1 Disclosure Scotland

Disclosure Scotland provided data for the period 1 January 2015 to 30 June 2016. By mid-2016 there were a total of 275 women (8.5%) on the Scottish Children's Barred List (preventing them from working in positions with children) compared to 2959 men.

5.4.1.1 Currently listed

In mid-2016 only 3% (n=8) of the women on the Scottish children's barred list were included for 'sexual behaviour/offences involving children' (including indecent images, grooming, fictitious thoughts/fantasies), all of these cases having been referred to Disclosure Scotland by the courts. Five of them involved physical/contact sexual assault of a child and five involved offences relating to indecent images of children (some women perpetrated both types of abuse). It was not possible to identify from the data whether these cases concerned abuse specifically occurring within organisational contexts.

5.4.1.2 Under consideration

Seven further women were still under consideration by Disclosure Scotland for sexual behaviour/offences involving children. The behaviour related to: physical/contact sexual assault of a child in four cases; an inappropriate relationship or contact with a child involving a sexual element in one case; inappropriate sexual behaviour in the presence of, or directed towards, a child in one case and one case involved both indecent images and inappropriate sexual behaviour in the presence of, or directed towards, a child.

Therefore, in total, 15 women were listed or under consideration by Disclosure Scotland for sexual behaviour/offences involving children and 60% of those concerned

physical/contact sexual abuse (although it is not known if they related to sexual abuse of a child in the perpetrator's professional care). A comparison with male cases could not be made as Disclosure Scotland was unable to extract this data within the FOI Act time/cost limitations.

5.4.2   Disclosure and Barring Service

Since 2012 the DBS has been the organisation responsible for vetting and barring individuals who work with children and vulnerable adults in England and Wales.

In response to the FOI request DBS only provided generic data on the numbers of individuals included in their Children's and Adults' Barred Lists. In May 2016 women made up 5.6% of those included on the Children's Barred List and 13.8% of those included on both the Children's and Adults' Barred Lists. However, the number included for sexual abuse could not be determined as DBS stated they could not provide this information due to time/cost limitations.

Further analysis of information released by one of the DBS's predecessor organisations, the ISA, revealed that sexual abuse was the second most common type of abuse leading to individuals being barred from working with vulnerable groups under ISA discretionary powers (Independent Safeguarding Authority, 2012b). In 2011 women constituted 16.3% of cases referred to the ISA following concerns around sexual behaviour and abuse (Independent Safeguarding Authority, 2012a). Subsequent to referral, women constituted 7% of those barred for sexual abuse, where the ISA had made a discretionary decision to do so (Independent Safeguarding Authority, 2012a). Of all women referred for sexual behaviour 7.2% were ultimately barred from working with vulnerable groups compared with 18.7% of men referred for the same reason. This means that men were more than two and a half times more likely to be barred for sexual behaviour than women. Again, data limitations mean it was not possible to ascertain what percentage of these cases involved abuse perpetrated in organisational contexts specifically.

However, these figures include those who were alleged to have abused vulnerable adults as well as children and the data was not distinguishable by vulnerable group. The data does not include those individuals who were automatically barred from working with vulnerable groups (following conviction for a range of legislatively defined violent and sexual offences) as no specific data was provided in relation to such cases.

5.4.3 National College of Teaching and Leadership (NCTL) /Department for Education (DfE)

The NCTL is an executive agency of the Department for Education (DfE) in England. It regulates the teaching profession and in professional conduct cases makes recommendations to the DfE whether a teacher's registration should be withdrawn or sanctioned.

The DfE did not provide any data in response to the FOI request made maintaining that a response could not be provided within the accepted time/cost limitations. Therefore, in order to obtain some indication of the prevalence of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in schools in England a manual interrogation of the existing recent decisions published on the NCTL webpages of the gov.uk website was undertaken instead.

This analysis revealed that of the 131 published decisions of the NCTL Teacher Misconduct Panel in 2016, 43 cases (male and female teachers) concerned sexual misconduct/abuse of children or young people in their care, constituting 32.8% of decisions made in the year. Four of these cases related to female teachers, equalling 9.3% of sexual misconduct/abuse of children cases considered that year. However, these four cases account for 11.8% of all female cases considered by the NCTL that year compared to a rate of 40.2% of male cases.

All four of those female teachers considered for sexual misconduct/abuse of children in their official care were de-registered as a result, whereas 89.7% of male teachers were de-registered (Table 12).

In summary, this indicates that 3% of all cases considered by the Teacher Misconduct Panel of the NCTL in 2016 related to female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts. Although this is a low rate overall it is interesting that sexual abuse constituted 11.8% of all female cases considered that year.

Table 12: NCTL outcomes for teachers who sexually abused children in their care (2016)

OUTCOME	FEMALE (n=4)	MALE (n=39)
Prohibition Order	100%	89.7%
Suspension Order	-	-
No order	-	10.3%

5.4.4 Education Workforce Council Wales (EWC)

The EWC is the independent regulator for teachers and learning support staff in Wales replacing the former General Teaching Council for Wales (GTCW). The EWC provided data regarding cases involving 'inappropriate relationships with students' (covering 9.5 years from 2007 to June 2016) (NB. these may not always be sexual relationships). They stated they have no remit to consider cases that involve a risk of harm, particularly where there has been a conviction for a sexual offence; these are dealt with by the DBS. However, EWC did not define this 'risk of harm' category in their response.

Between 2007 and mid-2016 EWC (and formerly the GTCW) had received 10 'inappropriate relationship' cases concerning female registrants; all of which were referred to a conduct hearing. Nine of these had reached conclusion at the time of the information being provided and resulted in: five women receiving prohibition orders; three women being issued suspension orders (suspending them from work in the education sector for various periods of time) and one woman receiving an 'other' undefined order. In comparison, 25 equivalent male cases were received, 16 of which had been concluded resulting in: 11 men receiving prohibition orders; three men being issued suspension orders and two further men receiving 'other' undefined orders.

Therefore, of the total number of cases concerning 'inappropriate relationships with pupils' concluded by EWC/GTCW, over a third (36%) related to female teachers/workers. Fifty-six per cent of these women received prohibition orders (compared to 69% of male cases); 33% were given suspension orders (compared to 19% of males) and 11% received 'other' orders (compared to 12% males).

Table 13:EWC/GTCW outcomes for teachers/education workers following
'inappropriate relationships' with pupils (2007-mid 2016)

Outcome	FEMALE (n=9)	MALE (n=11)
Prohibition Order	56%	69%
Suspension Order	33%	19%
Other	11%	12%

These figures demonstrate that male teachers/education workers were more likely to receive prohibition orders for inappropriate relationships (not necessarily sexual in nature) with pupils than female teachers/education workers. However, it should be noted that this data represents only a very small sample, and specific details of all cases are not known. Therefore, although this might suggest a potential bias in EWC/GTCW decision-making no reliable conclusions can be reached in this regard.

5.4.5   General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTCS)

The GTCS regulates the teaching profession in Scotland. In the 10-year period from 2006 to November 2015, 82 teachers were referred to the GTCS for 'sexual behaviour against a child' (NB: this may not have occurred against children with whom they were in a position of trust) with 12.2% (n=10) of these referrals relating to female teachers.

Among those cases involving a female teacher 40% (n=4) proceeded to a 'Fitness to Practice' hearing where the allegations against them were proven compared to 54% of male cases. The remaining cases for both genders were not considered to have a case to answer (i.e. there was insufficient evidence supporting the allegations) or had not yet reached a final decision by the time the data was provided. All of those (both genders) who had allegations against them found proven were removed from the teaching register or were refused initial registration with the Council.

This means female teachers were less likely than male teachers to proceed to a Fitness to Practice hearing where allegations of sexual behaviour against a child were found proven, although the chances of removal from the register thereafter are the same for both genders (100%). However, again this data is limited by being a small sample, particularly of female teachers.

For teachers who are already listed by Disclosure Scotland (i.e. barred from working with children) they are automatically removed from the GTCS register without the need to be considered by the Fitness to Practice panel. In the same period 12 teachers were automatically removed under these provisions, one of whom was female.

The combined GTCS data shows that five female teachers were removed from the teaching register for sexual behaviour against a child (compared to 50 males) between 2006 and November 2015. In other words, 1 in 11 teachers removed from the Scottish teaching register between 2006 and 2015 for sexual behaviour against a child were women.

5.4.6   Health and Care Professions Council (HCPC)

The HCPC regulates a range of professions working in health and care sectors, including social workers. Between 2006 and mid-2016 only three female cases (16.7%) meeting HCPC's standard of acceptance for consideration were categorised as concerning allegations of 'sexual abuse relating to a child', compared to 15 male cases. In other words, female practitioners accounted for 16.7% of cases. Of the female cases, two were closed with no action and the third remained open at the point of data analysis. Of the 13 concluded male cases, 10 were struck off (77%) and three (23%) were closed with no further action.

Although this is an extremely small sample, in HCPC cases concerning child sexual abuse male practitioners were more likely to proceed to final hearing and result in some form of sanction than those concerning females.

5.4.7   General Dental Council (GDC)

The GDC regulates dentists and dental professionals in the UK. No relevant female cases concerning 'sexual offences which relate to allegations of sexual misconduct or abuse against children and young people' were considered by the Council between 2012 and mid-2016. In the same period three males were considered for such allegations, all of which occurred within the organisational context. Two were still pending at the time the data was provided and the remaining case was closed with no substantive sanction being taken.

5.4.8 General Medical Council (GMC)

There have been no hearings of female doctors facing allegations of 'sexual misconduct/abuse of children or young people' since 1980. In an exemplar year, 2015, the GMC concluded 21 cases of male doctors who faced such allegations (10 of which involved patients). Just over half of these (n=11) were referred to a substantive hearing by the Medical Practitioners Tribunal, of which 82% had their names erased from the register and 18% were suspended. However, insufficient information was provided by GMC to determine which of these cases directly involved sexual misconduct/abuse against child patients.

5.4.9 General Optical Council (GOC)

The GOC is responsible for regulating optical professionals in the UK. It had not received any complaints about female practitioners between 2013 and mid-2016, while during the same period it had received seven cases concerning 'allegations of sexual misconduct/sexual abuse of children and young people' by male practitioners. Two of these cases concerned misconduct towards 16/17 year-old colleagues in the workplace. Therefore, only one male optical practitioner in a position of trust relevant to this study was referred to the GOC in three and a half years. The outcome of this case could not be determined from the data provided.

5.4.10 General Pharmaceutical Council (GPhC)

The GPhC regulates pharmacists and pharmacy technicians in the UK and between 2014 and mid-2016 the Council received no relevant female cases concerning 'allegations of sexual offences against children'. In the same period three male cases were dealt with at hearing for the same allegations, where the conduct occurred in the organisational context. These cases resulted in one male being removed from their register, one being subject to a conditional registration and one receiving no sanction.

5.4.11 Nursing and Midwifery Council (NMC)

The NMC is responsible for the regulation of nurses and midwives. Between April 2010 and March 2016, 489 women had been referred to the NMC for 'sexual offences and misconduct'. That constituted 56.8% of all referrals on those grounds, a surprisingly high rate given the findings from other regulatory bodies. However, it is important to note that these categories include all sexual offences and misconduct not only those relating to children and the NMC categorisation system does not allow for easy identification of victim age. It is also possible that these results are impacted by

the higher proportion of women anticipated to be working in roles regulated by the NMC than men.

Of these female referrals 79.1% of allegations concerned behaviour in the organisational context (compared to 70.7% for males). Less than a third (31.7%) of these female cases proceeded to conduct committee hearing (compared to 34.4% of male cases). Following conduct hearings 15.5% of female practitioners were struck off the NMC register (compared to 57.8% of male practitioners); 10.3% received caution orders (compared to 9.4% of males); 9% received conditions of practice orders (compared to 3.9% of males) and 18.1% received suspension orders (compared to 6.3% of males).

This means that:

- Female nurses/midwives referred for sexual offences and misconduct were far less likely to be struck off the NMC register than male nurses/ midwives;
- Female practitioners were also around three times more likely to receive a 'conditions of practice' or suspension order than male practitioners;
- Cases involving male nurses/midwives proceeded to conduct committee hearings more often than female nurses/midwives;
- More of the sexual offences and misconduct cases against female practitioners concerned behaviour that occurred in organisational contexts than those of male practitioners.

Table 14: Referrals and outcomes for cases referred to the NMC for 'sexual offences and misconduct' (April 2010-March 2016)

	FEMALE		MALE	
	n	%	n	%
Total referred	489	56.8%	372	43.2%
Occurred in organisational context	387	79.1%	263	70.7%
Proceeded to Conduct Committee	155	31.7%	128	34.4%
Struck off	24	15.5%	74	57.8%
Caution Order	16	10.3%	12	9.4%

Conditions of Practice Order	14	9%	5	3.9%
Suspension Order	28	18.1%	8	6.3%

5.5 Findings Regarding Prevalence

There are numerous difficulties in being able to establish any prevalence rates for female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts; most of those difficulties were also evident in the data collection attempts undertaken in this research. For instance, data comparison is hampered by:

a) incompleteness of the data available or provided. For example, two organisations did not provide any relevant data and the rest provided partial information;

b) provision of data for different time periods. For example, only one regulator provided information covering the complete period requested, all of the rest provided data covering periods ranging from one to nine years;

c) the differing categorisations used by organisations to classify cases, which made it difficult to discern i) where abuse was directed towards children, adults or both, and ii) whether the sexual abuse concerned behaviour occurring in the organisational context. For example, different categories included 'sexual behaviour against a child'; 'sexual offence'; 'allegations of sexual misconduct/sexual abuse of children and young people' among others.

The data collected may not be entirely comprehensive; however, this analysis represents the only known and substantive collation of statistical information regarding the extent of perpetration of child sexual abuse by females in positions of trust in the UK, offering some useful insights summarised below.

Eight of the professional regulators had not had any relevant female cases (according to the specific search categories they were able to use) within the respective time periods they were able to provide data for. Of the remaining seven regulators the data reveals a combined total of 652 female professionals referred for concerns relating to sexual behaviour (although not all will have involved children or

occurred within the organisational context) compared to 2372 male cases. This means 21.6% of cases concerning sexual behaviour involved female professionals. However, this rate is significantly influenced by the high number of cases (n=489) arising from NMC referrals, which in turn is likely to reflect the higher proportion of women in the nursing/midwifery profession.

The available data from the seven professional regulators who dealt with female cases shows:

- Female professionals being responsible for between 3 and 16.7% of cases concerning sexual abuse of children;
- Female teachers represented 9.3% of all cases of sexual abuse of children in organisational contexts (NCTL data only);
- Female professionals constituted between 7 and 56% of those considered by professional regulators for general sexual offending or sexual misconduct.

These findings reflect lower rates of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in positions of trust than those found in other studies and in UK criminal justice and sentencing statistics. For example, McLeod's (2015) study in the US found that 19% of child sexual abusers in positions of trust were female, higher than the 3-16.7% rate identified here. Analysis of the recorded sentences on the UK online sentencing database, Lawpages.com, also showed higher rates in that 29.2% of female child sexual abusers sentenced between 2006 and 2016 abused in organisational contexts.

The data showed that female teachers accounted for 9.3% of child sexual abuse in the education sector (considered by the NCTL). However, again this is a lower rate in comparison to those found in some other studies examining the prevalence of educator sexual abuse. For example, Shakeshaft's (2004) review in the US estimated between 4 and 43% of educator sexual abusers to be female and Ratliff and Watson's (2014) study, also in the US, identified that 26% of teachers who sexually abused were female. Similar rates to the findings here are evident in two studies of Canadian teachers (Jaffe et al., 2013; Mototsune, 2015), which found 8-9% of sexual abusers to be female.

Taking all of this information into account female perpetrators could be estimated to constitute between 3 and 30% of child sexual abusers in organisational contexts.

Comparison with existing published statistics suggests that professional regulatory bodies in the UK are dealing with lower rates of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts than indicated by previous studies and sentencing data. This could mean that our systems are particularly robust and appropriate safeguards are in place to prevent such abuse. However, some cases found in the data collection processes for the wider research study here did not appear in the official data available from the regulatory body relevant to that individual. This could indicate that employers are not referring relevant cases to professional regulators appropriately (either consciously or through failure to understand their responsibilities) and/or professional regulators are potentially not proceeding to take formal action on all female cases referred for their consideration following concerns around sexual behaviour.

5.6   Findings Regarding Outcomes

Some interesting findings resulted from those instances where comparable data was available regarding rates of male and female professionals referred and the outcomes of the professional regulator decision-making process. These findings suggest that women may be being treated more leniently than their male counterparts in some respects where sexual behaviour is concerned. Where more substantive data was available female professional cases were less likely to proceed to final hearing (GTCS/HCPC/NMC) and women were less likely to be struck off, de-registered or prevented from working in their professions (NMC/EWC/ISA).

NMC findings were particularly notable in that a higher percentage rate of referrals were received for women relating to sexual offences and misconduct than men, although this is no doubt influenced by the higher number of women in professions they regulate. Despite the high rate of women considered by the NMC fewer female cases proceeded to final conduct hearings and those that did were three times less likely to be struck off the nursing register than men. Data from the ISA also showed that men were more than two and a half times more likely to be barred from working with vulnerable groups following referral for sexual behaviour, than women.

Similar to the criminal justice system data analysis, these findings suggest the possibility that female professionals are treated more leniently by a number of regulatory bodies when concerns are raised about sexual behaviour, however, the data is not sufficiently detailed as to allow an analysis of why this might be the case. As found with criminal justice system data there are similar limitations with professional

regulators' data influencing any conclusions that can be drawn. In most cases it is not known whether the abuse was specifically perpetrated against a child who was in the perpetrator's care in an organisational context or alternatively a child they knew outside of their professional role. Additionally, most regulators only had very small proportions of women in their data sets making comparison more challenging.

5.7   Summary

This chapter has detailed the examination of data drawn from both the criminal justice system and professional regulatory bodies with regard to the prevalence of, and outcomes associated with, female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts. Some indication of the extent of reported female-perpetrated abuse has been provided but substantive prevalence rates cannot be deduced. The data sets analysed suggest that women may be treated more leniently than men in both arenas when their behaviour concerns sexual misconduct or abuse. Consideration was given to the potential gender biases that may be evident in these outcomes and the possibility of the manifestation of both 'triple deviancy' and selective chivalry in judicial decisions.

The findings from the first part of this chapter regarding the differences in how women in positions of trust are treated compared to other female child sex offenders could simply be a reflection of the nature and circumstances of the offences committed. However, they could also indicate the manifestation of 'double deviancy' (Heidensohn, 1985), or indeed what I conceptualise as 'triple deviancy' in the sentencing of female professionals who commit sexual offences other than abuse of trust offences. Those female professionals who abuse younger victims, or where the relationship is not viewed as being genuine love or consensual in nature, may be being regarded as triply deviant. Firstly, these women have violated social norms by offending; secondly, their behaviour violates gender norms; and thirdly, their behaviour has even confronted the perception of what a female child sex offender 'should' be (i.e. a woman genuinely in love with an older adolescent boy who provides sexual initiation in the relationship).

The women in this sample almost exclusively offended alone, and therefore were not the male-coerced offenders they have often previously been constructed as (Denov, 2004a; Hetherton & Beardsall, 1998). Consequently, it is also possible they are held more responsible and accountable for their offending than others. They were also in formal positions of trust and therefore breached the faith and responsibility placed in them by parents and guardians, and in their professions by society generally.

Those women not committing abuse of trust offences have also generally offended against victims younger than the legal age of consent making the sexual contact with their victim far less acceptable in the eyes of decision-makers. It is also notable that many of the cases in this sample were high profile in nature, attracting significant public and press attention at trial and sentencing. Judges would be aware of such attention and there is the possibility that sentences might have been influenced by public perception, with examples being made of these particular female offenders. It is also possible that the disparity between the treatment of abuse of trust offenders particularly and other child sexual offenders working in organisations is indicative of a type of 'selective chivalry' (Chesney-Lind, 1977) within the judiciary. Abuse of trust offences, generally perpetrated against older male adolescents, were regarded more leniently than other child sex offences perpetrated by female professionals in positions of trust.

Thus, it appears that the way in which females who sexually abuse children in organisational contexts are dealt with in the criminal justice system might be dependent on the nature of the abuse as well as the age, gender and perceived vulnerability of their victim(s). For women who abuse children under the age of 16 there are indications they are perceived as 'triply deviant', are more accountable for their crime and punished more severely than other female sex offenders in general and those who abuse older adolescents. Conversely chivalry theory might be used to explain the more lenient treatment of those women who sexually abuse older, mostly male, adolescents; where their abusive behaviour might be regarded as more socially acceptable and where the victim might be attributed some responsibility (or at least autonomy).

The findings from the second part of the chapter showed that the rates of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in positions of trust being dealt with by UK professional regulators are lower than those found in other studies and reflected in UK criminal justice statistics. This could indicate the operation of particularly robust safeguarding systems or alternatively that there are issues with employers appropriately referring female cases to professional regulators and/or in the way in which professional regulators deal with any referrals of female cases they receive. Similar to the criminal justice system findings there were indications that women in positions of trust may be being treated more leniently by professional regulatory bodies than their male counterparts.

Given that the data here has some limitations enabling the full exploration of the reasons for the apparent differences in the treatment of female offenders this appears

to be an important area for future research. Firstly, to establish robust prevalence rates and to explore potential gender bias in responses, and secondly, to determine any identifiable reasons for differences in the way male and female sexual offenders in organisational contexts are treated.

Through analysis of officially recorded data this chapter has provided helpful contextual framing for the overall aim of this research; to understand female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts, and has contributed to addressing the research question, *how is this type of abuse responded to*? A further examination of responses to such abuse will be presented in Chapter Nine.

Now that some broader contextual understanding of the extent of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations has been provided, the following chapter will go on to examine who the perpetrators and victims of this specific type of abuse are and what risk factors concerning both perpetrators and victims can be identified.

Chapter Six: The Abusers and their Victims

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided contextual awareness as a starting point for understanding female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations. The next step is to discover more about the perpetrators and victims of this specific type of abuse, and how they may, or may not, be comparable with perpetrators and victims in other studies of female sexual offenders and organisational abusers. As described in Chapter Two, the existing literature reflects a number of similarities and differences in the characteristics of female sexual abusers and their victims. By examining a wider population of female abusers and those who abuse in organisations specifically, this study adds a further important contribution to the extant work.

Those few studies which have examined female educator abusers primarily, and are therefore potentially the most comparable to the sample examined here, have found women were more likely to commit offences against older students (Ratliff & Watson, 2014; Stranger, 2015); to be in their early to mid-thirties (Darling & Antonopoulos, 2013; Mototsune, 2015) and abuse one victim (Darling & Antonopoulos, 2013; Mototsune, 2015). Often, these female teachers have been found to be very successful and well-regarded in their careers (Darling & Antonopoulos, 2013; Stranger, 2015) but to have been experiencing mental health difficulties around the time of the abuse (Darling & Antonopoulos, 2013; Stranger, 2015). However, as was noted in Chapters Two and Three, very few empirical studies have been conducted and the findings of those that have provide very little detail on the demographics, particular risk factors and offending processes associated with women who abuse children they work with, nor reliable results with regard to offender motivation. These omissions mean that to date there is very little evidence about why female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations occurs.

This chapter and the following one will address these gaps and begin to address the research questions why do females sexually abuse children whilst in positions of trust? and what motivations and risk factors/vulnerabilities can be identified? This chapter presents the findings of this research with regard to the identified demographics and characteristics of the abusers and victims in this sample. These will then be compared with the findings of the existing literature on female sexual offenders and organisational abusers to determine how comparable this sample is to those studied previously.

6.2 Characteristics of Abusers

The identified characteristics of abusers are summarised in Table 15.

6.2.1 Age

6.2.1.1 Age at onset of abuse

The perpetrator's age was unable to be determined in 14 cases. Of the remaining cases (n=122) the age range of the women at the known onset of the abusive behaviour was 21-56 years, with a mean age of 31.2 (SD= 6.76). The modal age was 26 years old (n=15). Most typically the women were aged between 26 and 31 years old (45.1%, n=55). Although most of the women in this study were under 30 at the time the sexual abuse began, it is notable that 10% were over the age of 40. A smaller proportion (17.2%, n=21) of perpetrators were in the lower age group of 21-25 years, despite this perhaps being assumed to be most common age at which such abuse occurs; i.e. younger women in similar-age 'relationships' with older pupils or service users.
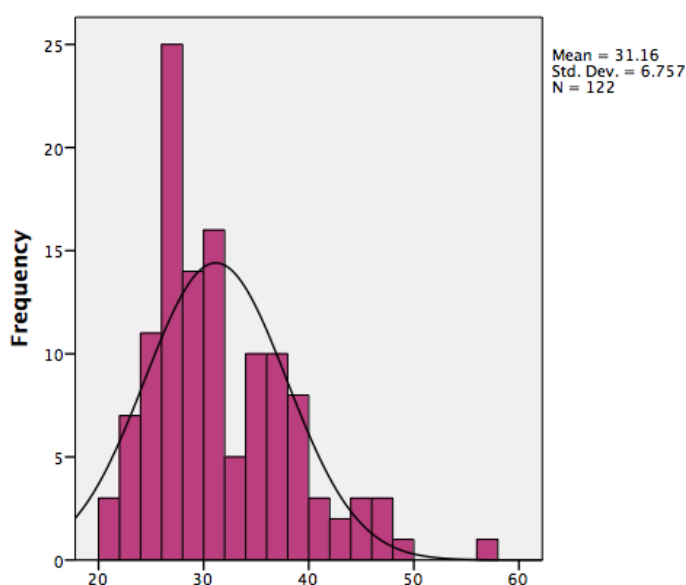
Figure 3: Abuser age at onset of abuse

These findings reflect those of previous studies where female sex offenders have been between 26 and 36 years old at the time of their first sexual offences (Colson et al., 2013; Faller, 1995; Gannon & Rose, 2008; Vandiver & Kercher, 2004).

In comparison with male organisational abusers, the findings here indicate that on average female abusers in organisational contexts are generally younger. For

example, Erooga et al. (2012) found the average age of their predominantly male sample was 37 years at the time of offending, Leclerc et al.'s (2015) sample had a mean age of 49.7 years and Sullivan and Beech's study (2004) found the mean age of the men in their sample on arrival at assessment centre was 50.7 years (although is unlikely to be the same as the age of onset of offending).

6.2.1.2 Age at determination

'Age at determination' refers to the age the abuser was at the time their case was officially dealt with (i.e. concluded in the criminal justice system or by a professional regulator). Again, the perpetrator's age was unknown in 14 cases. For the remaining cases (n=122) the mean age at the point of determination was 34.1 years (SD= 7.99) being almost three years older than the mean age at onset. The age at determination ranged from 23 to 59 years with the modal age being 28 years old (n=11).

These averages are influenced by the fact that eight cases in the sample involved non-recent sexual abuse (where the abuse had taken place more than five years before it was disclosed). However, it is apparent that in most cases the abuse was discovered and dealt with within a few years of onset.
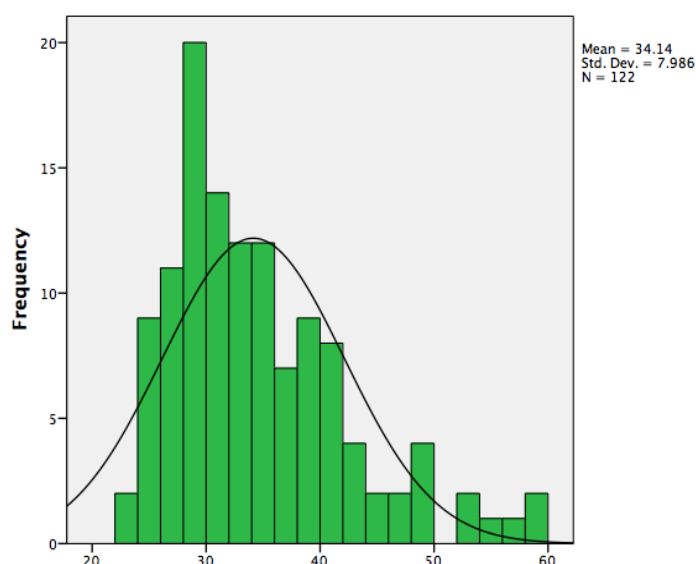
Figure 4: Abuser age at determination of case

6.2.2 Ethnicity

The abuser's ethnicity could be identified in 102 cases in the sample. Where ethnicity was known the majority of women in this study were White (93.1%, n=95),

with only a few of Asian (Indian/Pakistani) background (4.9%, n=5). One woman had Hispanic ethnicity and one had a mixed ethnic background. It is interesting that no Black women featured in the sample.

Again these findings accord with those of other studies where most identified female sex offenders were White (Faller, 1987; Gannon & Rose, 2008; Lewis & Stanley, 2000; Vandiver & Kercher, 2004).

6.2.3 Relationship status

Most abusers were in an adult partner relationship at the time of the abuse. Where marital status was reported (n=88), 65.9% (n= 58) of the abusers were known to have been in an established relationship at the time of the abuse. 54.5% (n=48) were married, 5.7% (n=5) had a current partner and 5.7% (n=5) were engaged. Just less than a quarter (23.9%; n=21) of the women were single at the time and 10.2% (n=9) were either divorced or separated.

These findings reflect higher rates of women being married or in relationships at the time of offending than most other female sexual offender studies detailing marital status (Allen, 1991; Kaplan & Green, 1995; Lewis & Stanley, 2000; Miccio-Fonseca, 2000; Vandiver & Walker, 2002) although this is a lower rate than the 72% in Wijkman and colleagues' research (2010). The rate of married perpetrators in the current research is also somewhat higher than that found in studies of male abusers in organisations (Erooga et al., 2012; Leclerc et al., 2005; Sullivan & Beech, 2004).

6.2.4 Co-perpetration

Only two cases in the sample involved co-perpetrators in the abuse. In both cases this was a single male, the female abuser's partner. In the first case, the female abuser incited young girls to come to her house where her husband would engage in voyeurism and video-recording of the victims in states of undress. In the second case, the female perpetrator sexually abused very young children in an organisational context, taking photographs to send to her male partner.

Although other research has found notable rates of solo-offending female perpetrators (Denov, 2001; Kaufman et al., 1995; Lewis & Stanley, 2000; Mathews et al., 1989; Nathan & Ward, 2001; Vandiver & Kercher, 2006) significant rates of co-perpetration have been found in other studies (Grayston & De Luca, 1999; Green &

Kaplan, 1994; Hetherton & Beardsall, 1998; Nathan & Ward, 2001; Vandiver & Kercher, 2006). The sample here still reflects a very low rate of co-perpetrating females compared with most other female sexual offender studies, even those where more women offended alone, such as the 66.5% of lone female offenders identified in Colson et al.'s (2013) meta-analysis.

Despite the fact that Gallagher's (2000) work on institutional child abuse indicated that male professional perpetrators were more likely to abuse with others, since then other studies with male organisational abusers have found low rates of co-offending, similar to the findings here. None of Erooga et al.'s (2012) sample concerned multiple perpetrators and Sullivan and Beech's (2004) research involved only 12% of men who abused with others.

6.2.5 Adult sexual behaviour

Given the limitations of the data in determining preferential sexual interest, the following findings reflect any reported previous sexual activity the woman had engaged in. This data was available in 88 cases. The majority of these women were known to have previously engaged in heterosexual sexual activity (92%; n=81) with only a small proportion known to have engaged in homosexual (6.8%; n=6) or bisexual sexual behaviour (1.1%; n=1). Other female sexual offender and male 'professional perpetrator' studies have tended not to report previous adult sexual behaviour/sexual preference therefore no comparisons can be made with the findings here. One exception is Leclerc and Cale's (2015) research where 39.1% of male abusers in organisations reported being homosexual and 26.1% reported being attracted to males and females, reflecting significantly higher rates than identified here.

6.2.6 Position of trust

The vast majority of perpetrators worked in, or for, educational organisations (88.2%; n=120) and were primarily teachers (74.3%; n= 101) or teaching assistants (12.5%; n=17). High school teachers were the most common teachers included in this study. The next most common position of trust was residential care workers (4.4%; n=6). Others included sports coaches (2.2%; n=3); social workers (2.2%; n=3), a cadet officer, a church youth group leader, a school transport supervisor, a college lecturer, a nursery worker and a tutor (all 0.7%; n=1).

Even accepting that 51 cases (37.5%) in this sample were identified from educational regulator data the overall dominance of teachers and teaching assistants

raises some important questions. Is this type of abuse really a predominantly educator abuse problem? If so, is there something about the school environment particularly that generates risk? Or is it simply that awareness of child sexual abuse and therefore associated policies and procedures within educational organisations results in a larger number of cases being identified, officially recorded and dealt with? This appears to be an important area for future examination.
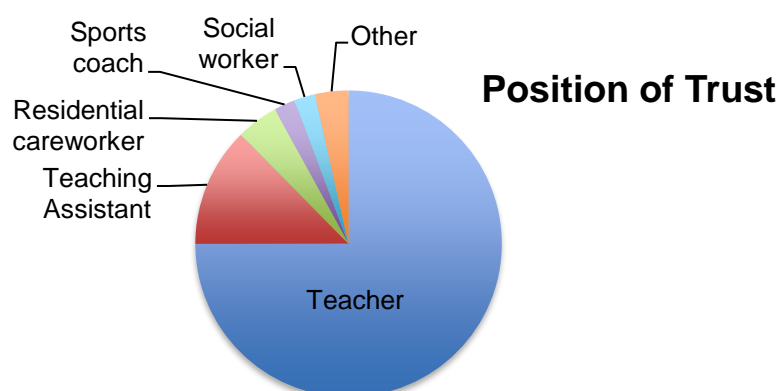
Figure 5: Positions of trust held by female sexual abusers in organisational contexts

6.2.7 Additional relationship of trust

In addition to the main position of trust (e.g. teacher) there was evidence in just less than a quarter of cases (23.5%; n=32) of an additional particular relationship of trust between the abuser and victim, for example where the adult provided additional tuition (31.3%; n=10) or mentored the victim (28.1%; n=9) or coached them in sport or other leisure activities (18.7%; n=6). These additional relationships were either formal arrangements arranged via the organisation, or more informal in nature (and occurring with or without employers being aware). Other additional abuser-victim relationships arose through the victim acting as a student aide in the teacher's class or assisting the abuser with other organisational projects (n=3). In one case the abuser was also a friend of the victim's family.

These additional relationships created further contact between the abuser and victim and arguably fostered and facilitated the development of a deeper relationship, which ultimately lead to sexually abusive behaviour. Much of this additional contact took place after hours or during breaks in the organisational day, often in one-to-one or unsupervised situations. Additional activities also gave rise to the abuser and victim(s)

spending time away from organisational locations and, for sports coaches in particular, on day and overnight trips away to events. These circumstances and their role in the offence process are discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight.

6.2.8 Career stage

The abuser's specific career stage could not be ascertained in around a quarter of cases (24.3%; n=33). Where this was known, most women (54.3%; n=56) were in an established stage of their career (i.e. with more than three years' experience) at onset of the abuse. These women are referred to as 'Professional' in Table 15. Newly qualified staff constituted a third of known cases (33.3%; n=34) and 11.7% (n=12) of abusers held senior positions in the organisations in which they worked (e.g. head or deputy head teachers, heads of department and senior supervisors). One woman was a long-term offender who perpetrated sexual abuse throughout all of her career stages.

6.2.9 Criminal history

Where it could be identified in the data (n=100), only two women (2%) had any kind of previous criminal record prior to the sexual abuse which would have been revealed through standard pre-employment police checks. In both of these cases the previous convictions did not involve sexual offending or offences committed against children. One woman had a conviction for affray. The conviction of the other woman is not specified but was reported to have been a 'minor non-related offence'.

This extremely low prevalence of previous criminal history is significantly lower than that found in the backgrounds of other female sex offenders and male professional perpetrators (Leclerc & Cale, 2015; Sullivan & Beech, 2004). For example, Colson and colleagues' (2013) meta-analysis found that 38.5% of female sex offenders had preceding criminal records. However, given that the women in the current sample were working in positions of trust and therefore would generally have already been subject to pre-employment police record checks in taking up their posts, the lower rate here is not unexpected. The findings here are similar, however, to those of Erooga et al.'s (2012) research, which found only one of their sample of 19 (predominantly male) adults who had sexually abused children in organisations had any previous criminal convictions.

6.2.10 Professional misconduct history

Information about previous professional conduct history was available in 82 cases. Most women had no known previous professional misconduct (89%; n=73),

again demonstrating there would be nothing identified in standard pre-employment checks to raise concerns about the abuser's behaviour towards children. Seven women (8.5%) had previous concerns raised about their inappropriate conduct towards children. These involved: inappropriate friendships and socialising with young people; inappropriate physical contact with children; breaching boundaries with children; and contacting children/young people outside of the work environment. Interestingly, in most cases the behaviour was not considered to be sexual misconduct by the woman's employers and colleagues at the time, yet in all of them the behaviour was a potential indication of inappropriate boundaries with children displayed by women who later went on to sexually abuse other children in their care. Only two women (2.4%) had previous professional misconduct records relating to sexually inappropriate/ abusive behaviour towards children. In both cases this concerned allegations of previous inappropriate relationships with other students/pupils.

Table 15: Abuser characteristics

Characteristic	Percentage	n
Age at onset (M=31.2 years, SD= 6.76)		122
21-30 years	55.7%	68
31-40 years	34.4%	42
41-50 years	9.0%	11
Over 50 years	0.8%	1
Age at determination (M=34.1years;SD=7.99)		122
21-30 years	42.6%	52
31-40 years	38.5%	47
41-50 years	13.9%	17
Over 50 years	4.9%	6
Ethnicity		102
White	93.1%	95
Asian	4.9%	5
Other	2.0%	2
Relationship status		88
Married	54.5%	58
Single	23.9%	21
Engaged	5.7%	5
Partner	5.7%	5
Divorced	5.7%	5
Separated	4.5%	4
Position of Trust		
Teacher	74.3%	101
Teaching assistant	12.5%	17
Residential careworker	4.4%	6
Sports coach	2.2%	3
Social worker	2.2%	3
Private tutor	0.7%	1
College lecturer	0.7%	1
Nursery worker	0.7%	1
Cadet officer	0.7%	1
School transport supervisor	0.7%	1
Career stage		103
Newly qualified	33.3%	34
Professional[a]	54.3%	56
Senior[b]	11.7%	12

Previous history		
No criminal record	98.0%	98
Criminal record (non CSA)	2.0%	2
Criminal record (CSA)	-	-
No professional misconduct record	89.0%	73
Professional misconduct record (non CSA)	8.5%	7
Professional misconduct record (CSA)	2.4%	2

[a] More than 3 years experience
[b] Holding a senior position of responsibility e.g. Headteacher, Care supervisor

6.3 Characteristics of Victims

The characteristics of victims are summarised in Table 16.

6.3.1 Number of victims

There were 208 known victims in total across the research sample. The majority of abusers had one known victim (86%, n=117), 11 women (8.1%) had two victims and two (1.5%) abused three victims. Five women (3.7%) had five or more victims, with the two most prolific offenders each abusing more than 10 children; one with 12 victims and the other was estimated to have abused more than 30 children. These women were also the only two with co-offending males and their offending involved younger victims.

Wijkman et al. (2010) indicate that the rates of female offenders abusing one victim varies over studies from 50-85% (Faller, 1987, 1995; Vandiver & Walker, 2002). However, although many previous female sex offender studies provide an indication of the overall number of victims in their samples, they do not contain specific detail on the frequency of number of victims per perpetrator (Gannon et al., 2008, 2013; Nathan & Ward, 2002; Sandler & Freeman, 2007; Vandiver & Kercher, 2004) meaning a comparison with the current findings cannot be made. The finding here that most abuse one victim is broadly comparable to the results of Wijkman et al.'s own (2010) study which found 76% of female offenders to have a single known victim and Gillespie et al.'s (2015) research where 80% of female solo offenders abused one known victim.

However, this differs from studies with male organisational abusers (Erooga et al., 2012; Sullivan & Beech, 2004), which find the abuse of multiple victims to be typical.

6.3.2 Victim gender

Although the perpetrators in this sample abused male victims most often (76.5%; n=104), around a quarter of them abused female victims (22.8%; n=31). Only one woman had victims of both genders.

These findings reflect higher male victim rates than those of Colson et al.'s (2013) meta-analysis which found 60% of female sex offenders to have male victims, as well as several other studies where male victims were most common (Finkelhor & Russell, 1984; Fromuth & Conn, 1997; Ramsey-Klawsnik, 1990; Sandler & Freeman, 2007; Williams & Brierie, 2015). Although, as discussed in Chapter Two, it is the case that previous studies have been inconsistent about victim gender with some authors concluding that female sex offenders are less discriminating as to the gender than male offenders (Johansson-Love & Fremouw, 2009; Williams & Brierie, 2015). Some have also argued that the gender of victims of female perpetrators is more influenced by accessibility and opportunity than by specific preference (Faller, 1995; Colson et al., 2013; Vandiver & Walker, 2002; Williams & Brierie, 2015). This point about gender preference, accessibility and opportunity is particularly interesting in the context of sexual abuse perpetrated by women in positions of trust. This is especially so given the findings of this study (discussed further below) that some perpetrators abused female victims when they had no known previous sexual relationships with adults of the same gender. If the argument about opportunity is correct then this might explain the abuse perpetrated against female victims in these circumstances, although of course the choice of a female victim might reflect an abuser's previously unidentified sexual interest in females.

Of the 31 women who abused female victims, six were reported to be homosexual, one bisexual and three heterosexual (two of whom were married to male spouses). Sexual orientation could not be ascertained for the remaining perpetrators who abused girls, however six of these women had male spouses at the time of the abuse.

6.3.3 Victim age

'Age' here refers to the child's age at the onset of the known abuse. This information was available for 193 out of the 208 victims in total. Victims ranged from under 1 year to 17 years old with a modal age of 16 years (n=40). Only three women offended against children under the age of 12, therefore the majority of victims were pubescent or post-pubescent at the time of the abuse (76.7%; n=163). It is particularly

notable that two-thirds offended against 15 and 16-year-old victims. In a number of these cases the abuse occurred around the time that the victim was about to leave the school or care environment. The same was true with some of the cases involving 17-year-old victims, with several of them about to leave high school or the care system around the time of the offending behaviour.

Due to the fact that the exact ages of all victims of the two abusers with more than 10 victims each could not be identified, it was not possible to calculate a mean age or standard deviation including these victims. Discounting these two cases (and 42 victims), the mean victim age is 15 years (SD=1.53).

Previous studies have revealed contradictory findings with regard to the typical age of victims of female offenders. In their meta-analysis, Colson et al. (2013) could not determine average victim due to a lack of standardisation in the collection of data since the age of majority varies from country to country. Some studies have found that victims are generally young and pre-pubescent (Faller, 1987; Vandiver & Walker, 2002) whilst others found most victims to be in their early to mid-adolescent years. For example, Vandiver and Kercher (2004) found most victims (53%) in their study to be aged 12-17 years old and more recently Ratliff and Watson's (2014) sample of female educator abusers found that victims were generally 13 years old or older. Gillespie et al. (2015) also determined the victims of solo offending female perpetrators to be mostly (60%) aged 13 and over. Therefore, even though these two studies reflect higher rates of older victims similar to the findings of this research, comparatively, the current study finds proportionally more older victims than previous studies of female sex offenders.

The findings that most victims are pubescent or post-pubescent are also comparable to those found in two studies with regard to the victims of predominantly male organisational abusers. Erooga et al. (2012) found that more than three-quarters (77%) of organisational abusers in their sample abused pubescent or post-pubescent victims and Jaffe et al. (2013) identified the mean age of victims in their study of sexually abusive teachers to be around 14 years old. In contrast, Sullivan and Beech (2004) found only 29% of the male professional perpetrators in their research to have abused pubescent or post-pubescent victims. However, it is possible that this result is influenced by the fact that the majority of their sample were from the clergy, where access to younger children may have been more likely.

6.3.4   Age difference

Due to missing data about the age of some victims and perpetrators, the age difference between the female abusers and their victims could not be ascertained across all cases in this sample. However, where the age differences were known (n=114) the range was between 6 and 41 years, with a mean of 16.1 years (SD=6.8). Most typically, there was an age gap of 10 and 12 years between the victim and abuser.

Earlier studies have found a closer age gap between female offenders and their child victims (Faller, 1987; Mathews et al., 1989) but the average age difference in this study is comparable to the mean of 16.6 years found in the group of women who initially target adolescents in Saradjian's (1996) study.

6.3.5   Victim ethnicity

Due to the nature of most of the data sources, which protected victim identity the ethnicity of most victims could not be established.

6.3.6   Victim vulnerability

There was evidence in 51 cases to identify whether or not the victim had any known additional vulnerability beyond their inherent vulnerability in being a child. 'Additional vulnerabilities' related to an officially recognised, long-term or significant vulnerability, for example, learning difficulties, children in care, young offenders or those with mental health problems. Forty-five percent (n=23) of these known cases involved victims with additional vulnerabilities. Some victims had multiple vulnerabilities and are counted in more than one category below.

The most common identified vulnerabilities were learning difficulties (34.8% n=8) and emotional and behavioural problems (34.8%; n=8). Ten (43.5%) victims were children living in care (looked after children, those in residential care and an unaccompanied asylum seeking child). Full details of victim vulnerabilities can be found in Table 16.

In a number of these cases, the relationship between the female perpetrator and victim appears to have arisen as a result of the circumstances surrounding the victim's specific vulnerability. For example, these vulnerabilities often resulted in the abuser spending more time supporting the child and becoming overly emotionally involved with them, which then ultimately lead on to sexually abusive behaviour. In a

few cases, the vulnerable child instigated the initial additional contact with the adult carer (who later became sexually abusive) but where the abuser maintained that she was threatened or manipulated by the victim, portraying herself as the victim in the situation rather than the child/young person.

6.3.7 Victim issues

In addition to information on longer-term vulnerabilities, there was evidence in 44 cases that the victim was known to be experiencing particular issues or problems in their lives at the time of the abuse (NB this data was not available in 63.2% of cases overall).

In a quarter of known cases (25%; n=11), the victim was experiencing domestic and family problems at the time. Next most common were emotional difficulties (13.6%; n=6) and problems with friendships or relationships (13.6%; n=6). Difficulties with schoolwork (11.4%; n=5) or discipline and behavioural problems at school (9.1%; n=4) were a feature in around a fifth of these cases. A few female victims were experiencing concerns about their developing sexuality (6.8%; n=3) and were confiding in the abuser for support. Further detail about the temporal vulnerabilities victims were experiencing at the time of the abuse is contained in Table 16. As discussed earlier in this chapter, in many cases the female perpetrator was acting as a mentor or confidante to support the child, either officially or unofficially, around the time the inappropriate relationship with them developed. In several cases, it is clear the victim was particularly reliant on the female perpetrator for friendship and support at a particularly difficult time in their lives.

Previous studies of female sex offenders do not appear to have analysed particular vulnerabilities of child victims. However, some studies with male sex offenders (Conte, Wolf & Smith, 1989; Elliott, Browne & Kilcoyne, 1995) and (male) organisational abusers (Erooga et al., 2012) have revealed that abusers specifically identify vulnerabilities in children and manipulate those in order to perpetrate the abuse. The omission in not considering the particular vulnerabilities of victims in previous female sex offender studies is interesting when viewed in light of the fact that the evidence from this research suggests it is the vulnerabilities of many victims that draw the female perpetrators into close contact with them in the first place. As discussed further in Chapters Eight and Eleven, these increasingly closer relationships lead to the development of sexually abusive behaviour. This indicates that children with additional vulnerabilities may be at higher risk of victimisation by female adults in positions of trust. This risk is examined further later in Chapter Seven.

Table 16: Victim Characteristics

Characteristic	Percentage	n
Number of victims[a]		
1	86.0%	117
2	8.1%	11
3	1.5%	2
4	0.7%	1
5-10	2.2%	3
>10	1.4%	2
Gender[b]		
Male	76.5%	104
Female	22.8%	31
Both	0.7%	1
Age[c]		
0-3 years[d]	15.5%	30
9-14 years[e]	6.2%	12
10 years	0.5%	1
11 years	1.0%	2
12 years	4.1%	8
13 years	7.8%	15
14 years	11.4%	22
15 years	19.7%	38
16 years	20.7%	40
17 years	12.9%	25
Vulnerability[f]		23 (45% of cases where this information could be identified in the data)
Learning difficulties	34.8%	8
Emotional/behavioural	34.8%	8
Residential care	26.1%	6
Looked after child	13.0%	3
Young offender	13.0%	3
Mental health difficulties	13.0%	3
Asylum seeker (unaccompanied)	4.3%	1
Previous victim of CSA	4.3%	1
Defined as 'at risk' by child protection services	4.3%	1
Temporal vulnerability[g]		44
Family/domestic problems	25.0%	11
Friendship/relationship problems	13.6%	6
Emotional problems	13.6%	6
School work problems	11.4%	5

Living away from home	11.4%	5
General problems (unspecified)	11.4%	5
Discipline/behavioural problems	9.1%	4
Issues with developing sexuality	6.8%	3 (all female)
Mental health difficulties	6.8%	3
Other	6.8%	3
Victim of bullying	4.5%	2

[a] *Percentage of abusers with the respective number of victims*
[b] *Percentage of abusers with the respective gender of victims*
[c] *Percentage of victims of the specified age*
[d] *This age range refers to the multiple victims of one abuser (where exact ages for each victim were not available)*
[e] *This age range refers to the multiple victims of a second abuser (where exact ages for each victim were not available)*
[f] *Some victims had multiple vulnerabilities*
[g] *This relates to experiencing specific difficulties around the time of the abuse. Some victims were experiencing multiple difficulties.*

6.4   Summary

This chapter has begun to address the research questions why do females sexually abuse children whilst in positions of trust? and what motivations and risk factors/vulnerabilities can be identified? The analysis of the demography and characteristics of the women who sexually abuse children in organisational contexts and their victims described here reveals a number of key findings.

Typically, the women who perpetrate this abuse were White, in their twenties or early thirties, were heterosexual and were married or in an established adult relationship at the time of the abuse. Age wise they were similar to women in other female sex offender samples but younger on average than male professional perpetrators included in previous research. Most of these women offended alone (at a higher rate than in most previous female sex offender studies and in Sullivan and Beech's (2004) sample of male professional perpetrators), were teachers or worked in the education sector in other roles and were established in their careers at the time of the abuse. They did not have histories of sexual offending nor were they likely to have had any previous history of professional misconduct. In this regard they were similar to male professional perpetrators but different to female sex offenders in general. Similar to other female sex offender samples, but different to other male professional perpetrators, these women usually abused one victim. They may also have been in an

additional position of trust with regard to their victim beyond their main organisational role.

Victims of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts were typically male and post-pubescent, around 15-16 years old, and a notable proportion were particularly vulnerable either as a result of long-term conditions or disadvantages or as a result of more temporal difficulties in their lives around the time of their victimisation.

Having established these initial characteristics of both abusers and victims, the next chapter will go on to explore the particular vulnerabilities and risk factors identified in this type of child sexual abuse in further detail.

Chapter Seven: Abuser and Victim Risk Factors and Vulnerabilities

7.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter presented findings regarding the demographics and characteristics of the abusers and victims of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts. This chapter will further the discussion as to why this type of abuse occurs through qualitative analysis of the particular vulnerabilities and risk factors found to be present in the abusers and victims. In this way, further explanations will be provided addressing the research questions *why do females sexually abuse children whilst in positions of trust*? and *what motivations and risk factors/vulnerabilities can be identified*?

The quantitative data in Chapter Six provided an overview of some of the common characteristics identified in victims and perpetrators. A deeper understanding of the risk factors/vulnerabilities and motivations resulting in this type of abuse is provided by more in-depth qualitative analysis of cases. The case data offers detailed descriptions of the personal circumstances of the perpetrators and victims, for example through the case formulations in court and professional regulator consideration as well as explanations and mitigations offered within those processes. Further detail of potential factors contributing to the abuse was also extracted from media interviews with perpetrators and victims. The sources as a whole provide rich data around the complex relationships and contextual circumstances surrounding perpetrators and victims and the different factors contributing to this type of abuse.

Using the findings from this qualitative analysis, the second part of the chapter details the formulation of a categorisation of female perpetrators who sexually abuse children whilst working in organisational contexts, reflecting five different categories of abusers. The chapter concludes with a comparison between this categorisation and existing typologies of female sex offenders as well as the identified characteristics of organisational abusers.

7.2   Abuser Risk Factors

Many different risk factors were identified in the lives and circumstances of the women in this sample in the pre-offending period. Some of these were long-term difficulties, such as their own experiences of abuse, both as a child and/or an adult, and mental health or psychological issues. However, many of the risk factors identified were more proximal and dynamically temporal in nature, impacting on the perpetrators' lives in the year or so preceding the abuse. This suggests that a range of issues in the women's lives may increase their vulnerability, which in turn leads them to develop inappropriate relationships with children and young people in their care, ultimately leading to sexually abusive behaviour.

The ability to identify specific risk factors for individual perpetrators was limited by the nature of the data sources used in this study. For example, in cases where the abuser had pleaded not guilty and therefore provided no mitigation as explanation for their behaviour, limited or no information regarding risk factors was available. Therefore, the following findings should not be considered as more widely generalisable but are offered in order to provide deeper insights into the lives and circumstances of these female perpetrators in the period preceding the sexually abusive behaviour. The key issues identified below are illustrated in a number of direct quotations taken from the case data. For more detail on the prevalence of specific risk factors see Table 21 in Chapter Nine.

7.2.1   Relationship problems

Most commonly identified in the pre-offending period were difficulties in the women's adult relationships. For many, there was evidence of marital breakdown or the ending of long-term relationships or affairs. In some cases this resulted from the infidelity of the perpetrator herself or of her husband/partner:

> *I knew I was about to separate from my husband. But that had nothing to do with [victim]. My friends were telling me I was withdrawn or on a different planet.* (S3)

> *At that time, it was a hard time for me, it was a year since my break up with my long-term boyfriend. I was away from my family in a different country and I was lonely…* (C8)

In some cases, the perpetrator had a longer history of unsuccessful adult relationships.

7.2.2 Emotional vulnerability

The problems some of the women were experiencing in their adult relationships generated particular emotional vulnerabilities in the period preceding the abuse. One perpetrator explains how these problems led to her confiding in her teenage victim:

It was wrong of me but I shared with him the problems I had been having with [husband]. We became someone for each other to talk to. (S3)

Emotional vulnerability also resulted from other difficulties in the women's lives leading to problems in coping. Several women had experienced the serious illness or loss of close family members around the time of the abusive behaviour and some of them confided in their victims, seeking comfort from their emotional pain. Others felt generally unhappy or unfulfilled in their lives around the time the abusive contact began and some appeared to be seeking some thrill or excitement which they found in spending time with their victims:

A lot of my life at that point was living for the future. And I really wanted something that felt good in the present tense…I was so unhappy at that time that [victim] was a place where I found relief from that unhappiness. (WC11*)*

One perpetrator talked about feeling particularly unfulfilled in her life in the period preceding the abuse, feeling that she had outgrown her husband of many years and that something in her life was lacking, leaving her to question where her life was heading at the time. This is described by her assessing forensic psychiatrist during her court case:

In my opinion, Ms. [X']s sexual offending occurred as a result of the confluence of several factors. She was at a vulnerable point in her life, when she perceived that she had outgrown her husband of more than 20 years and was feeling restless and unfulfilled, questioning the direction her life was taking. She had developed a close emotional and intellectual bond with one of her professors at university and this had grown into an affair. However, the affair ended shortly before the sexual offending occurred…She channeled her energies and

frustrations into her career, her volunteer work and the local community, investing an enormous amount of time in these activities. Her relationship with the victim appears to have grown initially out of this desire to help others. However, it seems that she was drawn particularly to him and his family because she recognized similarities with her own childhood experiences and identified strongly with him and what he was going through. Unfortunately, she also seems to have essentially fallen in love and in doing so endowed the 11 or 12-year-old boy with qualities that she had seen in her professor, perceiving that they had a similarly close connection and one that was lacking in her relationship with her husband. These strong emotions clearly blinded her to the highly inappropriate nature of the relationship and the potential harm it could do to the boy. (Forensic Psychiatrist, Case WC1)

7.2.3 Personal stress

Some women described being under particular stress at the time of the abuse, such as work stress (13.9%; n=11), other difficulties in their personal lives (12.7%; n=10) or financial strain (5.1%; n=4). The range of personal stress factors included: serious illness or family bereavement; coping with their own child with disabilities; issues with their sexuality; infertility; and feeling pressure to be successful in their lives:

I didn't want to go home though and look like I was a failure to my family and friends, who were expecting me to stick it out. (C8)

In one case, the perpetrator's husband had been accused of sexually abusing their own child.

These various stresses generated emotional vulnerabilities and meant that some women were spending increasing amounts of time at work where their social interactions occurred with children/young people more often than adults. They built friendships, not only with the victims but sometimes with other children also, leading to closer social and emotional connections with the children in their care.

Previous commentators have suggested that some women may abuse children as a way of coping; a way to avoid negative feelings such as anger, fear or loneliness (Eldridge & Saradjian, 2000; Saradjian, 1996) and such maladaptive coping strategies are clearly evident in many cases examined in this research.

7.2.4   Work stress

Working particularly hard or experiencing work stress was a feature for some women in the time leading up to the offending behaviour. Over-work was either an attempt to escape problems in her life or as a result of particular work demands. Consequently, the perpetrator would spend more and more time in the organisation and therefore in the company of children/young people where boundary violations occurred and inappropriate relationships were formed. Stress at work was offered as mitigation in (13.9%, n=11) of cases and was attributed to working in particularly difficult environments (n=3) (i.e. poorly managed schools, facilities for children with emotional and behavioural difficulties and special needs); insufficient support from colleagues and managers (n=3); working long hours (n=2) as well as insufficient training/ experience for the role and job insecurity.

7.2.5   Mental health

There was evidence available in 25 cases (18.4% of the complete sample and 31.6% of cases where mitigation for the abuse was offered) of the perpetrator having a diagnosed mental health/psychological condition (including depression, post-traumatic stress disorder and sex addiction), or experiencing some particular problems with their mental wellbeing in the pre-offending period. Depression was the most commonly cited mental health problem (9.6%; n=13), however, data sources in many cases referred only generally to 'mental health issues' not specifying any particular conditions. Other conditions mentioned included bipolar disorder, dependency disorder and panic attacks.

Associated with mental health difficulties, three women also experienced suicidal ideation in the period preceding the abuse or during the time the abuse was taking place. One woman had attempted suicide during the year preceding the sexual abuse following depression and feelings of isolation as her family had moved overseas. Another woman experienced suicidal thoughts around the time of the abuse and described feeling on the edge of a breakdown at the time. The third woman had a long history of mental health problems and threatened suicide when the victim's parents found out about their abusive relationship.

The literature to date varies with regard to the rates of mental health difficulties found in female sex offenders (Colson et al., 2013) but overall the presence of such problems identified in this study appears to be lower than in others (Faller, 1987, 1995;

Gannon & Rose, 2008; Green & Kaplan, 1994; Lewis & Stanley 2000; Wijkman et al., 2010; Williams et al., 2017). The majority of the women with mental health problems in this study had experienced depression and/or anxiety around the time of their sexually abusive behaviour and only two were understood to have been particularly psychologically troubled, with long-standing diagnosed mental health issues.

Historically, female sex offending, and women's overt sexuality more generally, has tended to be attributed to, or explained away by, mental health problems. Yet as Ford (2006) points out, despite any diagnosed psychiatric disorders in female sex offenders, we cannot conclude that these conditions actually caused the offending behaviour. She refers to Faller's (1995) study which found that mental health problems could be deemed to directly precipitate offending in only three out of 23 women experiencing mental illness in that sample. Ford (2006) argues the contradictory findings in rates of mental health problems in the extant literature may be the result of methodological differences. The lower rates of women in this research experiencing mental health problems (and the very few where such issues could be considered to be particularly causal to the abuse occurring) may be reflective of the fact the data is drawn from a wider range of sources than purely criminal justice or clinical samples. It could indicate a necessary shift away from the historical narratives explaining away female offending and/or the fact that psychological difficulties are not a significant factor in the perpetration of this specific type of sexual abuse, instead pointing to other individual vulnerabilities or situational issues as more relevant.

7.2.6 'Need to be needed'

Some women appeared to feel a need to be of value or useful to others around the time of the abuse; experiencing a 'need to be needed'. For these women, their initial engagement with the victim(s) appears to have arisen from a genuine desire to help and look after them, which made the abuser feel good about themselves and happier during periods of general dissatisfaction or unhappiness in their own lives. In some cases, the resultant deepening connection between the perpetrator and victim led to an emotional interdependency. It could be that by nurturing a child who was unhappy or experiencing problems the perpetrator was aiming to fulfil her own unmet needs by transferring to the child the need for help, support and care that was missing in her own life. This response was often associated with feelings of neglect, low self-esteem and emotional vulnerability in the perpetrator. One woman explains it was this desire to help the victim rather than a sexual attraction that led to the abuse:

I wasn't nervous, I wasn't excited. I felt like I was making him happy, making him feel better, which made me happy. (S3)

7.2.7 Boundary problems

In several cases there was evidence of the perpetrator's previous difficulty in maintaining appropriate boundaries with children/young people in their care associated either with the perpetrator's generally immature thinking and behaviour or their feelings of isolation and loneliness. In these instances, the women turned to relationships with children to address the deficits in their own adult social relationships. These boundary problems were evident in the workplace in several ways, for example in the language used by the perpetrator when engaging with children, in her behaving as a peer in interactions with children and by spending unnecessary amounts of time with children during the working day. Outside of the organisational context, boundary violations were also evident in inappropriate contact on social media channels, meeting up and socialising with young people, including the consumption of alcohol and, in one case, drugs with them, and in sharing hotel rooms with young people when away on school trips or attending out of area sports events. The following case demonstrates how a female teacher, working overseas with no adult relationships or friends, turned to friendships with her pupils as a result:

What happened was I was spending most of my time with them. The parents were allowing me to stay at their houses. I became one of the kids basically. (C8)

In a few cases such boundary violations were challenged by colleagues or guardians but this was not always done robustly and in other cases they were not addressed at all. These ineffectual interventions will be examined further in Chapters 11 and 12.

7.2.8 Sexual attraction

While a few women admitted being sexual attracted to young people, others denied that a sexual or physical attraction was a driver in their behaviour, instead maintaining their involvement and contact with the victim arose from emotional reasons or out of a desire to help a vulnerable child/young person:

> *I can remember the first time I saw [X]. I actually did a double-take. I went, 'Oh! He's beautiful.' He was just stunning.* (WC11)

> *I confess to liking younger men…They are fitter and better looking, and good looks are important to me.* (C8)

The above example is an interesting use of the term 'younger men' when the perpetrator's victims were aged 14-17 years old.

> *I didn't fancy [victim] but I was so consumed by wanting to make sure he was OK that even when I was sitting in a cell at the police station, all I could think about was him.* (S3)

7.2.9 Previous victimisation or trauma

There was limited information in the data regarding the perpetrators' own previous victimisation or experiences of abuse, sexual or otherwise. The available data identified only three women who had been previously sexually abused themselves; two as adolescents and one as an adult. This rate is much lower than represented in other studies of female sex offenders (Colson et al., 2013; Gannon et al., 2008; Gigeure & Bumby, 2007; Green & Kaplan, 1994; Levenson et al., 2015; Wijkman et al., 2010, 2011) but will be influenced by the limitations of the secondary data analysed here. However, clinical experience indicates that previous experiences of sexual abuse have been found to be lower in women fitting the 'teacher/lover' type/those who abuse adolescents (Mathews et al., 1989; Saradjian, 1996), such as many of the women in this study.

7.2.10 Domestic abuse

Six women (4.4%) were known to have experienced abusive relationships with adult partners, where they were victims of emotional, physical and psychological abuse. One woman disclosed sexual violence in her previous relationships. These experiences may have led perpetrators to seek intimate relationships with children and young people viewing them as 'safer', less likely to hurt them and allowing themselves to be in control of the relationship. The defence barrister for one 38-year-old perpetrator refers to this as a motivation for her abuse of a 13-year-old male victim:

[D11] sought a relationship with someone much younger who was a great deal less likely to inflict the levels of physical abuse she had suffered in the past.
(Defence Barrister, D11)

A similar explanation is mentioned by the judge in another case:

The pre-sentence report...speaks of the boys fulfilling the appellant's emotional needs, she preferring company of boys because they could not hurt her.
(Appeal Judge, M1)

Although there was evidence of a history of domestic abuse offered in mitigation in a few cases in this study, it did not appear to be as prevalent a factor as identified in other studies with female sex offenders (e.g. Gannon et al., 2008; Wijkman et al., 2010).

7.2.11 Childhood trauma

Two women in the sample were known to have been sexually abused as adolescents and there were indications of childhood trauma in the backgrounds of a few of the women in the sample. For example, one woman had grown up in a house with a parent suffering from mental illness, which meant from an early age she was required to take on a parenting role and lived in a chaotic household. These experiences contributed to the perpetrator feeling like she had missed out on her youth and was influential in her relationship with a 17-year-old male pupil where she began behaving as a teenager again. In another case the perpetrator's early supportive intervention with the victim arose from her recognition of difficulties in his family life similar to those she experienced in her own childhood, leading to her desire to help and support him and connect with him on an emotional level. She felt she identified strongly with the victim and what he was going through.

7.2.12 Immaturity

Some of the women displayed evidence of extreme immaturity in their thinking and behaviour. They demonstrated childlike behaviour and naïve responses to difficulties in their adult lives. Others were also considered to have a particularly immature sense of responsibility and to be emotionally immature, unable to recognise potential consequences or impacts of their behaviour or the reality of the circumstances they were in. Many of the women demonstrating such immaturity were in their early 20s

when the sexually abusive behaviour began. This is exemplified in the court report of one defence psychologist describing a 27-year-old teacher who engaged in a three-month long sexually abusive relationship with a 13-year-old male pupil. After conviction, the perpetrator breached her court-imposed restriction order by contacting the victim again, resulting in her being recalled to prison:

> *Even in jail, she was writing in florid handwriting about her and [victim], and also if they had a child what they'd name it…It was just a whole world she could go into and it just fuelled her lack of reality testing… [She] thought that she could foresee things that would happen…. That fuelled her thought that her love for [victim] was above any other law, that what she felt for him and what he felt for her was larger than any law that was made. It was as if she was above the law, in a way, because she could get things to happen. She could control weather, she felt like.* (Defence Psychologist, U20).

The defence lawyer of another perpetrator provided the following mitigation for their 26-year-old client after her sexual abuse of a 16-year-old male pupil:

> *She is not a vamp, she is not a cougar or anything of that kind. She is just a young woman, somewhat immature, somewhat mixed up, who fell in love with the wrong young man.* (Defence Barrister, M6)

7.2.13 Arrested Development

For a few women immaturity and limited experiences in their own teenage years appeared to lead to a situation of 'arrested development' where their own adolescence had been influenced by a strict upbringing, living in a rural and conservative area or by the adult responsibility they carried at the time, for example, limiting their opportunities to engage in typical teenage experiences. These women saw their later social relationships with young people as an opportunity to experience the elements they had missed out on during their own adolescence:

> *I was a good girl my whole life. I didn't experience any of the things that teenagers do. I didn't rebel. I was busy getting straight A's and winning scholarships…I didn't go and drink and party and, you know, experience any of that type of thing when I was younger. I assume that that's probably why I felt like I had to do a crash course in it at 29…With [victim] I felt sexual and*

desirable. I got to experience freedom to try things I'd never tried before, and permission to explore being a teenager, which I found irresistible. (WC11)

One woman also describes how the victim was attractive to her:

He was exactly the kind of guy that would never have looked at me when I was in high school. It was the straight-A student and not the popular one… Beyond flattered, I feel included as I never was, part of the gang…They have accepted me, found me cool enough to 'hang' with, given my safe and proper life the gift of excitement and risk. (WC11)

7.2.14 Isolation and loneliness

Several women mentioned experiencing feelings of isolation and loneliness in the period preceding the abuse; for some this was caused by a lack of adult friendships and being geographically separated from friends and family as social support:

The school was bigger than the schools I've taught in. The teachers were friendly but they were all doing their own thing. They were more concerned with doing their own thing…But the kids took me in. At the time, it was hard. I had been really lonely. It was hard for me to make friends. So, any little bit of attention was good. They were like: 'You are really cool.' (C8)

For some this loneliness stemmed from either a physical or psychological/ emotional isolation from their adult partners, where they felt disconnected in their relationship and alone. As the forensic psychologist for one perpetrator put it:

She connected with the boy better than she could connect with her husband and admitted she felt 'exhilarated' when she was with her victim. (Forensic Psychologist, WC1)

7.2.15 Self-esteem and self-confidence

Although externally many of the women presented as highly confident and successful in their careers some of them experienced low self-esteem, low self-confidence and feelings of insecurity prior to the offending behaviour:

All along I have known that I am not good enough. Nobody else can see how hard I try to be good and yet how ugly I feel inside...I don't deserve [victim]. I don't deserve to be a teacher. I don't deserve anything good…I believe it was low self-esteem that enabled me to cross the teacher-student line and betray my professional responsibility as I did...I tried to compensate for my family's deficiencies by proving that I could be successful and in control…I began to feel chronically unworthy in my relationship with [husband]. (WC11)

Another woman described struggling for years with her lack of self-confidence and assertiveness, allowing others to 'walk all over' her. Some women also mentioned being flattered by the attention from the victim, enjoying the feeling of being special or needed by them:

Not really (I wasn't in love with the victim). It was just someone to build me up when I felt broken…It is not a physical attraction, it was more that he made me feel good at the time, when I felt really low and vulnerable. (M7)

7.2.16 Substance misuse

There are contradictory findings in the existing literature with regard to the issue of substance abuse by female sex offenders (Colson et al., 2013; Gannon et al., 2008). Overall there was limited evidence (5.1%; n=4) of substance misuse problems in the backgrounds of perpetrators reported in this study. Only a few women were known to be using substances inappropriately in the pre-offending period. For example, one woman explained she was drinking too much alcohol at the time as a way to cope with her loneliness and marriage difficulties and two others were drinking alcohol whilst socialising inappropriately with young people in their care. One woman also smoked cannabis with the victim and his friends in the period immediately before the first sexually abusive contact took place.

This limited evidence of substance abuse issues is similar to that found in Moulden et al.'s (2010) study of educator sexual abusers.

7.2.17 Sexual dysfunction

In addition to the emotional and psychological risk factors already identified, three women were known to have experienced particular sexual problems which influenced their abusive behaviour. These included feeling sexually unfulfilled in their

adult relationship, having a sex addiction and experiencing unresolved issues about their own sexuality and sexual preference. Two women described experiencing ephebophilia (a sexual interest in adolescents, in these cases adolescent boys).

7.3   Risk factors and specific motivations to abuse

The specific primary motivations for the women in this sample were identified using Gannon et al.'s (2008) categories of motivation; *intimacy*, *sexual gratification* and *instrumental*. Intimacy-driven offenders abuse in order to obtain intimacy with their victim (or in the case of co-offenders with their co-offenders), 'sexual gratification' describes those women who abuse to receive sexual pleasure and 'instrumental' motivations describe those who abuse for other reasons such as for revenge or financial gain for example. On the basis of the data available in this research it was possible to reasonably categorise 60.2% (n=82) of the women using these descriptors. Most women were primarily motivated by intimacy needs (48.8%; n=40), followed by sexual gratification (45.1%; n=37). Only five women (6.1%) appeared to be instrumentally motivated. These findings reflect higher rates of women motivated by intimacy and sexual needs and a much lower rate of instrumentally motivated perpetrators than found in Gannon and colleagues' (2008) own sample where sexual gratification was found to be the most common motivation overall.

There were some differences in the main risk factors associated with women who were viewed to be motivated by intimacy needs and those primarily motivated by sexual gratification. Personal stress and relationship problems were evident as key risk factors in both groups. However, those primarily seeking intimacy tended to display emotional vulnerability, mental health difficulties and a 'need to be needed'. In contrast only a few of the women driven by sexual needs displayed particular emotional vulnerability. Instead the other main risk factors identified in this group were sexual attraction to young people, sexual dysfunction and boundary problems.

7.4   Victim Risk Factors

As discussed earlier in Chapter Six, where the evidence was available, almost half of the victims had known vulnerabilities (beyond those inherently associated with being a child or young person) or problems in their lives in the period preceding the abuse. These vulnerabilities were often the main reason bringing the victim into contact with the perpetrator in the first instance with the woman acting as a formal or informal mentor or support to the victim(s) in the period preceding the abuse.

7.4.1 Family problems

The most common issue facing victims in this study was family problems. For some this related to parental separation or other family breakdown, sometimes resulting in financial difficulties for the remaining carer as well as emotional consequences for the victim. For others there were issues with parents or carers being absent, both physically (with the child being in residential accommodation or the parent living elsewhere temporarily) and emotionally, such as those with alcohol or substance misuse problems. The following extracts from a victim and perpetrator describe how family difficulties contributed to the development of the sexually abusive relationship in each case:

> *I have lost a huge part of my childhood. [Perpetrator] preyed on me because she knew my family life was unstable.* (Male victim, WC1)

> *I knew his family circumstances and we were starting to have conversations which went beyond what should be said between a teacher and a pupil…He told me things about his home life and, stupidly, I started to tell him about the problems in my marriage…And that is one of the worst things of all. I started trying to help [victim]. To be a positive influence and help him…The very thing I was trying to protect him from, I ended up doing to him myself.* (S3)

7.4.2 Behavioural issues

Just as some victims were being supported by the perpetrator because of difficulties at home, others were receiving support at school because of issues with their behaviour. In fact, in most of the cases involving victims with behavioural problems, the perpetrator was the specific adult employed to help deal with such issues. Some victims were directly supervised by the perpetrators in their roles as behavioural support, which would generally mean the victim was removed from the usual classroom environment and isolated in the female perpetrator's care. It could be that methods employed by these women to try and relate to the children and help manage their behaviour initially became over-friendly or breached appropriate professional boundaries, or alternatively that the victims perceived the perpetrators as a peer equivalent and treated them as such which the perpetrators did not resist.

7.4.3 Social problems

In the period preceding the abuse, some of the victims experienced problems in their peer social relationships, being bullied and unpopular and having few friends. The development of a closer relationship between the victim and perpetrator resulted from the support the perpetrator was providing, again either formally or informally, in light of these difficulties. Victims would confide in the perpetrators and in some cases spend time in their classrooms or offices at break times, before and after school.

7.4.4 Academic difficulties

Academic difficulties meant some victims were under-achieving at school or had special educational needs. They would receive additional support or tutoring by the female perpetrators again, providing an opportunity for closer, less formal relationships to develop. Extra tuition would usually be on a one-to-one basis and take place after the end of the usual school day again providing a more conducive environment for inappropriate behaviour to occur.

7.4.5 Emotional vulnerability

As a result of family problems, social and relationship issues and academic difficulties at school some victims were emotionally vulnerable in the pre-offence period. These emotional difficulties along with other problems in their lives would mean the victims were particularly receptive to support and care from adults in positions of trust. In some instances, the child came to rely very heavily on the support and friendship offered by the adult female, particularly where they had limited support at home or few friends.

7.4.6 Mental health issues

A few victims experienced mental health difficulties in the pre-offence period, including depression and adolescent anxiety. These issues contributed to their emotional vulnerabilities and their particular need for support and understanding from the female adult in a position of trust.

7.4.7 Substance misuse

Several victims engaged in under-age drinking (sometimes along with the perpetrator) in the period immediately prior to the sexually abusive contact. The use and sharing of alcohol with victims and other young people appeared to act as a dis-

inhibitor for some perpetrators and this issue is addressed further in Chapter 11. One of the victims in the sample had been using alcohol and drugs for a period of time (a fact known to the perpetrator and other adults in the school) before the abusive relationship began.

7.4.8   Sexual development

A few of the female victims in the research sample were described as feeling confused and struggling to understand their sexuality in the period leading up to the sexual abuse. They had turned to the female perpetrator as a source of support in trying to deal with those feelings. A judge describes how one perpetrator exploited this vulnerability and went on to sexually abuse her victim:

She was a vulnerable girl struggling to understand her own sexuality and having a number of problems to cope with…She looked to you for support and, while it is right to recognise that you did put an end to the bullying, you went on to take advantage of the closeness of the relationship and you encouraged her into an intimate relationship which was completely inappropriate. (Sentencing Judge, Case L19)

7.4.9   Sibling victim

It is interesting that in three cases the victim had a sibling (in each case, a brother) who had also been a victim of female-perpetrated sexual abuse. In two instances, the same perpetrator abused both brothers and in the third case the brother had previously been abused by another female teacher. There may therefore be some increased risk for the siblings of victims. It is not clear in the data exactly why this is the case in these instances. However, it was possibly related to the perpetrator's awareness of the victim's exposure to sexual contact with older females and no action being taken as a result, or her general lack of boundaries along with friendships or close acquaintance with the victim's family making siblings more available.

The findings described above demonstrate a range of particular risk factors for those sexually abused by female perpetrators in organisations. These vulnerabilities when occurring at the same time as those experienced by female perpetrators (some feeling a particular need to help others) often resulted in the development of emotionally dependent relationships that progressed to become sexually abusive in nature. Following on from the various risk factors also identified in female perpetrators,

the research findings show that despite the overall heterogeneity of the female abusers examined the case data indicated that there were some commonalities in the motivations, thinking and behaviour of different women in the sample. In the following section, several categories of abusers examined in this research are presented based on these identified commonalities.

7.5   Perpetrator Categorisations

As previously identified, overall the characteristics, motivations and behaviours of most of the women in this sample (with the specific exception of the co-abusing women) are similar to those described in Mathews et al.'s (1989) *teacher-lover* type; Faller's (1987) *adolescent abusers*; Vandiver and Kercher's (2004) *heterosexual nurturers* and Sandler and Freeman's (2007) *criminally-limited hebephiles.* Generally, these categories describe female offenders who tend to regard their victims as adults, view their behaviour as non-abusive and in the context of a consensual relationship (Harris, 2010). However, these existing typologies do not offer a more specific categorisation within this broad group that is necessary to more fully explain the nature, characteristics and behaviours seen within the sample in this study; those women who sexually abuse in organisational contexts. Therefore, a more enhanced, empirically-derived categorisation is suggested below. These categories and their common features are also summarised in Table 17.

This categorisation was initially developed through the in-depth analysis of case studies examining the common characteristics of perpetrators and victims, typical modus operandi, perpetrator motivations and response to the abuse. The identified features of the provisional categorisations developed from the case studies were then compared with the complete research sample in order to verify their wider applicably and establish any missing categories. This resulted in both the refinement and further development of the initially identified categories. For example the 'unrequited infatuated' category was not identified in the initial case study analysis but was present in a few of the overall sample cases.

Five categories of female perpetrators who sexually abuse children in organisational contexts were identified and are labelled: *immature regressed*; *sexual and risky*; *saviour syndrome; unrequited infatuated* and *psychologically troubled.*

Eleven per cent (n=15) of cases in the overall sample could not be effectively classified; this was due to a lack of sufficient information in the data sources or circumstances where the women demonstrated a range of characteristics across several categories prohibiting allocation to any specific one. Additionally, the two co-abusing women could not be classified as there was insufficient information regarding the existence of any coercion (or not) from their male partners to appropriately identify their individual motivation, thinking and behaviour.

The descriptions presented here are not exhaustive, nor definitive, and are not intended to generate a specific typology as such, but rather to offer a way of understanding the similarities and differences between female abusers examined in this study. Understanding similarities in the vulnerability factors and modus operandi of abusers can help to identify particular areas of risk for the development of sexually abusive behaviour. This understanding can inform particular prevention efforts if initial concerns are identified or indeed inform wider primary prevention measures in the first instance. If we understand that female abusers in organisational contexts may display similar risk factors and approaches to their abuse, then a range of protection measures can be implemented addressing that range of issues. This understanding could also assist in investigating suspected or alleged cases of abuse. The categories could also inform more tailored and effective treatment approaches for individual perpetrators and potentially victims too.

It should also be noted that the identified features of categories are not mutually exclusive and some of the features described as common to one specific category may also be apparent in individual abusers who pre-dominantly exhibit features aligned to another category. For example, a woman in her twenties with a female victim may still be categorised as 'sexual and risky' if the majority of the risk factors and her approach to the abuse identified in her case align with that category rather than 'immature regressed'. Each category will be described below and exemplified through reference to an illustrative case study.

7.5.1 'Immature regressed'

Over forty per cent (41.9%; n=57) of the women are described as *'immature regressed'*. This was the largest category identified in the sample as a whole.

These women tend to be younger (in their twenties) and are often fairly new to their profession. They demonstrate problems in adhering to appropriate professional boundaries and develop over-friendly relationships with young people in their care. In the apparent absence of their own peer-age friendships and relationships, these women sometimes socialise, including drinking alcohol, with children and young people outside of the organisational environment. Their victims are of both genders and primarily in their mid-teenage years. Women in this group often have low self-confidence and self-esteem and seek acceptance from the children and young people they work with. Their motivations appear to be mixed, some offending for sexual gratification, others to meet their intimacy needs. Some of these women have experienced a sheltered, or socially-limited, adolescence themselves and in engaging in abusive relationships with teenage victims they are experiencing opportunities they missed out on earlier in their own lives. The behaviour of women in this group can be characterised as typically thrill-seeking, and they generally display self-control deficits. Some are experiencing difficulties in their existing adult relationships at the time of the abusive behaviour or have been unsuccessful in establishing age-appropriate relationships in the past. These women display significant immaturity in their thinking and behaviour and they can be particularly persistent in pursuing and maintaining the abusive relationship despite any challenges or obstacles they face in doing so. They also tend to be somewhat manipulative in the offence process and deny the abuse or the true extent of the abuse when it is disclosed, often blaming the victim.

The following summary describes a case identified within this category.

WC6 was 21 year-old, single, sports coach who sexually assaulted a 13 year-old female player. WC6 was new to the role of adult coach with no criminal record or professional misconduct history.

A friendship between the two was initially encouraged by the victim's parents as she was very upset, withdrawn and reclusive after the death of a grandparent and her mother was recovering from a very serious illness at the time. The victim was also

experiencing adolescent anxiety problems and identity issues. The coach and victim exchanged frequent text messages and the relationship grew closer whereby the victim became emotionally dependent on the coach. The coach made a few initial attempts to discourage this dependency, however in time she began encouraging it, gradually instigating a more physical relationship and telling the victim she loved her.

Having found a concerning text message (where the coach expressed love for the victim and wanting to hug her) and having observed inappropriate physical contact between them the victim's father warned the coach to cease her behaviour or he would contact the police. The victim's parents also told the team head coaches who spoke to the coach and told her to limit physical contact with the victim. The coach maintained there was nothing sexual to the relationship but despite promising to stop she continued contact making the victim aware of the need for secrecy as she could go to jail if anyone found out.

The sexual abuse involved kissing, hugging, touching and undressing in each other's presence and took place in the coach's and victim's homes, the coach's car and in a hotel when attending a sports tournament. The victim had initially shown reluctance to engage in any sexual contact beyond hugging and kissing when the coach made attempts to touch her genital area. However, the coach gradually influenced the victim with emotional manipulation to the point where the victim later agreed to it. The abuse finally came to light several months later when the victim's mother returned home to find both the victim and coach in a state of partial undress.

The police investigated and the coach admitted sending inciting text messages to the victim but denied that she would have acted on them or that there had been any sexual touching between them. She was charged and subsequently convicted of *sexual interference* and *invitation to sexual touching*.

WC6 was considered to be emotionally immature and suffering low self-confidence around the time of the sexual abuse; she described herself as shy and cautious in matters of sexuality. The forensic psychology report for the court revealed no mental health issues but stated that the coach had attributed some responsibility to the victim.

7.5.2 'Sexual and risky'

Over a third of the women (34.6%; n=47) in this study appeared to fit within this category. These women are generally in their thirties, in long-term adult relationships at the time of the abusive behaviour and some of them abused more than one victim. Their victims tend to be younger adolescents and male. The abuse is highly sexual in nature and the women engage in extremely risky behaviour during the offending process, for example by abusing more than one victim at a time or by sexually abusing the victim(s) in the organisational environment during operational hours. Some of these women have a history of previous concerns about failing to maintain appropriate boundaries with children. Typically, they engage in electronic communication with their victim(s), which often involves them sending indecent images of themselves to the victim(s) prior to contact sexual abuse occurring. Although they appear to be primarily sexually motivated, most also seem to be seeking some form of intimacy with the victim(s) and some are emotionally manipulative. The approach these women take to the sexually abusive behaviour is usually explicit, direct and occurs quickly within the context of their acquaintance with the victim(s). However, the sexually abusive contact with the victim(s) tends to be relatively short-lived, rather than any long-term, on-going relationship. Most of these women plead guilty and accept responsibility for the abuse and some of them are known to have experienced domestic abuse with adult partners.

The case study below illustrates this category of abuser, describing a teaching assistant in her late thirties who abused several adolescent boys.

L10 was a 39 year-old, married, teaching assistant who engaged in sexual relationships with seven 15-17 year old male pupils over a three-year period.

The teaching assistant contacted the boys via social media then began exchanging text messages with them, having sexual discussions and asking the victims about their sexual experiences. She began inciting sexual activity with her victims and sending them indecent images of herself, sometimes using sex aids.

A number of sexual contacts happened at the school, in classroom or study areas, when the pupils had free periods or study sessions and were under L10's supervision as a mentor. On occasions she would call the victims out of class to meet

up with her for sexual contact within school. She also gave victims lifts to and from school, took them for meals at fast food restaurants, bought them gifts and went dog walking with them. L10's sexual approaches to her victims were direct and explicit and she invited several of them to her home where sexual intercourse took place, as well as in her car. The sexual abuse also involved the teaching assistant performing oral sex upon the victims, masturbating herself in their presence and having them masturbate her. The teaching assistant made implicit threats to some of her victims about potential violence from her husband if he found out and emotionally manipulated at least one of the boys by making him feel like he was the only one who cared about her.

L10 was advised to cease her social media contact with the boys by a friend who became aware of it, but she failed to do so. Other pupils were aware of her flirtations with certain male pupils and the victims apparently were aware of her sexual behaviour with some of the others. The abuse was ultimately discovered by a colleague and then reported by one of the victims to his parents and the school.

The abuse resulted in two separate police investigations and L10 pleaded guilty to a range of offences. L10 had no previous criminal history but her solicitor mitigated that her behaviour was linked to the murder of a close family member preceding the abuse.

7.5.3 'Saviour syndrome'

Ten women (7.4%) were identified within this category. These women tend to be older, mostly in their mid-thirties to mid-forties, and experiencing personal stress and/or problems in their own long-term current adult relationships around the time of the abuse. Their behaviour is generally motivated by their emotional and intimacy needs.

These women often initially act in a mentoring role towards the victim, who is usually vulnerable in some way, and they become particularly occupied by helping the victim. They then become emotionally over-involved in this role, seeing themselves as somewhat of a saviour for the child. These women are typically also experiencing a range of difficulties in their own lives and the relationship with the victim can become

one of misdirected emotional co-dependence where the child is providing emotional support and where the woman relies on them to help with her own problems. After some period of time the closer emotional connection leads to the development of a physical and sexually abusive relationship. These women are not necessarily sexually attracted to the victim but the emotional bond and dependence motivates the development of sexually abusive contact. They often believe they are in love with the victim, seeing the relationship as a genuine caring one and do not recognise the abusive nature of their behaviour. These women can become so emotionally invested in the abusive relationship that they can be prepared to sacrifice their existing adult partnership, family and profession in order to maintain it. When the abusive relationship with the victim ends they tend to be particularly upset by it. Women in this group also typically admit to their abusive behaviour once it is disclosed, as the example below demonstrates.

WC1 was a 43 year-old married primary school teacher who sexually abused an 11 year-old male pupil, continuing the abuse over a three-year period. The teacher had been working in the profession for several years at the time of the abuse and had no criminal record or professional misconduct history. She was considered a dedicated and excellent teacher and one who went above and beyond the requirements of the role.

The abusive contact began at the very end of term when the victim was going to be leaving the school. The teacher went to the victim's home and asked if he wanted to earn some money by undertaking jobs for her family members as his own family were in financial difficulty following the separation of his parents.The teacher would drive the victim to and from those jobs and they began to spend more and more time together, going on trips and activities during the holidays, the teacher buying the victim presents and taking him on holiday. She also took him on a school trip after he had left the school. The victim also stayed overnight at her home. The teacher then helped the victim to transfer school when he was being bullied at his new school. She made the victim feel like he was complicit in the relationship and he viewed her as a kind of aunt figure and had tried to stop the sexual contact between them.

The abuse included kissing, cuddling and oral abuse of the victim and took place during the time they spent together at the teacher's home and on trips and during activities together. The boy's mother became uncomfortable about the amount of time

they were spending together and asked for the contact to stop. The teacher then befriended the mother asking her to reconsider, which she did, and the abusive relationship continued. Finally when the victim moved away from the area he ceased contact with the teacher and refused to take her calls, which she found devastating.

The victim disclosed the abuse to his mother five years later and reported it to the authorities as an adult. The teacher pleaded guilty to one count of *sexual interference with a child under 14*.

The teacher considered the matter to be a romantic affair; she'd fallen in love with the victim, and maintained she did not recognise the abusive nature of the relationship at the time. She viewed it as akin to 'young love' and felt exhilarated when she was with the victim. A court forensic psychiatrist considered the abuse resulted from the teacher's original desire to help the victim who she identified as experiencing similar issues she had experienced herself when she was younger. The teacher said she identified with the victim and had been questioning the direction in her life at the time, feeling she had outgrown her long-time husband and was feeling unfulfilled. The abuse also occurred soon after the end of the teacher's extra-marital affair and at a time when she was investing all her energy into her work and volunteer activities in the community.

7.5.4 'Unrequited infatuated'

Three women (2.2%) in the sample were categorised as 'unrequited infatuated'. These women were in their thirties and forties and were infatuated with male victims in their mid-teens. These perpetrators were also experiencing mental health difficulties at the time of the abusive behaviour. They viewed their victims as potential romantic partners, idolising them and attempting to encourage deepening emotional and romantic attachments with them. Women in this group tended to buy the victim gifts and send letters, cards and social media communications professing their love and expressing a need to have the victim in their lives. These women also made efforts to become involved with the victim's family and through this engage in contact with the victim outside of the organisational environment. Victims generally express discomfort about the attention from the perpetrator and try to withdraw from any further contact. These women admit their behaviour and may resign from their posts soon after the

allegations are raised. They express an understanding of the inappropriateness of their behaviour when subsequently challenged about it.

The following example illustrates this category describing a female teacher and her behaviour towards an adolescent male pupil.

N15 was a 30-year-old female teacher who persistently tried to groom a 15-year-old male pupil to engage in a romantic relationship with her.

Over a period of a year and a half the teacher sent the boy a range of emotional and personal communications and text messages, social media messages and letters and tutored him in her private accommodation at the school.

The teacher was friendly with the victim's parents and had been invited for a meal at their home. The pupil expressed his growing discomfort with the teacher's attention after she visited him at alone at home, uninvited, some time later. The victim's parents contacted the school who warned N15 about her conduct and contact with the pupil. She had also been informally advised by colleagues previously about her boundaries with other pupils and contacting them by text, letter and social media.

Following the warning, the teacher sent the victim yet another intimate and personal letter declaring her feelings for him a few months later. His parents contacted the school again and N15 resigned. A while after her resignation she contacted the victim yet again by social media message and sent him a gift.

The teacher was considered to have had vulnerable mental health both at the time and subsequent to the disclosure of abuse, to the extent that the victim's family and her employer were concerned she may try to harm herself.

7.5.5 'Psychologically troubled'

Two women (1.5%) in the study sample were understood to have been particularly psychologically troubled, having long-standing diagnosed mental health issues and displaying extreme immaturity in their thinking and behaviour. These two women abused male victims in their early teenage years and began the abuse after

responding to attention from their victims. They engaged in regular sexualised contact with the victim via social media or other electronic communication means and quickly moved to meeting them outside of the organisational environment. Their motivations for the abuse appeared to be mixed, one driven primarily by sexual needs and the other seeking intimacy in the abusive relationship. When the abuse was discovered these women made partial admissions about their behaviour. One woman was particularly persistent and manipulative in contacting the victim even after she was imprisoned and ordered to have no further contact with him or his family. U20, described below, is an example of such a case having experienced previous abuse or trauma in her life prior to the offending period.

U20 was a 27 year-old, separated, primary school sports teacher who had a three-month long sexually abusive relationship with a 13-year-old male pupil. The teacher had been in the profession for several years at the time of the abuse and had no known criminal record or professional misconduct history.

The victim had flirted with the teacher in her classes and she began to spend social time with him, including at school sports events. She was also in contact with him by text message and social media. The teacher was going through an acrimonious separation with her allegedly abusive husband and had moved out of the marital home at the time. On the invitation of the victim's mother the teacher even spent some time staying at the victim's home as she moved between properties.

The sexual abuse involved sexual intercourse, vaginal penetration of the teacher and oral sex and occurred at the teacher's home, the victim's home and in the school gym.

People in the local community became aware of how much time the teacher seemed to be spending with the victim, hanging around in town with him and turning up at his sports events, focussing all of her attention on him. The abuse was reported to police in an anonymous call and the teacher resigned from her post. Following plea-bargaining the teacher was ultimately convicted of four offences of *sexual battery by an authority figure* and she was prohibited from having any contact with the victim.

A short time after release from prison the teacher began contacting the victim again via text messages and online communications, sending sexual images of herself

and engaging in sexual discussions with him. She had set up a website in order to contact the victim and used a family member's mobile phone to contact him. The teacher was recalled from probation and returned to prison to serve the rest of her sentence in custody. She was also convicted of two further offences.

The teacher was described as suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder at the time of the abuse as a result of significant trauma in her life. She was also understood to have been a victim of domestic violence from her husband. The teacher was also considered to have a sex addiction and to be an extremely immature individual.

7.5.6 Comparison with existing classifications

7.5.6.1 *Female sex offenders*

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, of the existing typologies describing female sex offenders those with the most relevance to this study are the women who abuse unrelated male adolescents.

Whilst existing typologies reflect some of the characteristics and demographics identified in this research sample they do not provide sufficient differentiation to comprehensively cover the types of women examined here and the ways in which they come to sexually abuse children in organisational contexts. A notable omission from existing typologies is their failure to include apparently heterosexual women who sexually abuse adolescent girls, like some of those featuring in the cases here. This omission is no doubt a reflection of the fact that adult female-adolescent female statutory sex crime relationships are the least studied of sexually abusive relationships to date (Hines & Finkelhor, 2007). Gannon and Rose (2008) point out that another limitation of existing typologies, such as Vandiver and Kercher's (2004), is their failure to use situational characteristics in their development. The categorisation presented here and developed from this research addresses this omission by considering both perpetrator and victim characteristics as well as situational factors.

Perhaps the most sophisticated and relevant existing typology examining similar female sex offenders to those in this study is Hines and Finkelhor's (2007) further sub-categorisation of Mathew et al.'s (1989) *teacher/lover* category developed after they reviewed statutory sexual offences (defined as non-forcible, voluntary sexual

relationships between adults and juveniles including youths aged 13 or over) committed by female perpetrators, like many of those included in this sample. The categories they developed were detailed in Chapter Three (at page 69). Gannon and Rose (2008) argued their sub-types were speculative and require validation with female child sexual offender populations. Therefore the comparison with this research sample offers some supporting evidence towards this validation, although this is limited and only related to three of the sub-categories identified by Hines and Finkelhor (2007) as discussed below.

The *sexual and risky* category identified in this research is similar to the 'teacher' sub-category where the woman is primarily sexually motivated and uses her sexuality and sexual experience to attract the interest of adolescent victims. As identified by Hines and Finkelhor (2007) these types of abusive relationships are short-lived. The 'lover' sub-category is helpful in classifying some of the women in this study, but only to a limited extent. The characteristics identified by Hines and Finkelhor (2007) as relevant in these women are found across three of the categories developed here: *saviour syndrome*, *unrequited infatuated* and *arrested development* indicating that a further development 'lover' sub-category was required. For some women here it appears the genuine love they perceive in the relationship may be motivated by different factors not fully explored in the 'lover' sub-category. For example, in *saviour syndrome* cases this love arises from an emotional connection to the victim fulfilling particular emotional needs that are lacking elsewhere in the woman's life, whereas *unrequited infatuated* women feel love but seem to be seeking to address their specific lack of adult relationships. Elements of 'lover' characteristics are also evident in women categorised as *immature regressed* in this research. Some of the women in this group do appear to feel love for their victims but their motivations might be sexual or emotional whereas others do not express love and appear to abuse in ways more typical of 'teacher' or 'convenience' types. For example, by socialising with young people and engaging in casual sexual contact with them without regard for professional boundaries, or by providing sexual experience to their victims in the manner of the teenage relationship they perceive themselves to be engaging in.

7.5.6.2 *Organisational sexual abusers*

There are no existing empirically-based typologies specifically describing those who sexually abuse in organisational contexts (Proeve et al., 2016) so a typological comparison is not possible. Doran and Brannan (1996) suggested two broad types of

institutional abusers; those who are charismatic, caring professionals who are articulate, well-respected and often involved in organisational leadership, and alternatively those who are dutiful, but generally isolated staff members who take on extra duties and are overly helpful to colleagues and children in their care. However, the evidence examined in the current research shows that these categories are not so distinct within this sample of females who abuse in organisational contexts and the women here often share characteristics of both of the types suggested by Doran and Brannan (1996).

7.6 Summary

This chapter has further addressed the research questions *why do females sexually abuse children whilst in positions of trust?* and *what motivations and risk factors/vulnerabilities can be identified?* It has presented findings regarding how women perpetrate this abuse for a variety of different, often inter-connected, reasons. Motivations can be to meet emotional needs or for sexual gratification or both, and their personal circumstances in the shorter-term prior to the abuse, appear to have a particular bearing on their ultimate engagement in sexually abusive behaviour. These vulnerabilities combined with situational factors, which will be explored further in Chapter 11, provide some explanation for why females sexually abuse in organisational contexts. A range of vulnerabilities and risk factors for such women have been identified, many of which are evident in other studies with female sex offenders. These include relationship problems, emotional difficulties, mental health issues, social isolation and additional personal stresses. Unlike other studies there was limited evidence of previous victimisation in the lives of these perpetrators. However, this may result from the limitations of the data available here. Finally, a categorisation of women who sexually abuse children whilst working in organisational contexts was suggested, reflecting their heterogeneity, their differing motivations, vulnerabilities and behaviours leading to the abuse of children with whom they work. This categorisation is an important contribution to existing knowledge on both female sex offenders and those who sexually abuse in organisations. It is the only categorisation developed for this type of abuse and extends existing typologies in a number of ways.

Having explored some of the many reasons why women sexually abuse in organisational contexts the next chapter will move on to examine how this type of abuse is perpetrated and the offending processes followed by the women in this study.

Table 17: Women who sexually abuse children in organisational contexts: a categorisation

Immature regressed (n= 57)	*Sexual and risky* (n=47)	*Saviour syndrome* (n=10)	*Unrequited infatuated* (n=3)	*Psychologically troubled* (n=2)
• Aged in twenties • Fairly new to profession • Professional boundary problems • Absence of peer-age friendships • Difficulties with adult relationships • Social isolation • Low self-confidence • Low self-esteem • Limited social experiences in own adolescence • Self-control deficits • Immature thinking and behaviour Victim: • Both genders • Mid-adolescent	• Aged in thirties • In long-term adult relationship • Previous concerns about boundaries with children/young people • Possible victims of domestic violence as adults Victim: • Possible multiple victims • Mostly male • Younger adolescents Motivation:	• Aged in mid-thirties to mid-forties • Personal stress • Difficulties in own current adult relationship Victim: • Vulnerable • Both genders Motivation: • Emotional and intimacy needs Approach: • Support role for victim • Over emotional involvement	• Aged thirties/forties • Some mental health issues Victim: • Mostly male • Mid-adolescence • Express discomfort and reluctance about attention Motivation: • Intimacy Approach: • View victim as potential romantic partner	• Aged late twenties/early thirties • Long-standing mental health difficulties • Possible experiences of trauma/abuse in own history • Extreme immaturity in thinking and behaviour Victim: • Male • Younger adolescents

years Motivation: • Intimacy and sexual motivations • Thrill-seeking Approach: • Socialise with children and young people • Seek acceptance • Persistent • Manipulative Response: • Tend to deny • Victim blaming	• Primarily sexual motivation but may also be seeking intimacy Approach: • Highly sexualised behaviour • Risk taking • Direct approaches • Quick escalation • Engage in online sexualised communication with victims • Short-lived abuse • Emotional manipulation Response: • Admit and accept responsibility	• Emotional co-dependence on child • Emotional connection leads to sexually abusive behaviour • 'In love' with victim • View relationship with victim as 'genuine' and caring • Prepared to sacrifice own career/family/relationship to maintain the abusive relationship Response: • Admit • Very upset at end of abusive relationship	• Idolise victim • Attempt to persuade victim into romantic relationship • Give gifts/write communications expressing love and need for the victim in their lives • Attempt to establish connection with victim's family Response: • Admit • May quickly resign from post • Express understanding inappropriateness	Motivation: • Intimacy or sexual motivation Approach: • Initially respond to victim attention • Sexualised contact via social media/mobile telephone • Longer term abuse • Persistent • Victim aware of her mental health issues Response: • Make partial admissions • May persist with contact with victim despite prohibitions

Chapter Eight: Offence Processes of Women who Sexually Abuse Children in Organisational Contexts

8.1 Introduction

The perpetrator and victim risk factors identified in the previous chapter can create the vulnerability for sexual abuse to occur, particularly when co-existing. However, as integrated theories of child sexual abuse identify, these personal vulnerabilities do not occur in isolation and the situational and eco-systemic context in which the relationship between the perpetrator and victim(s) occurs is also highly relevant (Kaufman et al., 2006; Smallbone et al., 2008). These contexts will be examined in this chapter with particular regard to offence processes and pathways identified in female perpetrators in organisational contexts.

In order to better understand this type of abuse, it is important to know how it occurs, particularly the process by which an official adult-child relationship of trust becomes an abusive one. In addition to any individual risk factors, we need to understand what happens (or does not happen) that leads the perpetrator to behave in a sexually abusive manner and how they actually carry out the abuse within the organisational context. By understanding the offending process in more detail, we can identify particularly risky situations and circumstances and thereby appropriate preventative actions. As Smallbone and colleagues (2008) emphasise:

> …child-focused prevention strategies should be informed empirically by research on CSA offenders' modus operandi; that is, on the systematic study of CSA offenders' pre-offence, offence and post-offence behaviour. (Smallbone et al., 2008, pp.59-60)

This chapter will primarily address the second research question: *how do females perpetrate this type of abuse and are there common modi operandi?* It will discuss findings in relation to the pre-offence, offence and post-offence phases of the abuse process, examining perpetrator and victim vulnerabilities, the development of inappropriate relationships and how these lead to sexually abusive behaviour. Data concerning the specific sexual acts and behaviours demonstrated by the women in the perpetration of the abuse will be presented. In order to understand what brings such

sexual abuse to an end, findings with regard to the discovery and disclosure of abuse will also be discussed. Different offence processes will be illustrated by reference to case study examples. The results from this study will then be compared with the DMFSO, as well as findings from other studies on female sexual offender pathways. The chapter will conclude with a preliminary examination of what the findings suggest in terms of potential prevention measures and treatment approaches.

8.1.1 Duration of position of trust relationship prior to abuse

Data as regards the duration of the position of trust relationship between the abuser and victim prior to the abuse taking place was only available in a small number of cases (n=16). Where this information was available, the mean duration of the existing position of trust relationship prior to the abuse was 18.25 months (SD=19). Most typically, the pre-existing position of trust relationship was two years.

8.1.2 Duration of abuse

Where the duration of the abusive behaviour could be determined (n=116), this ranged from one day through to an indefinite period in one case (as the abusive relationship continued at the time the analysis was undertaken). The mean duration of abuse was 8.5 months (SD=9.9). In almost half of the cases (49.1%), the abusive behaviour continued for less than six months. However, in almost a fifth of cases (19.1%) it lasted for more than a year. In three cases the abuse lasted for four or more years and in one case the relationship was still continuing long after the official position of trust had ceased and the teacher and former pupil were in an established long-term relationship with each other.

8.2 The Offence Process

8.2.1 Pre-offence phase

Analysis of the build up to the abusive behaviour in the pre-offence phase identified a number of ways in which the position of trust relationship between the perpetrator and victim intensifies and becomes an inappropriate one.

In Chapter Seven it was evident that where victims have particular vulnerabilities around the time of the abuse it was common for them to confide in the perpetrator. This attempt to seek support often resulted in closer emotional connections

being established, and, in circumstances where the perpetrator was also experiencing difficulties in her own life, could lead to the sharing of her own problems as she inappropriately also used the child as a source of support.

Increasingly personal relationships then led to, or were accompanied by, communication between the two outside of the organisational environment, usually by personal text, email, instant messaging or social media. These contacts would become more frequent and personal and an increasingly inappropriate relationship would be established. Such contact often occurred late at night, at weekends or during organisational holidays; periods when the perpetrator and victim were physically separated. The perpetrator might also begin giving the victim lifts to/from the organisation or other destinations, providing a further opportunity for them to spend time alone away from a supervised environment. A male adolescent victim describes this escalation of behaviour:

> *I got sent to isolation and [L14] was on duty. She was talking to me about why I got sent there and telling me to calm down...Then, out of nowhere, she just slipped me her number on a little bit of paper. I was amazed and confused. I didn't tell my mates straight away but I was texting her, trying to keep it quiet. The first one said: 'Hiya, it's me' and it just went from there.* (Male victim, Case L14)

In other cases, in the pre-offence phase the perpetrator began to spend more time with the victim and their peers, for example by being involved in after-school activities, sports practices or extra tuition. In these circumstances, the perpetrator typically behaved in a less formal way, overstepping professional boundaries and beginning to regard themselves (and be regarded by the victim/peers) more as a friend or peer of the young people rather than an adult in a position of authority. In some cases, the perpetrator shared personal information about her life, past relationships and sexual experiences. This increasingly inappropriate, friendship-style behaviour could lead to the perpetrator having the victim/peers visit her home, usually to socialise or watch films, or alternatively to her attending other social events with the victim and their peers. In both circumstances, it was not unusual for alcohol to be available (which the perpetrator either provided or permitted the consumption of) and for sexual and romantic behaviour between the young people themselves to occur.

In some circumstances victims displayed flirtatious behaviour towards the perpetrator that she did not discourage or report to her seniors or supervisors:

It started about a year prior to the actual relationship starting, he showed up in my class... He had started as a flirtation. He would come to my classroom and lean in the doorway and blow me kisses or whistle at me in the hallway. Or just brush my shoulder as he was walking by. Fairly, you know, inappropriate but fairly innocent stuff. (WC11)

It can be difficult to discuss victim behaviour without insinuating that the child was to blame for the abuse in some way. However, in presenting this information here there is no intention at all to blame any victims for the actions of the perpetrator. The perpetrator is always the adult with agency and responsibility in abusive situations and there is always a disparity in power between them and their victims, particularly in these cases where they are also in a formal, legally recognised position of trust. In some instances, the case data referred to victim actions which were interpreted by the female perpetrator as encouraging sexual activity and which she chose to act upon. The issue of importance here is not the victim's actions but the interpretations and subsequent actions of adult female offenders in response.

In some cases victims and their friends would also establish social media or text contact with the perpetrator that she either permitted or actively engaged in. These contacts then developed from general communications (sometimes with more than one child/young person) to more personal correspondence which then becomes directed towards the victim specifically.

Once such personal relationships were established, it was rare for the perpetrator to actually make any attempt to cease the developing relationship. In the very few cases where this did happen these efforts were minimal and short-lived and the inappropriate relationship continued regardless. For example, in one case when the perpetrator realised she was developing feelings for the victim and inappropriately relying on him for emotional support, she told him he could no longer help out in her classroom and by doing so made some attempt to stop the one-to-one contact time they spent together. Yet within a very short space of time she then disregarded her reservations, told the victim why she had stopped their contact, disclosed her true feelings for him and proceeded to establish a sexually abusive relationship with him:

I told him he couldn't do his school service in my class, that it wasn't a good idea. I didn't tell him why…I went home feeling guilty because the truth was that we had already built a relationship of sorts…I was telling him things I shouldn't

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have and I thought it was wrong of me to cut him off without any explanation…I felt really rotten the next day. By then, I realised that I liked him. It sounds crazy, and it was. I felt I owed him an explanation and told him the reason I could not have him in the class was because I had been thinking about him too much. (S3)

8.2.2 'Grooming'

The term 'grooming' in relation to child sexual abuse has been subject to definitional problems (Mcalinden, 2006). Despite being introduced in the Sexual Offences Act 2003 it was not defined specifically but was referred to in the offence of sexual grooming as 'arrange a meeting with a child under 16… with *the intent* of sexually abusing the child' (this author's emphasis) (Sexual Offences Act 2003, s. 15). The NSPCC refer to 'grooming' as being 'when someone builds an emotional connection with a child to gain their trust *for the purposes of* sexual abuse, sexual exploitation or trafficking' (this author's emphasis) (NSPCC, 2017, September, Grooming. Retrieved from https://www.nspcc.org.uk/preventing-abuse/child-abuse-and-neglect/grooming/) (Accessed on 13 September 2017).

The new offence of 'sexual communication with a child' was introduced in England and Wales in April 2017 to enhance powers in relation to sexual grooming, particularly online. The offence covers both online and offline communication and makes it illegal to 'intentionally communicate with a child under 16 where the person *acts for a sexual purpose* and the communication is sexual or is intended to elicit a sexual response' (this author's emphasis) (Serious Crime Act 2015). These definitions clearly indicate the importance of intent on the behalf of the offender in classifying behaviour as grooming. Such a view is problematic when assessing the behaviour of many of the women in this research sample. As discussed below, there are real difficulties in determining whether some women's actions in establishing emotional relationships with children in their care were pre-planned and intentional with a specific intent to sexually abuse or rather that the sexual activity followed on from the development of emotional connection fostered through initial pastoral or educational support, where there was no initial intention or motivation to abuse. These circumstances are not generally addressed in the existing literature on grooming. For these reasons, the behaviours typically described as 'grooming' are referred to in this study as 'grooming-type' behaviour.

Grooming-type behaviour was evident in 82.3% of cases (n=112) and 11.8% (n=16) of cases solely involved this, not progressing to contact sexual abuse. However, given the nature of the data sources, it was not always possible to identify if the perpetrator's actions constituted intentional, pre-planned grooming behaviour (i.e. that specifically employed to lead to sexual contact) or were less intentioned actions implicit in the nature of the increasingly inappropriate personal relationship between the perpetrator and victim and therefore part of the ongoing abusive relationship itself.

In cases where grooming-type behaviour was identified the most typical methods were: engaging in sexualised contact with the victim online or via text messages (50%; n=56); meeting in private outside of the organisational environment (46.4%; n=52) and the perpetrator allowing or encouraging the victim to visit her home (45.5%; n=51). Full detail of the behaviours can be found in Table 18.

Other grooming-type behaviours included: giving the victim lifts in her car; sending letters/notes or cards; providing the victim with alcohol; taking the victim out for meals; encouraging the victim to visit her classroom; engaging in (non-sexual) physical contact with the victim; dressing provocatively; encouraging the victim's emotional dependency upon her; befriending/socialising with the victim's family; allowing the victim to drive her car; taking a part-time job in the same business as the victim; manipulating teaching cover to teach in the victim's class; regularly travelling on public transport with the victim; arranging a work placement for the victim and watching the victim play in sports matches. Other more familiar behaviours such as buying gifts or grooming guardians were not as typical in the cases in this study.

From this analysis of female perpetrator behaviour in the pre-offence phase, an issue clearly arises around the way some of these women progress to sexually abusive behaviour and how this differs from current understandings of 'grooming'. Existing definitions set the expectation that grooming is a purposeful, deliberate set of conscious actions specifically designed to enable sexual abuse to occur. The findings of this research suggest that a wider definition or understanding of the term may be required. It could be argued that existing definitions and the prevailing current understanding of the term and its meaning are gendered; they result from the fact that, to date, child sexual abuse has only really been extensively researched and understood in the context of male perpetrators. Legislation and public policy documentation as well as contemporary media narratives portray grooming as deliberate, calculated actions by males who have a sexual interest in children/young

people and who use it to facilitate and enable the commission of sexual acts for their own gratification. Yet in many of the cases in this study of female perpetrators, the grooming-type behaviour does not appear to be a conscious or calculated method and the perpetrator's emotional interaction with the child arises first (and often via legitimate means and for non-sexual reasons) which then gradually progresses to the development of a sexual relationship with the child as a pseudo-adult partner.

Table 18: Grooming-type behaviours in female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts

Behaviour	Percentage	n
GROOMING-TYPE BEHAVIOUR[a]:		112
Sexualised contact via text/online	50.0%	56
Meet in private (outside organisation)	46.4%	52
Allow/encourage visits to her home	45.5%	51
Other	34.8%	39
Inappropriate behaviour/boundaries with other children	22.3%	25
Meet in private (in organisation)	20.5%	23
Buying gifts	15.2%	17
Shares personal life details	14.3%	16
Grooming guardians	12.5%	14
Planning/inciting to meet	11.6%	13
Grooming victim's peers	3.6%	4
Financial support	0.9%	1
Sexual discussions (asks victim's sexual history)	0.9%	1

[a] *Percentages total more than 100 as perpetrators generally engaged in more than one grooming-type behaviour*

These differing scenarios in the pre-offence phase all lead to the development of an inappropriate personal relationship between the perpetrator and victim that oversteps professional boundaries and creates the background for progression into sexually abusive behaviour. Interestingly, there were no cases where the abuse occurred in a more spontaneous, or one-off, manner such as those found in other female sex offender studies and characterised as 'Implicit Disorganised' by Gannon and colleagues (2008, 2010).

8.2.3 Mobile phone/online contact

As discussed above, the development of an increasingly inappropriate relationship between the perpetrator and victim was often facilitated by private communication outside of the organisational context. Communication by these means is often extensive with many contacts occurring late at night or during school holidays. More than half of the cases (56.6%; n=77) involved telephone or mobile phone contact, either by text or social media messenger services or through voice calling. Online contact between the abuser and victim (usually via email, instant messaging or social media sites) was evident in 39% (n=53) of cases:

> *When I went to bed that night she started texting me at 11.30pm saying she really wished I hadn't had to go [off Facebook], and I replied I was sorry, too, as I didn't know what else to say…She said she'd been drinking quite a few glasses of wine, and said there was someone she liked, but that it was wrong. I could see by now where this was leading, but I asked her several times who it was and she eventually said it was me. I remember thinking: 'This is all a bit mad.' I was a bit attracted to her, but not much, really.* (Male victim, Case D5)

Various circumstances led to the exchange of mobile or social media communication details between the perpetrator and victim. In some cases, the abuser simply provided her details to the victim. In others, she would request the details from the victim or vice versa. In a few cases the details were originally communicated between the perpetrator and victim for legitimate reasons, such as to facilitate schoolwork assignments, or to keep in touch on organisational outings, but then are later used inappropriately by the perpetrator or victim to communicate more personally.

The use of technological communication serves to facilitate the development of closer personal relationships as well as being the medium by which grooming and

sexual abuse is actually perpetrated. This issue will be discussed further in Chapter 11. These findings emphasise the risks inherent in children's use of technological communication where such use is not monitored or sufficiently controlled by guardians. Some organisations had policies prohibiting personal mobile or internet communication between adults in positions of trust and children and young people but others did not. Even where such policies existed the perpetrators would generally disregard them in order to facilitate an ongoing relationship with the victim. There were several instances of the child/young person or the adult creating a pseudonym or false account/profile on their personal communication devices to conceal the true nature of the inappropriate contact.

What is not clear is how aware parents/carers were of the communication between the child and the adult in the position of trust or the extent to which this was accepted. It is difficult to know whether guardians were less concerned about any such contact because the adult in the position of trust was a woman, although this is potentially the case given previous research findings around public perception of female sex offenders (Cain & Anderson, 2016; Elliott & Bailey, 2014) and parental perceptions of risk to their children from known adults in positions of trust (Babatsikos, 2010).

The findings here are consistent with those of Jaffe and colleagues (2013) in their study of sexual abuse by Canadian teachers, which emphasised the significance of increasing technology as facilitating child sexual abuse in schools.

8.3   The Offence Phase

8.3.1   Approach to abuse

Following on from these different pre-offence circumstances, the case analysis identified two key approaches taken by female perpetrators to engage in sexually abusive contact with the victim. On one hand, some women would make direct and fairly explicit approaches to their victim(s) and on the other the progression to sexualised contact was a more gradual development resulting from the closer emotional bond or friendship developed in the pre-offence phase. For example, several women sent messages or contacted the victim specifically at a point in time to ask them to meet immediately thereafter for the explicit purpose of engaging in sexual

activity. In other cases, sexually abusive contact occurred following gradually developing physical contact such as hand-holding and hugging.

8.3.2 Immediate precipitators

Where it was possible to identify immediate precipitators to the abuse, several circumstances appeared relevant. In cases of sexually abusive exchanges online or by text, there was evidence of the preceding communications becoming increasingly personal then sexual in nature. For example, general discussions about relationships led on to questions around the victim's own experiences or the perpetrator sharing her own history, this then progressed to flirtations and communication about potential sexual activity between the two. The first physically sexually abusive contact was often immediately preceded by the perpetrator inviting the victim to her home or to a one-to-one meeting somewhere else. Alcohol consumption by the perpetrator and/or victim (either independently or together) was also an immediate precipitator to the sexually abusive contact in a few cases.

8.3.3 Sexually abusive behaviour

In some cases, the sexually abusive activity developed very quickly within the context of the perpetrator-victim relationship. In others, it developed more gradually but once there had been sexually abusive contact for the first time this either escalated quickly or became more and more frequent, even when the duration of the abusive relationship lasted only a short period of time. Although the information is not available in every case, the evidence suggests that most of the adolescent victims were virgins or sexually inexperienced at the time of the abuse.

With regard to contact sexual abuse nearly two-thirds of cases (65.4%; n=89) were known to involve serious and penetrative sexual acts including sexual intercourse (35.3%; n=48), oral sex (23.5%; n=32) or vaginal penetration (6.6%; n=9). Less intrusive acts such as kissing, hugging and hand-holding were evident in almost half of cases (47.1%; n=64). There were no instances of anal penetration identified in the sample. Almost one in ten cases (9.6%) involved the child performing sexual acts upon the adult perpetrator. The data sources were unspecific at times as to the nature of the sexual contact or activity. However, given this often related to charges or convictions for sexual activity or indecent assault, it was likely to have been more serious in the context of general physical sexual contact.

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Sexual contact via mobile/online methods was also fairly typical, involving over a quarter of cases. Other sexual acts or behaviours evident in the sample included: fantasy discussion; exchanging sexually suggestive or explicit letters, notes or cards; the abuser sending sexually explicit pictures of herself to the victim; encouraging the victim to masturbate over webcam; sexual activity over webcam; use of sex toys; requesting the victim to dress up in a sexually provocative manner and the perpetrator undressing in front of the victim.

Table 19: Sexual behaviours in female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts

Behaviour	Percentage	n
SEXUAL ACTS:		136
Kissing/hugging/hand-holding	47.1%	64
Intercourse	35.3%	48
*Sexual activity (unspecified)	33.8%	46
Sex talk in absence (text/social media)	27.2%	37
Oral sex (on child)	17.6%	24
Voyeurism/exhibitionism	6.6%	9
Vaginal penetration (of child)	5.9%	8
Masturbation (of child)	5.1%	7
Intimate touching (of child; unspecified)	4.4%	6
Intimate touching (of child; on skin)	3.7%	5
Intimate touching (of adult; on skin)	3.7%	5
Oral sex (undefined)	3.7%	5
Oral sex (on adult)	2.2%	3
Intimate touching (of child over clothes)	2.2%	3
Intimate touching (of adult;	1.5%	2

undefined)		
Intimate touching (of adult; over clothes)	0.7%	1
Pornography (viewing)	0.7%	1
Indecent images (creation of)	0.7%	1
Masturbation (of adult)	0.7%	1
Vaginal penetration (of adult)	0.7%	1
Anal penetration	-	-

*NB *Rates of some sexual acts such as masturbation and oral sex are likely to be higher than specifically recorded in this table due to the fact that in a third of cases 'sexual activity' was recorded in the data but specific details of the acts were not.*

8.3.4 Coercion

'Coercion' has been a disputed term in sexual violence literature, with differing views on the inclusion of physical force as a coercive tactic (DeGue & Di Lillo, 2004; Schatzel-Murphy et al., 2009). Here coercion is used to describe the use of a range of methods to gain or maintain sexual contact with a child or adolescent, including manipulation, seduction, threats and the use of drugs and alcohol.

There was very limited evidence available in the case data describing the perpetrator's use of explicit coercion methods in order to abuse the victim or to prevent them disclosing the abuse. Coercion was only apparent in 13.9% (n=19) of cases and most was identified in the attempts female perpetrators made to continue an abusive relationship rather than in their behaviour in the pre-offending phase. Of these coercive behaviours the most common was making general threats or coercing the victim in highly emotionally manipulative ways (42.1%; n=8) causing significant distress to the victims. For example, three women made threats to harm themselves if the relationship ended or the abuse became known, causing distress to the victims and placing them under intense pressure to maintain the abusive relationship. Another example of manipulation concerned a perpetrator who told the victim she had been pregnant with his child but had suffered a miscarriage when his interest in her appeared to be waning. Another woman told her victim how disappointed her own young child would be if he refused to run away with her and two women told their victims that her own

child(ren) would be taken away if the relationship became known. Threats of physical violence, however, were rare with only one woman making threats to harm the victim if he told anyone and another insinuating her husband would physically hurt the victim if the relationship ever became known. One further woman stalked the victim after their contact ended, making him feel intimidated.

In order to prevent discovery and any subsequent negative consequences, some women told their victims to keep quiet or to deny any contact between them if they were asked about it and to delete any electronic communication messages. Another perpetrator instructed her victim to persuade his mother not to take any criminal action following the discovery of the abuse:

> *I was told not to speak to anyone about it…It would be my and her secret, so we wouldn't jeopardise her career and my and her future.* (Male victim, Case M7)

8.4   Post Offence Phase

8.4.1   Abusive contact ends

In the majority of cases the abuse only came to an end as a result of being discovered, although in a few cases the victim ended the relationship before that point. There were very few cases where the woman herself ended the abusive contact, suggesting that perpetrators might be more invested in these abusive relationships than victims. Many of the women demonstrated on-going self-control deficits and were unwilling, or unable, to stop the contact with the victim even when they knew it was inappropriate or where they had been advised or warned against contact with the victim. This is an interesting finding, demonstrating the extent the women were prepared to go to, to maintain the abusive relationships, particularly in light of the fact that for many they were risking their partnerships, careers and families in doing so:

> *In my mind, I knew that I would have to give up my job and leave my husband. But I was ready for it.* (S3)

Where victims decided to end the abusive relationship, this was either because they were becoming increasingly uncomfortable with the situation, in some cases because of the intensity shown by the perpetrator, (e.g. where she was talking of them

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running away together or was becoming obsessive and demanding in her contact) or because they had established peer-age relationships instead. A few women tried to maintain the contact regardless of the victim's reluctance or new relationship:

> *At the end, she started to get a bit more obsessive and was sending a big amount of messages. I didn't like that and I just ignored them.* (Male victim, Case M7)

8.4.1.1   Discovery

Discovery by third parties was often due to messages or communication (usually text messages or emails) between the victim and perpetrator being found or telephone conversations between them being overheard. Usually discoveries were accidentally made by parents or other members of the victim's family or by the perpetrator's colleagues. However, in some cases, parents had been suspicious and had deliberately checked their child's text messages or incoming mail. In a few instances, the perpetrator's colleagues had overheard the victim talking to their peers about the perpetrator, which then prompted further investigation. Similarly, rumours circulating among the victim's peers in the organisational environment were overheard and responded to by staff colleagues. Other discoveries resulted from concern being raised by other third parties, for example. It was very rare for any adults to have discovered the abuse by directly witnessing sexual behaviour between the perpetrator and victim.

8.4.1.2   Disclosure

Not enough is known about the factors that influence disclosure or non-disclosure of child sexual abuse by victims, although it does appear that both individual and contextual factors are important (Allnock, 2010). Victims of all types of child sexual abuse have been found to be most likely to tell a friend or sibling first and are least likely to make a disclosure to an adult professional (Allnock, 2010). The nature and circumstances of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts is distinct from that perpetrated by males and across intra- and extra-familial contexts, therefore it is interesting to consider the way in which this specific type of abuse is disclosed.

8.4.1.3 Timing

Contemporaneous disclosures were made in 87.5% (n=119) of cases. Disclosures of non-recent abuse were made in 8.1% (n=11) of cases, typically being reported three or more years after the abuse occurred. In 4.4% (n=6) of cases abuse disclosures were made both at the time of the abuse and then several years later (generally where the victim reported the abuse to the authorities again themselves when they were an adult).

8.4.1.4 Disclosing party

It was most common (in a quarter of all cases) for the victim's guardians to officially disclose the abuse to the authorities. Colleagues of the perpetrator were the next most common sources of disclosure (14.7%; n=20). Victims made the disclosure in 13.2% (n=18) of cases and the abuser themselves self-disclosed in 3.7% of cases (n=5). Others reporting the abuse were friends or peers of the victim (11.8%; n=16), other parents (1.5%; n=2), abuser peers (friends/family) (2.9%; n=4), members of the public (2.2%; n=3), other public servants (1.5%; n=2) and whistle-blowers (2.2%; n=3). The police actually discovered the abuse themselves in two cases whilst finding the victim in the perpetrator's car during police stops. The source of disclosure was not identified in 19.1% (n=26) of cases.

These findings are interesting when compared to those of a US study examining gender differences between male and female public school teachers who offended against children in their care (Ratliff & Watson, 2014). A significant difference was identified in that research in ways male and female teachers were caught and prosecuted. Female teachers were more likely to be caught via reports by other students or the victim's own parents/guardians while males were more likely to be caught as a result of victim disclosure, discovery by the school administration or via a police 'sting' operation. The results of both studies are comparable then in finding victim parents/guardians as the most common source of disclosure. However, the current study found lower rates of employer/colleague reporting and a higher rate of victim disclosure. There is limited detail available in the research report for more detailed comparison about the reasons for these differences across the two studies. It could be that organisational and cultural differences exist between the south-eastern states of the USA where Ratcliff and Watson's (2014) study took place and the primarily British and Canadian sample in the current study. Such cultural differences might have influenced whether victims felt able to come forward and report their abuse

personally or relied upon telling their friends and peers about it leading them to make the disclosure instead. However, in the absence of further data this is only a speculative suggestion.

8.4.1.5 Victim disclosure

Victims rarely spontaneously disclosed the abuse without being questioned about it or being prompted to report by their peers. For example, one male victim finally disclosed the abusive relationship to his father after getting into trouble at school for being rude to the perpetrator. In other cases, victims either boast about the relationship or express reservations about it to their friends who then encourage them to report.

Those victims who make an unprompted disclosure themselves tend to do so some time after the abuse has ended. Non-recent disclosures were made by victims who later realised the abusive nature of the earlier relationship as they got older. In these instances, they had concerns about the potential for other children to be victims leading them to report the abuse to the authorities.

8.4.1.6 Perpetrator disclosure

Five women made the first disclosure of the abuse themselves; three of them disclosing at the time of the abuse and two several years later. Three of the women disclosed to their colleagues and then were either made to report it to their seniors or did so voluntarily. Two women disclosed what had happened to fellow church members, feeling ashamed of their behaviour. One of these women said she felt morally guilty about having sex before marriage. After making the initial disclosure two of the women then voluntarily reported themselves to the police.

8.4.1.7 Recipient of official disclosure

Where reporting data was available (n=121) it showed that most often official disclosure was made to the organisation concerned in the first instance (63.6%; n=77). Next most common was disclosures being made to the police (32.2%; n=39). Very few initial disclosures 3.3% (n=4) were made to child protection services. In one case, the victim made the first disclosure of the abuse to the media.

8.4.2 Continuation of the abuse

In more than a quarter (27.9%; n=38) of cases the perpetrators continued with the abusive relationship even after it had been discovered or disclosed, demonstrating

their investment in, or reliance upon, the relationship and the extent of their connection to the victim. Of these women 63.2% (n=24) continued the abuse in the short-term (less than six months) after disclosure and 36.8% (n=14) maintained the abusive relationship for more than six months. Five women were known to have gone on to have long-term relationships with their victims where they co-habited and four women went on to have children with the victim after the position of trust relationship ended.

In five cases, the abuser continued to keep in contact with the victim despite being in prison or by breaching court or probation orders. In four of these cases the perpetrator met up with the victim again or re-commenced communication with them within days of being released from prison on probation, resulting in them being recalled to prison to serve the rest of their sentence and/or being charged with subsequent offences.

The consequences of the abuse and the sexual offending for the female perpetrators will be discussed in Chapter Nine and for the victims in Chapter 10.

So far, this chapter has described offence processes and illustrated how adult-child relationships of trust became sexually abusive and how women have perpetrated the abuse. The data has shown the different pathways these female perpetrators follow through the offence process. It was evident that in the pre-offence phase a closer relationship typically develops between the perpetrator and victim(s), whether prompted by a peer-like friendship, emotional co-dependency or more direct and explicit efforts by the perpetrator to spend more time with the victim. We have also seen how the use of electronic/virtual communication facilitates the increasing contact in the majority of cases. Common locations for abusive contact will be discussed in Chapter 11.

Increasingly sexual electronic communications, the use of alcohol and the victim visiting the perpetrator's home have been identified as some common immediate precipitators to the abuse. Most abuse involved more serious sexual behaviour, including sexual intercourse and oral sexual abuse, and was perpetrated against victims with little or no previous sexual experience.

The case analysis has shown that despite knowing their behaviour was inappropriate and being aware of the consequences should it be discovered, very few women made efforts to cease contact or stop the development of the inappropriate

relationship with the victim(s). Those that did quickly abandoned those efforts and progressed to more abusive contact.

As discussed above the abuse most typically only comes to an end by virtue of being discovered by a third party, it is less frequently disclosed by the victims or perpetrators themselves, and where it is this is usually as a result of prompting of some form or another.

8.5   Case Studies

Having discussed the findings from this study with respect to the general offence processes of female perpetrators in organisational contexts, these processes will now be exemplified in more qualitative detail in three case studies illustrating some of the different offending pathways. These case examples are included to provide concise narratives clearly identifying notable risk factors (including those identified in Chapter Five) as well as the key components of the offending behaviour and offence process. It is hoped the presentation of the data in this way will assist the reader to develop a fuller and more complete picture of these cases, offering deeper context than is possible to provide in individual areas of descriptive analysis.

The first case involves a young, newly qualified teacher who developed a sexually abusive relationship with a 16 year-old male pupil by means of her inappropriate socialisation and friendships with pupils. The second case concerns a teacher who established a surrogate adult relationship with her 14 year-old female victim via the support she was providing her for her problems at home and at school. The final case involves an older teaching assistant who more explicitly planned her sexual abuse of a 13 year-old male pupil using electronic communication to develop and maintain the abusive relationship.

C15 was a White, 25 year-old teacher who had a sexual relationship with a 16 year-old male pupil that continued for three years. She was relatively new to the profession but had known the victim for two and a half years when the inappropriate contact started. C15 had no criminal record and no previous professional misconduct concerns.	(NEWLY QUALIFIED) (NO PREVIOUS CONCERNS)
The victim was an outgoing and popular pupil at the school and a gifted sportsman. He had a few problems at home and also needed some support for his schoolwork. C15 was also assistant coach for a sports team the victim was involved in and acted in a mentoring and tutoring role for him with the permission of his parents and the school Principal.	(VICTIM VULNERABILITIES) (MENTORING/TUTORING)
C15 regularly had pupils visiting her home for social events where alcohol was available, sexual activity was permitted between the young people and the teacher allowed the, mainly male, pupils to stay overnight at her home. A male senior teacher (Mr A) was present at least once at one of these social events. C15 also took pupils on several overnight trips, some school-related and others personal, where she shared a bedroom with them and a bed with the victim. C15 provided the victim and his friends with alcohol on the overnight stays and trips away. She took some pupils to a family wedding and had them stay overnight with her whilst there.	(PERPETRATOR'S HOME) (BOUNDARY ISSUES) (SOCIALISING) (PROFESSIONAL BYSTANDER) (TRIPS, SHARING ROOMS) (ALCOHOL PROVISION)
Sexual contact between C15 and victim took	

place in her portable classroom at school, at her home and in other venues such as hotel rooms when they were away on trips together. The victim was sexually inexperienced and the abuse involved sexual intercourse and C15 masturbating and performing oral sex upon the victim. C15 also assisted the victim with his schoolwork, completing assignments for him, impacting negatively on his own learning.	(ORGANISATIONAL ENVIRONMENT) (PERPETRATOR'S HOME) (EXTERNAL LOCATIONS) (VICTIM IMPACT)
C15 was also friendly with the victim's family and was invited to social events at their home. She was even being considered as a potential godparent for the victim's brother. After a social event at their home one day the victim's mother overheard C15 and pupil talking on the telephone and established that a sexual relationship existed between them. She confronted C15 who admitted the relationship but said she would not end it, although she agreed to move to another school. The victim's mother also informed Mr A (the male senior teacher) about the relationship but he did not believe her and did not report the matter to the Principal. The sexually abusive relationship lasted for 13 months whilst the official position of trust relationship existed and continued after C15 moved to another school.	(FAMILY FRIENDSHIP) (DISCOVERY) (CHALLENGED) (FAIL TO REPORT- COLLEAGUE AND PARENT)
The victim was extremely upset and threatened to commit suicide if his mother made an official report. His mother decided not to officially report the matter at that time due to significant problems the family experienced after one of the victim's siblings had disclosed sexual abuse by another female teacher a	(VICTIM THREATENS SUICIDE)

couple of years previously. The victim's mother did inform the school Principal but told her not to report it further or she would deny everything she knew.	(FAIL TO ACT-ORGANISATION)
Several months later, after finding out that C15 had been seen with the victim again, his mother finally made an official report to the school. Another parent had also witnessed the teacher and victim together and also reported this to the school. At this point the Principal reported the matter to a senior at the school board who told her they would take over things from that point on. No further action appeared to take place at the time and the matter was not finally investigated until several years later when the pupil decided to take civil action against C15, the Principal and school board for damages.	(PERSISTENCE) (OFFICIAL REPORT-ORGANISATION) (THIRD PARTY DISCLOSURE) (NO INVESTIGATION) (FAIL TO ACT-GOVERNING BODY)
C15 was put on paid suspension and denied any sexual abuse or inappropriate behaviour beyond having pupils visit her home. The police investigated but did not lay charges, although the reason for this is not clear. The victim maintained that this was due to him having instigated civil action at the time rather than because they did not believe him. Several years later the case was finally dealt with by the professional regulator. C15 had her teaching certificate and licence revoked and was not allowed to reapply for registration for 10 years. She was unsuccessful in her appeal against this decision. The civil damages claim was settled out of court on the eve of the trial.	(DENIAL) (POLICE- NO FURTHER ACTION).

D8 was a White, 27 year-old teacher who engaged in a four year-long sexual relationship with a female pupil that started when the victim was 14 years old and carried on until she went to university. D8 had no known criminal record or previous professional conduct issues and was hard-working, dedicated and very good at her job. She was also very popular with pupils at the school.	(NO PREVIOUS CONCERNS) (WELL-REGARDED)
D8 was supporting the victim who was bullied and unpopular at school and was experiencing family problems due to her parents separation. D8 began texting the victim and sending her online messages outside of school. This led to D8 kissing the victim in a store cupboard at the school and inviting her to stay over at her home. The victim regularly stayed overnight at D8's home, having told her parents she was staying with a friend. D8 would have showers with the victim and they would share the same bed. The sexual abuse also involved performing sex acts upon each other as well as the victim being penetrated with an object. D8 also had the victim dress up in sexual clothing and underwear. Sexual contact also took place in D8's car.	(VULNERABLE VICTIM) (MENTORING) (ELECTRONIC COMMUNICATION) (ORGANISATIONAL ENVIRONMENT) (PERPETRATOR'S HOME) (PERPETRATOR'S CAR)
The victim's mother became suspicious about the nature of the relationship when she found a letter D8 had sent her daughter and she contacted the school. The Deputy Head warned D8 to stay away from the victim but it appears nothing else happened and the relationship continued. Later, having spoken to	(DISCOVERY) (WARNING) (PERSISTENCE)

the victim's friend, her mother realised the victim had actually been staying at the D8's house, not with her friend as she had claimed.	
When the victim's parents discovered the extent of the relationship D8 admitted she loved the victim. The victim threatened to commit suicide if her parents reported the matter so they did not, but they made D8 sign a contract promising to stay away from her until she was much older and had left full time education. D8 subsequently ignored the contract and the relationship continued. D8 later denied it was a sexual relationship and said she had signed the contract because she didn't think she was doing anything wrong.	(LOVE) (VICTIM THREATENED SUICIDE) (CHALLENGED) (PERSISTENCE) (COGNITIVE DISTORTIONS)
Despite the warnings and challenges D8 maintained the abusive relationship with the victim when she left school, buying her a car and giving her an engagement ring when she went to university. The victim finally ended the relationship when she met a new partner and reported it to the police several years later when she realised the relationship had been wrong and she was worried other children might be at risk.	(CONTINUATION) (GIFTS) (OFFICIAL REPORT-POLICE)
D8 denied there had been any inappropriate relationship whilst the victim was at school but was convicted of two accounts of *indecent assault* and two of *sexual activity with a child whilst in a position of trust*. D8 was sentenced to two years immediate custody and banned from working with children. She was also given a Sexual Offences Prevention Order	(CUSTODIAL SENTENCE)

prohibiting her from unsupervised contact with under 18s and was required to sign the sex offenders register for 10 years.	
In mitigation D8 argued that it had been a loving relationship, which resulted from her acts of kindness to help the troubled girl.	(EMOTIONAL INVOLVEMENT)

D11 was a White, 38 year-old teaching assistant who had a sexual relationship with a 13 year-old male pupil. The abusive relationship lasted nine months and the teaching assistant had an adult partner at the time. She had been working as a teaching assistant for 17 years when the abuse began and had no previous criminal record but she had received a professional warning the previous year for inappropriate conduct with another older pupil, which was considered to be naive rather than sexual behaviour at the time. Despite this one instance of professional misconduct the teaching assistant was well-regarded at the school and taught new teaching assistants about appropriate boundaries and the ban on out of school contact.	(PROFESSIONAL MISCONDUCT) (BOUNDARY ISSUES) (WELL-REGARDED)
The contact between D11 and the victim began when he sent her a request to be friends on a social media site. D11 declined the request but they began contacting each other via email and MSN messenger instead. She also had contact with other young people via social media. D11 had regular online communications with the victim, often taking place late at night.	(ELECTRONIC COMMUNICATION) (EXTERNAL CONTACT) (BOUNDARY ISSUES)

The conversations soon became sexual in nature. D11 lied to the victim claiming that her partner had a terminal illness. During a webcam chat one evening D11 exposed her breasts to the victim. They met up in her car a few nights later with the specific intention of engaging in sexual contact. D11 performed oral sex on the victim in her car and they then went on to have sex in a field. After the physical sexual abuse began D11 and the victim continued online contact and meeting in private after school for nine months until the victim ended their contact after becoming concerned when D11 began talking of running away with him.	(SEXUALISATION) (EMOTIONAL MANIPULATION) (EXPLICIT PLANNING) (PERPETRATOR'S CAR) (EXTERNAL LOCATION) (VICTIM RELUCTANCE)
The abuse was discovered when a teaching colleague overheard the victim talking to a friend and reported the matter to senior colleagues. D11 denied any inappropriate relationship with the victim and maintained he had a vendetta against her after she tried to discipline him and that she had been trying to support him for problems at school.	(DISCOVERY) (OFFICIAL REPORT-ORGANISATION) (DENIAL)
During a search of D11's home, police found evidence on her personal computer equipment of her contact with both the victim and another 17 year-old male (it is not known if he was also a pupil) which D11 had tried to delete. She was charged with 10 sexual offences but did not plead guilty until the day of trial where she admitted two offences of *sexual activity with a child* and one of *sexual activity in the presence of a child*. The judge ordered the jury to find her guilty on these charges and ordered the	

remaining charges to lie on file.	
D11's defence representative said she had engaged in the relationship with the much younger victim as she had suffered abuse in previous adult relationships. The court pre-sentence report said D11's behaviour was predatory and that she presented a high risk of serious harm to teenage boys. The judge said D11 had exploited the victim for her own sexual gratification.	(ABUSIVE EXPERIENCES, DOMESTIC VIOLENCE) (SEXUAL MOTIVATION)
D11 was sentenced to three years and three months immediate custody and was required to sign the sex offenders register for life. She was also made subject to a Sexual Offences Prevention Order. D11 was separated from her teenage daughter as a result of the imprisonment and was attacked in prison by other inmates soon after she arrived.	(CUSTODIAL SENTENCE)

Having explored the different offence processes of the women in this study and exemplified these in three case studies, in the final part of this chapter the findings of this research will be compared to the key existing offence process model for female sex offenders, the DMFSO (Gannon et al., 2008), and its associated pathways (Gannon et al., 2010a). They will also be briefly compared to the additional offence process model, the EPMFSO (DeCou et al., 2015).

8.6 The Descriptive Model of Female Sexual Offending

The development of the DMFSO identified three main features associated with explaining female-perpetrated sexual abuse: negative developmental experiences, domestic abuse and co-offender influences (Gannon et al., 2014). However, as we have already seen in Chapter Five, these factors are not those typically identified in the sample in this research. Although there were limitations on the amount of data available about early life and background experiences in this study, where this information was available, negative experiences were not particularly apparent.

Victimisation through domestic abuse as an adult was identified as a factor for a few women in this study, but again was not a dominant feature. Finally, given that only two women offended with male partners co-offender influences were not a common factor here.

8.6.1 Planning type

From the available data, it was possible to categorise the distal planning type of three-quarters of the women (75%; n=102) and the proximal planning type of 83% (n=113). In respect of distal planning just over two-thirds (67%; n=69) of the women were considered to have explicitly planned the abuse, 30% (n=31) to have engaged in implicitly planning and no women were known to have been directed in the distal planning period. Two women did not appear to have engaged in any specific distal planning approach.

Proximal planning among this sample was overwhelmingly *explicit-precise* in nature with 92.9% (n=105) of women behaving in this way and only 7% (n=8) considered to be *Implicitly-Disorganised* at this planning stage. Again, no women were identified as *Directed* in this stage (see Chapter Four p.86 for definitions).

Perpetrators here would characteristically find ways to be alone or at least in the company of the victims in which more intimate, emotional and sexual contact could take place, such as arranging mentoring sessions after school, inviting the victim to visit their home or giving the victim lifts in their car for example. Some women may not have specifically planned to engage in sexual contact with the victim, at least distally, but during these times alone they did go on to sexually abuse the victim. For others, there was clear evidence of an intention to engage in sexual contact, that being the primary purpose for arranging to meet the victim such as in case D11 discussed above. There were numerous examples of perpetrators making specific arrangements to meet the victim for sexual purposes, such as calling the victim over to their homes at short notice when their husbands or partners were out, or arranging to give the child a lift in their car and planning to stop somewhere to engage in sexual activity.

8.6.2 Pathways

Analysis of the three overall pathways described in the DMFSO and followed by women in this research showed that over three-quarters (75.7%; n=103) of the women followed an *Explicit Approach* pathway in their abusive behaviour and 8.8% (n=12) took

an *Implicit Disorganised* approach. No women were *Directed Avoidant* (due to the very small number of co-perpetrating offenders) and 15.4% (n=21) could not be assigned to a specific pathway due to insufficient relevant information to allow effective categorisation.

Motivations to abuse were mixed. Eighty-one cases (59.6%) could be categorised according to Gannon et al.'s (2008) motivational types. Almost half of these women (48.8%; n=40) appeared to be motivated by intimacy needs, 45.1% (n=37) for sexual gratification and only 6.1% (n=5) for instrumental reasons. Therefore, this sample shows proportionally more women motivated by intimacy than the 22.7% found in Gannon et al.'s (2008) study. However, the relative proportion categorised as having either intimacy or sexual gratification goals are similar in both samples. Gannon et al.'s (2008) study found proportionally higher rates of those with instrumental goals but this could be explained by the nature of the offenders included in their sample (i.e. including those with adult victims and a high number of women who offended with co-perpetrators) and the wider range of sexual offences they committed.

The pathway findings can also be compared with those of three other studies (Gannon et al., 2010a, 2014; Wijkman, 2016).

Table 20: Female Sexual Offenders' Offending Pathways with reference to the DMFSO

	Current Sample (n=136)	Gannon et al. (2010) (n=22)	Gannon et al. (2014) (n=36)	Wijkman (2016) (n=306)
Explicit Approach	**75.7%**	**40.9%**	27.8%	**35%**
Directed Avoidant	-	22.7%	**33.3%**	31%
Implicit Disorganised	8.8%	18.2%	22.2%	24%
Not identified	15.4%	18.2%	16.7%	10%

The four studies are similar with regard to their rates of non-identifiable pathways due to a lack of available information in the data. Where sufficient data allowed for categorisation the results from this study show a much higher rate of female offenders following an *Explicit Approach* pathway than the previous studies of Gannon

et al. (2010, 2014) and Wijkman (2016). However, these differences are likely to be influenced by sampling variations. All of the previous studies have included high proportions of co-perpetration and intra-familial offending for example, as well as samples including women who offended against adults; all characteristics not found here by the very nature of the sample population.

Wijkman (2016) found that those women in her sample categorised as *Implicit-Disorganised* offended more often against unknown victims. Given that all victims in the current sample were known to the offender via their position of trust this may also contribute to the lower rates of *Implicit Disorganised* offenders found here. Women who offended against children within the *Explicit Approach* pathway in Gannon et al.'s (2010) study tended to display cognitions of children being dominant, sexual and adult-like and were likely to experience positive affect around their offending. These characteristics were frequently evident in the current sample also, particularly given the fact that the majority of the victims were adolescents, and therefore is another factor likely to be contributing to the high proportion of women displaying an *Explicit Approach* pathway here. Reflecting the planning style typical in this pathway, many perpetrators here were explicit and organised in their distal and proximal planning (i.e. taking the victim on a trip somewhere or inviting them to their home, providing extra support or tuition to the child as a way to have contact with them).

Gannon et al. (2014) also found some differences in key demographic and offence data across the three pathways in their research. Of particular relevance to the findings of the current study they found that women who followed an *Explicit-Approach* pathway had significantly longer records of formal education that those who were *Directed-Avoidant*. Given that most of the women in the current study were in teaching and professional careers at the time (requiring significant formal education) then the higher rate of those following the *Explicit-Approach* pathway is in line with these earlier findings. However, Gannon et al. (2014) also found that the women in their sample with *Explicit Approach* and *Implicit Disorganised* pathways had higher numbers of general crimes on their offence records that those in the *Directed Avoidant* pathway. This contrasts with the findings of this research, which identified very low levels of previous criminality.

8.6.3 Offence approach

Four key approaches to abuse taken by female sex offenders were identified in

the DMFSO; *maternal*, *maternal avoidant*, *aggressive* and *operationalised*. Of those cases where the approach category of the women in this sample was identifiable, all but one (99%; n=108) were considered to take a *maternal approach*. Gannon et al. (2008) found the *maternal approach* was common in women who offended alone and particularly those who offended against teenage boys, therefore the findings in the current sample correlate strongly with those previous results. The *maternal approach* type is also considered especially characteristic of Mathews et al.'s (1989) 'teacher/lover' type of offender (Harris, 2010). Similar to Gannon et al.'s (2008) sample the cognitions of the women categorised in this group here appeared to reflect the perceived maturity of the child and the victim's ability to make informed decisions about sexual contact. Only one woman in the sample was considered to have taken an *operationalised* approach to her offending; she was abusing and taking photographs of very young children in order to supply them to a male with whom she was seeking intimacy. No women in this sample appeared to have taken *maternal avoidant*, or *aggressive* approaches to the abuse.

8.6.4 Limitations

Although the DMFSO provides a helpful comparator it should be noted that the ability to compare early life experiences and background factors was limited by the nature of the data sources used in this study. The findings with regard to the pathway analysis may also be impacted by the difficulties experienced in distinguishing between the *Explicit-Approach* and *Implicit-Disorganised* pathway offenders in some cases during the analysis phase of this research. The specific descriptions offered by Gannon and colleagues (2008, 2010a and 2014) were limited in explaining the differentiation between those categories. This same issue was acknowledged as being experienced by the two post-graduate raters in Gannon et al.'s (2014) study, where the lead author was required to resolve conflictions and make final the assignations in that study. The definitions of 'distal' and 'proximal' planning time scales were also not made explicit and there is a possibility that interpretation of this has been different in this study compared with those of Gannon and colleagues.

8.6.5 Strengths

These limitations accepted, the method employed in this comparison does have some particular strengths. By using triangulated data and the secondary analysis of pre-recorded written and report data this element of the study has helped address the limitation of reliance upon self-reported information identified by Gannon et al. (2010).

Furthermore, undertaking the DMFSO and pathway comparative analysis on a sample of 136 cases has helped validate the model against a significantly larger sample than that used in Gannon and colleagues' previous studies (2008, 2010a, 2014). The comparison has also been helpful in assessing the model's validity with regard to women who offended alone; offenders who were under-represented in their samples. The DMFSO provides a valid and helpful starting point to consider the offending process of women who sexually abuse children in organisational contexts. This research presents new empirical data which helps both extend the model and contributes further to the understanding of a wider range of female sex offenders.

Although there are clear differences in the key factors explaining female sex offending in the DMFSO and the current study, particularly related to background factors, the findings of this research and those used to develop the DMFSO show similarities with regard to the offence process. Pre-offence period experiences of unstable lifestyle, social support deficits, mental health issues and maladaptive coping styles were as evident in the current study as in those conducted by Gannon et al. (2008, 2010, 2014) although lower rates of mental health issues were found here. Sexual and intimacy driven motivations were similar to those found in Gannon and colleagues' samples although no women in this study were identified as having 'instrumental' motivations which had been identified in their samples, particularly among women who offended against adults. Planning styles, both distal and proximal, were similar although given the very small proportion of co-offending women in the current research 'directed' planning types were not evident here. Although four offence approaches are described in the DMFSO, only one of those approaches was evident among the female perpetrators in this study; the *maternal approach,* which is likely to result from sampling differences.

Although the women in this study had heterogeneous backgrounds and characteristics and they displayed a variety of offending behaviours there was evidence of commonalities in their pathways to sexual offending. They displayed two of the three common pathways identified by Gannon and colleagues (2010a); *Explicit-Approach* and *Implicit-Disorganised*. An Explicit-Approach pathway was by far the most prevalent in this research. However, others were more implicit in the distal planning period, in as far as some appeared not to have acknowledged to themselves their goal or intention to sexually abuse for the first time, but they implicitly placed themselves in situations and locations where the likelihood of inappropriate behaviour with children and young people occurring was heightened. For these women, the planning then became more

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explicit in the proximal phase and in subsequent sexual abuse following the first occurrence having taken place.

As Gannon et al. (2010a) point out, the much smaller numbers of *Implicit-Disorganised* perpetrators they found, and have been found in this research, are similar to those found in male sex offender research where lower numbers following avoidance pathways were identified (Ward et al., 1995).

Overall, the findings here demonstrate that DMFSO offence process and pathways represent valid and suitable descriptors for the offence processes and styles of this sample of women who sexually abused children in organisational contexts. The application of the pathway analysis in this study has also helped validate the applicability of the DMFSO pathways to a broader sample than those incarcerated prison populations in Gannon et al.'s (2010a, 2014) studies.

8.7 The Ecological Process Model of Female Sex Offending

The findings from this research are broadly comparable to the issues and vulnerabilities presented in all three socio-ecological levels of the EPMFSO (DeCou et al., 2015). In particular, the presence of relationship difficulties and multiple life stressors during the year prior to offending and reflected at the outer level of the model are also a feature of the pre-offence phase for the women considered in this study. The presence of inappropriate child-adult boundaries in the mid-level, social system component of the model is a particularly important factor also contributing to the abuse of children by women in positions of trust. Women in both samples tended to develop peer-like relationships with their victims prior to the offending. The inner ecological level of specific offence processes also reflects similarities between the two research samples in the limited emotional and interpersonal support female offenders experience in the period preceding and during their sexually abusive behaviour. Many women in their sample were motivated to abuse to 'fill the void' created by previous or existing dysfunctional relationships; a typical motivation and risk factor also reflected in the women in this study. Finally, mental illness features as a key issue in the life circumstances of female offenders in DeCou and colleagues' (2015) model and although some of the women in this sample experienced such difficulties overall these were less evident here.

One significant difference between DeCou et al.'s (2015) model and the findings of this research concerns substance misuse which appears as one of the three main risk factors identified at the social system of female sex offenders in their work and yet is rarely represented in this research data. Almost all of the women in their sample used drugs and/or alcohol in the pre-offence and offence periods, whereas only four women in this study were identified as using alcohol and none were identified as abusing drugs. Other differences relate to the rate of previous sexual victimisation suffered (evident in around half of the women in their sample but only in three women in this sample) and the fact that half of the women in their study were co-offenders whereas only two women in this research were.

8.8   Prevention

In addition to providing effective comparison with other female sexual offender samples and both the DMFSO and EPMFSO, the findings from this research with regard to women who sexually abuse children in organisational contexts also result in potentially important implications for policy and practice. The fact that more of the women in this study demonstrated explicit approach pathway styles means prevention approaches and treatment methods should reflect the issues typically identified as relevant in these types of perpetrators.

In this regard policies and procedures around external contact and relationships with children who are members of the organisation appear important to reduce opportunities for specific plans to be made and acted upon. Acting quickly and robustly on breaches of such policies and following these up with subsequent monitoring and supervision of contact between the female employee and child/children would also be important. Preventing abuse by women who act in an *Implicit-Disorganised* way is likely to be more difficult by its very nature. However, general controls around informal contact and communication as well as socialising between adults and children would decrease opportunities for closer contact in which self-regulatory failures may become a particular risk.

Given that most of the abuse identified in this research, and in that detailed in the DMFSO, arises during periods of unstable lifestyle and major life stressors for female offenders, then effective professional supervision to help identify where female employees are experiencing personal or professional difficulties is important. Offering timely support to help would hopefully help women experiencing vulnerabilities to meet

their needs appropriately.

8.9 Treatment

As Wijkman (2016) explains treatment providers should focus on reducing goals associated with sexual gratification and intimacy for these women. Work around deviant sexual interests, healthy intimate relationships, sexual norms and offence supportive cognitions will also be important (Gannon et al., 2010a). *Implicit-Disorganised* offenders also demonstrate severe self-regulatory failures and treatment needs to emphasise assisting these women to develop skills that will help them deal with major life stressors in future and the accompanying strong negative affect they experience (Gannon et al., 2010a). Given that *Explicit-Approach* offenders are generally highly motivated to offend, treatment should focus on motivations, goals and cognition with exploration of the development of problematic goals. Those women with apparent sexual motivations will need re-training around sexual arousal and those with intimacy motivations might benefit from the development and understanding of general relationship and intimacy skills (Gannon et al., 2014).

8.10 Summary

This chapter has addressed how females in positions of trust sexually abuse children in their care by examining the offence processes and pathways followed. Some typical modus operandi was discussed and the differing offence processes were exemplified by reference to three case studies. The findings were compared to other similar studies, the DMFSO and the EPMFSO, the only existing offence process models for female sex offenders. The DMFSO in particular was found to present a valid descriptor for the women in this study overall. Where differences were identified these were generally attributable to sampling differences between this study and that used in the original development of the model. The chapter concluded with some implications for prevention and treatment arising from the findings in this element of the research.

Having initially identified how some parents and employers have responded (or failed to respond appropriately) to concerns or disclosures of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts, the following chapter will present a more detailed discussion around how such abuse is responded to.

Chapter Nine: Responses to Female-Perpetrated Child Sexual Abuse in Organisational Contexts

9.1   Introduction

The preceding chapter described some of the responses (or lack thereof) guardians and organisations made to instances of female-perpetrated abuse. This chapter will discuss the more detailed findings regarding responses to this type of abuse. Chapters Two, Three and Five also highlighted the different ways in which female perpetrators of child sexual abuse are perceived and how this impacts on the way this type of abuse is regarded by both professionals and the public. The gender of an alleged offender can play an important role in the way allegations of child sexual abuse are responded to by professionals in both child protection and criminal justice systems (Bunting, 2005) and it is argued that female-perpetrated sexual abuse is less likely to be reported to, and less likely to be robustly pursued through, these systems (Denov, 2004a; Hislop, 2001; Saradjian, 2010). Chapter Five identified the apparent contradictory but gendered outcomes and sentencing for women who abuse in positions of trust. For those abusing older adolescents and perpetrating abuse of trust offences, the responses could be understood as a manifestation of 'chivalry theory', whilst those abusing younger victims or where the relationship is not viewed as consensual in any way were regarded as 'triply deviant'.

This chapter will commence by addressing the way in which female perpetrators themselves respond when the abuse is disclosed or discovered, identifying common mitigation and explanations. It will then present the findings regarding reactions to disclosures and reports of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts, examining the responses of parents and guardians, employers and organisations, child protection services, criminal justice systems and professional regulators. In doing so, the chapter will fundamentally address the research question: *how is female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts responded to?* The responses of victims and the impacts upon them will be discussed in detail later in Chapter 10. Understanding how this type of abuse is responded to will assist in identifying any issues within both public and professional arenas which need to be addressed in policy and practice to improve outcomes and support for victims and perpetrators in future.

It should be noted that while Chapter Five examined UK criminal justice system responses to the subsample of English and Welsh cases studied in this research, this chapter will present the findings regarding the entire sample of 136 cases.

9.2 Abuser Responses

9.2.1 Admissions

Most women (62.5%; n=85) admitted their abusive behaviour either when the allegations came to light or during police or court processes. Just over fifteen per cent (n=21) denied the abuse and 21.3% (n=29) made partial admissions. Partial admissions were typically made when the perpetrator accepted that less serious sexualised contact had occurred between herself and the victim, such as kissing or exchanging messages, but denied that more serious sexual behaviour had occurred. Alternatively, women admitted certain inappropriate behaviours but denied any sexual intention. For example, one woman admitted she was technically guilty of a sexual offence according to law but then sought to rationalise this admission:

Do I feel that I exploited [X], which is really what I was convicted of? No. I don't feel like I did that. And he doesn't either. What I feel like I did was make a huge mistake for love. (WC11)

9.2.2 Mitigation and explanation

Details of the offender's mitigation or explanation for her behaviour were available in 58% (n=79) of cases. The prevalence of different explanatory factors offered is presented in Table 21. For further descriptive detail of the relevant issues see Chapter Seven.

As identified in Chapter Seven, some of the most common explanations or mitigation given by the women were relationship difficulties with their adult partner and mental health issues. 'Other' explanations given were: emotional vulnerability; feeling genuine love/infatuation for the victim; lack of training; ill health; intimidation by the victim; the abuser having been a previous victim of abuse; cognitive distortions and alcohol abuse. In almost a third of cases (30.4%, n=24) the perpetrator's response to the abuse contained overt evidence of victim blaming. Typically, the abuser argued she was persistently pursued by the victim and acted unwisely in responding to this or in not reporting it to others. A few women claimed they were the victims of sexual

assaults by the child/young person themselves; explanations which were generally not accepted as being true by the court or professional regulator.

Table 21: Mitigation and explanations provided by female perpetrators of child sexual abuse in organisational contexts

FACTOR	PERCENTAGE OF CASES WHERE FACTORS IDENTIFIED	n
Relationship problems	49.4%	39
Other	34.2%	27
Mental Health Including:	31.6%	25
Depression	16.5%	13
Anxiety	-	-
Depression and anxiety	1.3%	1
Other	2.5%	2
Not specified	11.4%	9
Victim Blaming	30.4%	24
Isolation	17.7%	14
Self-esteem issues	15.2%	12
Work stress	13.9%	11
Personal stress	13.9%	11
Other abuse	8.9%	7
Financial difficulties	5.1%	4
Substance abuse	5.1%	4
Childhood trauma	5.1%	4
Health	5.1%	4
Sexual abuse	3.8%	3
Suicidal ideation/self-harm	3.8%	3
None identified	N/A	57

∗ *Totals will equal more than 100% as some women had several factors of mitigation*

9.3 Parental and Peer Responses

In some cases, those close to the abuser and/or victim were aware of the existence of an inappropriate relationship between them to some extent.

9.3.1 Peer responses

In almost all of the cases where data was available (n=43), there was evidence that at least one peer of the victim was aware of an inappropriate relationship between the victim and the abuser before it was formally disclosed or discovered by the authorities. Often, they were also fully aware of the extent of the sexual contact as the victim (or abuser) had told them about it or in a few cases they had witnessed sexual contact occurring between them. These peers were usually the victim's friends, siblings or other family members.

In the small number of cases (n=26) where data was available, there was evidence in most of those (n=24) that a peer (or peers) of the perpetrator was aware that the relationship or contact between the perpetrator and victim overstepped appropriate professional boundaries. These peers were typically colleagues, friends or family members.

9.3.2 Parent/guardian responses

In well over a third (38.8%) of cases where the data was available (n=80), there was evidence that the victim's parent or guardian knew of the existence of an inappropriate relationship or contact between their child and the perpetrator in some regard. In most cases they were not aware the relationship was sexually abusive, but rather that the contact between the child and adult was more than it should be given the woman's role in a position of trust. However, there were a few cases where parents/guardians were aware of a sexual or 'romantic' relationship and were tolerant or accepting of it.

Data was available in just over half of the cases in the overall sample (52.9%; n=72) concerning the way in which victims' parents/guardians responded to the disclosure of abuse (whether initially made to themselves or others) and the resultant investigations. As might be expected, the majority of parents and guardians reacted negatively (77.8%; n=56). However, in almost a fifth of cases (19.4%; n=10) guardians were tempered in their response or tolerant of the situation to some extent or another,

some even expressing sympathy towards the perpetrator. These more tolerant responses tended to feature among parents who were fearful of the impact on their child if they forbade contact with the perpetrator. For example, in two instances the child had threatened to commit suicide if the parents reported the relationship. Some parents were, however, fully supportive of the relationship, not viewing it as harmful to their child. A few parents allowed the relationship to continue, in a few cases permitting the perpetrator to visit their family home and in some cases to stay overnight.

In two cases, the victim's guardians were not supportive of police action; one out of concern for the perpetrator's mental health and in the other case the victim's mother influenced the prosecutor's acceptance of a plea bargain not to imprison the perpetrator, viewing her as a friend and wishing to avoid the case going to trial. Parents/guardians in five cases went as far as to provide supportive statements or testimony for the woman in the hope of limiting the consequences upon her when facing criminal charges (n=3) or professional registration considerations (n=2). In three cases, the parents/guardians did not consider their child to have been a victim, or to have been damaged in any way by the relationship. In fact, one parent (the father of a male adolescent victim) spoke to the media about being partly proud of his son for having a relationship with his teacher. He maintained the boy was 16 and he wanted to allow him to make his own mistakes and learn from them.

The following cases provide specific examples of parental support for female perpetrators. In one case, the victim's mother provided a supportive statement to the professional regulator stating that she was thankful for all the help the teacher had given her son at a difficult time in his life. In a second, the victim's mother did not consider her son had been the victim of any crime but that he had engaged in consensual sex with his teacher. In another case, the victim's mother wrote to the court maintaining her son had not suffered any psychological damage as a result of the sexual relationship with his teacher and she had allowed their ongoing contact as friends. She argued her son was a mature boy with friends of all ages. In a final example, the victim and his mother made a plea to the judge not to jail the teacher as they felt she was not a bad person and had suffered enough as a result of the publicity in the case.

A number of parents/guardians tried to deal with the situation by confronting the perpetrator directly in the first instance rather than reporting the abuse. A few even made verbal or written agreements with the woman to stay away from, or have limited

contact with, the victim. However, in all cases of this nature the parents/guardians did eventually formally report the abuse when the perpetrator ignored their warnings.

9.4 Organisational Responses

Following the disclosure or discovery of the abuse almost two-thirds (65.6%, n=63) of employers, where the information was available (n=96), took some kind of formal action against the perpetrator. In the remaining third employers took limited action, either as a result of criminal investigations taking precedence over their own considerations or by failing to act robustly in response to the disclosure.

Data concerning the final outcome of employer considerations was available in two-thirds of all cases in the sample (66.1%; n=90). It was most common for the woman to resign (45.5%; n=41) or be dismissed from her post (43.3%, n=39). In a few cases (5.5%, n=5) the perpetrator was suspended but the ultimate outcome was not known at the time of data collection. Three women were no longer working in the organisation where the abuse occurred when the employer concluded their formal investigations: one had been working as a supply teacher but was subsequently removed from the list of supply teachers; one had been working on a temporary contract that expired and which was then not renewed and the reason was unknown in the final case. Two women had been suspended but returned to their posts after the employer's investigation concluded. One woman was reinstated after a period of suspension and one was given advice about her future conduct but was allowed to continue in her position of trust.

Initially, these findings indicate a more robust response to these female perpetrators than found in existing studies of male perpetrators in organisational contexts. For example, in Shakeshaft and Cohan's (1994) research almost two-thirds (65%) of teachers who admitted sexual assault of a student faced no formal consequences and of the third that did 15% were dismissed from their post and 20% received a formal reprimand or suspension. They also found that 40% of perpetrators left the school district where the abuse had occurred with positive references and in many cases employers and perpetrators reached agreements regarding confidentiality or to prevent future legal claims. Another report in New York stated that 60% of employees accused of sexual assaults in schools were transferred to desk jobs inside the school (although no information on gender is provided for comparative purposes) (Campanile & Montero, 2001). In Sullivan and Beech's study (2004) almost two-thirds

of male perpetrators who had not been convicted, had been reported to the organisation by the victims, but the employers indicated that they would not make a formal complaint to the police. In the remaining third of cases police investigated but did not consider there to be sufficient evidence for prosecution.

However, there are significant limitations on the comparability of these findings with the current sample. The previous studies were conducted a considerable time ago and child protection awareness and expectations have advanced in that period. Sullivan and Beech's (2004) sample also involved a high proportion of members of the clergy (specifically Catholic priests) where forgiveness and reputational concerns may have influenced lenient organisational responses. It is likely these factors influenced outcomes for male perpetrators at those times and in those particular circumstances, making it inappropriate to conclude that the current findings necessarily demonstrate a harsher response to female perpetrators.

9.5   Child Protection Responses

As discussed in Chapter Eight, initial reports of abuse were rarely made to child protection services and in those cases that were referred, data regarding the specific response and outcome was generally not available. In the 29 cases where formal child protection services action was known to have taken place, most involved their involvement in conducting joint investigations with the police (55.2%; n=16) and a third (34.4%, n=10) saw their involvement in a formal investigation of some kind (mostly unspecified). In two cases, safeguarding professionals were only involved at the initial investigation stage after the abuse was disclosed and the abuser's children were known to have been taken into care in only one case.

Overall the data regarding child protection services responses' is too limited to draw any meaningful conclusions, although this does identify an interesting area for exploration in future research. An extensive contemporary study of gender disparities in child protection responses in the US (McLeod & Craft, 2015) found that female sex offenders were given higher levels of counselling and support for mental health, substance abuse, family and economic issues than male sex offenders. The researchers argue that gendered pathways exist not only in the perpetration of child sexual abuse but also in the involvement of offenders in child welfare and criminal justice systems. This issue is certainly worthy of further investigation in the child

protection systems in the UK also, particularly with regard to those who abuse in positions of trust given the lack of available current data.

9.6 Criminal Justice System Responses

It is important to note that the results in this section are likely to be reflective of the nature of many of the data sources used in this study (i.e. court reports or media reports on court cases).

9.6.1 Police action

Data regarding police responses was available in 86% (n=127) of cases. Three-quarters (74%; n=94) of cases reported to the police proceeded to the charging stage. Eleven cases (8.7%) involved an initial police investigation but did not progress beyond this and a further 11 cases (8.7%) led to police interviews but did not ultimately result in a charge being laid. One case resulted in no further police action (reason unknown) and the outcome in the remaining cases reported to the police is not known.

9.6.1.1 Offences

In the following analysis, where women were charged with multiple offences the category allocated is that of the most serious offence. Where a woman was actually convicted, the category allocated concerns the specific offence for which the conviction resulted (which may have been a lesser charge on plea bargaining than the original offence charged).

Given that the sample cases arise from different national and international jurisdictions it is not possible to provide detailed and collated results of the specific charges made. However, after categorising individual specific offences into broader offence types, it was found that in the 96 relevant cases the most common charges were for sexual offences specifically related to positions of trust (51%; n=49), followed by other contact sexual offences (44.8%; n=43), then online offences (3.1%; n=3). There was one 'other' offence charged; causing a child to watch a sexual act (1%). Table 22 details the specific offences and broader categories used.

Table 22: Offences charged for female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts

Category and description	Percentage	n
Sexual offences in positions of trust, includes contact and non-contact offences: *Abuse of position of trust (sexual activity); abuse of position of trust (cause/incite sexual activity); sexual battery by authority figure; statutory by authority figure; improper relationship with student; sexual activity with student; sexual assault for person enrolled in a school; sexual exploitation*	51%	49
Other contact sexual offences against children, includes: *Sexual activity with a child; indecent assault; sexual assault; rape of a child; sexual touching of a child; aggravated indecent assault; forcible sexual abuse; statutory rape; gross indecency; sexual assault of a child under 13; sexual interference; sexual battery.*	44.8%	43
Online offences, includes: *Making/taking indecent images of children; internet luring; online solicitation of a minor.*	3.1%	3
Other offences, includes: *Causing a child to watch an indecent act.*	1%	1

9.6.1.2 Online Offending

Six women were charged with, or convicted of, online sexual offences, either as the primary or secondary offence. Three cases related to solicitation of the specific victim via online/electronic means. Three cases concerned taking/making indecent images of children. Two of these related to the making or exchange of sexual images with the specific victim(s) rather than reflecting any wider interest in indecent images of children and in the other case there was evidence of the perpetrator's wider exchange of indecent images with other children.

9.6.2 Pleas

More than two-thirds of the women pleaded guilty to the offences charged (71.9%, n=69) and a further 7.3% (n=7) made partial guilty pleas (i.e. pleading guilty to some offences and not guilty to others). Twenty women (20.8%) pleaded not guilty to all charges.

9.6.3 Outcomes and sentencing

The majority of the women in this study (88.5%; n=85) were ultimately convicted of sexual offences, most following their guilty pleas. Sixty percent (n=12) of those who pleaded not guilty or offered mixed pleas were found guilty after trial. Only five women (5.2%) received entire not guilty verdicts (two following jury trial and three with not guilty verdicts directed by the judge) and two women (2.1%) were found not guilty on some charges and ordered not guilty on others. Five (5.2%) of those women who were convicted received mixed outcomes on different charges and four cases (4.2%) resulted in a police caution.

This rate of conviction is significantly higher than that found in Wijkman et al.'s (2010) study of female sex offenders referred to the central prosecution service in the Netherlands where 57% were convicted, 10% acquitted and the remaining third of cases were not progressed for (unspecified) technical reasons. However, in comparing these results with the current findings, it is important to note that nearly two-thirds of the women in Wijkman and colleagues' sample were co-perpetrators and the sample was exclusively from the criminal justice system. Comparisons with other female sex offender studies are problematic given that samples in other key pieces of research also reflect convicted populations or those under court supervision specifically (e.g. Gannon et al., 2008, 2014; Nathan & Ward, 2002; Sandler & Freeman, 2007; Vandiver

& Kercher, 2004). However, Mototsune's (2015) study of Canadian teachers (using data from professional regulator decisions) found substantially lower conviction rates for both female (42.9%) and male teachers (62.2%) than the current findings.

Of the 85 women in this sample who were convicted, 69.8% (n=60) received custodial sentences. This is a similar rate to the 70% of male professional perpetrators in Sullivan and Beech's (2004) sample and a lower rate than the 84% found in both Jaffe et al.'s (2013) sample of Canadian teachers and Erooga et al.'s (2012) sample of mostly male professional perpetrators in the UK. However, it is a much higher incarceration rate than found for both female (33.3%) and male (57.5%) teachers in Mototsune's (2015) later study.

Most women (54.7%, n=47) in the current sample were sentenced to immediate custody and 15.1% (n=13) received suspended custodial sentences. Eleven women (12.9%) were given mixed sentences, usually including some element of custody followed by community supervision and other community requirements. Just over nine percent (9.3%, n=8) of cases resulted in community sentences only, much less often than for female (41.7%) and male (50.6%) Canadian teachers (Mototsune, 2015) and male professional perpetrators (30%) (Sullivan & Beech, 2004). Three cases (3.5%) resulted in deferred adjudication decisions. Deferred adjudication is offered in some US states and is a form of plea bargain before conviction or sentencing. If offenders complete a series of requirements within a time specified by the court they can avoid having a formal conviction placed on their record. One woman (1.2%) was detained under mental health legislation and two women received conditional discharges (2.3%). A conditional discharge in UK courts means that an offender will not be sentenced for an offence unless they commit any other offending within a specified period of time.

Table 23: Criminal justice system responses to female perpetrators of child sexual abuse in organisational contexts

Response	Percentage	n
Police action		127
Charges laid & court proceedings	74.0%	94
Investigation (NFA)[a]	8.7%	11
Interviews (NFA)	8.7%	11
No action	0.8%	1
Not known	7.9%	10
Offences charged		96
Sexual offences in positions of trust	51.0%	49
Other contact sexual offences	44.8%	43
Online offences	3.1%	3
Other offences	1.0%	1
Pleas		96
Guilty	71.9%	69
Not Guilty[b]	20.8%	20
Mixed	7.3%	7
Outcome[c]		96
Conviction	88.5%	85
Caution	4.2%	4
Not Guilty (order)	3.1%	3
Not Guilty (jury)	2.1%	2
Not Guilty (mixed)	2.1%	2
Sentence		85
Immediate custody	54.7%	47
Suspended custody	15.1%	13
Mixed	12.9%	11

Community sentence	9.3%	8
Deferred adjudication	3.5%	3
Conditional discharge	2.3%	2
Mental health detention	1.2%	1

[a] No further action

[b] Of which 60% were found guilty after trial

[c] These results are impacted by the fact most cases in the sample were identified from court data or media reports of court cases. Also, percentages total more than 100% as some offenders were both convicted and found not guilty on different charges.

9.6.3.1 Sentence length

Further details about the length of determinate custodial sentences (both immediate and suspended) were available in 69 cases with sentences ranging from three months to 12 years, averaging 22.6 months. One woman was given two life sentences and another was given an indeterminate sentence. Almost a quarter of sentences (24.6%, n=17) were between 7 and 12 months, with those between 13 and 18 months and 25 and 36 months being next most common (both 15.9%, n=11). Ten women (14.4%) received sentences of over 36 months.

More specifically, immediate custody sentences ranged from five months to indeterminate length, averaging 23.7 months, most typically being one to two years long. Sentence length was not detailed in two immediate custody cases. Suspended custodial sentences ranged from three to 48 months in length, averaging 10.1 months and mostly typically being for 12 months. Community sentences ranged from six to 36 months and primarily involved some kind of community payback or unpaid work.

Table 24: Sentence length for women convicted of child sexual abuse in organisational contexts

Sentence length[a]	Percentage	n=69
0-6 months	13.0%	9
7-12 months	24.6%	17
13-18 months	15.9%	11
19-24 months	13.0%	9

25-36 months	15.9%	1
37-60 months	5.8%	4
61-120 months	7.2%	5
121-144 months	1.4%	1
Indeterminate	2.9%	2

[a] Includes all sentence types (immediate custodial, suspended custodial and community sentences)

Table 25: Average custodial sentence length for those convicted of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts

Sentence type	Average length (in months)
Custodial (both)	22.6
Immediate custody	23.7
Suspended custody	10.1

These findings regarding outcomes and sentencing can be compared with those of other relevant female sex offender and male professional perpetrator studies as well as the UK criminal justice system outcomes identified in Chapter Five and are detailed in Table 26.

Table 26: Comparison of criminal justice system outcomes for perpetrators of child sexual abuse in organisations

Data/sample	Conviction rate	Custodial sentence rate	Average sentence length (months)
Current sample (n=136)	88.5%	69.8%	22.6
UK Female Child Sex Offenders[a] (n= 239)	46.7%	79.5%	57.7
UK Male Child Sex Offenders[a] (n= 24,545)	55%	75.8%	67.8
UK Female Abuse of Trust Offenders[a] (n= 37)	100%	86.4%	11.8
UK Male Abuse of Trust Offenders[a] (n= 321)	93.3%	71.1%	12.1
Female sex offenders (Wijkman et al., 2010) (n= 111)	57%	-	-
Male professional perpetrators (Sullivan & Beech, 2004) (n= 38)	-	70%	-
Male professional perpetrators	-	84%	79

(Erooga et al., 2012) (n= 17)			
Male teachers (Jaffe et al., 2013) (n= 100)	-	84%	9.2
Female teachers (Mototsune, 2015) (n= 24)	42.9%	33.3%	20.2
Male teachers (Mototsune, 2015) (n= 260)	62.2%	57.5%	23.7

[a] Data from UK criminal justice system: See Chapter Five for full details.

These comparisons show that the women in this sample were convicted more often than female sex offenders (Wijkman et al., 2010); male and female child sex offenders (Ministry of Justice, 2016) and some male professional perpetrators (Sullivan & Beech, 2004) but less often that male and female perpetrators of abuse of trust offences in the UK (Ministry of Justice, 2016).

Despite the apparent higher rate of convictions for women who perpetrate child sexual abuse in organisational contexts, they were subsequently less likely to receive custodial sentences than male professional perpetrators (Erooga et al., 2012); male teachers (Jaffe et al., 2013); general child sex offenders of both genders and both male and female abuse of trust offenders (Ministry of Justice, 2016). They were only likely to face custody more often than male and female teachers in Mototsune's (2015) study.

The women in the sample also received shorter custodial sentences than male professional perpetrators (Erooga et al., 2012), male teachers (Mototsune, 2015) and both male and female child sex offenders (Ministry of Justice, 2016). They received longer average sentences than the mostly male teachers in Jaffe et al.'s (2013) study,

female teachers in Mototsune's (2015) study and both male and female abuse of trust offenders (Ministry of Justice, 2016).

Overall, these findings suggest female perpetrators of child sexual abuse in organisational contexts are treated comparatively more harshly in decisions to convict but thereafter receive more lenient sentencing than other child sex offenders and some of those who sexually abuse children whilst in positions of trust.

9.6.4   Sex offender registration

The majority (82.2%, n=74) of those convicted or receiving a caution were made subject to sex offender registration requirements in their respective jurisdictions. This typically means a requirement to notify the police of their address and can include restrictions on travel, residence location and internet usage. Offenders are also generally subject to periodical monitoring by police or probation. In this sample registration periods ranged from six months to indefinite with most offenders being subject to the requirements for 10 years (36.5%, n=27) or indefinitely (21.6%, n=16).

Table 27: Sex offender registration periods for female perpetrators of child sexual abuse in organisational contexts

Sex offender registration period	Percentage	n=74
6 months	2.7%	2
18 months	1.4%	1
2 years	6.6%	5
5 years	5.4%	4
7 years	9.5%	7
10 years	36.5%	27
20 years	4.1%	3
25 years	1.4%	1
Indefinite	21.6%	16
Not known	10.8%	8

9.6.5 Court orders

In the UK courts can impose orders prohibiting offenders from future work with children and 22 women were known to have been banned from working with children under these provisions, representing 39.2% of those convicted or cautioned in the UK. These prohibitions ranged from five years to an indefinite period. Just over half (n=13) of UK perpetrators were given indefinite bans. One woman was banned for five years, three for 10 years and the ban period was not known in eight cases.

In a third (32.9%; n=28) of all conviction cases the court was known to have imposed some other type of prohibition order. These orders varied according to individual jurisdictions. In UK cases, sexual offences prevention orders or sexual harm prevention orders were issued in 14 cases. These orders are made to protect certain individuals or groups from harm and contain specific prohibitions on the offender. Over all jurisdictions four women were issued orders preventing contact with the victim(s), two women were ordered to have no unsupervised contact with children, two were given community payback orders and two women were given multiple orders. A compensation order, restraining order and treatment programme order were issued to one offender each.

9.6.6 Other sentence requirements

Five women in the sample were required to undergo counselling but only three were known to have been required to complete a sex offender treatment programme. Compensation for the victim was only known to have been ordered in two cases.

These findings indicate the less frequent imposition of post sentence orders and restrictions on convicted female perpetrators of child sexual abuse in organisational contexts than found in Erooga et al.'s (2012) study of mostly male professional perpetrators, all of whom were subject to sex offender registration requirements (ranging from five years to life) with most also having specific orders or disqualifications orders prohibiting their future work with children.

9.6.7 Factors evident in police and prosecution service decisions

There were 22 cases (17.3% of those cases reported to the police) where no further action took place following police investigations or interviews. The reason for the decision was available in nine of these cases. In three cases, the victim refused to

make a complaint or both the victim and their parents did not wish to pursue the matter. The police and/or prosecution service decided not to pursue matters in five cases, typically because they considered the criminal threshold was not met or took the view there was insufficient evidence to justify further action. In one case, the prosecution took the view there were serious credibility issues with the alleged victim. However, interestingly, that view was not shared by the investigating officers, the professional regulatory panel and a tribunal judge who all found this witness credible and the allegation proved. The rationale for the decision to issue police cautions rather than pursue a prosecution is not known in the two relevant cases.

In those cases where the police and/or prosecution decided not to pursue criminal action but there was no clear explanation of the rationale available in the data sources, several reasons were discerned which might have influenced these decisions: that most (although not all) of the sexual contact between the abuser and victim took place after position of trust ceased to exist and a lack of evidence or inclination to proceed with grooming charge; concerns over victim vulnerability; victim reluctance to engage with the process and the status of the victim during the school holiday period between leaving lower school (at the legal school leaving age of 16 in the UK) and returning to sixth form (the voluntary final two years of school in the UK).

9.6.8 Sentencing comments

No sentencing comments were found within the data that identified any explicit or inherent bias in favour of female perpetrators of this type of child sexual abuse. However, there did appear to be an evident commitment by some judges to be seen to ensure gender parity in sentencing in a number of cases, as the following sentencing comments demonstrate:

> *Those of either sex in a position of trust must expect significant punishment when they abuse that trust – especially sexually.* (Sentencing Judge, Case D5)

> *Those of either sex, who are in positions of trust and responsibility in such homes, must expect to go to prison for a substantial period if, in breach of that trust and taking advantage of that responsibility, they prey sexually on those in their care… A man of the appellant's age, having sexual intercourse in such circumstances with girls of such an age, would have faced a very long sentence indeed.* (Appeal Court Judge, Case M1)

I hold the view that when a student is sexually assaulted by a teacher neither the sex of the accused nor the victim should play a significant role in the determination of the sentence. Gender must not become the focus when the crime is that of an assault by a teacher against a student. The trial judge was correct in stating that this crime has to be denounced in the 'loudest possible terms'. (Appeal Court Judge, Case WC2)

Such public statements suggest attempts within the judiciary to respond in a more gender-neutral way when sentencing sex offenders and there is an ongoing debate about whether male and female offenders are treated more similarly now than in the past. Spohn and Beichner (2000) found this not to be the case in their study examining whether gender neutrality was becoming the norm in sentencing of female offenders more generally (not specifically those who sexually offend). They concluded that judges still appeared to be influenced by gender-linked stereotypes when sentencing female offenders. They also found judges did take caring responsibilities into account for female offenders but not male offenders, but only in circumstances where the offence was of a less serious nature and where the offender did not have an extensive prior criminal record. More recent research by Sandler and Freeman (2011) examining responses to sex offenders specifically also found that although there was no difference in the likelihood of conviction for male and female sex offenders, women were significantly less likely to be incarcerated as a result. They proposed the lenient sentencing was possibly due to evidence which suggests female sex offenders are less likely to recidivate and therefore judges would consider them to pose a lower risk to society.

Despite the intentions of the judges quoted above, the mother of another two victims expressed her view regarding gender bias in courts following not guilty verdicts for the teacher who abused her sons:

I have no doubt that had [C8] been a man and her alleged victims young girls then this case would have been treated differently. (Mother of victims 2 and 3, Case C8)

9.7   Professional Regulator Responses

Many of the women in the study were working in professions (e.g. teaching or social work), which were regulated by official or professional bodies.

More than half (54.4%, n=74) of the women were known to be registered with professional/regulatory bodies where investigations were undertaken (see Table 28). Nearly three-quarters (71.6%, n=53) of these cases resulted in the woman being de-registered. In effect, this meant that the individual was no longer able to work in the relevant profession, either for life or for a specified period of time. With the exception of one case where the prohibition was for a limited period of two years, all other prohibitions were imposed indefinitely.

However, for most professional or regulatory bodies, a prohibited individual could later apply to be re-considered for registration and their suitability assessed again at that point. A minimum review period was generally stipulated for the minimum length of time after which a registrant could re-apply to be considered for registration. These review periods ranged from one to 10 years in duration with most lasting between one and three years. This meant that some women who were de-registered from their relevant profession for sexually abusing a child or young person could technically be re-registered and return to work in a position of trust within a relatively short period of time. However, an application for re-registration would not necessarily mean a positive decision would result, and furthermore, even if a woman were permitted to re-register she would still face potential difficulty in securing a position working with children if employers undertook extensive pre-employment checks. There were no cases identified in the professional regulatory body data where an applicant had applied to be re-registered and the decision had been considered.

Ten women (13.5%) voluntarily surrendered their professional registration with the relevant body and five (6.8%) were under suspension at the time of data collection with suspensions ranging from one month to two years in duration. Two further women (2.7%) were given conditional registration orders which allowed them to continue to be registered and practice in their respective profession but required them to comply with specific conditions in order to do so. One of these conditional orders lasted for three and half years but the duration of the other was unknown. Conditions included the requirement to inform all new employers of the order, to attend safeguarding training and not to be in contact with any pupils outside of school without the employer's permission. Following receipt of the allegations of abuse the professional regulator took no further action in one case (reason unknown) and the outcomes in the three remaining cases were not known.

This means that 85.1% (n=63) of women who were registered with professional/regulatory bodies were ultimately de-registered or voluntarily surrendered the right to practice in their relevant professions after the child sexual abuse became known. Three women were officially able to continue in the profession after consideration by the professional regulator, although it is not known whether they actually did so or not.

The rate of de-registration (71.6%) found here is similar to that found in Mototsune's (2015) study in respect of female teachers but higher than that found in previous studies of mostly male teachers (Jaffe et al., 2013; Shakeshaft & Cohan, 1994). Mototsune (2015) also found that although female teachers are less likely to be convicted or imprisoned than male teachers they are much more likely to have their teaching licence revoked. She theorised this may be due to only the most serious cases of female teacher misconduct being referred to the professional regulator. Although Shakeshaft and Cohan's (1994) US study of educator sexual abuse found that only one percent of 225 teachers who admitted sexual assault of a student lost their licence to teach, Jaffe et al.'s (2013) more recent study of teachers in Canada found that 63.6% of teachers had their teaching licence revoked following sexual abuse of children in their care.

Irrespective of the differences between the samples discussed here, these findings and those of Jaffe et al. (2013) and Mototsune (2015) demonstrate a clear shift in approach by professional regulators over the last two decades.

Table 28: Professional regulator responses to female perpetrators of child sexual abuse in organisational contexts

Regulator Action	Percentage	n
Prohibition	71.6%	53
Voluntarily surrendered registration	13.5%	10
Suspension	6.8%	5
Conditional registration order	2.7%	2

No action	1.4%	1
Not known	4%	3

9.8   National Employment Safeguarding Schemes

In the UK there are two national safeguarding schemes, the DBS and Disclosure Scotland, responsible for prohibiting unsuitable individuals from working with children. There is very limited information in the public domain about the decisions made in such cases. However, information was available in official court and tribunal records in cases where individuals had appealed a decision by DBS or Disclosure Scotland to prohibit them. Some regulatory bodies had also published information as to previous registrants who were barred from working with children on their own websites.

Data regarding the barring status of the female perpetrator was available in 11 cases (13.4% of UK cases), seven of whom were barred from working with children under the relevant national scheme. However, both schemes also have legislative criteria requiring them to automatically place individuals convicted of sexual offences against children on the respective barred list. Fifty of the women in this sample (comprising 61% of cases arising in the UK) were convicted of offences that would have rendered them liable for automatic barring from future work in positions of trust with children under this legislation.

This means that as a minimum around three-quarters (74.4%, n=61) of the women in the sample from the UK were barred from working with children as a result of their sexually abusive behaviour of the past (although this may not necessarily have related to abuse of children in their professional care).

9.9   Appeals

Eighteen women appealed against their criminal conviction or sentence, two-thirds (n=12) of whom were unsuccessful. Five were successful in their appeal resulting in a reduced sentence, their conviction being quashed or the ordering of a re-sentencing exercise. The outcome of the remaining case was not known at the time of data analysis. Where appellants were successful in having their sentences reduced this was usually as a result of their argument that the sentence was unduly harsh, had

failed to take sufficient account of strong mitigating circumstances and/or the negative impact of custody on their own children and family.

Four appeals were made by the prosecution challenging the leniency of sentencing, of which three were successful in having the original sentence increased (either in length or in resulting in a suspended sentence being increased to immediate custodial term). The outcome of the remaining case is not known. The prosecution also unsuccessfully challenged the court's not guilty finding in one case and the court's dismissal of charges in another. The victim's parents were also unsuccessful in the sole case where they challenged a court decision to dismiss the charges for offences against the victim.

All eight women who appealed against their employment prohibitions were unsuccessful in the challenge.

Civil claims for damages and compensation were made in nine cases. These claims were brought by the victims or their families usually against the offender's employer or governing body (rather than the offender themselves) for failure to protect the victim from harm. Only one such claim was known to have been successful, with the defendants settling out of court on the eve of the case hearing. However, the remaining cases were dismissed with the courts finding that the employer was not aware of the sexually abusive behaviour at the time and therefore was unable to act and not deliberately negligent in protecting the victim from harm.

Overall the findings demonstrate that there was a high failure rate in appeals and civil damages claims brought against criminal justice system and employment regulation decisions in cases of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations.

9.10 Summary

This chapter has further addressed the research question: *how is female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts responded to?* By examining the responses of abusers, parents and guardians; employers and organisations; child protection services; criminal justice systems and professional regulators, a number of key issues have been identified which appear to reflect the presence of some ongoing gendered views regarding female perpetrators found in previous theory and research.

Key findings from the analysis and discussion in this chapter are:

- Some parents/guardians were aware of some level of personal or inappropriate contact or relationship between their child and the female adult in a position of trust before the abuse was formally reported;

- Some parents/guardians tried to manage the situation themselves without taking official action, but this was ultimately unsuccessful in all cases and did not prevent the abuse continuing;

- Where data was available a high proportion of both victim and abuser peers were aware of the inappropriate nature of the relationship prior to disclosure or discovered and did not report it;

- The majority of employers took some form of formal action;

- Most perpetrators did not continue in their posts after the abuse was formally reported and dealt with, although a slight majority were allowed to resign from their posts rather than be dismissed following disciplinary procedures;

- Three-quarters of cases were reported to the police but almost one in five of those did not result in charges being laid;

- The vast majority of perpetrators were convicted following being charged;

- Most offenders were given immediate custodial sentences, however, more than a third received suspended custodial or community sentences;

- Most female offenders received sentences of less than 18 months;

- Average custodial sentences for female perpetrators in this sample are lower than those found for female child sex offenders in the UK but higher than the average for those perpetrating abuse of trust offences specifically;

- Professional regulators appear to be responding robustly to those cases that proceed to hearing (although data limitations mean it is not possible to determine how many female perpetrator cases are reported but do not progress to final hearing and how this compares to male perpetrators).

Additionally, compared to most relevant previous study samples, overall the women here were convicted more often than general female sex offenders, male professional perpetrators and male and female teachers, but less often than male and female perpetrators of abuse of trust offences. However, following conviction the women here were less likely to receive a custodial sentence than male professional perpetrators, male and female child sex offenders and those of both genders convicted

of abuse of trust offences. Furthermore, female perpetrators in this study also received shorter custodial sentences than male professional perpetrators, male teachers and both male and female child sex offenders. They received longer sentences than mostly male teachers in one Canadian study (Jaffe et al., 2013) and male and female abuse of trust offenders. However, this finding is not unexpected given the specific sample types in those studies and the typical sentencing guidelines for abuse of trust offences indicating shorter sentences than for other child sex offences.

The finding that female perpetrators of child sexual abuse in organisational contexts are generally convicted more often but then sentenced more leniently than other abusers raises an interesting point. It could be that as the majority of the cases in this study concerned abuse of post-pubescent adolescents rather than young children (who may be victimised at proportionally higher rates in general sex offending) then obtaining reliable evidence on which to convict is easier, thereby making a decision to convict more likely. Another influencing factor here is the fact that the majority of women in this sample admitted their behaviour, again meaning more would be convicted on this basis. Convictions are either automatic (following guilty pleas) or the result of decisions regarding evidence (for not guilty pleas). Subsequent decisions on sentencing, however, are more subjective in nature (albeit within sentencing guidelines) and reached by the judiciary, not members of a public jury. As discussed earlier in Chapters Two and Five there is some evidence that judges may continue to be influenced by gender assumptions; both regarding women as perpetrators and particularly regarding male adolescents as victims. This would help to explain why the women in this sample might receive more lenient sentences than other sex offenders.

It should be noted that sample comparisons undertaken here are subject to some limitations due to sampling differences, jurisdictional variations and the time since a number of the comparator studies were carried out. Therefore, although it cannot be conclusively found that women in this sample receive more favourable treatment in the criminal justice system, the findings do suggest that these women may have been treated more severely when entering and proceeding through the criminal justice system (by police, prosecutors and juries) but more leniently by the judiciary once convicted. It could be that police, prosecutors and members of the public in juries are more inclined to view these types of offenders as 'triply deviant' whereas judges' views continue to reflect chivalry theory in practice. This is despite the statements made by several judges reinforcing gender parity in judicial decisions discussed earlier in this chapter. It is clear then that judicial responses and decision-making rationale in

cases of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations are certainly worthy of examination in future research.

Another important finding is that often the victim's peers knew of the inappropriate relationship or sexual contact between the victim and perpetrator prior to its discovery or disclosure. In Chapter Eight we saw how victims of child sexual abuse are mostly likely to tell a friend or sibling first (Allnock, 2010). We also saw that victim peers were only the third most likely to disclose the abuse in the cases examined in this research. It is not clear why other children do not disclose the abuse, although it is supposed that loyalty to the victim, fear of the consequences for the victim, perpetrator and possibly themselves, would play a role here. This finding suggests the importance of healthy relationship and sexual awareness education for children and young people, as well as teaching children about the potential impact of abuse. Including reference to female-perpetrated abuse in such communication and training is important for children to understand that sexual aggression is not gender specific and to challenge some of the stereotypical and cultural attitudes evidenced in this thesis. Through the discussion of these matters it is hoped that children will be more prepared to come forward to disclose any concerns they may have about their friends or family members.

The tolerant and supportive responses of parents and guardians in some of the cases referred to in this chapter has also been an intriguing finding. It is interesting that all of the cases where parents provided support for the perpetrators discussed in the examples given here concerned mothers supporting female perpetrators following their inappropriate sexual relationship with their sons. These responses may simply have been reflections of prevailing cultural attitudes that consider female adult-male adolescent sexual contact as more permissible, less harmful or even a positive experience. Whether these mothers would have reacted in a similar way had the situation involved adolescent daughters is an interesting consideration. The response of the father of one victim discussed earlier in this chapter also potentially reflected this cultural tolerance of female teacher-male adolescent relationships, to the point he claimed to be partly proud of his son for having a relationship with an older woman.

The content of the various supportive statements given by the mothers on behalf of the female perpetrators indicate several reasons why they responded in this way. Mothers may have been more likely to recognise the potential vulnerabilities in the female abuser herself at the time and the impact of the subsequent consequences and make allowances for those. Additionally, or alternatively, the victim's mother may have

seen the sexual contact as a tolerable price to pay for the additional help the female teacher gave their son at a time when it was sorely needed and where no other support was available. Responses might also have been influenced by the way the male adolescent himself reacted at the time. As discussed in Chapter Two, male victims may not view the sexual contact as inappropriate or harmful and indeed view it as a positive experience. However, as the findings of the following chapter will demonstrate, some victims later come to realise the harmfulness of the behaviour when they mature and recognise the longer-term impact it ultimately had upon them. Nonetheless, what is not known is whether notable harm is actually caused to adolescent victims in all cases. A contentious moral argument remains in similar cases to these, referred to as 'statutory sex crime relationships' (Hines & Finkelhor, 2007) and discussed in Chapter Three. Some may argue that despite the legal status it is a moral judgement that ultimately reviles these relationships and that dependent upon the individual circumstances (e.g. the relative maturity of the adolescent and the relative immaturity of the female professional or the lack of any coercion or manipulation in the relationship) there may not be any harm caused to the young person themselves. There does not appear to be any existing evidence that examines this issue with regard to women who sexually abuse children in organisational contexts and this is an interesting issue worthy of further exploration.

Given the nature of the data sources used in this study (i.e. court reports and sentencing records), the findings concerning the sample here will inevitably be reflective of these particular case types and it is important to recognise that data is not available to identify information regarding the prevalence and rationale for those cases that do not progress through these systems. These limitations acknowledged, the findings here appear to indicate that once formal action is taken the responses from employers, the criminal justice system and professional regulators are mostly robust but that the issue appears to lie more in a lack of action by colleagues, employers, parents/guardians and peers to act on indicators and concerns early enough (this issue is discussed further in Chapter 11) and the indication of comparatively lenient treatment by the judiciary.

Furthermore, despite the generally robust and formal responses from organisations eventually, it is concerning that the most common response is to allow the perpetrator to resign from her position of trust rather than take disciplinary action. Such a response increases the risks associated with no formally documented

disciplinary process and its subsequent availability for future reference checks or consideration if further concerns are raised elsewhere.

As discussed in Chapter Three, organisational culture can undermine the response to abuse in organisations. Cultural context pertaining to gender differences, the formation of intimate and affectionate relationships, and the conditions under which unethical behaviour is considered acceptable, may impact on the response to abuse when it occurs in organisations (Palmer & Feldman, 2017).

It is not only within organisations that these responses are evident. The findings here demonstrate that these gendered views can also be found in individual and societal level responses to this type of abuse. They also suggest that in some areas the culture of denial continues and that this may well be influenced by wider cultural narratives around women, sexuality and crime. Through better understanding of the unhelpful or ineffective responses identified here hopefully this research can inform future policy and practice for the benefit of victims.

The way in which these responses can further impact upon victims of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 10: The Impact of Female-Perpetrated Child Sexual Abuse in Organisational Contexts on Victims and Others

10.1 Introduction

The responses of professionals, organisations, the police and courts discussed in the previous chapter can contribute to the way in which victims of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts deal with their experiences. It is argued that much of the harm caused to victims of female sexual offenders is related to socially constructed gender role expectations and sexual scripts (Denov, 2004a; Saradjian, 2010; Schiedegger, 2008) and it is the manifestation of these gendered views that can impact significantly on victim harm following disclosure or discovery of their abuse:

> *…it is undoubtedly the case that some of the harmful consequences for victims follow from their perceptions of the social meaning attached to their sexual victimisation. This presents important challenges for social discourse about CSA, and particularly for how social messages about the harm caused by CSA are conveyed to children and others.* (Smallbone et al., 2008, p.36)

This chapter will explore the impacts of such abuse in order to address the research question; *what are the reported impacts for victims of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts?* and to examine whether these differ from the impacts experienced by other child sexual abuse victims. The findings from this study will be presented, firstly, regarding victim responses at the time the sexual abuse takes place; and secondly, with respect to the identified short and long-term impacts of the abuse. In addition to the impact and consequences for victims and perpetrators (which was discussed in the previous chapter), the data also reflected evidence of wider impacts of this type of abuse. Consequently, the effects on the families and friends of the victims and perpetrators, the victim's peers, perpetrator's colleagues and others involved with the relevant organisation, as well as the wider community will also be discussed. The findings from the research will be compared with those from other studies that have explored the impact of both female-perpetrated child sexual abuse and of abuse perpetrated by (generally male) adults in organisational contexts. Finally, conclusions will be reached about the role of gender and context and their interactive effect on the impact experienced by victims of women in positions of trust.

Assessing the typical impacts of child sexual abuse can be difficult for a number of reasons. Firstly, there are often definitional and measurement differences in empirical studies making comparison between studies challenging. Secondly, isolating the impacts of sexual abuse from those of other experiences of abuse or trauma victims may have experienced is very difficult and therefore a particular outcome may be associated with child sexual abuse but might not be caused by it (Fisher & Soares, 2017).

As indicated in the literature review, existing studies are contradictory in their findings about the extent of harm and seriousness of the impact of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse on victims. However, previous studies have had samples biased towards victims of inter-familial abuse limiting insight into the impacts for victims abused by those outside the family. The possibility has been raised in the existing literature that male victims may be culturally disinclined to perceive their experiences as problematic and that prevailing cultural norms also influence the minimisation of the seriousness of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse displayed by professionals dealing with victims and perpetrators. Previously, the range of impacts of male-perpetrated organisational child sexual abuse have been found to be consistent with those of other childhood sexual victimisation, but both the dynamics of the particular position of power held by the perpetrator as well as the dynamics at play in institutions can have more serious consequences for victims. The review of existing literature on the impacts experienced by victims of child sexual abuse perpetrated both by women, and by those in organisational contexts, identified many similarities. In the following section, the findings from this study with regard to victim responses and short and long-term impacts of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts will be presented, before subsequently examining the similarities and differences with the impacts of the different types of abuse discussed above.

10.2 Victim responses

Chapter Eight, detailing offence processes, featured some discussion about how victims responded to the abuse at the time, identifying that any initial positive response to the perpetrator's sexual approaches often changed over time reflecting later reluctance and attempts to stop the abusive relationship from continuing.

In order to compare the findings here with the DMFSO (Gannon et al., 2008), victim responses were classified using one of the three categories identified in the

model: '*engaged*', '*submissive*' and '*resistant*'. This classification was undertaken by analysing the victim's reported behaviours and responses to the abuse, both during the pre-offence and offence phases. However, it should be noted that the categorisation is used only for descriptive purposes here using the labels already identified in the DMFSO. As Harris (2010) points out, although such an approach is descriptively interesting, there are risks in suggesting any 'role' a victim plays in their abuse. Therefore the descriptions referred to here are in no way intended to suggest any responsibility upon any victim. Despite the inherent reservations of labelling victim responses (particularly using the term 'engaged') and any associated perceptions of victim blaming that might ensue, there is an argument to be made that, sensitively handled, such examinations and descriptions are beneficial. It is important to understand how victims react to the abusive approaches of female perpetrators in organisational contexts and any subsequent impacts that may have upon perpetrators' behaviour and cognitive distortions. Victim reactions and responses could also potentially provide evidence of indicators to look out for where there may be concerns about the developing relationship between a female adult and child or young person in their care. Furthermore, without understanding how victims think, feel and react during their experiences of abuse, how can we fully understand and help them to deal with any associated consequences and impacts they may later experience? However sensitive this issue may be, it is argued here that it cannot be ignored in seeking to understand female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts. As Hines and Finkelhor (2007) point out, only on the basis of accurate information concerning their dynamics and characteristics of the youth and adults who become involved in (what they refer to as) 'statutory sex crime relationships' can we fashion effective responses. If the goal is to prevent such relationships, strategies must be devised based on realities (Hines & Finkelhor, 2007, p.301).

In this research sample, over three-quarters (75.7%; n=103) of victims could be described as '*engaged*' in that they were engaged with the abuser in the pre-offence and offence period, appearing to react positively to their attentions and approaches, at least initially. A few (2.2%; n=3) were '*submissive*'; interacting minimally with the offender and tending not to react particularly strongly to the abuse and 1.5% (n=2) were '*resistant*'; actively expressing discomfort and asking the offender to stop. The data in 20.6% (n=28) of cases was insufficient to enable the effective categorisation of victim response.

Although Gannon and colleagues (2008, 2010, 2013) refer to victim responses

in their studies, they do not provide information as to the prevalence of each category, therefore a comparison of findings cannot be made in this respect. The overwhelming majority of victims here were assigned as 'engaged', which is unsurprising given the specific offence processes and nature of the majority of the abusive relationships included in the sample in this research (i.e. those involving adolescents aged 15-17). In many cases, the relationship was one that was perceived by the perpetrator (and often also by the victim) as an equal, consenting and mature 'adult' relationship. Given that aggressive coercion was rare in the establishment and maintenance of these relationships and many of them resulted following the development of an increasing emotional closeness between the perpetrator and victim, this may explain why victims might have responded in less resistant ways at the time. However, it is important to note that the classifications made here as to victim response are limited by the data used. The classifications are mostly only reflective of the response of individual victims at the point in the abusive relationship when it was discovered and reported (Lanning, 2002). For example, victims were conceivably more likely to respond in an 'engaged' manner if the abuse was discovered or disclosed in the earlier or middle stages of the abusive relationship compared with those that might later become more 'resistant' when they began to become more uncomfortable and to try and withdraw from it. Just as Gannon et al. (2008) identified, victim responses are not mutually exclusive and could change either throughout particular episodes of the offending or across multiple offences. As previously discussed, of those victims who were 'engaged' initially, over time a number of them began to become bored of the relationship or find the attentions and demands of the adult perpetrator encroaching too much upon their own lives as adolescents. This appears to be particularly true where some of the women began making plans for the future, by encouraging the victim to run away with her or move in together for example.

Despite finding that most of the victims were 'engaged' at the time of the abuse, many still experienced a range of subsequent negative impacts. This indicates the lack of connection between initial responses to the abuse situation and later impacts experienced by victims, similar to that found in previous studies (Fromuth & Burkhart, 1989; Kelly et al., 2002). These impacts will now be discussed in the following two sections, regarding short- and long-term victim experiences.

10.3 Short-Term Victim Impact

There was evidence available in just under half of the cases in the sample

(46.3%; n=63) detailing the short-term effects of the abuse. These impacts on the victim's life and wellbeing in the shorter term, at the time of the abuse or in the few months immediately thereafter, were varied and are detailed in Table 29. Although the identified impacts are presented in the table in rank order of their frequency of occurrence across cases (starting with the most frequently recorded impacts) these findings have not been specifically quantified in the results for two reasons. Firstly, it is recognised that the data sources are limited in providing complete and extensive accounts of the impacts experienced by victims due to the nature of the sources themselves. This means a full and representative account cannot be obtained and it is considered that these data limitations may do a disservice to the extent of impacts experienced by victims but not reported in the data sources. Secondly, any quantification of victim impact frequency would not convey the extent of the impacts on individual victims and may distract from a fuller appreciation of the level and depth of harm caused. Although some impacts may have been reported in only a few cases, the extent of their impact on the individual victims may have been particularly harmful.

A few victims maintained that they had not suffered any negative short-term consequences as a result of their experiences:

> *She did me no harm and I'm fine…Looking back, I wish it hadn't happened. It was exciting but it wasn't worth it, not for her anyway.* (Male victim, Case S3)

However, the impacts for others were wide-reaching, including emotional and psychological difficulties, behavioural problems, issues with social and personal relationships and impacts on their education and schooling.

10.3.1 Emotional/psychological

Emotional harm was a common consequence of victimisation of this type. Victims reported feelings of anger, shame, confusion and embarrassment. Their anger was often directed towards the perpetrator herself but for some victims, in the short-term at least, they were unhappy about the cessation of the inappropriate relationship and expressed anger and frustration towards their parents, the police/courts and the abuser's employers for taking action they felt was unnecessary. Other victims expressed their anger about organisational failures to protect them and other children, or about the unsatisfactory outcome of court cases:

While she should not have used her position to pursue me, I did consent to sex. But I am very angry that she went on to teach at other schools despite being labelled a risk to children as a result of what happened with me. I feel a lot of children have been let down. (Male victim 1, Case C8)

I just can't believe it. My brother and I are not liars. I wish there was some way I could go back into court and fight the case again. This past year has been hell for us and we desperately wanted to put everything behind us. We will never be able to now. I feel very betrayed. (Male victim 3, Case C8)

Some victims described feeling manipulated, betrayed and taken advantage of and two female victims said they felt specifically groomed into thinking they were gay. Depression and anxiety were also common consequences with ten victims reportedly experiencing suicidal thoughts in the short-term. Victims also spoke of guilt, regret and feeling responsible for what had happened:

The whole situation shouldn't have happened…I regretted what happened, because of the effect it had on my life and on Miss [X's] life. (Male victim, Case M7)

One male victim described his anxiety in his court victim impact statement explaining how he often worried about the range of consequences of what had happened:

What about my high school reunion? Will this ever go away? Could people ever look at me different? Did I ruin a family? Why rape? (the perpetrator had accused him of rape) What would this be like if genders were reversed? Does her husband want me dead? How many guys has she been with? Do I have an STD? (Male victim, Case U1)

Other male victims described their feelings of responsibility; one alluding to perceived gender roles, sexual scripts and victim-blaming attitudes, which appeared to impact on his feeling of responsibility:

It brought it all out in the open and I'm glad for that because it took it out of my hands. It was a relief when someone said, 'this is wrong. It's not your fault'… I felt like it was my fault. I thought if people found out I would not be believed…As

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the guy, and a student, I felt like I permitted it because I did not say anything. People can recover from things like this but only if it's dealt with in the right way. (Male victim, Case N8)

I wasn't glad she was sent to jail but I think it is right. She has done wrong. I just wanted it to be over and I am relieved that it is. I don't feel anything about her but I regret what happened. But I shouldn't have gone along with it. It's my own fault. (Male victim, Case D5)

The corresponding media attention that arose in many cases led to further psychological distress and harm for victims. In addition to the emotional difficulties, one victim also reported short-term physical ailments as a consequence of the stress of her experiences, suffering stomach pains and digestive problems.

10.3.2 Behavioural

The abuse resulted in behavioural changes for some victims both during and after the offending period. They became withdrawn and secretive, rude and dismissive, impacting on their relationships with others and some withdrew from engaging in their regular hobbies, sports or social activities. The serious emotional and psychological harm for some victims in the short term led to two engaging in self-harm, two attempting suicide and two running away from home. Sleep problems were also identified as a short-term consequence for some victims. A few victims began to abuse drugs and alcohol and one became involved in criminality as a result of the abuse by harassing members of the perpetrator's family. Other victims became aggressive, getting into fights at school and in their local communities. Some of the very young victims of one of the female co-perpetrators began to display sexualised behaviours following their abuse.

10.3.3 Social/relationships

Many victims had difficulties in their relationships with their parents, families and friends often resulting from the secretiveness and breakdown of trust surrounding the abusive relationship with the female perpetrator. Several victims reported suffering bullying and teasing from other children/young people and some experienced negative reactions from other adults, typically the perpetrator's colleagues, who appeared to hold them responsible for ruining the perpetrator's successful career. Some victims referred to difficulties in their subsequent relationships with women and girls as a

consequence of the abuse and a few described feeling disappointed and upset that they had lost their virginity through the abusive relationship. Instability in their domestic circumstances was a consequence for several victims who moved out of home in the short term, either to continue the relationship with their abuser or to avoid media intrusion or negative reactions in their local communities.

10.3.4 Education

Educational problems were common among victims both at the time of the abuse and in the short-term afterwards. Particular consequences included victims not graduating from high school, their grades declining, poor exam results and leaving school. In one case, the victim's schoolwork actually improved during the period of the abuse due to the extra attention they were receiving from the abusing teacher. In another the perpetrator actually produced her teenage victim's school assignments for him resulting in further damage to his own learning. In the following extract, a male victim describes the detrimental impact the abuse had on his education and future career opportunities:

> *I applied to go to another local school where I spent my first couple of years in senior school, but they said they had no places available. I didn't want to start afresh somewhere new where I wouldn't know anyone, so at the moment I'm at this college…It's full of people who have been expelled from other schools and some of them can barely write their names…I do feel upset and angry about how all this has affected my schooling. I can't see what future I have now, and I don't know if I'll even be able to get a job because of all this.* (Male victim, Case D5)

Table 29: Short-term impacts on victims of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts

EMOTIONAL/ PSYCHOLOGICAL	BEHAVIOURAL	SOCIAL/ RELATIONSHIPS
• Anger • Suicidal ideation/threats • Feeling taken advantage of/manipulated • Depression • Shame • Embarrassment • Confusion • Discomfort at perpetrator's attention • Anxiety • Distress at media attention • Felt groomed into thinking they were homosexual • Felt trapped • Low self-esteem • Fear • Regret • Insecurity • Stress • Guilt • Loneliness • Betrayal • Feeling responsible • Self-conscious	• Withdrawn • Behavioural changes (rudeness, dismissive) • Leaving home • Self-harm • Attempted suicide • Running away • Drug/alcohol abuse • Sleep problems • Criminality • Sexualised behaviour • Aggression (getting into fights)	• Deterioration in relationships (friends and family) • Social isolation • Suffer bullying/teasing • Difficulty in relationships with girls/women • Negative reaction from other adults

EDUCATION	OTHER
• Not graduating • Declining grades • Leaving school • Poor exam results • Re-sitting exams	• No impacts • Disappointment in losing virginity • Physical ailments: stomach pains, digestive problems

10.4 Long-Term Victim Impact

Given that some of the abuse was reported by victims when they were adults, and cases where court or civil claim action took some months or years after the abuse was ultimately disclosed, there was some evidence available in the research data concerning the longer-term impacts experienced by some victims (18.4% of cases; n=25) which are detailed in Table 30. Again, the identified impacts are presented in rank order of their frequency of occurrence across cases, starting with the most frequently recorded impacts. A few victims maintained that they had not suffered any negative long-term impacts as a result of the abuse.

10.4.1 Emotional/psychological

The emotional impact of the abuse was extensive and long-lasting for some victims. They experienced anxiety, depression, psychological trauma and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder for example. Some victims reported an ongoing lack of trust in people, low self-esteem and lack of confidence. Several victims also described long-term feelings of fear; fear of leaving their homes and going out into the community, fear of authority figures and fear of media attention for example. Feelings of guilt, powerlessness, shame and sadness continued to feature for some in the months and years following the abuse, as exemplified in the following comment:

> *For the past 15 years I've had to carry the shame and guilt of this…I have been left with feeling responsible, for feeling like an outcast. I have lost a huge part of my childhood. [WC1] preyed on me because she knew my family life was unstable.* (Male victim, Case WC1)

Two male victims also experienced the stress and profoundly life-altering experience of becoming parents at a young age when the perpetrator had a child as a result of the abusive relationship.

10.4.2 Behavioural

Long-term personality changes resulted for some victims following the abuse they experienced, with some becoming particularly withdrawn and a few resorting to reckless behaviour and drug and alcohol misuse:

After the abuse I became my own tormentor, doing drugs and alcohol at 12-years-old because it was my only form of coping. (Male victim, Case WC1)

10.4.3 Social/relationships

Several victims reported long-term difficulty in maintaining relationships with adult partners and some had problematic relationships with women and girls in general. A few victims expressed feeling sexual confusion following the abuse. Victims also spoke of longer-term problems in dealing with authority figures given the significant breach of trust involved in their abuse. One female victim also referred to the anticipated anxiety and lack of trust she was likely to suffer as a parent herself later in life:

But I will always have that doubt in my mind. I will possibly have kids but I will always be conscious that it could happen to them. (Female victim 1, Case D9)

10.4.4 Career, education and finances

Several victims reported difficulties in their careers and education following the abuse, sometimes related to the educational problems they suffered in the short term. A few victims felt they failed to obtain expected academic scholarships and one reportedly lost out on an anticipated highly successful sporting career following abuse by her coach. There were also financial implications for victims who required long-term therapy to help them cope with the abuse they suffered.

Further to the emotional, social and educational consequences that victims experienced, one female victim also reportedly suffered long-term physical and reproductive problems due to the use of unclean implements during the abuse.

The extent of the enduring impacts some of the victims experienced as a result of their sexual abuse by a woman in a position of trust are powerfully captured in the following extract from one male victim's impact statement at court (given as an adult following his disclosure of non-recent abuse by his primary school teacher):

Depression has been a large portion of both my child and adult life. It has caused me to self-direct my anger, wreaked havoc on relationships, and hindered my career. The thought of coming forward and the fear of the media attention have always been a struggle and caused great anxiety. Feelings of

cowardice for not having the courage to disclose stimulated my depression. Even now, facing my fears and coming forward, it has not been easy, and I have had to relive much of the pain and embarrassment. I still constantly struggle with feelings of sadness, even though I have dealt with much of the guilt and shame; I realize that I can never get my time back and it upsets me to think of what could have been. I have even brought my depression with me to the work place, making it difficult to move forward with my career. Because of this, I have had to take leave from work to deal with personal issues, seek counselling and try to help myself move forward. As a result of my depression, I have spent the last two years seeking help through a psychotherapist which has cost me a great deal of time and money. My therapist speculates that in my internalization of anger, shame and guilt, I have likely put my personal safety and wellbeing at risk, disregarding my self-worth. (Male victim, Case WC1)

Table 30: Long-term impacts on victims of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts

EMOTIONAL/ PSYCHOLOGICAL	BEHAVIOURAL	SOCIAL/ RELATIONSHIPS
- Mistrust - Depression and anxiety - Low self-esteem - PTSD - Guilt - Feeling powerless - Suicidal ideation - Lack of confidence - Sadness - Shame - Fear (of leaving house; of authority figures; of media attention)	- Insomnia - Personality changes - Reckless behaviour - Drug/alcohol addiction	- Difficulty in maintaining relationships with adult partners - Difficult relationships with women/girls - Difficulty in dealing with authority figures - Sexual confusion - Withdrawn/social isolation

CAREER, EDUCATION AND FINANCES	OTHER
- Career problems - Loss of scholarships/sports careers - Financial impacts	- No impact - Stress of becoming a very young parent - Physical injuries - Lack of trust as a parent themselves

10.5 Impact on Others

Beyond the specific short and long-term impacts on the victims described above, in over a third of cases (37.5%; n=51) the data also reflected the wider consequences of this type of abuse on others associated with both the victim and perpetrator. Harmful consequences were experienced by the victim's parents, family and peers as well as the parents and families of the abusers themselves.

> *It's extremely shocking and has been devastating for our family. And it isn't just us. I feel for her daughters, I really do. What they must be going through right now must be terrible.* (Victim's father, Case D5)

Colleagues and friends of the perpetrator were also affected and there was evidence in some cases of impacts felt in the wider community.

10.5.1 Impact on victims' parents and families

Victims' parents often suffered significant trauma, including that caused by associated court cases and media intrusion. Several families required counselling to help them deal with the impacts of the abuse and some families sought civil damages for the trauma to themselves as well as for the victim. This is exemplified in the following extract from the court victim impact statement of a male victim's mother:

> *Finally, [X] has taken ownership of her actions. My son was 11 — she betrayed our trust in the worst possible way. She befriended me. She sat and had tea with me all the while sexually assaulting my child. I carry around the guilt that I*

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didn't protect my son. Despite therapy, this will forever affect our lives. (Victim's mother, Case WC1)

In some cases, parents spoke to the media and expressed frustration and anger at the lack of court action or the relevant childcare organisation's failure to follow appropriate safeguarding procedures and protect their children:

What frustrates me most is that we have never pushed the allegations. The police came to us and asked the boys to go to court. They were very reluctant because, understandably, they were so embarrassed by what had happened. But I convinced them that it was the right thing to do, for the sake of other children. Now their faith in British justice has been shattered. (Father of male victims 2 and 3, Case C8)

In terms of emotional and psychological damage, parents and guardians expressed feeling heartbroken, shocked, disgusted, betrayed and mistrustful. They also described feeling guilty and embarrassed about what had happened. Some parents were very fearful for their child's wellbeing as a result of the abuse in the immediate aftermath and one family expressed fear of retribution by the abuser or her acquaintances.

10.5.2 Impact on victims' peers

The impact of the abuse also caused shock and upset for the victim's peers in some cases, leaving them feeling betrayed by the adult in the position of trust themselves. For example, in one case a young girl who was a friend of the victim and perpetrator, was so upset by finding out about their abusive relationship she attempted suicide.

10.5.3 Impact on perpetrators' families and friends

In addition to the impacts felt by those close to victims there were damaging consequences for the partners, parents and families of the perpetrators themselves. In some cases, the revelations of the abuse led to family breakdown, and for those with children of their own, involvement by child protection services or severe disruption to care arrangements due to the perpetrator's imprisonment. One abuser's husband, who was also a co-perpetrator, committed suicide and their children were subsequently taken into care. Another perpetrator's husband explained the consequences for himself

and his children:

She knew it would send a wrecking ball through her career, her life and our three children's lives but she still went ahead with it. I've hit a brick wall trying to explain it…Everything we had is broken and we've got to live our separate lives now. It's not what I wanted – it's not what any of us wanted…[X] threw her life away for a kiss and a cuddle. (Perpetrator's husband, Case S3)

Similar to the experiences of victims' families those of perpetrators were also subjected to media intrusion and court action, some experiencing direct harassment and threats. Some women's partners and families faced financial difficulties as a result of the legal action as well as the costs of regular court attendance. Financial impacts on families were worsened by the fact that the perpetrators lost their, often well-paying, jobs and were unable to continue in their trained professions.

10.5.4 Impact on colleagues and local community

Work colleagues and friends also experienced upset and were sometimes drawn into giving evidence in civil and criminal court cases. Beyond the immediate families, organisations and social circles of the victims and perpetrators the impact of such sexual abuse was also felt in local communities where other parents in particular were upset and distraught. Often there were expressions of complete shock, resulting from the fact that the perpetrator was previously a well-respected member of the community and one seen to be a conscientious, hard-working teacher or professional:

[X] was a truly dedicated teacher. She was the first one in in the morning and the last one to leave. She was an excellent tutor, particularly, and would always be there to listen to the students. She is a lovely, lovely girl which is why everyone was completely shocked when this all came out. [X] was really the very last person you would expect to do something like this. (Colleague, Case N8).

Several key themes arose regarding victim impact among those sexually abused by women in positions of trust. Firstly, the educational consequences suffered as a result of the abuse were frequently evident. This is unsurprising given that the vast majority of abuse concerned school-age children and took place in educational contexts. The perpetrators were often specifically responsible for supporting or

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mentoring the victims and therefore, in addition to the abuse itself, there was further impact on the victim's schooling and education. The emotional, psychological and social consequences felt by many victims also contributed to a decline in educational performance.

Secondly, anger was a typical consequence of the abuse for many victims. This was often directed at their parents or others for taking action and stopping the inappropriate relationship with the perpetrator (where the victim perceived the abusive relationship favourably), however, there was also evidence of the anger, frustration and disappointment young victims felt about the failure of the authorities to have protected them in the first place or to have taken what they perceived to be appropriate criminal action against the perpetrator.

Thirdly, many victims became particularly withdrawn both during and after the time the sexual abuse took place. They stopped attending activities and spent less time with their friends and families, for example. Several victims spoke of their fear of others finding out about what had happened and the reaction of their peers and others in the local community. In many cases where media attention resulted from the disclosure or discovery of the abuse, the situation was intensified for victims. Given the relative importance of social relationships for young people, withdrawing from social engagement and previously pleasurable pastimes would potentially be particularly harmful, increasing the particular sense of isolation victims of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse have been found to experience (Clements et al., 2014; Deering & Mellor, 2011; Saradjian, 2010).

The final key theme identified was the mental health impact, particularly the suicidal ideation experienced by a number of victims. As presented above, depression and anxiety were common and a number of adolescents threatened suicide or experienced suicidal thoughts as a result of either the abuse itself or of the discovery of it (and with that the subsequent end of what some vulnerable victims perceived to be a positive and loving relationship in their lives).

10.6 Comparison with impacts of female-perpetrated sexual abuse

Almost all of the interpersonal, behavioural, sexual and psychological impacts identified in previous research with victims of female-perpetrated sexual abuse were also found among the sample in the current study. The only ones which were not

identified here were: sexual difficulties, self-identity concerns, feeling deserving of further abuse and fear of becoming child abusers themselves. That these impacts are not recorded among the victims here is likely to be influenced by data limitations as well as the fact that the majority of victims were still adolescents or young adults at the time the reports about the consequences they faced were made; therefore, they may not yet have experienced such difficulties (e.g. fear of abusing children) or may have been reluctant to disclose them (e.g. sexual difficulties).

Given that educational difficulties was one of the key themes identified for victims in this research it is interesting to note that education, employment and financial difficulties have not been found to be specifically detailed in existing victimisation impact studies specifically relating to female-perpetrated sexual abuse although these are established consequences found in other impact studies with victims of child sexual abuse (where male perpetrators are in the majority) (Bode & Goldman, 2012; Fisher et al., 2017; Proeve et al., 2016). Although, as previously identified, the specific prevalence of these consequences in this sample is likely to be associated with the age of the victims in this study at the time the various reports of the impact of their abuse was recorded in the data.

10.7 Comparison with impacts of sexual abuse perpetrated by those in organisations and institutions

It is important to recognise that existing studies into institutional and organisational abuse have predominantly reflected abuse by male perpetrators. However, again the psychological, social and behavioural impacts identified in previous studies with victims of organisational sexual abuse were similar to those found in this study. There were several impacts of organisational abuse reported in other studies that were not explicitly identified in this sample, however, those being: personality disorder, obsessive compulsive disorder, parenting difficulties, experiences of re-victimisation and spiritual impacts. It is possible that some of these impacts would be associated with the location and nature of the institutional abuse mostly examined in previous studies, which was understood to be more extensive, aggressive or coercive abuse of younger victims than most of the female-perpetrated organisational abuse examined in this research. For example, given that many of the previous studies tend to concern abuse in religious organisations perpetrated by members of the clergy, then it might be expected that spiritual impacts would be a particular feature of the consequences for victims abused in those environments.

Furthermore, some of the impacts identified in the victims of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations considered in this study were not evident in the extant literature on impacts of institutional abuse. These included particular feelings of betrayal, social isolation, guilt and sleep problems. Others were a mistrust of women, and stigmatisation, which may be primarily related to the particular experience of victimisation by a woman.

Although the large majority of victims in this study were 'engaged' with the female perpetrator in the pre-offence and offence periods (which is likely to reflect the dominant age range of the victims in the study, primarily being older adolescents) the subsequent impacts they experienced following the abuse were varied and extensive. Despite the vast majority of victims responding in an 'engaged' manner at the time many were recorded as having experienced an extensive range of harmful consequences following the abuse, both in the short and long term. More than three-quarters (77.7%) of victims recorded as experiencing short-term impacts were classified as 'engaged' at the time of the abuse and almost two-thirds (64%) of those with evidence of long-term impacts were also considered to be 'engaged' at the time. These findings concur with those of other studies, which identified that initial perceptions of abuse are unreliable as predictors of later impact and life outcomes (Fromuth & Burkhart, 1989; Kelly et al., 2002). Key themes identified in the victim impacts analysed in this research were educational consequences, social isolation, anger and mental health difficulties. In some cases, the impacts for victims in this study also appeared to be exacerbated by the responses of organisations, the police and court after the abuse was discovered or disclosed.

In Chapter Two reference was made to the findings from the existing literature that impacts of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse were understood to be most affective when the perpetrator is related to the victim, where the abuse occurred in childhood and where the abuse was coercive in nature (Hislop, 2001; Kelly et al., 2002). The subsequent analysis of this data has shown that, despite the fact that two of those conditions are not generally found in the victims of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts, the nature and extent of the impacts on those abused in this way are consistent with those found in other victims of child sexual abuse by women. Where variations were found (e.g. regarding educational impact) they could generally be explained by the fact that most of the victim impacts detailed in the data sources were reported within the short-term by adolescent victims, thereby

reflecting the significance (or not) of those impacts at that time of their lives (Lanning, 2002).

Existing studies examining the impact of organisational sexual abuse have primarily featured the consequences of abuse by male perpetrators, many of them members of the clergy in particular. Nonetheless, many of the impacts experienced by victims of abuse in those contexts were also evidenced in this study. Where differences were identified these could potentially be related to the generally different locations, nature and circumstances more common to the sexual abuse reflected in studies on each of the respective types of abuse. For example, more extensive, coercive abuse of younger boys in closed institutions or religious organisations, typically found in previous studies on organisational child sexual abuse compared with the more emotionally predicated 'inappropriate relationship' type of abuse perpetrated against older adolescents by women in community schools featured in this research.

Many of the impacts experienced by victims in this study were similar to those found among victims of both female-perpetrated and organisational child sexual abuse. This raises questions about wider debates in victimology and around how important gender and context are in determining the impacts on victims of child sexual abuse. Much of the harm caused to victims of female sexual offenders is considered to be related to socially constructed gender role expectations and sexual scripts held by professionals and society generally, thereby influencing the perceptions victims may hold about themselves and their experiences. Furthermore, the impact of child sexual abuse perpetrated by those in positions of trust is considered to be potentially more severe and long-lasting for victims given the very nature of the extent of the betrayal of trust and the importance society places on educators for example (Brayford, 2012; Jaffe et al., 2013). These impacts are potentially even more significant when compounded by the fact the abuser is a woman.

This research demonstrates that combining a female perpetrator with abuse that occurs within the context of a particular relationship of trust and within organisations, means that consequences for some victims can be particularly acute.

Similar to the findings of other studies (Clements, 2013; Denov, 2004b; Hetherton & Beardsall, 1998) the evidence in this research suggests that in some cases the impacts of the abuse are further exacerbated by the responses of the victim's parents, the relevant organisation and the police and courts. These responses

can reflect gendered perceptions of harm and victim-blaming attitudes thereby resulting in further victimisation.

Another interesting element influencing the negative impacts on some victims, was the subsequent media coverage and intrusion. Given that victim impact can be aggravated or mitigated by social constructions and norms and the prevailing social discourse about this type of abuse, then the way in which the media portray these cases is extremely important. The difficulty is that contemporary media coverage of these cases (as opposed to those concerning male perpetrators in positions of trust) is often sensationalised, minimises the seriousness of the abuse and reflects victim-blaming attitudes. This is likely to cause confusion among victims when they experience the opposite response to those widely portrayed in the media or 'expected' of them and can be a particular difficulty for male victims who may struggle with the conflict between their male sexual scripts and gender expectations and those of the female perpetrator (Hines & Finkelhor, 2007; Schiedegger, 2008). In such circumstances, it is not surprising to find that some victims feel responsible for the abuse, experience difficulties with their sexual identity and have problematic relationships with women and with those in positions of trust.

10.8 Summary

This research has demonstrated that gender and context are important in the nature and extent of impacts experienced by victims of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts. This is due to a range of factors, most of which are associated with societal gender norms and expectations but also with the particular abuse of position of trust involved. Firstly, these victims are not only sexually abused but the abuse has been perpetrated by a woman; a culturally ignored or minimised phenomenon. Secondly, the abuse was perpetrated by a person in a position of trust, one who many victims have specifically confided in, trusted and emotionally invested in, believing the relationship to be a consensual, equal and mutual one. Thirdly, societal perceptions of female-perpetrated abuse as being less serious or harmful are often featured in the responses of not only those close to victims but also by those professionals charged with responding to the abuse all impacting the way victims are treated in the aftermath of the discovery or disclosure. Fourthly, the inherent respect conferred upon individuals in positions of trust in society can influence responses to the disclosure or discovery of the abuse resulting in lack of belief about it, or in directing blame towards the victim. Fifthly, the media reflection of cultural stereotypes,

surrounding both victims and perpetrators of this type of abuse, is likely to negatively impact the way in which victims perceive themselves and the abuse they have experienced. This may be particularly true for male adolescent victims. Finally, many victims may not have initially viewed the situation as an abusive one and subsequently develop feelings of self-blame, responsibility and guilt later on when they realise or come to understand the true nature of their relationship with the female perpetrator. This means they can feel particularly manipulated and embarrassed as a result of what has happened to them. Again, this can be considerably problematic for male victims given prevailing societal sexual scripts, which portray males as sexually dominant.

In summary, in addressing the research questions *what are the reported impacts for victims of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts?* this chapter has discussed the findings of this research regarding the impact on victims and those around them. It has identified the lack of association between victim response at the time of the abuse and later impacts; the extensive short and long-term consequences of this type of abuse; the similarities and differences with impacts of other female-perpetrated child sexual abuse and organisational abuse and the specific influence of gender and context in the impacts experienced by victims of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts.

The following chapter will progress to examine the socio-ecosystems in which female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations occurs and how these may influence how it is responded to, potentially mitigating or aggravating impacts on victims.

Chapter 11: Situational Factors

11.1 Introduction

Through detailed analysis of the offence process and offending pathways of this heterogeneous sample of female abusers described in Chapter Eight, a picture began to emerge of some of the particular situations and circumstances where there is an increased risk of sexually abusive behaviour being perpetrated by women in positions of trust. In order to understand these particular risks more comprehensively, an in-depth analysis of specific situational factors arising in such cases is required and will be undertaken here. This chapter will consider the situational, environmental, contextual and socio-ecosystemic factors evident in the space shared by the perpetrator and victim that can be considered facilitative, or preventative, in the development of a sexually abusive relationship.

This analysis will contribute further to addressing the research questions *why does female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations occur* and *how is this type of abuse perpetrated, are there typical modi operandi*? To understand more about why this abuse occurs an exploration of the opportunistic nature of some of this abuse and the role of situational factors in its development will be undertaken. Analysing the situational circumstances and context in this way will assist in identifying opportunities to prevent such abuse in future.

The chapter begins by presenting the research findings regarding the physical and virtual environments where the abuse occurs**.** This will be followed by discussion of the contextual factors identified as relevant in the cases examined in this study, linked to both the organisational culture and wider socio-ecosystem in which the abuse took place. The failure of employers, colleagues, parents/guardians and other bystanders to act appropriately will also be examined along with the identification of any discernible reasons for these failures. Finally, the findings relating to the situational and contextual factors identified in this study will be synthesised in an adapted version of the Situational Prevention Model (Kaufman et al., 2006) highlighting the specific risks and prevention potential identified through this research.

11.2 Physical Environment

Sexually abusive behaviour took place within the physical environment of the organisation in 41.9% (n=57) of cases. More than a third (36%, n=49) of it occurring both within and external to the organisational environment and 5.9% (n=8) taking place exclusively within organisational locations. Overall, sexual abuse occurred in locations only external to the organisational environment in 55.1% (n=75) of cases. The exact location of the abuse could not be determined in four cases in the sample. Detail of the specific locations in which the abuse occurred is discussed below and referred to in Table 31.

11.3 Location of Abuse

11.3.1 External locations

Notably, approaching two-thirds (60.3%, n=82) of all cases involved sexual abuse that took place in either the perpetrator's or victim's home and 14.7% (n=20) involved sexual contact taking place in hotels or motels.

11.3.1.1 Perpetrator's/ victim's home

The attendance of any adult in a position of trust or child at one another's home was a significant area of risk. Sexual abuse occurred at the perpetrator's home in 46.3% (n=63) of cases in this study, reflecting similar rates found in male sex offenders abusing extra-familial victims and male offenders from youth-oriented organisations (Leclerc & Cale, 2015; Smallbone & Wortley, 2011) but higher rates than found in Jaffe et al.'s (2013) study of mostly male educator abusers. While the findings in this study showed that some visits victims made to the perpetrator's home were seemingly legitimate, such as attending music lessons, the majority were not. It was also the case that in some circumstances parents were aware of their child visiting the perpetrator's home, even when this was for social activities.

Typically, the victim would visit the perpetrator's home alone following an invite from her to do so. In some cases, the victim would visit the perpetrator's home as part of a group of other children/young people to take part in social activities and in a few cases the visits occurred within the context of a friendship with the victim and subsequent association with the victim's family that the perpetrator had developed outside of the organisational environment. In these circumstances, visits to the perpetrator's home were part of other social time she would spend with the victim, such

as taking them on trips, socialising at their home, all with the parents' or guardians' permission.

In fourteen per cent (n=19) of cases the abuse would occur at the victim's own home or at the homes of the victim's friends or other family members (2.9%, n=4). Abuse occurring in the victim's home is slightly more common here than in samples of other male sex offenders with extra-familial victims, male educator abusers and male abusers from youth-serving organisations (Jaffe et al., 2013; Lerclec & Cale, 2015; Smallbone & Wortley, 2011). In the current research, visits would typically occur when the perpetrator was socialising with groups of young people or in circumstances where the victim and perpetrator had made specific arrangements when the victim had access to these properties.

11.3.1.2 Trips/excursions

It was also evident in a number of cases that the perpetrator and victim would stay in hotels, or in one instance a campground, to facilitate sexual contact. This would take place either during pre-arranged trips away with only the perpetrator and victim present or during organisational group trips, to sports or music events for example, where staff and other young people would be present. On some occasions, the perpetrator shared a room with the victim and other young people during these trips. Other risk areas were where an individual child and sports coach shared accommodation when attending training camps or competitions. It is not clear from the data whether the sharing of rooms in such circumstances was arranged or condoned by the organisation or employer or whether the perpetrator specifically manipulated circumstances to be in such a situation. In addition, there were other instances where the perpetrator, although not sharing accommodation space with children, would spend time socialising with the victim and their peers either in their own rooms or the children's rooms during trips away.

Additional external locations identified included: campsites, beaches, fields, parks, car parks, fast food restaurants, pubs, dog walking venues, cinemas and theatres, golf clubs, day trips to other places, theme parks, industrial estates, coaches/minibuses, public toilets, libraries and an aeroplane.

11.3.1.3 Vehicles

The perpetrator giving the victim lifts in her vehicle was also identified as a significant risk factor in both the development of an inappropriate relationship and as a

physical location where abuse occurs. The research shows a third (33.1%; n=45) of cases involved abuse taking place in the perpetrator's car, again a more frequent occurrence than found in other male sex offender studies as well as male educator abusers and male abusers from youth-serving organisations studies (Jaffe et al., 2013; Leclerc & Cale, 2015; Smallbone & Wortley, 2011). Often the situation began when the perpetrator drove the victim home following after-school tuition or activities. Vehicles are a partially private space, easily accessed, both away from the organisation and personal homes, thereby reducing the likelihood of discovery.

11.3.1.4 Virtual environments

The findings here, similar to those in Jaffe et al.'s (2013) research on male educator abusers, reveal the dominance of online and mobile telephone communication in establishing the inappropriate relationship and as a location for sexually abusive behaviour.

Abusive contact in the virtual environment such as online (via email or social media sites) or texting occurred in 47.8% (n=65) of cases. Five cases involved abuse occurring exclusively in the virtual environment. Most commonly, social media contact was through private channels, such as instant messaging. However, in a few cases the perpetrator engaged in public online contact with the victim and other children/young people. Initial public online communications often quickly moved on to private messaging and sometimes the creation of pseudo accounts by both the perpetrator and victim in order to conceal the communication. Sometimes, this was after concerns had already been raised about contact between the adult and child.

There are many examples of perpetrators sharing sexual fantasies with victims, directly inciting them into sexual activity and physically exposing themselves either during video calls or by sending indecent images of themselves to the victim. Inappropriate personal communication exchanges often begin by the perpetrator providing her personal contact information to the victim (and sometimes other children and young people), the victim giving their details to the perpetrator or by either party approaching the other via public social media sites, such as Facebook, in the first instance.

Table 31: Location of abuse

Factor	Percentage	n
Outside organisation	55.1%	75
In organisation	5.9%	8
Mixed	36.0%	49
Virtual environment	47.8%	65
Not known	3.0%	4
Perpetrator's home	46.3%	63
Victim's home	14.0%	19
Perpetrator's car	33.1%	45
Other	48.5%	66

11.3.2 Organisational locations

Despite the inherent risks, 41.9% (n=57) of perpetrators engaged in sexually abusive behaviour with victims whilst in the organisational environment. These internal locations included store cupboards, classrooms (including portable classrooms), study areas, toilets, a school gym, an internal corridor, staff residential quarters on site and other communal areas. The frequency of sexual abuse taking place in the organisational environment found here is similar to the findings with regard to male educator abusers (Jaffe et al., 2013) but twice as common than found in a study of male offenders working in youth-oriented organisations (Leclerc & Cale, 2015).

Much of the abuse also took place during the daily general operational period of the organisation where other staff and service users would potentially be on site or in the vicinity.

11.3.2.1 Classrooms

Where abuse occurred in classrooms this included portable classrooms away from the main school site, as well as in classrooms that were empty prior to the school day starting or after it ended. There is insufficient detail in the case data to know more about the physical layout or structure of the rooms themselves in each case. However, in each instance the perpetrator was able to act unobserved by others who may have been in the general area at the time the abusive behaviour occurred. For example, one

teaching assistant with several male victims would sexually abuse them in classrooms during the victim's free periods from other lessons or in study areas when they were under her supervision. She would also call victims out of other classes specifically to engage in sexually abusive contact with them during the school day whilst other staff and pupils were occupied in lessons. A further similar example concerned a teacher who invited a male pupil to meet in a classroom before school one morning instigating the first physical sexual contact when she performed oral sexual abuse upon him.

11.3.2.2 Store cupboards

Several instances of abuse occurred in store cupboards or storerooms, located in either classrooms or the school gym, in some instances the perpetrator locked herself and the victim inside.

11.3.2.3 Study areas/behaviour intervention rooms

Some abuse took place in supervised study areas or behaviour intervention rooms. These are spaces where children can become isolated when they are removed from general teaching spaces during the school day. Due to their intended purpose of minimising the disruption of pupils displaying behavioural issues or in being quiet study areas, the findings demonstrate that such spaces are potentially high-risk locations.

11.3.2.4 Staff accommodation

The proximal living and sleeping environments of staff and children in residential settings can be a situational risk factor. For example, one case concerned a residential care worker who abused several male victims over a period of years. She would approach victims in their dormitories and invite them individually to her staff accommodation on the premises where she would sexually abuse them. One victim stayed overnight in the flat with her on several occasions, sneaking back to his dormitory early the following morning. It can be difficult to completely control and monitor staff presence in children's sleeping quarters, particularly when they have pastoral responsibilities. Nevertheless, this can be a particular area of risk with regard to female members of staff, who are often specifically given these responsibilities and in light of the fact sexual abuse can be difficult to detect when it occurs under the guise of caretaking (Brayford, 2012).

11.4 Contextual Factors

In addition to the physical and virtual environmental factors discussed above, numerous commonalities were identified in this study regarding the socio-ecosystemic and cultural context in which the sexually abusive relationship occurred.

11.4.1 Culture

The responses of individuals and groups, be those colleagues, employers, parents or other bystanders are indicative of the culture surrounding the organisations in which such abuse occurs. There is some evidence in the case data of an apparent unwillingness to accept that female-perpetrated child sexual abuse could occur in the environments that staff, colleagues and employers serve, as well as some evidence of victim-blaming attitudes. For example, in one case the perpetrator's colleagues and employer expressed entire disbelief of a male adolescent victim's allegations of his abuse by a female teacher until he actually provided physical evidence via online contact and text messages between them. Only then was anything done about the disclosure. In another case, both staff and fellow students were very shocked at the discovery of the abusive relationship and were particularly supportive of the perpetrator in that situation despite the disclosure of her sexually abusive behaviour. In a further example, after he disclosed his abuse, another male adolescent victim was taunted and humiliated by a teaching colleague of the perpetrator blaming him for what had happened and the consequences the allegations had on the female perpetrator.

11.4.2 Rumour circulation

Linked to such organisational and societal culture, in several cases the original suspicions or discoveries of abusive relationships resulted from the perpetrator's colleagues becoming aware of rumours about the victim and perpetrator circulating in the organisational environment; however, in some cases nothing was done in response. Rumours resulted from other children or young people observing inappropriate or over-friendly behaviour between the perpetrator and victim or from information the victim had initially shared with their friends.

11.4.3 Supply teaching

A few cases concerned sexual abuse perpetrated by supply or substitute teachers. Given the short-term nature of many supply teaching posts, the instability of such a situation can result in pupil behavioural issues or create difficult situations for

these teachers in establishing effective working relationships with the students in their temporary care. When the teacher herself has some vulnerabilities, or is inexperienced and immature, this can lead to over-friendly behaviour with students, and inappropriate socialising with the victim and their peers.

11.4.4 Supervision and monitoring

In several cases, there was evidence of poor managerial supervision, not only of temporary teachers, but also of new and inexperienced staff or any staff showing signs of stress or personal difficulty. Particularly worryingly, there was also little evidence of on-going monitoring following any initial concerns or issues about the perpetrator-child relationship being raised, including in circumstances when informal or formal advice or warnings had already been issued. This lack of oversight provided opportunities for sexually abusive relationships to develop or continue.

11.4.5 Additional roles

As identified in Chapters Six and Eight, inappropriate relationships were often initially established via additional roles the perpetrator held in relation to the victim outside of her main position in the organisation, often formal or informal mentoring or tutoring roles. It is not clear within the research data whether the mentoring of boys (and girls) by a female member of staff was viewed more favourably and less risky than by a male staff member but the evidence regarding organisational and societal culture suggests this is likely, thereby creating an unsupervised area of risk.

Similar to the risks associated with mentoring and tutoring, inappropriate relationships with children were found to have been developed by those involved in sports coaching or running/attending after-school clubs and activities. These situations lead to the perpetrator spending more time with the victim(s) in more informal atmospheres than those typical in their usual position of trust. These additional roles and activities also often included trips away from the organisational environment that also presented areas of increased risk as discussed above.

Adults and children would also spend increasing amounts of additional time together when children attended the perpetrator's classroom, office or particular workspace during breaks or before or after normal working hours. Children regularly hanging around or being encouraged to attend these spaces, where the perpetrator is

likely to be the only adult present, can contribute to the development of more informal relationships and the potential for professional boundaries to be breached.

11.4.6 Child as volunteer/assistant

Several cases concerned inappropriate relationships being established whilst the victim was working as a volunteer or assistant to the perpetrator in some capacity, usually by assisting a teacher in her classroom. Again, these roles provide opportunities for more isolated one-to-one contact between the perpetrator and victim in the organisational context and often outside formal operating hours.

11.4.7 Family friendships

There were a few cases where abusive behaviour occurred in the context of relationships the perpetrator had developed with the victim's family in addition to the organisational position of trust. In some instances, the perpetrator appears to have deliberately cultivated a relationship with the victim's family in order to facilitate contact with the victim; in others, it appears the inappropriate relationship between the victim and perpetrator developed through increased contact in a familial friendship setting away from the organisational environment.

11.4.8 Supervision arrangements and non-class time

Supervision arrangements for children at times when they are not in formal classes were also identified as an area of risk. There were also instances where the perpetrator deliberately moved a child into their own class or group or arranged to take over their mentoring or tutoring. It is not always clear whether such actions were deliberate attempts to gain further access to the child or were initially genuine attempts to help the victim. Examples here included a teaching assistant calling victim(s) out of their formal class to attend unscheduled support sessions (where sexually abusive behaviour took place) and a teacher who encouraged her victim to miss other lessons to spend time with her and then provided a fabricated excuse to her colleagues about why the victim did not attend their classes.

11.4.9 Policy and procedure

The research findings demonstrate that in many cases there was a lack of understanding about, or failure to adhere to, organisational policy and procedure. The case data provided limited information as to whether or not an organisation had appropriate policies and procedures around safeguarding and staff contact with

children and young people. However, there were some examples where organisations had policies on: staff personal mobile phone contact with children; social media activity; out of organisation contact with children and physical contact. Despite the existence of such policies or codes of conduct, they were often ignored. Sometimes this was due to the perpetrator's clear disregard for the policy in pursuit of their relationship with the victim, and in other cases staff members were either not actually aware of the expectations of the policy or they were not taken seriously enough by colleagues and any breaches appropriately acted upon. An example of this lack of awareness occurred when staff colleagues with responsibility for monitoring a school car park and student transport arrangements were not aware that the organisation's policy actually prohibited staff members from transporting students in their own vehicles. This meant no action was taken when the perpetrator regularly either arrived at or left school with the victim in her car.

As identified in Chapter Four, a situational crime prevention (SCP) approach to reducing the opportunity for child sexual abuse to occur requires three kinds of 'controllers' (Smallbone et al., 2008): *capable guardians*, *place managers* and *handlers*. In the context of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations, capable guardians would be parents or other carers and organisational staff; place managers would be employers or organisational managers and handlers would be colleagues, friends and family of potential perpetrators.

The following section describes the particular ways in which these guardians, managers and handlers failed to act on early indications of concern and/or to act appropriately in dealing with issues arising about women in positions of trust. Examples will be given to illustrate how poor handling contributed to, or facilitated, the sexually abusive behaviour. This will be followed in Chapter 12 by discussion of appropriate prevention measures identified as a result of the failings evidenced in this research.

11.5 Early Indicators

Just as inquiries into organisational child sexual abuse often uncover a history of smaller concerns about perpetrators, none of which are considered at the time to signal serious enough a problem to act (Smallbone & McKillop, 2016), the findings from this research demonstrate the same with regard to female perpetrators. In 53 cases (38.9%), there was clear evidence in the data of some early indicators of inappropriate behaviour by the perpetrator prior to the sexual abuse taking place or being disclosed. Just over a third of those cases (34%; n=18) resulted in the abuser being given a

formal warning by their employer about their behaviour. An informal discussion or advice was given to the perpetrator by her employer or a colleague in 43.4% (n=23) of cases. There were rumours or suspicions circulating in the organisational environment or local community about the perpetrator's behaviour in 18.9% (n=10) of cases, some of which were formally reported to the employer. Often these rumours would circulate among children and young people and be overheard by other adults, colleagues or parents. More than half of these early indicators of concern (56.9%; n=29) were identified by the perpetrator's colleagues and almost a quarter (23.5%; n=12) by the child's guardian. Others raising these early indicators of concern were the victim's peers (7.8%; n=4), the abuser's employer, abuser's peer or other bystanders, (each of which represented 3.9%; n=2).

In most cases there was also evidence of employers and senior managers failing to act appropriately in the management and supervision of perpetrators and/or failing to take robust action once concerns or issues about a perpetrator's behaviour had been raised.

11.6 Failure to Act Appropriately

11.6.1 Employers

The particular failure of employers and colleagues to act was specifically remarked upon by the professional conduct committee in one case:

> *The Committee is in fact dismayed at the failure to take action, which might have prevented, or at the very least, shortened, the sexual relationship between [victim] and the Member. The Committee believes that many of the players involved in this matter failed utterly in their obligations to protect a vulnerable student. (Professional regulator committee, Case C15)*

11.6.1.1 Pre-employment checks and poor management of previous concerns

In some cases, employers did not conduct sufficient or thorough pre-employment checks before engaging the perpetrator to work with children. This included not engaging at all with previous employers to identify any issues of concern, failing to comprehensively check the individual's suitability to work with children or failing to act in the knowledge of previous behaviour of concern. For example, in one case an employment agency ignored warnings from the police about the perpetrator's previous sexual relationship with a student and went on to place her in a similar post

elsewhere. No specific supervision took place at the new organisation and nothing done when the perpetrator began socialising with her students, despite some of their parents being aware. This same employer failed in their legislative duty to notify the national workforce safeguarding regulator about the earlier sexually abusive behaviour by the perpetrator. Having done so might have resulted in a workforce ban on the perpetrator working with children. In another case, an employer failed to conduct sufficient and robust pre-employment checks resulting in only limited information about previous concerns about the perpetrator's behaviour with pupils being relayed. The perpetrator then went on to establish an inappropriate relationship with a child and his family that ultimately resulted in her sexually abusive behaviour towards the victim and his teenage brother.

Whether these failures were the result of employers inappropriately streamlining recruitment procedures and trying to fill posts quickly or their complacency in placing these women into position of trust roles is not clear.

11.6.1.2 Investigation

There were instances where despite concerns being raised about a perpetrator's behaviour employers did not investigate those concerns or where they did, their investigations were inadequate. For example, in one case, after being advised of a potentially sexually abusive relationship between a teacher and student, a school principal undertook only the most preliminary enquiries into the matter, asking the victim very vague and unspecific questions leaving him the opportunity to be evasive about his contact with the teacher. The same principal advised the victim's parents about the allegations but then asked them to write a letter explaining they were not concerned about the teacher's contact with their son and allowing the pair to immediately attend a pre-planned residential school trip together (where sexual activity then took place). In another example case a head teacher failed to act when concerns were raised about a perpetrator's sleeping arrangements on school trips (sleeping in the same room as male students and sleeping in the same bed with some of them).

11.6.1.3 Supervision

Employers and senior managers would also fail to reprimand and subsequently supervise perpetrators after concerns had been brought to their attention in some cases. For example, in one case the head coaches of a sports association offered only cursory advice to a female coach to try and avoid physical contact with a young person

after her parents expressed concerns about the inappropriate relationship between the coach and their vulnerable daughter. The head coaches did not go on to supervise the coach and her contact with the specific child appropriately. They also failed to address the coach's inappropriate behaviour towards the victim and other children during functions and organised trips. These failures to act allowed the sexually and emotionally abusive relationship with the victim to continue.

11.6.1.4 Acceptance of denial

Where employers and colleagues did initially investigate to some extent or challenge the perpetrator about her conduct or alleged conduct the data shows that it is fairly typical for them to simply accept the perpetrator's denial and then either not refer the matter to senior colleagues or do anything further about it.

11.6.1.5 Policy and procedure

As referred to earlier, there were instances where employers were remiss in not ensuring relevant organisational safeguarding policies and procedures were communicated to, and understood by staff.

11.6.2 Governing bodies

In a few cases, although the senior manager of the organisation took some action and referred the matter to their governing body for consideration little else happened subsequently. This is exemplified in a case where the headteacher of a school referred allegations of sexual abuse by a female teacher to the school district who agreed to take over the investigation but nothing appears to have been subsequently done. Neither did the headteacher later follow up her referral with the district when she heard no more about it. No further action was taken to address the abuse until a few years later when the victim himself formally reported it to the authorities.

11.6.3 Colleagues

In addition to the general oversight that employers and senior managers have over staff, it is the colleagues working in closer proximity to the perpetrator on a daily basis who have the enhanced potential to identify and intervene quickly when inappropriate behaviour or boundary breaches occur. However, analysis shows that there were often occasions where colleagues failed to do so, thereby effectively condoning or tolerating inappropriate behaviour and fostering a culture of acceptance

wherein abusive relationships between female perpetrators and children in their care can occur, progress or continue.

Throughout the study there were examples of colleagues being aware of, but not reporting the perpetrator: regularly socialising with children; having groups of children or the specific victim visiting her home; spending excessive amounts of time with a victim; exchanging personal communication with a victim and providing unnecessary pastoral support them. In one case, for example, three colleagues, who were also personal friends of the perpetrator, were aware of her inappropriate relationship with the victim but, perhaps out of misguided loyalty to their friend, ignored their professional responsibility and failed to report the matter to their seniors. Indeed, these particular failings were commented upon by the professional regulator when the abuse came to light:

> *Had the Member's friends risen to the task and responsibility of investigating and reporting, they might have helped protect not only [victim] but possibly helped the Member to recognize the inappropriateness of her behaviour. They might also have been more commendable in managing their own professional behaviour.* (Professional regulator committee, Case C15)

There were also instances where a perpetrator's colleagues failed to report specific allegations that were made to them. For example, in one case a friend of the perpetrator's own daughter reported her (the daughter's) concerns over the closeness of her mother's relationship with the victim to a male teaching colleague several times. This colleague failed to take action to investigate or report the matter on to senior staff. During the subsequent court case after the abuse was discovered he explained his response:

> *[Colleague] testified that he had viewed [perpetrator]'s relationship with [victim] as something akin to a mother/daughter relationship. He stated that he had not believed the relationship to be "sexual in nature".* (Civil Court Judge, Case U9)

In another example, a male colleague failed to report telephone contact he had received from the victim's mother alleging an inappropriate sexual relationship between the perpetrator and her son. The colleague understood the victim's mother had substance abuse problems and therefore disregarded the allegations made against his friend and colleague and took no further action.

There were also a few cases where colleagues were actually aware of inappropriate sexual behaviour between the perpetrator and victim and still had not reported this to their senior managers or employers. In one example, a junior colleague of the perpetrator failed to report to senior staff when she witnessed the perpetrator rubbing herself up and down the victim's body nor did she report it when the perpetrator disclosed to her that she was having a relationship with the victim.

It is evident, then, that in numerous cases colleagues were concerned about the relationship between a perpetrator and victim but did not act on those concerns. The reasons for these failures to report were not always available in the data and this appears to be an important area of exploration in future research. However, there were indications in some cases that this resulted from: a failure to even consider the contact between the perpetrator and victim could be sexual in nature; by a sense of loyalty or protection towards the perpetrator; by being aware of contact but considering it more of a joke than anything else; or by being aware of the nature of the relationship but not reporting it due to the anticipated consequences that would follow.

11.6.4 Guardians

In addition to poor handling by employers and colleagues, there were also instances where guardians, either the parents of victims or their peers, failed to act in relation to known inappropriate behaviour by female adults in positions of trust. In some instances, the victim's parent(s) actively condoned or at least tolerated the inappropriate relationship between the perpetrator and their child and did not report the matter to the organisation or other authorities. In one case, the parents and guardians of a number of the victim's peers were aware of the perpetrator socialising and attending parties with students (some of which occurred in their own homes) but none appear to have reported this or checked the propriety of this behaviour with the school. Some of these guardians even allowed the teacher to stay overnight in their homes with the teenagers where sexual abuse of at least one victim actually occurred. In a further example, both the victim's and perpetrator's families knew about the relationship for several months before it was finally discovered and none of them reported it. In this instance the victim's mother did not view the relationship to be harmful to her son. It is not clear why the family and friends of the perpetrator did not report, although given that at least one friend had warned her against the relationship this may have been due to concerns about the impact this would have on the perpetrator and on her successful career.

Parents/guardians reasons for failing to report an inappropriate relationship between their child and a female adult in a position of trust vary across the cases examined but appear to reflect: attitudes that the relationship is acceptable; concern about the impact on the victim's (or perpetrator's) mental well-being if a report was made; trepidation about the impact on the victim's education and the perpetrator's career and concern about people finding out and potential media attention. In several instances guardians tried to remedy the situation themselves by warning the perpetrator or placing conditions on her future contact with their child but she continued with the abusive contact regardless until the guardians were forced to officially report the matter or it was discovered in some other way.

This section has summarised the evidence regarding the failure of employers, colleagues and guardians to respond appropriately when concerns of inappropriate behaviour between female adults in organisational positions of trust and children in their care arise. Whilst the reasons for these failures were not always explicit in the data, a number of factors appeared to be relevant. For employers and colleagues, there may be a complete unwillingness to recognise the possibility of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse by someone they know well; the existence of victim-blaming attitudes or an unwillingness to believe allegations made by children against female staff; concern over reputational damage not only to the organisation but also to the female professional's career. Guardians may be tolerant of such inappropriate relationships either through a genuine belief they are not harmful or due to concern about the impact of any disclosure on their child and/or the female adult in a position of trust.

The wider cultural and societal narrative around female offenders and female-perpetrated sexual abuse is likely to influence these responses and the consequent failings towards victims of this type of abuse. There is certainly scope for the rationale for such failure to act to be explored further in future research, as it is necessary to fully understand these attitudes and responses in order to be able to effectively address them.

In the following section the findings regarding situational and contextual factors will be considered with regard to the Situational Prevention Model of Child Sexual Abuse developed by Kaufman and colleagues (Kaufman et al., 2006). The adapted model presented will reflect the interplay of perpetrator, victim and situational factors that influence female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts.

11.7 Situational Prevention Model of Child Sexual Abuse

The findings of the data analysis with regard to situational and contextual factors arising in these cases are synthesised in an adapted version of the SPM (Kaufman et al., 2006) at Figure 6. The SPM was the first model encompassing the risks and prevention potential identified in male-perpetrated child sexual abuse and is adapted here to reflect the findings with regard to female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts. The model presents the interplay of offender, victim and situational factors that influence offending behaviour in child sexual abuse. Given its focus on modus operandi, pathways and situational factors through adaptation the SPM offers an appropriate framework to concisely reflect the findings of this research regarding female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations and provides a foundation on which to identify relevant prevention measures.

Although labelled a 'prevention model' the SPM does not actually present prevention measures; instead it reflects the particular risks identified through empirical research (in the case of the original model regarding male-perpetrated child sexual abuse in general and in this case regarding female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts specifically) which can then be used to develop appropriate and targeted prevention strategies depending on the particular context. In this case it can be used by organisations to identify and implement specific strategies to prevent female-perpetrated child sexual abuse. The findings from this adapted model are used to inform the prevention opportunities presented later in Chapter 12.

The socio-economic structures evident in the cases studied in this research were heterogeneous, ranging from elite private schools to inner city comprehensive schools and small volunteer-led local sports clubs for example. The wider socio-economic structure as well as organisational climate and community attitudes described in the preceding part of this chapter create an environment in which female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations can occur. In this study, the way in which some women were dealt with after concerns were raised about their behaviour was an indicator of how seriously (or not) the possibility of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse was regarded within the organisation. Organisational culture and attitudes were demonstrated in a lack of willingness to formally address situations where women had breached organisational procedure as well as in initial victim-blaming responses in some cases. Local community influences might include cultural norms such as staff and children socialising together and close relationships developed

through sporting and community activities, issues that were identified as relevant in numerous cases in this study. These community influences can affect both the behaviour of women in positions of trust as well as the way organisational decisions are taken when allegations of inappropriate behaviour arose or disclosures of abuse are made.

The victim and perpetrator's lifestyles, for example including spending increasing amounts of time in the organisational environment, and their routine activities, such as regular mentoring/tutoring sessions or participation in sports or other leisure activities, can take place in isolated or poorly monitored physical and virtual environments. There were numerous cases where female teachers would give pupils lifts home from school following after school activities and some cases where the perpetrator would perform child care for the parents outside of the organisational context such as looking after the child or taking them out during holidays. Parental lifestyle and routine activities in some cases also meant that their ability or willingness to supervise their children appropriately was compromised, facilitating the development of inappropriate relationships with adults in positions of trust.

A situation of particular risk arises when a female adult in a position of trust has pre-existing vulnerabilities or experiences difficulties in her own life at a particular point in time, within this environment and the context of these activities. For example, some of the women in this study had emotional vulnerabilities or lowered sexual inhibitions around the time of the abuse influencing their more immediate motivations to abuse. Many displayed cognitive distortions, seeing the relationship as an equal one and not harmful to the child they viewed as an adult. The intimacy deficits, social isolation and extreme immaturity of female perpetrators in this study were also relevant offender specific factors influencing their risk of behaving in a sexually abusive way. Where the perpetrator continued to have unmet emotional, social or sexual needs within this context their relationships with children in their care could become increasingly inappropriate and lead to opportunities for criminal behaviour, in the form of sexual abuse.

The Criminal Opportunity Structure at the centre of this adapted model focuses upon victim situation, target locations and the involvement of facilitators found in the research and described in the first part of this chapter and in the victim risk factor analysis in Chapter Six. It is evident in these cases how vulnerable victims frequently spend time with the female adult in unsupervised areas of the organisation and often

later, in locations external to the organisational environment. Victims in this study were often particularly vulnerable, for example children with learning difficulties as well as those with emotional problems or difficulties in their social relationships with other children. Some of the young people in this research were experiencing confusion related to their sexuality and sexual development. It was these various vulnerabilities that sometimes initially brought the child into additional contact with the adult female, and then into relationships which became abusive over time. In addition to the target locations within the organisation, the research findings here show a high prevalence of sexual abuse taking place in external locations, particularly in the abuser's home or car. These are locations offering privacy and isolation away from organisational supervision, where perpetrators have control over access and therefore are areas of high risk.

In many cases, the ability for closer adult-child relationships to develop was initially facilitated by the lack of supervision and defined policy and procedure within organisations then further aided later by a failure to sufficiently address any emerging inappropriate behaviour or to accept that a sexual element may be present in the contact, viewing the female adult as incapable of sexually inappropriate behaviour. Examples of facilitators identified in this study include: a lack of appropriate policies and procedures in the organisation; insufficient levels of staff-student supervision; adults and children socialising and consuming alcohol together and unaddressed boundary violations in relationships between female adult staff and children in their care.

Each of the factors identified in the SPM can individually increase the risk of child sexual abuse occurring and the cases examined in this research demonstrate the occurrence of sexually abusive behaviour when a combination of negative factors are present, including victim and perpetrator specific vulnerabilities as well as organisational and environmental risk factors. Such circumstances arising within wider socio-cultural contexts where female-perpetrated child sexual abuse is denied, ignored or minimised result in the occurrence of this specific type of sexual abuse as represented in the adapted model presented below.
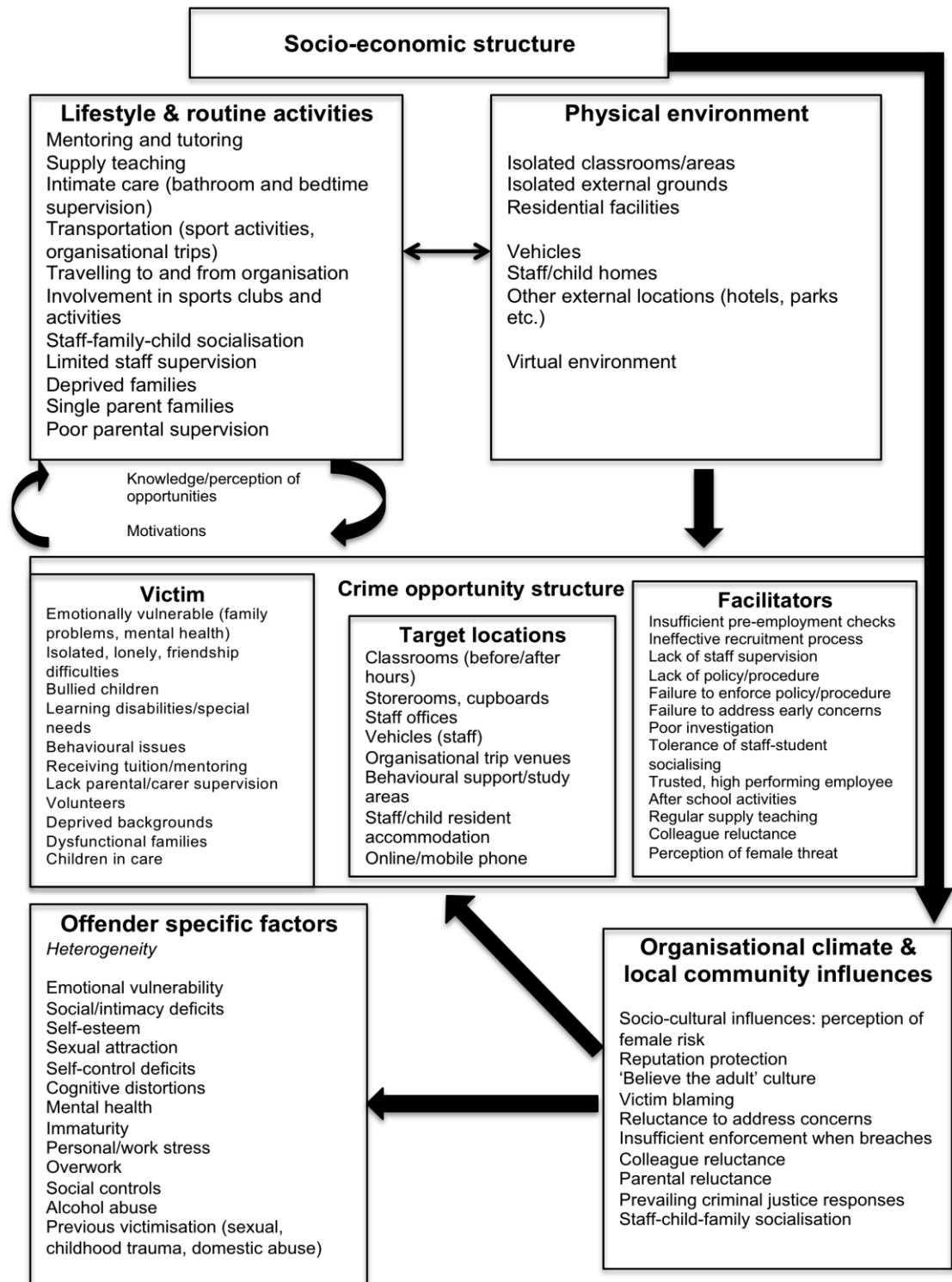
Socio-economic structure

Lifestyle & routine activities
Mentoring and tutoring
Supply teaching
Intimate care (bathroom and bedtime supervision)
Transportation (sport activities, organisational trips)
Travelling to and from organisation
Involvement in sports clubs and activities
Staff-family-child socialisation
Limited staff supervision
Deprived families
Single parent families
Poor parental supervision

Physical environment

Isolated classrooms/areas
Isolated external grounds
Residential facilities

Vehicles
Staff/child homes
Other external locations (hotels, parks etc.)

Virtual environment

Knowledge/perception of opportunities

Motivations

Crime opportunity structure

Victim
Emotionally vulnerable (family problems, mental health)
Isolated, lonely, friendship difficulties
Bullied children
Learning disabilities/special needs
Behavioural issues
Receiving tuition/mentoring
Lack parental/carer supervision
Volunteers
Deprived backgrounds
Dysfunctional families
Children in care

Target locations
Classrooms (before/after hours)
Storerooms, cupboards
Staff offices
Vehicles (staff)
Organisational trip venues
Behavioural support/study areas
Staff/child resident accommodation
Online/mobile phone

Facilitators
Insufficient pre-employment checks
Ineffective recruitment process
Lack of staff supervision
Lack of policy/procedure
Failure to enforce policy/procedure
Failure to address early concerns
Poor investigation
Tolerance of staff-student socialising
Trusted, high performing employee
After school activities
Regular supply teaching
Colleague reluctance
Perception of female threat

Offender specific factors
Heterogeneity

Emotional vulnerability
Social/intimacy deficits
Self-esteem
Sexual attraction
Self-control deficits
Cognitive distortions
Mental health
Immaturity
Personal/work stress
Overwork
Social controls
Alcohol abuse
Previous victimisation (sexual, childhood trauma, domestic abuse)

Organisational climate & local community influences

Socio-cultural influences: perception of female risk
Reputation protection
'Believe the adult' culture
Victim blaming
Reluctance to address concerns
Insufficient enforcement when breaches
Colleague reluctance
Parental reluctance
Prevailing criminal justice responses
Staff-child-family socialisation

Figure 6: The situation prevention model for female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations (adapted from Kaufman et al., 2006)

11.8 Summary

This chapter has examined the situational factors as well as socio-ecosystemic and organisational contexts in which female-perpetrated child sexual abuse occurs in organisations. By doing so a number of further explanations for how and why this type of abuse occurs have been identified.

Much of this abuse actually takes place away from the organisational environment, particularly in perpetrators' homes and cars, similar to the locations of abuse found in other studies with male child sex offenders, including those who abuse children within whom they work. It is also clear, however, that abuse is also regularly perpetrated within the organisational environment itself, generally in isolated or unsupervised areas at times of the day outside of the organisations usual operating hours and often in the context of additional mentoring/tutoring or extra-curricular activities. Sexual abuse was also found to occur in virtual environments, where victims and female adult perpetrators communicate unsupervised.

The findings also reflect the role organisational and local culture can have in facilitating this type of child sexual abuse and on allowing it to continue even when concerns are raised. Employers and colleagues as well as parents and guardians as the *capable guardians*, *place managers* and *handlers* described in SCP theory have been found to fail to act appropriately in preventing or responding to indicators of abuse in numerous cases. This appears to occur for a variety of reasons ranging from denying the possibility of female-perpetrated sexual abuse to fear of the consequences should the abuse be discovered or reported. Finally, the interaction of the situational and contextual factors along with victim and perpetrator vulnerabilities was synthesised in an adaption of the Situational Prevention Model.

In the next chapter a range of prevention measures will be presented informed by the findings and failures identified here, with the aim of reducing the likelihood of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations in future.

Chapter 12: Prevention Opportunities

12.1 Introduction

Understanding the situational risk factors along with the socio-ecosystemic and organisational contexts in which female-perpetrated child sexual abuse occurred, as discussed in the preceding chapters, provides an opportunity to develop targeted prevention measures to help reduce such abuse in the future. As Radford and colleagues (Radford et al., 2017) argue, a wider focus on prevention and response is now required to address institutional child sexual abuse. Prevention efforts need to move beyond teaching children to protect themselves and beyond the regulation of convicted sexual offenders, to focus on wider prevention efforts targeting identified risks and vulnerabilities. This chapter will address this issue using the findings from this research and detail suggested prevention opportunities based on SCP theory and a public health approach.

Sexual violence including child sexual abuse is a public health problem (Brown & Saied-Tessier, 2015; Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi & Lozano, 2002; Smallbone et al., 2008); that is one where the collective action of society can protect the health of a large number of people (Brown & Saeid-Tessier, 2015). The prevention of child sexual abuse can be achieved through application of the public health model of prevention (Brown & Saied-Tessier, 2015; Smallbone et al., 2008). This model defines what Brantingham and Faust (1976) first defined as primary, secondary and tertiary prevention. *Primary prevention* as preventing child sexual abuse before it occurs (by preventing children from being abused for the first time and preventing potential abusers from perpetrating their first offence); *secondary prevention* as reducing the risk of abuse where known risk factors are present and *tertiary prevention* as preventing further abuse by known offenders and preventing further victimisation among known victims (Smallbone et al., 2008). Therefore, in seeking to prevent female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations, efforts should address all three categories.

However, just as research, policy and practice around child sexual abuse have been dominated to date by a focus on the individual perpetrator, on establishing effective risk prediction methods, treatment programmes and on the detection and punishment of offenders (Smallbone et al., 2008), prevention discussions and practices have been focussed on secondary and tertiary prevention. Primary prevention has

been widely neglected in comparison and public policy has not exploited the range of prevention possibilities suggested in a public health model:

> *A shift in policy focus towards primary and secondary prevention would require new research priorities directed towards understanding how and under what circumstances CSA first occurs, for both victims and offenders.* (Smallbone et al., 2008, p.49)

By examining the circumstances under which female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts first occurs, this study helps address the required policy shift with regard to this specific type of abuse. The analysis of the situational and ecosystemic factors and failures of *capable guardians*, *place managers* and *handlers* described in Chapter 11 now informs the discussion of what primary and secondary prevention efforts can be developed and implemented to help reduce the occurrence of this type of abuse in organisational contexts.

This chapter will first introduce key strategies proposed in a SCP approach to the prevention of child sexual abuse, then particular prevention methods will be presented drawing on the research findings. It will conclude by presenting a table summarising practical prevention measures to reduce the opportunity for female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational settings.

According to SCP approaches in addition to the roles of capable guardians, place managers and handlers, three main strategies for reducing child sexual abuse in organisational contexts are *increasing effort*, *increasing risks* and *removing excuses/reducing permissibility* (Smallbone et al., 2008).

Increasing effort means controlling the access potential abusers have to children in organisations. Traditionally this has meant undertaking pre-employment checks but has neglected the need for on-going supervision of adult-child interactions, an issue clearly evident in the findings of this research. *Increasing risk* requires potential alterations to physical environments, facilitating the detection and punishment of inappropriate behaviour, through formal surveillance and whistle-blower policies for example. *Removing excuses and reducing permissibility* includes setting rules and expectations, acting robustly to address any breaches and creating environments where safeguarding is given priority and viewed as everybody's responsibility. As Smallbone and colleagues (2008) point out, the culture of an organisation can have a

distorting effect on individual moral judgement. In these circumstances, it is possible that organisational failures in recognising the reality that female staff or colleagues could be sexually abusive or to address inappropriate behaviour and boundary breaches could contribute to, or reinforce, cognitive distortions in female perpetrators about the harmfulness of their behaviour. Of course, it is not solely organisational culture that is the issue here, there are also wider issues in societal perceptions of gender, sexuality and deviance more broadly which contribute to distorted responses to this type of abuse.

The evidence in this study suggests that the permissibility of inappropriate behaviour is likely to be enhanced for women in positions of trust. The data analysis found many instances of colleagues and/or parents who knew of personal contact between a female adult in a position of trust and a child in their care and failed to act; where allegations were not taken seriously and where courts imposed lenient sentences. Therefore, this is particularly important area to focus on in attempting to prevent female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations.

The following section presents some practical prevention measures designed to increase effort, increase risk and reduce permissibility, with particular regard to recruitment, monitoring and supervision of staff, appropriate working practices and managing any allegations or concerns raised. It is acknowledged that the following measures are not solely applicable to the prevention of female-perpetrated abuse, however these methods are included as they target the particular risks identified in this research.

12.2 Recruitment

Although the data indicates that pre-employment checks are generally of limited use in protecting against sexually inappropriate behaviour by women in positions of trust given that so few of them had previous criminal convictions or employment misconduct issues raised, there were a few cases where appropriate checks would have revealed some problems. Had these problems been appropriately addressed, the perpetrators may not have had the opportunity to proceed to the later abusive contact with children in their care. Therefore, it is important for all organisations engaging adults to work or volunteer in positions of trust to conduct comprehensive and thorough pre-employment checks prior to allowing the individual to take up a post. As a minimum, police record checks and direct contact with previous employers and

referees should be undertaken. Rather than relying on general open references, employers might ask specific questions regarding any previous incidents of concern or allegations raised and how these were responded to, as well as the respondent's views on the individual's suitability to work with children. Where there have been any issues of concern and the person does go on to be recruited they should be strictly supervised, at least initially. This intensive supervision period could also potentially include seeking feedback from children/young people in the individual's care to identify any early problems or boundary issues.

Recruitment interviews can be enhanced to include not only examination of a candidate's skills and abilities but also exploration of their attitudes towards and beliefs about children through use of a value-based interviewing (VBI) approach, such as that suggested in the model developed by the NSPCC (Erooga, 2009). The VBI model is anchored by the theory that values underpin behaviour and is based upon the same principles as competency-based interviewing. Interview questions focus on examples of past behaviour and probing questions, which are specifically aimed to obtain information about a candidate's attitudes, behaviours and values (Cleary, 2012).

All new staff should also undergo a comprehensive induction that includes the organisation's safeguarding policies and procedures as well as individual and collective expectations with regard to appropriate boundaries between adults and children.

The regular employment of supply teachers was also an area of risk identified in the findings of this research. Therefore, this situation should be avoided as far as is practically possible although it is acknowledged that many organisations face resource and recruitment issues that might well make this challenging. Temporary staff should be well supervised and closely monitored, this is even more so the case where there is an on-going need for supply staff to be working with children.

12.3 Policies and Procedures

Organisations should not only have clear and comprehensive policies and procedures around staff-child contact but also ensure that all staff understand these and abide by them, understanding the consequences if they fail to do so. Policies should be reviewed and discussed with staff regularly and any identified breaches acted on quickly and appropriately. It is unlikely that the individual risk or contextual factors discussed in Chapter 11 will occur in isolation, therefore employers and

supervisors, as well as parents, should be alert to any individual instances that could be indicative of a pattern of concerning behaviour. Organisations can communicate the key elements of policy to parents and guardians so they understand the professional expectations with regard to adult-child contact and be alert to any issues with their own child or other children. Good communication between organisational managers and parents/guardians about any issues arising may help to inform the wider organisational and external context of the staff member's contact with the child.

As well as clear policies and procedures, it is important that organisations try to create and foster a culture of openness with regard to safeguarding issues. This can be challenging given concerns about potentially false allegations or the consequences of any suspicion for individual careers. Staff should be encouraged to understand the benefit to all of identifying, exploring and addressing any potential issues in the relationships between adults and the children and young people in the organisation. There should be opportunities for open discussion on wider safeguarding issues as well as confidential avenues to discuss any specific concerns.

All staff should have training on safeguarding matters and on maintaining appropriate boundaries. It is helpful if safeguarding features regularly on staff professional skills agendas, in staff meetings and supervisions. It would also be helpful to include regular reviews of safeguarding policies and involve staff and children or young people in this work. Safeguarding should be seen as part of the on-going day-to-day life of the organisation rather than a one-off training course to be attended.

In addition to policies and procedures governing the organisational environment, it is important to have clear policies and procedures in place relating to excursions away from this environment, particularly where these involve overnight stays. The evidence in this study has demonstrated the issues that can arise in these less formal situations and the extended periods of time that staff and children spend together in these circumstances.

12.4 Monitoring and Supervision in the Organisational Environment

As the ITCSA (Smallbone et al., 2008) indicates, physical and emotional proximity, especially to emotionally vulnerable children, is a key risk factor. This is particularly so where the potential offender is in an unsupervised care-giving or authority role and especially where a secure attachment bond (i.e. familial) has not

been established with the child. Although this theory was developed following research with male offenders, the current research has demonstrated that the same risks exist, and could arguably be heightened in female adults in positions of trust. Consequently, opportunities for unsupervised one-to-one contact between children and adult staff in isolated areas should be limited as far as possible. It would be advisable for any behavioural management or extra support sessions for vulnerable children to be overseen by an additional member of staff. An alternative would be to ensure such sessions take place in more public areas of the organisation and/or in locations where Close Circuit Television (CCTV) is operational.

Organisational policy and procedure should discourage the practice of adult staff spending substantial amounts of additional time alone together with children outside of official contact hours, e.g. children spending non-work time in the perpetrator's classroom, office or particular workspace. Any circumstances where this is occurring should be explored.

To ensure that adult-child relationships remain professional, supportive and healthy, more frequent monitoring/supervision post recruitment might be necessary, particularly for staff who are new, inexperienced, or who are evidently immature in their behaviour and/or thinking or those who appear to be experiencing personal or work issues. This could be an important preventative measure given the findings of this research around female perpetrator risk factors and victim vulnerabilities.

Any rumours circulating among children/young people about staff-child relationships or inappropriate staff behaviour that colleagues or managers become aware of, should be explored to ascertain if they do actually indicate behaviours of concern. Subsequent contact between the alleged perpetrator and child(ren) in question should be carefully monitored. This subsequent monitoring is particularly important given the fact that in many instances a failure to act upon such rumours resulted in an inappropriate personal relationship developing into a sexually abusive one, or in sexual abuse being able to continue. It may also be appropriate where rumours arise to advise the child's parents/guardians to ascertain any concerns they might have had, as well as a prompting the monitoring of any future contact.

12.5 Physical Environment

Organisational settings allow for a much more direct level of control over the design and use of particular spaces and therefore are highly conducive to primary prevention efforts (Smallbone & McKillop, 2016). With respect to the physical environment of organisations, areas that are covert in and around the premises should be exposed and/or covered by CCTV. Classrooms, store cupboards, study areas/behavioural intervention rooms lacking in external observation opportunities were evident as risk areas in this study. Sensible protective mechanisms would be ensuring all classrooms have external and uncovered internal and external windows and any internal doors should have windows in them. CCTV could also potentially be used in areas that are particularly isolated from other parts of the main internal organisational building. Isolated study areas or behavioural intervention areas could ideally be placed in locations of the organisational building where there is likely to be more bypassing foot traffic.

As some of the cases in this study show, particular care needs to be taken in residential environments where children and adults live together on the same organisational site. Children should be prohibited from visiting staff living/sleeping quarters at any time and care should be taken in situations where staff spend any time alone with child residents in their living and bathroom areas. Having more than one member of staff on overnight duty, where regular checks of dormitories are conducted would be a preventative measure here. CCTV monitoring of corridors and alarmed doors would also help to reduce opportunities for children to be able to move around undetected at night.

12.6 Mentoring/Tutoring

The particular risks around situations where an adult is mentoring or tutoring children have been identified in this research. As such, clear organisational policies and procedures should be in place around mentoring/tutoring of children, both formally and informally. As discussed above, any mentoring or tutoring arrangements should be well supervised. Informal mentoring should be agreed with parents/guardians and potentially approved by senior managers. Contact logs could also be kept. Managers and colleagues also need to be aware of the regularity and amount of time staff members spend in working with individual children or small groups. There should be regular supervision between the staff member involved and senior staff to manage or identify any concerns arising. There was also evidence in some cases of perpetrators

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deliberately moving children into their own area of supervision in order to develop or maintain an inappropriate relationship. Employers and colleagues should consider and potentially explore reasons for any unscheduled or unexpected change in supervision arrangements for a specific child or children. As with mentoring/tutoring arrangements any additional contact time, such as children undertaking volunteer work alongside individual staff members, should be formally agreed and monitored.

Any one-to-one tutoring or mentoring sessions, particularly those taking place before and after the normal operational day, might advisably take place in more public areas of the organisation or at least in areas that have easy supervision by other staff, rather than in individual classrooms or study areas.

Staff having additional roles in organisations such as sports/leisure activity coaching was also an identified area of risk in this research. Those preventative measures discussed above in relation to mentoring/tutoring situations would equally apply here, as would those suggested for trips/excursions also discussed later in the chapter.

12.7 Staff Pastoral Supervision

Difficulties in their own lives have been seen to create vulnerabilities in most of the female abusers considered in this study. Failure to address or cope with these vulnerabilities appropriately contributed to inappropriate and abusive behaviour in the relationships these women had with children in their care. It is also interesting that both of the female offenders in Erooga et al.'s (2012) study said they felt unable to talk about concerns they had about precipitating events in their work setting.

In order to mitigate these risks as far as possible, it may be beneficial for all staff working closely with children to undergo regular professional supervision similar to that typical for social workers and counsellors. Such supervision can acknowledge the emotional impacts of this work and of close relationships with children, particularly those who are especially vulnerable and provide support in coping with associated feelings and emotions. Supervision could be undertaken by external providers and should provide an open and supportive environment where any personal issues in staff members' personal or professional lives can also be raised and support offered. In addition, organisations might provide staff access to confidential external counselling and emotional support services should the need arise.

An issue that appears to be completely taboo in organisations where adults and children work together is the reality of the potential for staff, both male and female, to experience sexual feelings or attraction to children/young people they engage with. For example, one study of public sector childcare workers in the UK found that four per cent of female respondents expressed a sexual interest in children and that two per cent of the women made admissions that they might have sex with a child if they could be certain no one would find out and that there would be no punishment (Freel, 2003). Environments where maturing children and adolescents spend time together can be sexually charged. Failing to recognise or accept that some adults will be attracted to children or adolescents in such circumstances, either temporarily or in a more long-standing way, only stigmatises those experiencing such feelings and does not address the reality, thereby inhibiting the opportunity for affected adults to seek support. Organisations should actively acknowledge this issue and educate staff about it, potentially via training or briefing sessions where they could also be signposted to appropriate prevention and support services such as the Stop It Now! service in the UK.

12.8 Contact Outside of the Organisational Environment

The research findings have demonstrated the prevalence of contact between women in positions of trust and children outside of the organisational environment, both as a facilitating factor in leading to sexual abuse, and as the means by which abuse is perpetrated. Colleagues, parents and guardians should therefore be alert to any indications of personal communication or inappropriate socialising between adult staff and children outside of the organisational environment. The data indicate the significant risk of sexually abusive behaviour developing from such contact and therefore instances where it is suspected or identified should be addressed quickly. All personal mobile telephones, email or online communication between staff and children should be prohibited in organisational policy and procedure and this should also be communicated to parents and guardians so they are alert to any unacceptable contact. Official organisation-owned mobile telephone and email contact with children should be used where necessary but potentially be subject to random checking. Organisations could develop policies in relation to staff use of personal social media and electronic communication and as far as possible staff should be encouraged to use strict privacy controls in relation to their public social media use to prevent engagement with children

associated with the organisation. Attempts to personally contact adults in positions of trust should be addressed.

Given that the transportation of children in their own vehicles has been a common factor in the offence process of female perpetrators in this research sample, adults should be prohibited from giving children lifts in their personal vehicles without employer permission. Any instances could be recorded providing an opportunity to identify if there is a pattern of behaviour developing should concerns arise.

As discussed in Chapters Eight and Eleven sexual abuse often takes place in either the perpetrator or victim's home or the homes of close relatives. Organisational policies and procedures should clearly and specifically prohibit any unofficial visits by adults to children's homes and vice versa and this should be communicated to parents and guardians. Any visits to a child's home required in a staff member's official capacity should require management authorisation, a parent or guardian to be present and wherever possible the staff member should also be accompanied. Organisational policy might also stipulate that any personal/family relationships between staff members and service users' families should be disclosed to management where this involves one-to-one, regular or overnight contact between the staff member and a child.

In addition to any personal or social contact occurring between an adult in a position of trust and a child currently under their authority, any similar contact between adult staff members and any children or young people who have recently left the organisation should also be monitored. The findings from this research identified several cases where personal relationships developed or continued between staff and children immediately after the child left the organisational environment, which either became sexually abusive in nature very quickly or continued to be so.

12.9 Managing Allegations

In many cases, poor responses to allegations of inappropriate behaviour enabled the sexual abuse to continue or progress in nature. It is imperative that organisations, managers and colleagues understand how to respond to allegations effectively and follow clear expected procedures in doing so.

All allegations made about a staff member's behaviour should be properly investigated as soon as possible. Such investigations need to be handled with care and

by those sufficiently skilled to do so. There was evidence in some cases included in this sample where allegations made about female perpetrators were simply dismissed, ignored or disbelieved. There were also instances of victim-blaming attitudes evident during investigations, for example by assuming that adolescent boys were pestering female staff members or making up allegations as a result of teenage infatuation or retaliation for discipline. Potential victims need to be believed, regardless of age or gender, and the questioning of those making allegations should be clear and specific as opposed to the vague, unspecific and potentially victim-blaming inquiries witnessed in a few cases in this study.

Parents and guardians should be informed of any allegations, concerns or persistent rumours raised relating to their child and an adult in a position of trust. Doing so means they can discuss these concerns with their child at an early stage as well as monitor the situation thereafter.

There were several instances where senior staff and colleagues in organisations either failed to investigate or act in light of disclosures or allegations due to the reluctance of parents or carers to raise or progress concerns. Organisational policy and procedure should be clear that all allegations or disclosures must be dealt with regardless of any reluctance expressed by parents, guardians, victims or any other bystanders. Obviously, such concerns need to be dealt with sensitively but cannot over-ride the responsibility and duty to manage allegations appropriately.

One particularly notable problem identified in the research findings was the failure of the organisation to implement appropriate supervision and monitoring of a particular female staff member and the alleged victim(s) after initial allegations or concerns had been raised. Often advice or warnings were issued but no subsequent monitoring appears to have taken place and the abusive relationship either continued to develop or persisted for much longer than it might have.

12.10 Guardian Supervision

A lack of communication between organisations and parents/guardians has been seen to be problematic in a number of cases in this study, particularly with regard to contact between adults and children outside of the organisational environment, as well as communication about any concerns or issues raised about the relationship between the adult and child.

The research findings clearly demonstrated the frequency with which female perpetrators met up with their victims outside of the organisational environment including having them visit their own homes. As discussed above, if organisational policy and expectations about external staff-child contact are communicated to parents and guardians then parents can also check with the organisation about any concerns or questions they have about such contact. Clearly parents need to be aware of their children's whereabouts as far as possible, although it is recognised that being able to do so, particularly with adolescent children, can be a challenging task. Active monitoring of electronic communication is also a sensible precaution, particularly in circumstances where concerns or rumours have been raised with regard to the relationship between a child and an adult in a position of trust.

A number of parents did not report their discovery of an inappropriate relationship between their child and a female in a position of trust because their child had very vulnerable mental health or threatened to commit suicide if they did so. It would be helpful for parents and guardians to be able to access support and advice to help them deal with such sensitive situations and to make a report in a timely manner. In all cases examined in this study where parents had initially tried to manage the abusive relationship themselves, their efforts failed and the abuse continued until formal action was taken.

12.11 Bystander Awareness

In addition to the necessary supervision of children by organisations and parents/guardians a wider community responsibility to safeguard children should be encouraged. Education programmes and prevention campaigns raising the profile of organisational abuse by both female and male offenders might help to better protect against it in future. Awareness programmes should include reference to female perpetrators and include relevant examples.

There were several cases considered in this study where the victim had an older or adult friend who was aware of the victim's disclosed interest in a female adult in a position of trust and where they either facilitated or encouraged the sexual contact between them, for example by giving the victim lifts to go and visit the perpetrator. These facilitating adults need to understand the reality of the harm caused by female-perpetrated child sexual abuse, even where it is perceived to be consensual, and they

should actively discourage any interest or contact and report the matter to the child's parents or the woman's employers (anonymously if necessary).

There were several cases where the successful disclosure of an inappropriate relationship between the female perpetrator and victim was made anonymously and the allegations were appropriately acted upon and investigated. It is important for friends, colleagues and other members of the community to have a method of anonymously reporting any concerns about an adult in a position of trust. These mechanisms could be promoted in the organisational environment and any local community sexual abuse prevention campaigns.

12.12 Summary

This research has found that there are many situational, environmental and socio-ecosystemic risk factors evident in the organisational and external spaces shared by female adults in positions of trust and children in their care that can contribute to the development and maintenance of sexually abusive behaviour. These factors include: the lay out and composition of physical environments within the organisation; the control, extent and nature of adult-child interactions external to the organisational context; operational safeguarding policies and procedures; pre-employment checks and the ongoing supervision and monitoring of staff. In many circumstances, these factors can be addressed and prevention measures implemented to help reduce the likelihood of such abuse or other potential harms to the health and welfare of children, occurring.

A range of inappropriate or insufficient responses by employers, parents/guardians and bystanders typically seen in cases of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations have also been discussed both here and in Chapter 11. These responses reduced both the effort required and risks faced by potential abusers and increased the permissibility for the female perpetrator to behave in a sexually abusive way toward a child in their care. Such failures included:

- Failure to recognise or address inappropriate or social contact between a female adult in a position of trust and a child or children under her authority;
- Insufficiently robust recruitment and staff monitoring and investigation arrangements;

- Failure to believe or deal with rumours or allegations made about the nature of the adult-child relationship and in some cases demonstration of victim-blaming attitudes;
- Willingness to accept the adult's explanation without further investigation or consideration;
- Attempts to deal with the situation informally and without involving the necessary authorities or following expected procedures.

A range of practical prevention measures in response to these situational risk factors and inappropriate responses have been presented in this chapter. Such measures are designed to increase the effort required for a potential female offender to abuse, increase the risks associated with sexually abusive behaviour and of being caught, and reduce the permissibility of inappropriate behaviour. These measures include:

- Changes to the physical environment shared by adults and children in organisations;
- Clear policies and procedures governing adult-child contact and interaction (both within and outside the organisational environment) which are also communicated to parents and carers;
- Enhanced supervision of mentoring/tutoring or extra-curricular activity arrangements;
- Thorough and robust recruitment and staff supervision practices (including pastoral support);
- Appropriate procedures to follow in instances where allegations or concerns are raised;
- Active supervision of children's electronic communications;
- Mechanisms for anonymous reporting of concerns and support systems available for parents/guardians of victims;
- Local community education programmes and sexual abuse prevention campaigns that recognise the reality of female-perpetrated abuse.

Drawing on the findings of this research and the three SCP strategies for reducing child sexual abuse in organisations (Smallbone et al., 2008) discussed in this chapter, Table 32 provides an overview of suggested practical prevention measures to reduce the opportunity for female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations to occur.

Table 32: Prevention measures to reduce opportunity for female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational settings (developed from Smallbone et al., 2008)

INCREASE EFFORT	INCREASE RISKS	REMOVE EXCUSES/REDUCE PERMISSIBILITY
CONTROL ACCESS Robust and targeted pre-employment checks Value based interviewing Minimise use of temporary staff Limit/discourage frequent contact between adults and children during non-core activity periods Minimise opportunities for one-to-one, unsupervised contact Increase supervision of particularly vulnerable children Supervision of pre-existing external relationships between staff and children	EXTEND GUARDIANSHIP Educate parents/guardians about risks and expectations Raise awareness of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in local communities Policies and procedures setting conditions for staff-child interaction Anonymous reporting mechanisms	RULE SETTING Clear policies and procedures around staff-children contact, especially: • IT/social media • External contact • Trips • Transportation of children Communicate policies to parents/guardians Regularly review policy/procedure and involve staff and children

TARGET HARDENING	STRENGTHEN FORMAL AND NATURAL SURVEILLANCE	TRAINING AND CULTURE
Prevention programmes for children; include reference to female perpetrators	Environmental design (CCTV, open/observable areas)	Policy recognises abuse can be perpetrated by all genders against all genders
Enhanced supervision of mentoring/tutoring relationships	Provide children and other adults avenues to raise concerns	Educate organisational staff/parents/guardians
Monitor organisational contact made between adults and children online/by mobile telephone	Whistle-blowing policy	Foster culture of openness and safeguarding as 'everyone's responsibility' (use examples of both female and male abusers)
	External and independent inspections	
Encourage parents/carers to monitor children's online activity	Communicate concerns/issues to parents/guardians early	Specific training on appropriate boundaries
	Be alert to increasing contact and patterns of behaviour	Induction process for new staff; include policies and expectations
	Supportive supervision of all staff regardless of experience (especially those who behave immaturely or are experiencing personal/work	Specialist emotional support and welfare supervision for staff
		Acknowledge potential adult-child sexual attraction- signpost

	difficulties)	support
	Act to explore rumours	Examine rumours
	Enhance supervision after any concerns identified	Robust responses to breaches of policy/procedure
		Robust prosecution through criminal justice system
		Robust responses from professional regulators
CONTROL TOOLS Policy prohibiting personal IT/social media contact Monitor organisational contact by online/electronic means regularly Encourage parents/carers to monitor children's online/telephone activity	UTILISE PLACE MANAGERS Educate colleagues/managers Increase supervision of individuals, including temporary staff	

The establishment of inspiring and supportive relationships between children and adults in organisational contexts is fundamental to healthy child development and it is acknowledged that the suggested prevention measures could be seen as detrimental to such relationships and the creation of emotionally healthy organisations. It is certainly a real challenge for organisations to attain the difficult balance between promoting and encouraging highly beneficial close relationships between women in positions of trust and the children in their care and in protecting children from sexual and other types of harm that they may potentially perpetrate.

It is also recognised that female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations, although still likely to be under-reported, is not a frequent occurrence in organisations where children and adults come together regularly. There is a need for perspective, balance and proportionate responses, which will be dependent upon the nature of individual organisations. What is important above all is the recognition that women may sexually abuse children, just as men might. Organisations need to be careful not to continue to perpetuate the cultural and societal blindness to the reality of female-perpetrated sexual abuse still evident in many areas, as the findings of this research demonstrate.

The intention here, in suggesting potential areas of intervention, is not to create fortress-like, impersonal organisational environments but to encourage organisations, staff and parents/guardians to understand the reality that in some cases women who work with children can behave in a sexually abusive manner and for them to be at least alert to this possibility in the way they are already likely to be with regard to male adults in positions of trust. This awareness and understanding is a significant first step in the prevention of this type of abuse. This is evident given that the findings of this research suggest that in many cases insufficient action was taken early enough to address issues or concerns about a woman in a position of trust which ultimately lead to child sexual abuse occurring or continuing.

Many of the measures suggested here offer wider protection and support to both staff and child welfare more generally and not exclusively for the prevention of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse. For example, staff supervision and pastoral support and involving parents more fully in organisational processes concerning their children. Likewise, some of the physical environmental modifications suggested would not just assist in the prevention of this type of abuse but would help more generally to maintain a safe environment for children and adults, for example in preventing bullying

and harassment, protecting organisational assets or potentially safeguarding against opportunities for peer abuse among children and young people.

The clearly articulated expectations of staff behaviour advocated here are also the foundation for ensuring procedural fairness should any concerns or allegations about their behaviour arise (Green, 2010) and organisations should ensure allegations are dealt with quickly, appropriately and that the adult at the centre is treated fairly and honestly, with good professional judgement and be provided with support.

It is certainly accepted that prevention approaches, if undertaken insensitively and covertly, could damage the very trust organisations and societies require to function healthily (Marshall, Serran & Marshall, 2006). It is important therefore that organisations include staff, children, families and the community in creating the safe environment for children. Organisations also need to be mindful of the need for strategies not to be overly intrusive, ultimately restricting children's liberties and opportunities (and those of adult staff) to the point of causing more harm than good (Smallbone et al., 2008).

Although there is little empirical research to date evaluating the success of situational interventions in reducing child sexual abuse (Smallbone et al., 2008) it is hoped that the often easily-implemented, practical suggestions for prevention identified in this chapter will go some way to reducing the occurrence of female-perpetrated sexual abuse in organisations. Raising the profile of the reality that women can and do abuse children in positions of trust should also increase awareness among adults associated with organisations and result in improved supervision and alertness to the risks to the same extent as with regard to potential male perpetrators.

Chapter 13: Conclusion

13.1 Introduction

Whilst organisational child abuse has been increasingly in the public spotlight over the last decade, female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts has received very little attention. There have been only three empirical studies examining the phenomenon to date. Despite increasing research into institutional child sexual abuse and female sexual offenders, this particular phenomenon has remained virtually neglected. Consequently, very little has been known to date about the women who offend in this way and why and how this type of abuse occurs.

This doctoral research aimed to address this gap and increase understanding of this particular type of child sexual abuse. Using a mixed-methods approach the findings of this research have contributed to the existing literature on female sexual offenders, organisational abuse and child sexual abuse. This final chapter summarises the key findings with reference to the research questions and discusses these in light of the aims and objectives of the study. Priorities for future research are suggested and implications for policy and practice are made. The chapter ends with a discussion of the research's contribution to knowledge and some reflections on the research experience.

The aim of the study was to develop wider understanding about women who sexually abuse children in organisational contexts, the impacts of this abuse and the responses to it. In meeting this aim this research also addresses the three key prevention opportunities for female-perpetrated child sexual abuse identified by Ford (2006): raise awareness that women do abuse and the impact on victims can be as harmful as being abused by a male; identify high risk groups and offer support; intervene once abuse is known to prevent further victimisation and offer appropriate specialised support to victims. It has also addressed the opportunity to use the knowledge about how women perpetrate this abuse in organisational contexts to develop primary prevention measures.

The study commenced with efforts to determine the extent of the problem, which proved to be difficult due to inconsistency and incompleteness of available data. However, taking all available information into account it was estimated that women constitute between 3 and 30% of child sexual abusers in organisational contexts with

several inquiries and research studies all finding reported rates of around 9 to 10% (Australian Royal Commission, 2017a; Jaffe et al., 2013; Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse, 2017; Mototsune, 2015).

The findings regarding both why and how this abuse occurs are often inter-related. These are discussed in separate sections but given their inter-connectedness there is some overlap between the findings and discussions concerning research questions one and two in the sections below. The combined findings of the research are synthesised in the case categorisation for female perpetrators of child sexual abuse in organisational contexts presented in the thesis and referred to again later in this chapter.

13.2 Why Females Sexually Abuse Children in Organisational Contexts and Identified Motivations and Risk Factors

(Research Question 1)

13.2.1 Summary of key findings

- Most women were White, aged between 26 and 31 years old and were in established adult relationships at the time of the abuse;

- The majority were teachers, abused in educational environments and were established in their careers at the time;

- Perpetrators rarely had previous criminal or professional misconduct histories;

- Victims were predominantly adolescent and male (although almost a quarter were female) and two-thirds of the women abused 15 and 16 year olds;

- Most women were not sexually deviant, pre-disposed offenders but rather they abused as result of situational and contextual factors at the time;

- Situational contexts and organisational environments can be precipitators to abuse;

- Most women were primarily motivated by intimacy needs followed by sexual gratification;

- Children and young people with additional vulnerabilities appeared to be at higher risk of victimisation;

- The perpetrator's personal circumstances in the pre-offending period appeared to have a particular bearing on the sexually abusive behaviour. Typical problems identified were: relationship problems; emotional vulnerabilities; loneliness, low self-esteem and immature thinking and behaviour.

Women who abused in this way share similarities with male professional perpetrators and female educator abusers; particularly in abusing older and post-pubescent victims; perpetrating the abuse alone and in being opportunistic or situational offenders. Differences exist in that women who abused in organisational contexts were: more likely to be in established adult relationships; much less likely to co-perpetrate the abuse and were significantly less likely to have any criminal history.

Similar to women identified as 'teacher/lover' types in previous studies and those who have abused in educational environments, the women in this sample had less personal abuse experiences and fewer mental health difficulties than found among other female sexual offenders.

The vulnerabilities identified in the women in this sample are, however, similar to those found in other studies of female sexual offenders. Emotional vulnerabilities, low self-esteem, relationship problems and feelings of isolation and loneliness meant that some women sought intimacy with children and young people that was lacking in their lives and relationships with adults. In such circumstances they established closer emotional relationships or friendships with children and young people, which were not well supervised and were less likely to be regarded as risky than equivalent relationships between male adults and children. Whilst a few women who abused pre-pubescent children appeared to seek intimacy and friendships in this way, this offending process appeared to be a particular issue among those abusing adolescents. Additional nurturing roles many of these women performed, such as acting as a mentor, tutor or behavioural support worker fostered closer relationships and the development of sexual feelings towards their victims.

The fact that many victims were particularly vulnerable children/adolescents is a clear concern. A significant number of perpetrators were acting in the capacity of formal or informal mentor or confidante to the victim; in these circumstances close contact between the adult and child/young person was given legitimacy, allowing them to spend more time alone together and for privileges to be shared between them.

Motivational needs for intimacy, social contact and sexual gratification, also typical in other female sexual offenders, explain why most women take a more maternal approach to the abuse, which is more emotionally manipulative rather than threatening or violent.

Given that, like many other male and female child sexual offenders, the majority of the women here were not pre-disposed to abuse, it is clear that situational and environmental factors are important in explaining why this abuse happens. Chapters Eight and Eleven described how organisational and environmental factors provided opportunities for inappropriate relationships to develop and the sexual abuse to occur. The data also reflected how the organisational contexts provided cues, social pressures and environmental stressors that contributed to the perpetrations of the abuse.

The findings that the vast majority of these women had no previous criminal or employment misconduct histories and had been working successfully in their professions for a number of years prior to the sexual abuse occurring, support the view that situational and contextual factors influenced their behaviour rather than any pre-disposition to sexually offend or any sexual interest in children.

The research findings highlight the need for a shift in thinking from individual pre-dispositional explanations of the past to consideration of the influence of situational and contextual factors in the perpetration of abuse. It needs to be recognised that organisational environments themselves and the adult-child relationships fostered within them can initiate sexually abusive behaviour by some women.

13.3 How Females Perpetrate this Abuse and Common Modi Operandi

(Research Question 2)

13.3.1 Summary of key findings

- Most women abused one victim;

- The mean duration of abuse was 8.5 months, with almost half lasting more than a year;

- Key approaches to the abuse were identified as being: a gradual development into sexual abuse following a closer emotional bond; the development of inappropriate friendships with children by women who display immature thinking and behaviour which become sexually abusive, and, direct, explicit approaches made to victims with the clear intent of achieving sexual gratification;

- Much of the abuse occurred in the context of less formal relationships and environments, where professional boundaries were more relaxed, such as on organisational trips, at social events and in the process of sports coaching for example;

- The majority of cases involved serious and penetrative sexual acts;

- Much of the abuse took place outside of the organisational environment (often in the perpetrator's or victim's home and the perpetrator's car), although over 40% of cases involved abusive contact in the organisation itself;

- The use of mobile phone and online communication was common, both in facilitating the abuse and the location in which some of it occurred;

- Most perpetrators follow an *explicit* approach pathway to the abuse (as defined in the DMFSO); more here than in other female sexual offender studies;

- Almost all perpetrator's took a *maternal* approach to the abuse (as defined by the DMFSO), typical of those who offend alone and against teenage boys;

- In many cases early indications of concern were not appropriately identified or responded to by colleagues, employers and parents/guardians;

- Even where concerns had been raised and addressed to some extent there was limited on-going monitoring of the subsequent contact between the perpetrator and victim.

Almost all of the women were experiencing personal difficulties or stresses in the period leading up to the abuse. As a result, these women inappropriately turned to children/adolescents in their care for the intimacy, support, social contact and sexual gratification that was missing in their lives. As referred to above, they developed inappropriate friendships or emotional relationships with children or young people, which led on to sexually abusive behaviour. In some cases these relationships would develop as a result of the perpetrator ignoring her responsibility as an adult in a position of trust and either failing to discourage, or actively responding to approaches made by adolescent victims.

Typically the perpetrator begins to spend more time with the victim, often on a one-to-one basis and taking place before or after the working day and during breaks. Mobile phone or online communication is established and the relationship intensifies. The perpetrator and victim then begin to meet outside of the organisational environment and sexually abusive behaviour occurs. Sexual contact tends to develop gradually but eventually often involves sexual intercourse, penetrative acts and oral sexual abuse. The abuse continues for a longer duration. In a smaller number of cases the abuser is particularly sexually motivated and makes more immediate and explicit sexual advances to the victim. In these cases the sexual contact is more serious from the outset but may not continue for a long period of time.

Organisational and societal culture appears to have influenced the failure of other adults to identify or take appropriate action to address these boundary breaches and may have had a distorting cognitive effect on the perpetrators. Consequently their abusive behaviour continued unchecked and/or escalated. In some cases the lack of definitive action by other adults appeared to reflect: an unwillingness to accept the

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possibility that a female colleague might act in a sexually abusive way; an unwillingness to believe allegations made by children and young people, combined with an unquestioning acceptance of the female adult's denial; the presence of victim-blaming attitudes and concerns over reputational damage, to the organisation and to the perpetrator's future career.

Given that most women appeared to follow a more explicit approach (DMFSO) to their offending then there are potentially better opportunities to develop prevention measures based on the identified risk factors and vulnerabilities of both perpetrators and victims. Most typically the abuse followed the gradual development of closer relationship, therefore, this longer process, along with the more explicit approach to the abuse, suggests there should be more opportunities to identify concerning behaviour and intervene prior to the sexual abuse occurring.

The findings regarding the two research questions addressed above are synthesised and reflected in the theoretical case categorisation developed from qualitative content analysis of the case studies. The five categories identified were: *Immature regressed; sexual and risky; saviour syndrome; unrequited infatuated; psychologically troubled.* These categories, described fully in Chapter Seven, present the different motivations, risk factors and offence processes of the different groups of abusers examined in this research.

13.4 Responses to Female-Perpetrated Child Sexual Abuse in Organisational Contexts

(Research Question 3)

13.4.1 Summary of key findings

- Employers, colleagues and parents/guardians often do not recognise or respond appropriately to early indicators of concern;

- Victim's peers are often aware of the inappropriate relationship or sexual contact between the victim and perpetrator prior to its disclosure or discovery but do not often report concerns;

- Most cases are eventually reported to the police although thereafter one in five did not result in charges being laid;

- Most women pleaded guilty, were convicted and two-thirds were given immediate custodial sentences. Sentences (of all types) were typically less than 18 months duration;

- Women were responsible for more than 1 in 9 abuse of trust offences in England and Wales between 2006-2016 and were comparatively more than eight times more likely to be convicted/cautioned for an abuse of trust offence than other child sex offences than men;

- Although women who perpetrate 'abuse of trust' offences in the UK are convicted more often, they are sentenced more leniently than their male equivalents and women who commit other child sexual offences (against victims under 16);

- Female professionals who commit child sexual offences other than 'abuse of trust' offences appear to be treated more harshly in the criminal justice system than non-professional female offenders;

- Although professional regulators generally respond robustly to the cases that proceed to hearing the amount of referred female cases that do not proceed to that stage cannot be ascertained;

- Female perpetrators may be treated more leniently than men by professional regulators when their behaviour involves sexual misconduct;

- Rates of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse being dealt with by professional regulators in the UK are lower than those found in other international studies and reflected in UK criminal justice statistics.

Once formal action is taken in cases of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts the responses of employers, police and professional regulators are generally robust. However, there is an evident issue in the lack of appropriate action by colleagues, employers, parents/guardians and peers to address

indicators of concern early enough meaning inappropriate relationships develop into, or continue to be, sexually abusive.

Compared to other recent and relevant research the women in this sample were convicted more often than general female sex offenders, male professional perpetrators and male and female teachers. However, following conviction they were less likely to receive custodial sentences and where they did, these sentences were shorter. This is despite the fact that existing research has found that women sexually abuse children in the same way as men. That female perpetrators of child sexual abuse in organisational contexts are generally convicted more often but sentenced more leniently than other abusers is an important finding. This suggests that these women are treated more severely when entering and proceeding through the criminal justice system (by police, prosecutors and juries) but more leniently by the judiciary. It could indicate that others view these women as triply deviant, but despite the claims to gender parity in sentencing made by some judges, judicial responses might be explained by chivalry theory.

The findings also show that women working in positions of trust who commit abuse of trust offences are treated more leniently than those in organisational contexts who abuse children under 16. Women in this research sample who committed other child sex offences were punished more severely than the national average but female perpetrators of abuse of trust offences are treated similarly. This suggests the possibility these female professionals abusing younger children are regarded as triply deviant. Their position of trust may well aggravate their sentence but they may also be regarded as violating: social norms by offending; gender norms by committing sexual offences and they may also affront perceptions of more 'excusable' female sexual behaviour (i.e. abuse of older males). Conversely, as discussed above, the data suggests chivalry theory might explain the more lenient sentencing of women who commit 'abuse of trust' offences.

The finding that female offenders who commit abuse of trust offences are sentenced to immediate custody less often than those who perpetrate other child sexual offences might initially be explained by sentencing guideline differences. However, what is particularly interesting is the fact that rates of immediate custodial sentences for male professional perpetrators are broadly similar, regardless of whether it was an abuse of trust offence or an alternative child sexual offence. Again this suggests a particular gender bias in judicial decisions about abuse of trust offences.

This response could reflect a minimisation of the perceived harm to the typically older male adolescent victims of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse. Such outcomes may also reflect the potential attribution of some responsibility upon the victim and the view that the female adult's behaviour is more acceptable.

The inadequate responses to female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations is also representative of organisational, cultural and societal views which fail to acknowledge the reality of female sexual aggression and the harm that it can cause. Although there have been some indications of efforts to obtain gender parity in court sentencing and of better gender egalitarianism in media reporting of female sexual offenders, the findings of this study show that overall these responses remain influenced by long-standing stereotypes and cultural attitudes.

13.5 Impacts of Female-Perpetrated Child Sexual Abuse

(Research Question 4)

13.5.1 Summary of key findings

- Most of the interpersonal, behavioural, sexual and psychological impacts experienced by victims in this study were similar to those found among victims of both female sexual offending and male-perpetrated organisational sexual abuse;

- Key victim impacts identified in this research were educational consequences; anger; social isolation and mental health difficulties;

- Victims here experienced several consequences not evident in the extant literature on the impacts of male-perpetrated organisational sexual abuse, such as: feelings of betrayal; social isolation; guilt; sleep problems; mistrust of women and stigmatisation;

- The combination of being both abused by a female perpetrator and within the context of a particular relationship of trust in an organisation means that the consequences for victims can be particularly acute;

- There was an identified lack of association between the victims' responses at the time of the abuse (often seeing it as a positive and loving experience) and the later negative impacts they experienced;

- This abuse also had harmful consequences for the families and friends of victims and perpetrators, colleagues, organisations and wider communities.

Gender and context appeared to be important influences in the impacts experienced by victims of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts, relating to associated gender norms and expectations as well as the abuse of trust by a person in authority. Some victims who did not initially consider the sexual relationship to have been an abusive one later realised the nature of the abuse of trust and consequently felt particularly manipulated and embarrassed.

Both the responses to the abuse and the impacts upon victims here were influenced by: societal minimisation of female-perpetrated sexual abuse; the inherent respect conferred upon individuals in positions of trust rather than on children and young people; and perceptions (held by the victim and others) of victim accountability or responsibility for the abuse.

It was also evident in some cases that the cultural ignorance or minimisation of female-perpetrated abuse by organisations, communities, the police, courts and media resulted in further harm and distress to victims.

Overall, the research findings consistently demonstrate how social and cultural constructions and perceptions of women, female sexuality and female criminality influence all elements of this type of abuse. It is clear that gendered narratives and responses contribute to explaining why and how this type of abuse happens, how it is responded to and the impact it has upon victims.

13.6 Applicability of identified theories and models

The findings from this research show that existing ITCSA and SCP theories are relevant in explaining how and why female-perpetrated child sexual abuse occurs in organisations. Gender issues appear to be particularly relevant across the component parts of the ITCSA. Individual, biological and developmental factors take account of the female proclivity to nurturing and attachment-related abuse; in the nurturing motivations

they may feel for vulnerable victims or from attachment seeking motivations resulting from their own vulnerabilities. Socio-ecosystemic factors influencing the denial or minimisation of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse create environments where such abuse is ignored, condoned or seen as less harmful. This in turn can influence perpetrators' own perceptions of the harm and the permissibility of engaging in sexually abusive behaviour with children in their care. Situational factors in organisations provided cues and stressors as well as opportunities for the abuse to occur. Examples of situational facilitators identified in this study included: a lack of appropriate and/or enforced organisational policies and procedures; insufficient supervision of staff-student relationships; and unaddressed boundary violations in relationships between female staff and children in their care.

The significance of situational and environmental factors highlighted in SCP theory has been shown to be highly relevant in explaining how and why this abuse occurs.

As Chapter Eleven detailed, parents/carers, colleagues, employers, and friends and family of perpetrators and victims as capable guardians, place managers and handlers, often failed to act sufficiently in response to indications of concern resulting in the development and/or continuation of sexually abusive relationships.

The DMFSO also appeared relevant in explaining female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts, particularly regarding identified offence processes and pathways. However, the model currently lacks sufficient consideration of environmental and situational factors, such as those found to be highly relevant in this abuse.

The findings here were also broadly comparable to those areas of vulnerability reflected in the EPMFSO, particularly regarding boundaries and adult-child relationships. However, the model is simplistic and lacks the substantive detail necessary to explain wider offence processes of importance in understanding this specific type of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse.

13.7 Implications for Policy and Practice

This research has a number of implications for policy and practice, most of which suggest that policy makers and practitioners need to be more gender aware in

their responses to this type of sexual victimisation. Elliott and Bailey (2014) referred to the vicious cycle of public and professional minimisation of female-perpetrated abuse, which in turn underestimates the reality of such abuse and then simply maintains the minimisation. This cycle also continues to exist with regard to female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts.

13.7.1 Policy implications

Implementing policy reform in this area is dependent on a larger shift in societal attitudes towards women and sexual violence (Elliott & Bailey, 2014). There needs to be systematic reform on recognising victims; challenging stereotypes; improving vigilance and balancing criminal justice outcomes.

Policy narratives need to challenge assumptions and stereotypical attitudes to perpetrators and victims of this type of abuse. Policies and guidance dealing with organisational sexual abuse should include references to female offenders and include female-perpetrated abuse among examples presented.

Policies and publications also need to encourage a shift in understanding among organisational leaders and staff, away from stereotypical views of risk arising from predatory paedophiles seeking access to organisations specifically to abuse, to an understanding that organisational abuse may be opportunistic or situational in nature (Smallbone & McKillop, 2016).

13.7.2 Practice implications

The difficult challenge of balancing the implementation of situational prevention measures without creating a culture of suspicion is fully acknowledged and by no means underestimated. As Smallbone and McKillop (2016) emphasise, we need to be careful to maintain healthy and pleasant organisational environments for children and adults.

The research findings have a number of implications for leaders and managers of organisations that provide care and services to children and young people. These are discussed in full in Chapter 12 but the main implications are summarised here:

- Organisational culture needs to challenge gendered assumptions and stereotypical attitudes and safeguarding should be seen as everyone's business and part of day-to-day operations;

- As well as having clear policies and procedures concerning appropriate staff boundaries and behaviours towards children these need to be properly communicated and any identified breaches robustly explored and addressed;

- Employers and organisations need to move from an over-emphasis on pre-employment police checks to more fully integrating on-going monitoring of staff, particularly where any issues of concern are identified;

- Any mentoring or support arrangements between adults and vulnerable children should be closely monitored and supervised and employers need to be cautious about informal relationships that arise between children and adults in positions of trust. Colleagues should be alert to women who begin to spend increasing amounts of time with children and young people beyond their usual duties and particularly where this occurs with individual children;

- Given much of this abuse occurred outside of the organisational environment, employers, colleagues and parents/guardians need to be alert to any occurrences of adult-child contact outside of the organisational environment. The particular risks that arise around virtual communication have been identified, therefore there should be clear policies and procedures around such contact between adult staff and children. Parents might also periodically monitor their children's electronic communication devices;

- The apparent prevalence of personal and emotional problems occurring for these women around the time of the abuse highlights potential warning signals for employers and colleagues. Additional support where female staff appear to be experiencing personal or work stresses may help prevent the development of inappropriate relationships. The provision of supervision similar to that for social workers and counsellors may also be beneficial.

13.8 Areas for Future Research

This doctoral research has been the first comprehensive study examining the phenomenon of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts and as such it creates a foundation for further exploration of this under-researched

phenomenon. Several key areas for future research have been identified. These include:

- Research to explore why employers, colleagues and parents sometimes fail to recognise and respond appropriately to early indications or disclosures of female-perpetrated abuse;

- An examination of why proportionally more women are convicted of abuse of trust offences than men. Chapter Five identified a number of interesting questions around whether women genuinely are perpetrating proportionally more abuse of trust offences and this type of offending is a result of the more typically identified intimacy motivations of many female child sex offenders;

- Given the indications that these women continue to be treated more leniently by the judiciary than other child sexual offenders there is a need for further research which qualitatively examines judicial responses and decision-making rationale in these cases;

- Further analysis of cases involving the abuse of female adolescent victims as this is neglected in existing female sexual offender typologies. This is also particularly interesting given several women in this sample who abused girls had no known previous sexual interest in, or sexual relationships with, same-sex partners.

13.9 Reflections on the Research Process

As the first comprehensive examination of this type of abuse I aimed to draw particular attention to understanding female-perpetrated abuse as a distinct phenomenon rather than developing a purely comparative piece with male-perpetrated abuse. However, in order to situate the research within the extant literature it was necessary to make comparisons with male-perpetrated abuse throughout this thesis as the existing literature on organisational child sexual abuse only relates to that perpetrated by men.

The use of FOI requests to collect data presented some unexpected challenges, primarily due to the length of time the process took and the limitations on the data ultimately provided by organisations. While some were very helpful in trying to

provide at least some useful data it was frustrating at times when dealing with others, who did not respond to further correspondence or who failed to provide the specific information requested, even when the request was clear and made several times.

Early in the final year of the study a somewhat negative experience in engaging with the media and social media about my research led me to the realisation of just how controversial my work might seem to others and how the gender debates could potentially totally dominate any discussion of my work and distract from the actual content and findings of the research. This was a harsh realisation and I found myself feeling frustrated and upset at those responses (some of which came from individuals claiming to be feminists) which sought to almost dismiss the relevance of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse and ignore the victims just because there may be fewer known cases than male-perpetrated abuse. Supportive discussions with my supervisors and a mentor helped me reflect deeply on the potential opposition to my work from some areas of society and the need to be prepared for real and direct challenges to my work, not just in the academic sphere but particularly through dissemination of my research in public arenas, something which is important to me. Consequently, I have learned a lot from the experience and this strengthened my resolve in pursuing my research and addressing misperceptions and gender stereotypes.

So, this research may not be well received within some schools of feminism in particular, especially those predicated upon the view that sexual aggression results only from patriarchy and the pursuit of power and control. This view both serves to ignore the victims of female perpetrators and denies female sexuality. This work does not deny the existence and larger extent of sexual violence perpetrated by men and boys against women and girls, however, it does seek to raise the profile of female-perpetrated sexual violence as it is a reality that cannot be ignored nor merely explained away by narratives of male power and control. This work does not excuse this abuse or absolve perpetrators of their responsibility for it but simply highlights the factors the data reveals about the way this abuse occurs. The research shows that the vast majority of these women are not pre-disposed sexually deviant individuals but rather 'typical' members of the public who for a range of reasons, some circumstantial and personal, some situational and environmental, end up at a particular period of their lives behaving in a sexually abusive way. For some people that may be a very uncomfortable reality.

It is hoped that this research will help victims of this type of under-recognised abuse be properly acknowledged and recognised in the debates about sexual violence as well as the provision of appropriate support services.

13.10 Contributions to Knowledge

This research contributes to knowledge in the fields of criminology, sexual offending and organisational behaviour. In addressing the research aims and objectives it represents a new contribution to knowledge as the first comprehensive, international study examining female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts and provides a foundation for further research into the phenomenon.

The study involved a large sample and extensive mixed-method analysis offering an important contribution to theoretical understanding of this type of sexual offending as well as practical responses to it.

Theoretically, this thesis:

- Makes an important contribution to child sexual abuse and environmental criminological literature by examining the validity of situational crime prevention and existing female sex offending and integrated child sexual abuse theories in explaining this phenomenon;

- Applies a situational crime prevention approach to female-perpetrated child sexual abuse for the first time;

- Presents a categorisation of women who abuse in this way that takes account of the offence process and situational factors omitted by previous female sex offender typologies;

- Examines the offence process of female abusers by also including situational and environmental factors largely omitted by the DMFSO; the only comprehensive existing theory and model for women who sexually abuse.

Practically the findings of the research:

- Can be used to inform policy development as well as educate organisations, practitioners and the public about the reality of this type of abuse;

- Describe the offence process and situational and contextual factors involved in the perpetration of this type of abuse providing an important empirical basis upon which operational safeguarding polices can be developed and future action taken;

- Are used to suggest practical prevention measures in order to reduce the occurrence of such abuse in the future;

- Describe the impacts of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts on victims (and others) providing important evidence on which support systems can be developed.

13.11 Conclusion

This chapter has summarised the key findings of the research and discussed the implications these have for policy and practice development in the area. It has also presented recommendations for future research and described the theoretical and practical contributions to knowledge made.

This study has contributed to the wider theoretical and ideological debates about the nature of sexual offending, victims and perpetrators. The central argument in this thesis is that organisational as well as wider societal and cultural attitudes and assumptions need to change; to recognise the reality of female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisations, to understand how and why it happens and consequently change the way it is responded to. Hopefully this research will raise the profile of this type of abuse and help influence this necessary change.

A further aspiration is to inform employers, parents, carers, colleagues and other bystanders about the nature of this abuse and for them to be alive to a range of potential indicators of problematic relationships between children and women in positions of trust so that steps can be taken to intervene and thereby reduce the likelihood of such sexual abuse occurring in the future.
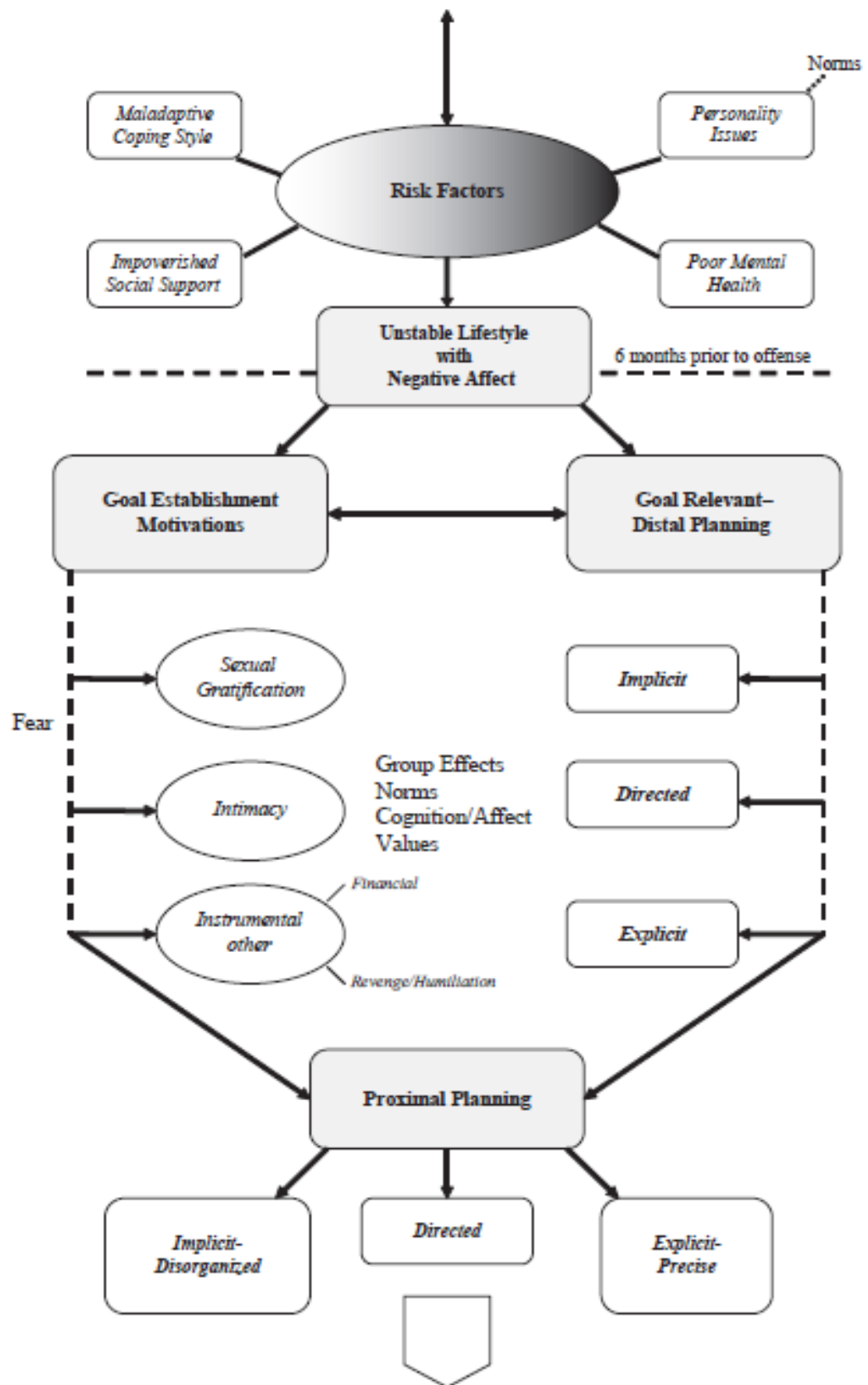
Appendices

APPENDIX 1   Descriptive Model of Female Sexual Offending
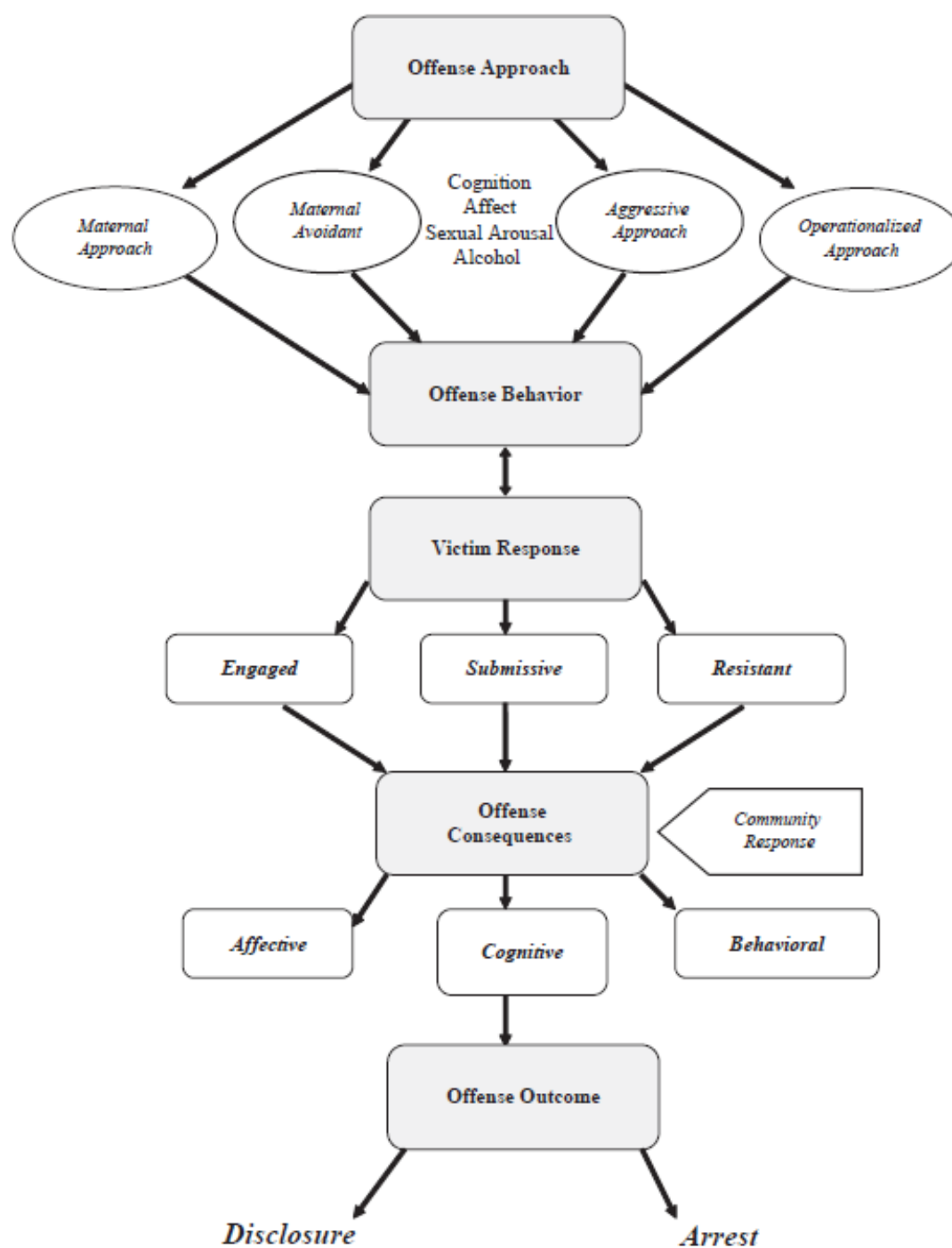
Background Factors
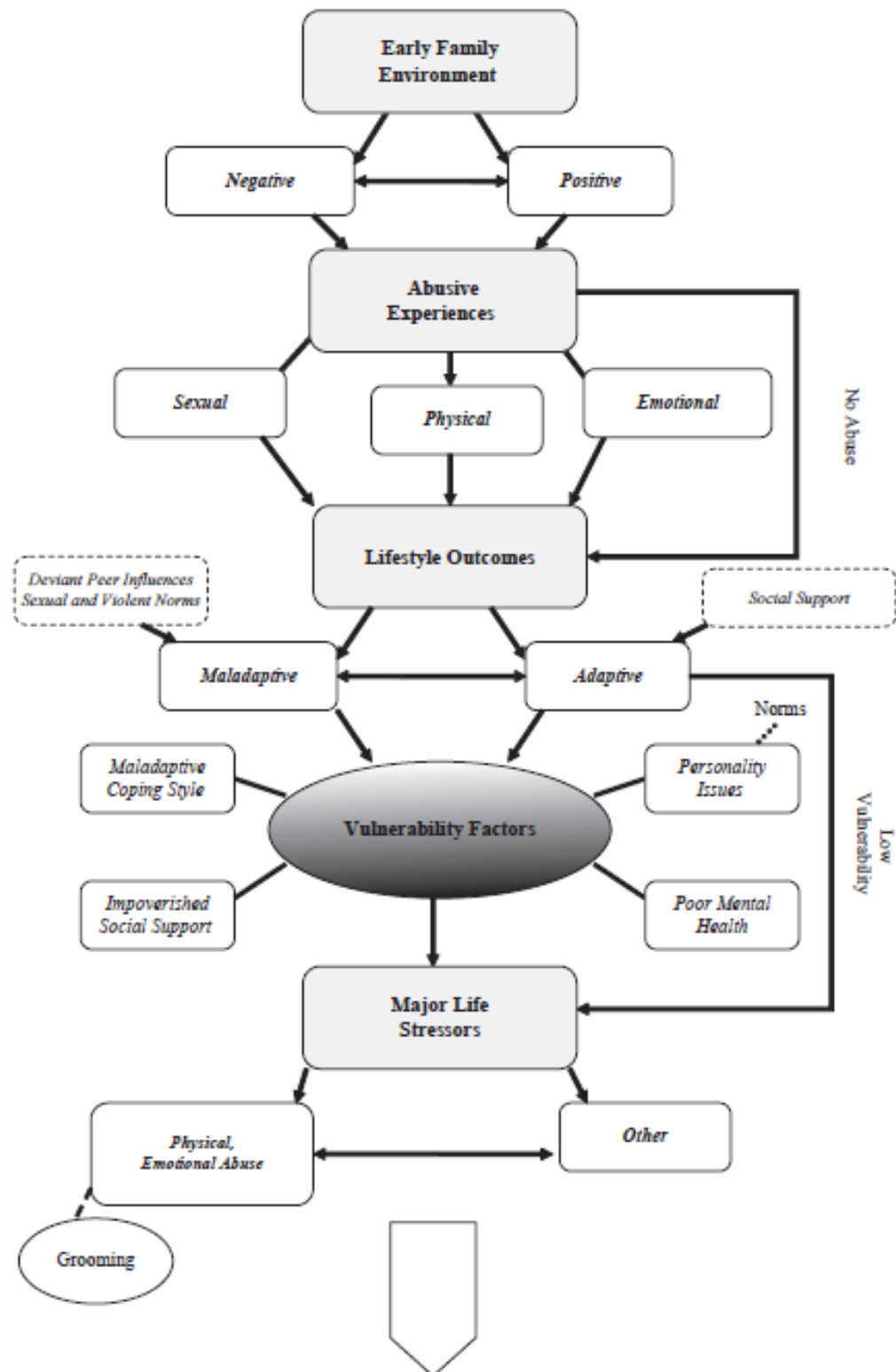
Source: Gannon, Rose and Ward (2008)

Pre-offence Period

Offence and Post-Offence Period

Source: Gannon, Rose and Ward (2008)

APPENDIX 2 Keepers of Registers under Section 41 (7) of the Safeguarding Vulnerable Groups Act 2006

The General Teaching Council for England

The General Teaching Council for Wales

Register of pharmaceutical chemists

General Dental Council

General Medical Council

Nursing and Midwifery Council

General Optical Council

Registrar of Osteopaths

Registrar of Chiropractors

General Social Care Council/Care Council for Wales

Register of members of relevant professions maintained under Article 5 of the Health Professions Order 2001 (S.I 2002/254). i.e. the Health and Care Professions Council.

APPENDIX 3   Professional Regulatory Body Data: Prevalence and Outcomes

ORGANISATION	TIME SCALE	CATEGORY	FEMALE CASES	MALE CASES	FINDINGS
Disclosure Scotland	2015-mid 2016	'sexual behaviour/offences involving children' (including indecent images, grooming, fictitious thoughts/fantasies)	**15: 8 listed, 7 under consideration**. 60% of the female cases (9/15) listed or under consideration concerned physical/contact sexual abuse.	No information available due to FOI response time/cost limitations. Between 2011 and mid-2016, 1207 male *referrals* were received for sexual offences involving children but the equivalent female data was redacted by Disclosure Scotland on the grounds of potential identification of individuals.	**3% of the total women (8/275) on Disclosure Scotland's children's barred list are barred for 'sexual behaviour/offences involving children'** (including indecent images, grooming, fictitious thoughts/fantasies). **60% (9/15) of women listed or under consideration had engaged in physical or contact sexual abuse** of a child or young person. NB Unable to ascertain

					how many specifically concerned abuse in organisational contexts.
Disclosure and Barring Service	July 2014-May 2016	'Individuals added to the Children's Barred List' and 'Individuals added to the Adults' Barred List.'	NB: DBS were not able to provide data on the number of individuals added to barred lists as a result of sexual behaviour. In May 2016: 5.6% of individuals on the Children's Barred List (for all reasons) were female and 13.8% of those on both the Children's and Adult's Barred Lists were female.	NB: DBS were not able to provide data on the number of individuals added to barred lists as a result of sexual behaviour. In May 2016: 94.3% of individuals on the Children's Barred List (for all reasons) were male and 86.2% of those on both the Children's and Adult's Barred Lists were male.	N/A
Independent Safeguarding Authority	2011	'Behaviour of a sexual nature'	125 referrals were received for women as a result of behaviour of a sexual nature. Of	642 referrals were received for men as a result of behaviour of a sexual nature. Of these 120 men were added to	16.3% of referrals in 2011 for sexual behaviour related to women. 7% of those barred for sexual behaviour were

			these 9 women were added to the barred list.	the barred list.	women. 7.2% of women who were referred for sexual behaviour were barred. This compares to 18.7% of men referred for sexual behaviour who were eventually barred. Men were two and half times more likely to be barred if they were referred for sexual behaviour than women.
Department for Education/ National College of Teaching and Leadership	2016	Sexual misconduct/abuse concerning children in the teacher's professional care.	9.3% (n=4) of cases concerning sexual misconduct/abuse of children related to female teachers. These cases represent 11.8% of all female cases considered. 100% of women considered for these	90.7% (n=39) of cases concerning sexual misconduct/abuse of children related to male teachers. These cases represent 40.2% of all male cases considered. 89.7% of men considered for these reasons were de-	Overall 3% of all cases dealt with by NCTL concerned female-perpetrated child sexual abuse in organisational contexts. This constitutes 11.8% of female cases considered.

			reasons were de-registered.	registered.	
Education Workforce Council Wales (including former General Teaching Council for Wales)	2007-20 June 2016	'inappropriate relationships with students' (NB: may not always be sexual relationships)*	**10 cases received**; all were referred to a conduct hearing. 9 concluded: • 5 prohibition orders (56%) • 3 suspension orders (33%) • 1 conditions order (11%)	25 cases received: 16 concluded: • 11 prohibition orders (69%) • 3 suspension orders (19%) • 2 'other' orders (12%)	**36 % of 'inappropriate relationships with pupils' cases related to female teachers/workers.** **56% of which received prohibition orders** (compared to 69% of male cases); 33% were given suspension orders (compared to 19% males) and 11% received 'other' orders (compared to 12% males). **Males received prohibition orders for this behaviour more frequently than females.** (NB very small sample, and specific details of all cases are not known).

General Teaching Council Scotland	2006-November 2015	'sexual behaviour against a child' (NB this may not all have occurred in organisational context)	**10 cases received**: (12.2% of total received regarding sexual behaviour against a child) 40% (4/10) proceeded to hearing where the allegations proved and of these 100% were removed from register.	72 cases received for sexual behaviour against a child. 54% proceeded to hearing where the allegations were proved and of these 100% removed from register.	**1 in 11** (or 9%) of **teachers removed from the Scottish teaching register between 2006 and 2015 for sexual behaviour against a child were women.** **Female teachers were less likely than males to proceed to a hearing where the allegations were proved, although the chances of being removed from the register thereafter are the same for males and females**. (NB this is a small sample, and some cases may still have been in process at the time of reporting).

Health and Care Professions Council	2006-mid 2016	'Sexual abuse relates to a child' (NB this may not all have occurred in organisational context)	**3 cases received which met the HCPC standard of acceptance.** 1 (33.3%) proceeded to final hearing and was awaiting the final outcome at the time of data provision.	15 cases received which met the HCPC standard of acceptance. 13 (86.7%) proceeded to final hearing: • 10 struck off (77%); • 3 no further action (33%)	**Females accounted for 16.7% of cases received by HCPC between 2006 and mid 2016, which met their standard of acceptance and faced allegations of sexual abuse relating to a child.** **Male cases more likely to proceed to final hearing (86.7% compared to 33.3%) (**NB this is an extremely small sample).
General Dental Council	2012- mid 2016	'sexual offence' which 'relates to allegations of sexual misconduct or abuse against children and young people'	None	3 cases received, all occurred in organisational context. 2 still pending consideration; the other one closed with no substantive sanction	No female dentists/technicians facing allegations of sexual misconduct or abuse against children and young people since 2012.

General Medical Council	2015	'allegations of sexual misconduct/abuse of children or young people' (excluding indecent images cases not involving patients)	None None had reached a hearing since 1980 either.	**21 cases closed** (10 involved patients). 52% of the closed cases (11/21) referred to a substantive hearing. • 82% erased • 18% suspended	No female doctors faced allegations of sexual misconduct/abuse of children or young people since 1980. In 2015, 43% of male doctors facing allegations of sexual misconduct/abuse of children or young people were erased from the register; 10% were suspended for up to a year and 47% of such cases were closed before a final hearing stage.
General Optical Council	2013-June 2016	'allegations of sexual misconduct/sexual abuse of children and young people'	None	**7 cases received.** **1 relevant position of trust case** (outcome unknown)	No relevant female cases
General Pharmaceutical Council	2014-mid 2016	'allegations of sexual offences against children'	None	**8 cases received** 3 of these related to abuse in the	No relevant female cases

				organisational context; 2 proceeded to hearing.	
				• 1 removed from register	
				• 1 conditional registration	
Nursing and Midwifery Council	April 2010-March 2016	Sexual offences and misconduct (includes adult and child victims). Category contains NMC specific categorisations of: • Sexual offences and sex offenders • 'Misconduct-failing to maintain professional boundaries (sexual)'	489 female referrals (56.8% of all referrals). 79.1% of those female referrals related to abuse taking place in the organisational context. 31.7% of female cases were considered at conduct committee, of which: 15.5% were struck off; 10.3% were given caution orders; 9% were given conditions of	372 male referrals received (43.2% of all referrals). 70.7% of male referrals related to abuse taking place in the organisational context. 34.4% of male cases were considered at conduct committee, of which: 57.8% were struck off; 9.4% were given caution orders; 3.9% were given conditions of practice orders; 6.3% received suspension orders.	56% of NMC referrals for sexual misconduct/sexual offences concerned female nurses/midwives. Female nurses referred for sexual misconduct/sexual offences were far less likely to be struck off the NMC register than male nurses (15.5% compared to 57.8%). Female practitioners were around three times more likely to receive a conditions of practice or suspension order than male practitioners. Male nurses were also slightly more likely to have

| | | | practice orders; 18.1% received suspension orders. | | their case proceed to conduct committee hearing than female nurses (34.3% compared to 31.7%).

More of the allegations of sexual offences and misconduct made against female practitioners related to behaviour that occurred in the workplace than males (79.1% compared to 70.7%). |

APPENDIX 4 Data Collection Procedures

SOURCE	METHOD
Lawpages.com	Sentencing area of the website; 'Advanced search'; All filters left blank except: 'Offence type'; set to *Sexual Offences*; 'Gender' radio button: 'Female". Manual review of returned cases. Non-relevant offences cases sifted out e.g. trafficking/brothel keeping or cases where the victim was an adult. Remaining individual records reviewed to identify 'position of trust' cases. Extensive internet searches to identify additional data on each case not held on the Lawpages website (e.g. specific sentence detail, sex offender registration period, prohibition from working with children orders)
Westlaw UK	'Subject/Keyword' search field: *Abuse of position of trust AND teachers* *Abuse of position of trust AND child sex offences* *Abuse of position of trust AND sexual activity with children* *Abuse of position of trust AND indecent assault* *Female offenders AND teachers* *Female offenders AND child sex offences* *Female offenders AND sexual activity with children* *Female offenders AND indecent assault* *Female offenders AND sex offences* *Female offenders AND sexual offences* *Female offenders AND sex offender* *Female offenders AND indecency with a child*

	Female offenders AND position of trust *Female offenders AND grooming* When reading the returned 'Case analysis' summaries I was able to follow some of the 'Cases citing' links to find other abuse of trust/female child sex offender cases. 'CASES' section of database, search terms: Free text field: "sentencing or offend!" and Subject/Keyword field: "female offenders"
Westlaw International (For US cases)	CASES section of database: Advanced Search function ('All State and All Federal' options selected) 'This exact phrase' search box; search terms: *"female sex offender"* *"teacher student sex"* "*teacher student relationship*" *"teacher student sex offenses"* *"sexual exploitation by a school employee"* *"sexual exploitation of a minor"* *"sexual battery by an authority figure"* *"improper relationship with student"* *"engaging child in sexual activity by person in position of familial or custodial authority"* *"sexual penetration involving person in school-related position (and student aged 16 or 17)"* *"statutory rape by an authority figure'* *"lewd conduct child teacher"* *"lewd and lascivious act on a child teacher"* *"teacher student sex offenses"* *"sexual exploitation by a school employee* *"sexual battery by an authority figure"* *"improper relationship with student"* *"improper relationship between educator and student"*

	"engaging child in sexual activity by person in position of familial or custodial authority"
	"sexual penetration involving person in school-related"
	"statutory rape by an authority figure"
	"sexual exploitation of a minor" & *"teacher"*
	"lewd conduct child teacher"
	"lewd and lascivious act on a child" AND *" teacher"* *"female offender"* *"child sex offense"*
	"sexual interference" AND *"teacher"*
	"Abuse of position of trust" AND *"teachers"*
	"Abuse of position of trust" AND *"child sex offences"*
	"Abuse of position of trust" AND *"sexual activity with children"*
	"Abuse of position of trust" AND *"indecent assault child"*
	"Female offenders" AND *"teachers"*
	"Female offenders" AND *"child sex offences"*
	"Female offenders" AND *"sexual activity with children"*
	"Female offenders" AND *"indecent assault"*
	"Female offenders" AND *"sex offences"*
	"Female offenders" AND *"sexual offences"*
	"Female offenders" AND *"sex offender"*
	"Female offenders" AND *"indecency with a child"*
	"Female offenders" AND *"position of trust"*
	"Female offenders" AND *"grooming"*
	"sentencing or offend!" AND *"female offenders"*
	"teachers" AND *"abuse of trust"*
	"Sexual exploitation" AND *"female offender"*
	"Sexual exploitation" AND *"teacher"*
	"Sexual exploitation" AND *"coach"*
Westlaw International (for Canadian cases)	CASES section of the database > 'All Canadian Cases' Search terms: As above for Westlaw International
Tribunals	Care Standards Tribunal website: www.carestandardstribunal.gov.uk/Public/search.aspx Search function: 'Schedule': *Schedule 4 cases: Protection of Children Act List*

	and Prohibition from teaching and working in schools
	Upper Tribunal (Administrative Appeals Chamber) website (for decisions prior to January 2016): http://www.osscsc.gov.uk/Aspx/default.aspx
	Search criteria: 'Category'*: 'Safeguarding Vulnerable Groups'* and; 'Category'*: Care Standards*
	AND each of following subcategories:
	'Sub category'**:** *Registration of social care (including nursing agencies)* *Registration of health care* *Registration of childcare providers* *Registration of social workers and other social care workers* *Other*
	All Upper Tribunal (Administrative Appeals Chamber) webpages (for decisions made from January 2016 onwards): https://www.gov.uk/administrative-appeals-tribunal-decisions).
	Search criteria: 'Categories': *Care Standards* and *Safeguarding Vulnerable Groups*
National College of Teaching and Leadership	Publications section of the UK government website: (www.gov.uk): https://www.gov.uk/government/publications?departments%5B%5D=national-college-for-teaching-and-leadership&keywords=&official_document_status=all&page=1&publication_filter_option=decisions&topics%5B%5D=schools&world_locations%5B%5D=all
	Filters:

	'Publication type': *Decisions* 'Policy area': *Schools* 'Department': *National College of Teaching and Leadership.*
General Teaching Council for Scotland	Recent decisions retrieved from: http://www.gtcs.org.uk/fitness-to-teach/outcomes/hearings-schedule-and-decisions.aspx). 'Hearings Schedule and Decisions' sub-section of the Fitness to Teach section on the website. Manual interrogation of complete list to identify relevant cases.
Education Workforce Council Wales	First search: Data retrieved from: http://www.ewc.wales/site/index.php/en/fitness-to-practise/ftp/hearing-outcomes). 'Fitness to Practice' section of website; 'Hearings outcomes' sub-section. Second search: Data retrieved from: https://www.myewc.wales/en/member-of-public/current-expired-disc-orders) 'Member of the Public' Home Page; 'Search for a practitioner record'; 'Individual details'; All options left blank; 'Search'; 'View Current Orders'. The complete list of those subject to restrictions or prohibitions was then interrogated to identify any potentially relevant cases.

Care Council for Wales	Data retrieved from: http://www.ccwales.org.uk/hearings/outcomes/ Manual interrogation of complete list to identify relevant cases.
Ontario College of Teachers	Data retrieved from: http://www.oct.ca/members/complaints-and-discipline/decisions Manual interrogation of complete alphabetical list to identify relevant cases.
The UK Database	Data retrieved from: www.theukdatabase.com Search: Categories' drop-down menu on the website home page; Category '*Female Abuser'.*
UK Media	Internet searches undertaken to locate secondary information on the cases already identified (via the other data sources) occasionally returned further female perpetrator cases. In this instance the newly identified cases were reviewed and if relevant were included in the sample.

APPENDIX 5 Data Collection Sheet

CASE IDENTIFIER:

SUMMARY

Capture key elements of the case. Vignette of details of abuser, victim and circumstances including disclosure, employer action, police action, social services action, regulatory body action, safeguarding scheme action and court outcomes where known. Include details of victim impact if known.

ABUSER DETAILS

• CASE o Anonymous identifier	
• LOCATION • *(Geographical location of where abuse occurred)*	▪ England ▪ Scotland ▪ Wales ▪ Northern Ireland ▪ USA ▪ Canada ▪ Australia ▪ Elsewhere
• TIME *(Was the abuse contemporaneous to this research or non-recent? Non-recent=abuse occurred over 5 years ago.)*	• ▪ Contemporaneous ▪ Non-recent
• AGE *(At time of abusive behaviour- if abuse occurred over long period include age when commenced)*	▪ Age in years
• AGE AT DETERMINATION *(Age of abuser at point when court/prof. regulator make finding of fact. This is relevant for non-recent abuse cases).*	▪ Age in years
• MARITAL/RELATIONSHIP STATUS *(at time of abuse)*	▪ Married ▪ Divorced ▪ Separated ▪ Widowed ▪ Engaged

	- Single (never married) - Current Partner - N/K
- SEXUAL ORIENTATION *Sexual orientation abuser identifies themselves with (to be drawn from female perpetrator generated information only)*	- Heterosexual - Homosexual - Bisexual - Other - N/K
- ETHNICITY *(Based on UK Office for National Statistics primary categories)*	- White - Asian - Black - Mixed ethnic group - Other - N/K
- POSITION OF TRUST *(Post held by abuser, e.g. teacher, social worker)*	Any relevant positions, including: - Teacher - Social worker - Sports coach - Youth Worker - Nursery Worker - Residential Care Worker Independent School/Private care provider
- CAREER STAGE (S*tage of career at time of the abuse. Newly qualified= within 2 years of professionally qualifying; professional- mid career stage; senior profession- holding a senior role in the organisation; leader-e.g. headteacher)*	- NQ - Professional - Senior Leader
- CRIMINAL HISTORY *(Presence of previous criminal record: whether offences relate to child sexual abuse or not)*	- None - Criminal record (CSA) - Criminal record (non CSA) - Criminal record (both)
- MISCONDUCT HISTORY *(Any history of employer/regulatory body warnings/reprimands etc.)*	- - N/K - None - Prof record (CSA) - Prof record (child related)* - Prof record (non-child related) - Prof record (both) - (*misconduct towards children but

	not sexual)

VICTIMS

• NO. OF VICTIMS	*Numeric count*
• VICTIM GENDER	▪ Male ▪ Female ▪ Both
• VICTIM AGE (*At commencement of abusive behaviour, including grooming)*	▪ Age in years
• AGE DIFFERENCE *(Between abuser and victim at time of commencement of abuse)*	*Numeric count*
• VICTIM VULNERABILITY *(Record if victim has an official, recognised vulnerability, i.e. special needs/disability/looked after child etc.) Note which type of vulnerability.*	▪ Yes ▪ No *Including: learning difficulties; disability; child in care; young offender; mental health difficulties; emotional/behavioural issues; asylum seeking; previous victim of CSA; child in residential facility and any other.*
• VICTIM ISSUES *Record if the victim is experiencing problems at/around the time of the abuse (e.g. bullying, friendship problems, parental separation etc). Note which type of issues.*	▪ Yes ▪ No
• RELATIONSHIP *(between victim and abuser at time of abuse; specific relationship may be potentially distinct from initial*	Specific role but including: ▪ PoT* ▪ Mentor ▪ Sports coach ▪ Music/arts coach

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position of trust e.g. abuser is a teacher in the school but at the time of abuse had specific role of mentor to the child)	*(relationship remains as original position of trust)*
• LENGTH PoT RELATIONSHIP *(how long abuser had known the child via the position of trust at commencement of abuse)*	▪ Time in months/years ▪ N/K

HOW-OCCURRENCE

• PERIOD OF ABUSE *(Duration of abusive behaviour; calculated from commencement of any clear grooming behaviour-if relevant- to actual end of sexual abuse)*	▪ Time in months/years ▪ N/K
• LOCATION *(situational context of the abuse; public/private places; in the workplace)*	▪ Workplace ▪ Outside workplace ▪ Mixed
SPECIFIC LOCATION 1 *(Specific location of abuse, record where there is more than one)*	As relevant but including: ▪ Victim's home ▪ Abuser's home ▪ Online/texting ▪ Work environment ▪ Car (abuser's) ▪ Other (specify) •
SPECIFIC LOCATION 2	As relevant but including: ▪ Victim's home ▪ Abuser's home ▪ Online/texting ▪ Work environment ▪ Car (abuser's) ▪ Other (specify)
SPECIFIC LOCATION 3	As relevant but including: ▪ Victim's home

	▪ Abuser's home ▪ Online/texting ▪ Work environment ▪ Car (abuser's) ▪ Other (specify)
• EARLY INDICATORS *(Record if any previous concerns had been identified or where previous warnings or advice issued to abuser)*	▪ Advice ▪ Warning ▪ Informal discussion ▪ Formal discussion ▪ Rumours
• EARLY INDICATOR IDENTIFIER *(Who raised early concerns?)*	As identified but including: ▪ Employer ▪ Colleague ▪ Guardian ▪ Victim ▪ Victim peer ▪ Abuser peer (family/friend)

HOW-BEHAVIOURS

• CO-ABUSER *(Any identified co-perpetrator, age, sex, relationship, leading party?)*	▪ None ▪ Y-Male ▪ Y- Female ▪ Y- Group (male) ▪ Y- Group (female) ▪ Y Group (mixed)
▪ CO-ABUSER RELATIONSHIP • *(Relationship between abuser and co-abuser)*	As identified but including: ▪ Partner ▪ Work colleague ▪ Friend
• GROOMING *(Is there evidence of grooming-type behaviour?)*	▪ Yes ▪ No
▪ GROOMING BEHAVIOUR 1 *(Acts, behaviours used to prepare the child/others)*	*Use categories below: Codes 1G-14G*
▪ GROOMING BEHAVIOUR 2 *(Acts, behaviours used to prepare the child/others)*	*Use categories below: Codes 1G-14G*

▪ GROOMING BEHAVIOUR 3 *(Acts, behaviours used to prepare the child/others)*	*Use categories below: Codes 1G-14G*
• GUARDIAN AWARENESS	▪ Yes ▪ No ▪ N/K
▪ ABUSER PEER AWARENESS	▪ Yes-family/friend ▪ Yes-colleague ▪ Yes-other ▪ No ▪ N/K •
• VICTIM PEER AWARENESS	▪ Yes-family/friend ▪ Yes-other peer ▪ Yes-other ▪ No ▪ N/K •
• ACTS/BEHAVIOURS 1 *(Sexual behaviours/acts carried out)*	*Use categories below; Codes 1B-18B*
• ACTS/BEHAVIOURS 2	*Use categories below; Codes 1B-18B*
• ACTS/BEHAVIOURS 3	*Use categories below; Codes 1B-18B*
• ONLINE CONTACT *(Evidence of social media/email contact; whether privately or in open sphere)*	▪ Soc media (private) ▪ Soc media (public)* ▪ Soc media (both) ▪ Soc media (undefined) *Refers to communications that are shared with others either via public posts or in groups with other adults/children*
• TELEPHONE CONTACT *(Text messages; mobile phone contact; home phone contact)*	▪ Text ▪ Mobile * ▪ Both *mobile phone telephone conversations (made by either victim or abuser)*
• OUTSIDE PoT CONTACT *(Meeting away from organisational context; home visiting etc.)*	▪ Public place (specify) ▪ Private place (specify) ▪ Abuser home ▪ Victim home
• CONTINUATION *(Did abuse/relationship continue*	▪ Yes (S/T) ▪ Yes (L/T)

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after being discovered/reported?) *(Short term <6mths; Long term* *>6mths)*	▪ No ▪ N/K

PLANNING (type as per DMFSO categories)

DISTAL PLANNING   PROXIMAL PLANNING

IMPLICIT	*Unconscious manipulation or circumstances to make offending more likely.*	IMPLICIT-DISORGANISED	*Now becomes inhibited; implement implicit plans; impulsivity; minimal planning; low self-control*
DIRECTED	*By co-offender/other*	DIRECTED	*By co-offender/other*
EXPLICIT	*Conscious and explicit planning*	EXPLICIT-PRECISE	*Continue with precise plan*
NO PLANNING		NO PLANNING	

	Grooming Behaviours		
1G	Sexualised contact via text/social media		
2G	Sharing non-sexual personal life details (e.g. drug use, relationships)		
3G	Inappropriate behaviour/boundaries with other young people/pupils		
4G	Planning/inciting to meet		
5G	Meeting in private (In workplace)		
6G	Meeting in private (Outside workplace)		

7G	Allowing/encouraging visits to her home		
8G	Sexual discussions (Adult shares own history etc.)		
9G	Sexual discussions (Adult asks re: child's own history etc.)		
10G	Buying gifts		
11G	Financial support		
12G	Grooming guardians		
13G	Grooming child's peers		
14G	Other		

	Coercing Behaviours *(Coercive behaviours used by abuser to prevent disclosure/continue abuse)*		
1C	Threats (to end relationship)		
2C	Threats (to harm child)		
3C	Threats (to harm herself)		
4C	Threats (to tell)		
5C	Threats (will lose job		
6C	Treats/coercion (other)		

	Sexual Acts/Behaviours		
1B	Voyeurism/Exhibitionism		
2B	Pornography (viewing)		
3B	Pornography (creation of)		
4B	Sex talk in absence (social media/text)		
5B	Intimate touching (of adult over clothes)		
6B	Intimate touching (of adult on skin)		
7B	Intimate touching (of child over clothes)		
8B	Intimate touching (of child on skin)		
8Bi	Intimate touching (of child; undefined)		
9B	Oral sex (on adult)		
10B	Oral sex (on child)		
10Bi	Oral sex (undefined		

11B	Masturbation (adult masturbates child)		
12B	Masturbation (child masturbates adult)		
13B	Vaginal penetration (of adult)		
14B	Vaginal penetration (of child)		
15B	Anal penetration (on adult)		
16B	Anal penetration (on child)		
17B	Intercourse		
18B	Sexual activity (undefined)		
19B	Other (specify)		

SITUATIONAL FACTORS

Physical Environment	
Organisational culture	
Other	

VICTIM REACTION

VICTIM RESPONSE (as per DMFSO categories)

ENGAGED		*Tend to be very young and appear to react positively*
SUBMISSIVE		*Minimal interaction with offender* *Tend not to react particularly strongly to the abuse*
RESISTANT		*Express discomfort and ask offender to stop*

• VICTIM IMPACT (short term) *(Record ways in which victim responded/was impacted in the short term)*	On spreadsheet record as: ▪ Yes ▪ No ▪ N/K On case record describe in more detail.
• VICTIM IMPACT (long term) *(Record ways in which victim responded/was impacted in the long term)*	On spreadsheet record as: ▪ Yes ▪ No ▪ N/K On case record describe in more detail.
• IMPACT ON OTHERS *(Where there is evidence of considerable impact on others e.g.*	On spreadsheet record as: ▪ Yes ▪ No ▪ N/K

victim's/abuser's family; work environment; friends)	• On case record describe in more detail.

DISCLOSURE

• REPORTING PARTY *(Who disclosed/reported the abuse; victim? colleague? parent?)*	▪ Victim ▪ Adult colleague ▪ Guardian ▪ Victim peer
• REPORTED TO *(Who was substantive allegation initially reported to?)*	▪ Organisation ▪ Police ▪ Social services
• TIMING *The timing the disclosure was made: was it contemporaneously? Historically? (i.e. 3 years or more after abuse occurred).*	▪ Contemporary ▪ Historical ▪ Both ▪ N/K
• ABUSER RESPONSE *(How did abuser respond to allegations overall?* *They may have changed response as investigations progressed; capture here their most enduring response).* •	▪ Admitted ▪ Denied ▪ Partially admitted

RESULTS/CONSEQUENCES

• EMPLOYER ACTION *(What did employer do following disclosure/awareness of the allegations?)*	• Formal investigation • Informal investigation • No action • Limited action* • N/K • *This would include where the abuser was spoken to but no further investigation or referral to other agencies took place.*
• EMPLOYER OUTCOME *Outcome of employer considerations (e.g. dismissal;*	▪ Dismissed ▪ Warning ▪ Advice ▪ Resignation

warning; advice)	▪ N/K
• **GUARDIAN RESPONSE** *(How did the victim's guardian respond to allegation/investigation?)*	▪ Negatively ▪ Tolerant * ▪ Blame victim ▪ Other (define) • **This would include where the guardian is tolerant of or has some sympathy towards the abuser/situation*
• **SOCIAL SERVICES ACTION** *(Any specific action taken by social services following disclosure; (e.g. adding child to protection register). They may also not have been involved in the case, if this is clearly the case record this).*	▪ Formal action (define) ▪ Not involved ▪ N/K
• **POLICE ACTION** *(Record highest level of police action i.e. furthest case went in police process. Include reason if discontinued).*	▪ Investigation ▪ Interview ▪ Charge
• **CJS OUTCOME** *(Conviction; caution; NFA, include reason if discontinued)*	▪ Conviction ▪ Caution ▪ NFA ▪ Not Guilty finding
• **INDICTMENT/OFFENCE** *(Offence name and no. of count charged)*	As per offence
• **PLEA**	▪ Guilty ▪ Not Guilty

• **SENTENCE**
  ○ *If sentenced at Magistrates court mark with and asterix on spreadsheet and note on this record*
  ○ *If sentence is changed on appeal then record the ultimate final*
	• Custodial immediate;
	• Custodial suspended;
	• Community order;
	• Conditional discharge

sentence and make notes re: original sentence.	
• SENTENCE LENGTH *(Total length of sentence imposed)*	Years/months
• SEX OFFENDERS REGISTER *(If abuser placed on sex offenders register)*	▪ Yes ▪ No ▪ N/K
• SOR PERIOD *(Duration of required sex offender registration)*	▪ 2 years ▪ 5 years ▪ 10 years ▪ Indefinite
• WORK BAN *(Any court-imposed ban rather than regulator imposed- this is covered under prof body outcome)*	▪ Yes ▪ No ▪ N/K
• BAN PERIOD *(Duration of court imposed work ban)*	▪ Time in yrs/mths
• OTHER ORDER *(Any other order imposed by the court e.g. SOPO, Community order)*	▪ SOPO/SHPO ▪ Compensation Order ▪ Non-molestation order
• OTHER SENTENCE *Any other court imposed requirement (e.g. community order sentence/fine).*	▪ Fine ▪ Community sentence ▪ Treatment programme
• PROFESSIONAL BODY ACTION *Did a professional regulatory body take any action? (e.g. NCTL, GTC, Tribunals etc.). Use N/A if there is no relevant regulatory body linked to the profession*	▪ Yes ▪ No ▪ N/K ▪ N/A
• PROFESSIONAL BODY OUTCOME *Final outcome of prof body considerations (e.g. prohibition; sanction).*	▪ Prohibition ▪ Suspension ▪ Warning ▪ Other sanction

• PROFESSIONAL BODY LENGTH *(How long sanction lasts)*	▪ Time in years/months
• REVIEW PERIOD *(Professional body sanction review period, if allowed)*	▪ N/A ▪ Time in years/mths
• BARRED? *Barred from working with children via national/regional scheme? E.g. DBS, Disclosure Scotland. If appeal was heard include here what the ultimate position is post-appeal but use * to note a change of original decision (i.e. Count as No* if person was barred but now not barred as a result of appeal decision).*	▪ Yes ▪ No ▪ N/K • *Use asterix to identify if appeal decision is relevant.*
• APPEAL/CIVIL CLAIM *(If any appeal was made against any sanction including court, prof body, national barring service etc.)*	▪ Yes ▪ Yes* ▪ No ▪ Civil Claim *Use * if appeal was made by someone else, i.e. Attorney General appealing lenient sentence*
• APPEAL OUTCOME	▪ Success ▪ Fail ▪ Partial success ▪ N/K

THEORETICAL LINKS

MOTIVATIONS		Primary motivation as per DMFSO categories
SEXUAL GRATIFICATION		
INTIMACY		
INSTRUMENTAL ('Something else')		*e.g. financial gain, vengeance*

OFFENCE APPROACH (As per DMFSO categories)

MATERNAL APPROACH	*Typical of 'Teacher/lover' type* *Non-aggressive, coercive approach*
MATERNAL AVOIDANT	*Coercive non-aggressive. Actively want to avoid offending.*
AGGRESSIVE APPROACH	*Describes those who offend against adults or in groups*
OPERATIONALISED	*For trafficking, prostitution etc.*
N/K	

PATHWAYS (As per Gannon et al., 2010 categories)

EXPLICIT APPROACH		
DIRECTED AVOIDANT		
IMPLICIT DISORGANISED		

MITIGATION

Relationship	Finances	Work stress	Personal stress	Mental Health	Substance abuse	Self-esteem	Isolation

Sexual abuse	Other abuse	Childhood trauma	Health	Suicide/self harm	Other	Victim Blaming	

Capture in above table key elements of mitigation/explanation put forward in the case or clearly evident from the circumstances of the case.

- *Relationship- any relationship problems, current or recent*
- *Finances- any financial pressures or difficulties*
- *Work stress- reference to work pressures/stress*
- *Personal stress- other personal/family stresses e.g. problems in having children/pregnancy (specify in notes box)*
- *Mental Health- capture if mental health problems <u>relevant to the time</u> of abuse (anxiety/depression etc.); if issues arise post –event then can capture in notes*

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> box instead. Y-A (anxiety); Y- D (depression); Y-B (both anxiety and depression); Y-O (other mental health issue)
> * *Substance abuse- drugs/alcohol- only include if clear there is a significant issue with substance abuse, not just if alcohol may have been part of the abusive behaviour or present at the time (this can be captured in notes section).*
> * *Self-esteem- expressed issues of self esteem, self confidence.*
> * *Isolation- social or geographical isolation*
> * *Sexual abuse- any reference to abuser's own sexual abuse in past: capture as Y-CSA for childhood sexual abuse; Y – A/D (A-adult/D-domestic)*
> * *Other abuse- any reference to abuser's own non-sexual abuse in past: capture as Y-C for childhood abuse; Y – AD for adult abuse*
> * *Childhood trauma- record if any known childhood trauma present (not explicitly abuse or captured in previous categories)*
> * *Health- any known health issues/worries for the abuser at the time/preceding the abuse.*
> * *Other- any other mitigation or given explanation.*
> * *Suicide/self harm: ideation or attempts at preceding (within a year) or at time of abuse.*
> * *Victim Blaming: include whether the abuser places (even partial) blame/responsibility on the victim.*
> *

DECISION MAKER COMMENTS

Capture direct comments made by decision makers in the case (i.e. judges comments/sentencing remarks; prof regulatory decision comments). Capture the key views and opinions expressed.

NOTES

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