Situational Factors in Female-Perpetrated Child Sexual Abuse in Organisations: Implications for Prevention

Andrea J. Darling and Simon Hackett

Department of Sociology, Durham University, Durham, United Kingdom

Andrea J. Darling (Corresponding Author), Department of Sociology, Durham University, 32 Old Elvet, Durham, County Durham, DH1 3HN, United Kingdom. Telephone: 0191 334 1485, Fax: 0191 334 1401, Email: a.j.darling@dunlem.org.uk

Simon Hackett, Professor of Child Abuse and Neglect, Department of Sociology, Durham University, 32 Old Elvet, Durham, County Durham, DH1 3HN, United Kingdom. Telephone: 0191 334 1472, Fax: 0191 334 1401, Email: simon.hackett@dur.ac.uk

This work was supported by the Economic and Social Research Council **[**ES/1447912] who provided funding for this research as a doctoral studentship for the first author at Durham University.

WORD COUNT: 8761 words

Situational Factors in Female-Perpetrated Child Sexual Abuse in Organisations: Implications for Prevention

Abstract

Despite increasing interest in child sexual abuse occurring in organisations, the perpetration of such abuse by females is largely ignored. This study examined situational factors in 136 cases of sexual abuse perpetrated by women working with children in the UK, Canada and the USA between 2000 and 2016. Qualitative and quantitative content analysis of court reports, professional regulator decisions, media reports and an online sentencing database was used, findings indicating that situational and contextual factors are highly relevant in perpetration. Much abuse occurs away from the organisational environment, particularly in perpetrators' homes and cars, and in virtual environments. However, it also occurs within organisations, generally in unsupervised areas, outside of operating hours and often during mentoring/tutoring or extra-curricular activities. Organisational and local culture can be a facilitator in this abuse and allow it to continue even when concerns are raised. Practical prevention measures are suggested to assist in reducing future abuse.

Key words: female sex offender; child sexual abuse; institutional abuse; organisational abuse; situational crime prevention

Introduction

Recent years have seen unprecedented public and political attention directed towards organisational child abuse and child sexual abuse (CSA), and in particular it has been the focus of increasing numbers of national inquiries and local investigations. However, despite growing research into the issue, significant gaps still remain in the literature (McNeish & Scott, 2018) and until recently there has been very little empirical research conducted examining females who sexually offend in organisations (Darling 2018; Darling & Antonopoulos, 2013; Darling, Hackett & Jamie, 2018).

This is problematic for a number of reasons. First, female-perpetrated sexual offending is now considered to be more prevalent than previously thought with victimisation studies showing rates as high as 11.6% of all sexual offenders being female (Cortoni, Babchishin & Rat, 2016). In relation to organisational offending, McLeod's (2014) study of female perpetrated CSA reported to child protection services in the US found that 19% of offenders were acting in positions of trust, and Shakeshaft's (2004) review of educator sexual misconduct found that between 4 and 43% of all offenders were female. Analysis of UK criminal justice system data more recently found that women constituted 11.9% of all recorded cautions and convictions for 'abuse of trust' sexual offences in England and Wales between 2006 and 2016 (Darling, 2018). These are sexual offences perpetrated by adults who abuse their legal position of authority or trust by engaging in sexual activity with a young person aged 16 or 17 years old. Second, female-perpetrated CSA has been found in some studies to have particularly harmful consequences for victims (Denov, 2004; Saradjian, 2010) and gender biases are likely to result in under-reporting of sexual abuse by women (Denov, 2004; Dunbar, 1999; Saradjian, 2010). Third, childcare provision has been considered to be the second most common context for female child sex offending to occur (Faller, 1987) and organisational settings are the second most prevalent environments in which CSA occurs (Wortley & Smallbone, 2014). Finally, given increasing attention being paid to institutional CSA it is possible that more victims may come forward and report abuse by women in positions of professional trust and in order to respond appropriately, it is important to understand the phenomenon more fully (Darling, Hackett & Jamie, 2018).

The gap in understanding around how and why women abuse in organisational contexts means there is a risk that prevention measures designed to address male perpetrators in such environments may not be sufficient or appropriate to prevent potential abuse by females. Therefore, this study aimed to examine the relevant situational and contextual factors present when female-perpetrated CSA occurs in organisations to identify any particular prevention measures of importance. These situational factors are those over which organisations can have some control and influence and this article describes some potential prevention measures organisations might consider. As Radford and colleagues (2017) highlight a wider focus on prevention and response is required now to address institutional child sexual abuse, one which goes beyond the regulation of convicted sexual offenders and teaching children to protect themselves and focuses on targeting identified risks and vulnerabilities (Radford, Richardson Foster, Barter & Stanley, 2017).

Separately, studies into both female sex offenders and organisational abuse have increased. However, very little research attention has been paid to the combined issue of women who sexually abuse children whilst working in positions of trust.

Organisational CSA

The concept of organisational child abuse as a named social problem did not exist until the 1970s (Daly, 2017) and although there have been increasing efforts to research organisational CSA very little is known about the incidence, prevalence nor impacts of this type of abuse (Blakemore, Herbert, Arney & Parkinson, 2017; Gallagher, 2000; Spröber et al., 2014; Wolfe, Jaffe, Jette & Poisson, 2003). Importantly, very few existing studies refer to female perpetrators.

Only a limited range of organisations have featured in previous research with many studies to date focussing on abuse within religious organisations and 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; Proeve, Malvaso, Delfabbro, 2016; Spröber et al., 2014; Terry & Ackerman, 2008). By concentrating on the long-term impacts and in examining adult experiences of sexual victimisation in organisations during their childhood the findings of many studies conducted over the last twenty years are arguably not representative of more contemporary circumstances of

organisational CSA (Spröber et al., 2014) and offer limited understanding of the situational factors of relevance.

Some existing studies into sexual abuse in organisations offer helpful insights into the characteristics of male perpetrators and their victims and address, to some extent, the modus operandi of perpetrators (Erooga et al., 2012; Gallagher, 2000; Leclerc & Cale, 2015; Leclerc, Feakes & Cale, 2015; Sullivan et al., 2002; Sullivan & Beech, 2004; Sullivan et al., 2011; Proeve et al., 2016; Turner et al., 2014) but lack substantive analysis of situational factors.

What national inquiries into child abuse in churches and other organisations have emphasised more recently is the need for a wider focus on organisational safety and on the opportunities for unmonitored contact between children and adults in positions of trust (Australian Royal Commission, 2017; Radford et al., 2017). This highlights the importance of understanding situational, environmental and contextual factors in addressing opportunities for CSA in organisations. 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 less evidence of known predisposition or motivation to abuse prior to working in organisational contexts (Darling & Antonopoulos, 2013; Erooga et al., 2012a, 2012; Finkelhor et al., 1988). Given the view 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) then the situational and contextual factors related to the relationships between adults and children in organisations become increasingly important. Some situational, environmental and contextual factors have been identified as relevant in previous studies examining abuse in educational settings (Jaffe et al., 2013; Motosune, 2015; Moulden, Firestone, Kingston & Wexler, 2010; Shakeshaft, 2004; Solis & Benedek, 2012) and abuse committed by 'professional perpetrators' (Sullivan & Beech, 2002); and those who sexually abuse children in the context of their professional positions (Colton & Vanstone, 1996; Erooga et al., 2012; Leclerc, Feakes, & Cale, 2015, 2015a; Moulden et al., 2010; Sullivan & Beech, 2002, 2004; Vanstone & Colton, 1996).

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) and

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). In educational settings the use of violence has been found to be rare (Jaffe et al., 2013; Moulden et al., 2010; Shakeshaft, 2004) and abuse tends to occur following considerable grooming through special relationships and the use of electronic communications (Jaffe et al., 2013; Motosune, 2015; Solis & Benedek, 2012) with most abuse occurring in the school environment or online (Jaffe et al., 2013; Moulden et al., 2010). These studies relate either exclusively to male perpetrators or have very small numbers of women included in their samples.

Organisational culture

In addition to the situational characteristics present in organisations, cultural views about organisations and those in positions of authority are also argued to facilitate the perpetration of child abuse and undermine responses to it in organisational contexts (Palmer & Feldman, 2017). Organisational culture may also endorse and encourage the development of intimate and affectionate relationships between children and adults (such as in mentoring or pastoral support roles) for example, arguably increasing the likelihood that adults who were not previously aware of any motivation to abuse children will discover a latent sexual interest in them and thereby increase the likelihood of abuse (Colton et al., 2010; Shakeshaft, 2004). These are often roles given to female members of staff who may be considered to present less of a risk of inappropriate behaviour with children and be entrusted with more intimate caring and support roles.

In addition to organisational culture more generally, organisational and individual cultural views concerning gender and gender-bias in perceptions of CSA, including who the perpetrators and victims might be, are likely to influence responses to female-perpetrated CSA in organisations. A few studies have explored gender impacts on public and professional perceptions of teacher-student sexual abuse and have all found a gender bias in favour of female teachers, whose behaviours were viewed less seriously and less punitively than their male counterparts (Frketic & Easteal, 2010; Geddes, Tyson & McGreal, 2012; Mackelprang & Becker, 2015). Such findings suggest the potential for female-perpetrated CSA in organisations to be largely ignored or minimised by those who work within them.

Female sex offenders

The extant literature suggests women more commonly sexually abuse children within their families and frequently with a male offender (Gannon & Rose, 2008). A number of common characteristics in female offenders have been identified, with most being aged in their mid-twenties to thirties (Vandiver & Walker, 2002), being of low or middle class socioeconomic status (Mathews, Matthews & Speltz, 1989; Nathan & Ward, 2001), and having minimal educational qualifications (Matravers, 2013; Nathan & Ward, 2001). Many female offenders are deemed to lack social skills, have low self-esteem and experience relationship difficulties (Danvin, 1999; Hislop, 1999; Mathews et al., 1989; Saradjian, 1996). These characteristics contrast significantly with male 'professional perpetrators' who are often well-qualified, highly successful in their careers and with positive social relationships and reputations (Darling et al., 2018; Sullivan & Beech, 2002).

Female-perpetrated CSA in organisations

Turning to the much more limited existing literature concerning female-perpetrated CSA in organisations it is evident that even among the few studies that do exist there are opposing findings regarding perpetrators' motivations to abuse and rates of co-offending. Finkelhor et al.'s, (1988) early study of sexual abuse in day care included a sample where 36% of abusers were female, over three-quarters of those being co-perpetrators. Much of the abuse was considered opportunistic rather than the result of specific sexual attraction to young children. In contrast, Moulden et al.'s (2007) study of sexual offending in childcare environments, found that most women offended alone and all of their behaviour was considered to have been sexually motivated.

The few empirical studies into organisational abuse which have included female perpetrators in their samples generally only describe offender and victim characteristics and provide little detail on their offending processes and risk factors. Those studies that do address perpetrator modus operandi and contextual factors do so to a limited extent. For example, one educator abuse study providing a gender breakdown of findings (Mototsune, 2015) involved a sample of which 8% (n=24) were women. Female teachers were found to be more likely to abuse in their own or in the victim's home (although 42% abused in schools) with electronic communication a facilitator in the abuse in three-quarters of cases. Another study of public school teachers (Ratliff and Watson, 2014), in which over a quarter of perpetrators were female, found a significant difference in the way male and female teachers were caught and prosecuted, suggesting that victims may be less likely to disclose such abuse when the

teacher is female and that school administrators may be less alert to inappropriate behaviour by female teachers.

Only four studies have been identified which have substantively and exclusively examined women who abuse children in organisational contexts. Three of these focus on perpetrator and victim characteristics and risk factors associated with individual perpetrators (Darling, 2013; Hunt, 2006; Stranger, 2015) and one (Darling, 2018) also examines the particular organisational context and situational factors relevant in the abuse.

Hunt's (2006) work in Australia was empirically limited but attempted to determine prevalence rates, suggesting that between 5 and 31% of female-perpetrated CSA takes place in organisational settings. More recently three postgraduate theses have examined the subject (Darling, 2018; Darling, 2013; Stranger, 2015). Darling's (2013) study specifically examined the abuse of 16- and 17-year-old adolescents by women in positions of trust in the UK, finding that some of the factors of aetiological significance in these women were common to those found in female sex offenders in general, such as unstable lifestyles, low self-esteem, relationship difficulties and emotional self-management problems. Differences in factors of aetiological significance 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.

Stranger's (2015) empirical study involved case studies of five female teachers in the US who sexually offended against students, examining the presence of 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 problems, especially bipolar disorder, may have played a role in this offending. The women also used similar grooming methods to male educators.

The key findings from Darling's (2018) later and wider study were that most women were aged in their late twenties or early thirties and offended against one, usually male, victim. Victims were typically 15 or 16 years old and the majority of the women were situational or opportunistic offenders and were apparently motivated by unmet intimacy or sexual gratification needs. This article is based on, and is an extension of Darling's (2018) study.

Existing studies involving female perpetrators of organisational CSA have involved differing populations and have focussed on different elements thereby limiting the ability for effective

comparison and for building a comprehensive picture of commonalities of this type of abuse. Where limited comparisons concerning perpetrator and victim characteristics can be made, female organisational abusers have been found to: abuse older students (Darling & Antonopoulos, 2013; Darling, Hackett & Jamie, 2018; Mototsune, 2015; Ratliff & Watson, 2014; Stranger, 2015); typically be aged in their early to mid-thirties (Darling & Antonopoulos, 2013; Darling et al., 2018; Mototsune, 2015); abuse a sole victim (Darling & Antonopoulos, 2013; Darling et al, 2018; Mototsune, 2015) and often be experiencing mental health issues (Darling & Antonopoulos, 2013; Stranger, 2015).

It is evident then that the existing literature is limited by a lack of studies examining female-perpetrated CSA in organisations, the motivations for it and how it is actually perpetrated. There is also a lack of existing evidence about the situational and contextual factors of relevance in this type of abuse. This exposes a real deficit in overall understanding of how and why female-perpetrated CSA occurs in organisations and therefore what specific action might be required to help prevent it. Given the potential for situations and locations to initiate CSA (Smallbone, Marshall & Wortley, 2008; Wortley, 2001) and the significance of organisations as a key environment in which female-perpetrated abuse occurs (Faller, 1987) this is a fundamental gap in knowledge that this research aims to address.

Situational crime prevention

As noted earlier, situational aspects of organisations have been identified as contributing to opportunities for CSA to occur. The specific characteristics of organisations can be facilitators of CSA (Kaufman & Erooga, 2016; Smallbone, et al., 2008) and increase the risk of adults working in them sexually abusing children. These characteristics can include the physical environment in the organisation; child protection policies and procedures; staff training and supervision; power differentials between children and adults in positions of trust; and organisational climate, culture and norms (Erooga, 2012; Kaufman & Erooga, 2016; Palmer & Feldman, 2017; Smallbone et al., 2008). Against these characteristics CSA may occur in organisations in a number of ways: being perpetrated by those who deliberately join the organisation expressly to access and abuse children or by individuals responding to or exploiting opportunities presented within the organisation, such as those who are stimulated to offend in the course of their care-giving activities while working with children for example.

In light of these situational explanations for CSA in organisations this research takes a situational crime prevention approach to the issue, emphasising the creation of safer environments rather than safer individuals (Smallbone et al., 2008). Situational crime prevention (SCP) is a pragmatic and problem-solving approach focusing on practical solutions based on the identification and analysis of offence processes and situational and contextual factors present when crime occurs. It is particularly relevant when examining this type of abuse given organisational settings are potentially highly amenable to SCP (Wortley & Smallbone, 2014).

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; and weaken an individual's moral restraints and generate an emotional arousal leading to a criminal response. By focusing on the more immediate circumstances surrounding the perpetration of abuse, this research aimed to uncover intervention points or situationally relevant factors in the abuse in order to suggest prevention measures in a more immediate and practical way.

Method

Sample

The sample consisted of 136 cases of women who had sexually abused children whilst working in organisational contexts. By 'organisational contexts', we refer to all organisational and institutional settings where women were employed or acted as volunteers and sexually offended against children in the course of their work, including for example, educational and care settings and sports and leisure organisations. In presenting our findings we use the term 'case' to refer to the circumstances concerning an individual perpetrator. It should be noted that each perpetrator may have committed multiple abuses which in turn might have involved differing characteristics.

The women were dealt with by the police, courts and/or professional regulators in the UK (61%, n=83), Canada (22.8%, n=31), and the USA (16.2%, n=22), between 2000 and 2016. Almost ninety per cent of cases (89%, n=121) concerned contemporaneously perpetrated

abuse, the remainder involving non-recent abuse (occurring more than five years before the abuse was disclosed or reported). Only two cases involved a co-abuser (both male). The women ranged from 21-56 years (mean= 31.2; SD=6.76) and the majority were ethnically White (93.1%). Most were teachers (74.3%, n=101), followed by teaching assistants (12.5%, n=17) and residential care workers (4.4%, n=6). Other positions of trust included: sports coaches (2.2%, n=3); social workers (2.2%, n=3); and a cadet officer; church youth group leader; school transport supervisor; college lecturer; nursery worker; and a tutor (one of each, totalling the remaining 4.4%).

Most of the women abused male victims (76.5%, n=104). Thirty-one women abused female victims (22.8%) and only one abused victims of both sexes. Victims' ages at the onset of the known abuse range from under 1 year to 17 years old with a modal age of 16 years (n=40). Notably, two-thirds (66.6%) of the women offended against 15 and 16 year olds. Most perpetrators abused one known victim (86%, n=117).

Data Collection

The primary data sources were court and tribunal reports (n=38); professional regulatory body hearing decisions (n=52); a UK-based court records and sentencing database website (www.lawpages.com) (n=21); media reports (n=11); and a privately constructed UK online database listing perpetrators of child abuse, (www.theukdatabase.com) (n=14). All documents were in the public domain and openly available online. Further data concerning identified cases were retrieved via extensive Internet and media searches.

Court reports were retrieved via Westlaw databases and relevant employment tribunal websites. Searches on Westlaw were conducted using an extensive variety of search terms. A small number of additional relevant cases were traced via the 'cases cited' section of those individual case records already returned using the search function. The individual website search functions were also used to locate relevant cases for the three relevant employment and regulatory tribunals in England and Wales concerning those working in education, health and social care. These were The Care Standards Tribunal, the First-Tier Tribunal (Health, Education and Social Care) and the Upper Tribunal (Administrative Appeals Chamber).

The UK sentencing database (www.lawpages.com) covering England and Wales was searched for all relevant female sex offenders listed between 2006 and 2016 (the period

covered by the database). Records contained details of the offender, victim, offence and sentencing. 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 more detailed information contained in media reports of court activity.

Professional regulatory bodies are those organisations with responsibility for regulating their respective profession and holding registers of approved and qualified individuals. Data for this study were gathered by retrieving and reviewing online published professional conduct and disciplinary hearing decisions for cases considered by: the National College of Teaching and Leadership (England); Health and Care Professions Council (England); the General Teaching Council for Scotland (Scotland); Education Workforce Wales and the Care Council for Wales (Wales); and the Ontario College of Teachers (Canada).

The ukdatabase.com website 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. The website search function was used to retrieve all relevant female perpetrator cases. A number of further cases were identified in online media sources during searches for secondary information in cases already retrieved from the other data sources.

Using publically available data sources in this way is a method employed in several other recent studies into CSA (Almond, McManus, Giles & Houston, 2015; Jaffe et al., 2013; Motosune, 2015). Our data contained triangulated evidential sources, and the inclusion of court and tribunal reports and professional regulatory body hearing decision records, where available, further enhances validity as these documents are subject to stringent legal scrutiny making them arguably more accurate than police reports (Almond et al., 2015; Porter & Alison, 2004, 2006).

The 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 Durham University School of Applied Social Sciences Ethics Committee prior to the commencement of the data collection.

Data Analysis

Qualitative and quantitative content analysis was used to analyse the data sources. The data were recorded against 98 separate variables including: demographic information; modus operandi and circumstances of the offending; situational and contextual factors; and criminal justice system, child protection and employing organisation responses. These variables were identified through a comprehensive review of the existing literature to ensure comparability between studies and were developed into a standard data collection template to be used to extract data in each case. Inductive qualitative content analysis was also used to examine the richer contextual data regarding the situational and environmental contexts in which the abuse occurred, and common themes and features were identified across the case sample. The process of data extraction and the use of the template was trialled in a pilot study and its reliability reviewed by the first author's supervisors (including the second author and one additional supervisor). The collated information for each case was recorded on the template and then onto a spreadsheet to facilitate analysis. This complete data set was subsequently transferred to the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 20 for the production of descriptive statistics and further analysis.

Results

Location of Sexual Abuse

Most sexual abuse occurred in schools or other educational contexts (90.5%, n=123). Eight cases (4.4%) occurred in residential care facilities or in the context of social care. Other organisations or locations were a church, a leisure activity facility, a nursery and in a domestic environment (one of each, totalling 2.8%).

Sexually abusive behaviour took place within the physical environment of the organisation itself in 41.9% (n=57) of cases. More than a third (36%, n=49) of cases concerned sexual abuse that occurred both within and external to the organisational environment and 5.9% (n=8) of cases involved abuse which took 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 1.

External locations

Perpetrator's/ victim's home

The attendance of any adult in a position of trust or child at one another's home was a situational factor enhancing the potential and risk of sexually abusive behaviour. Sexual abuse occurred at the perpetrator's home in 46.3% (n=63) of cases. While the findings showed that some visits victims made to the perpetrator's home were seemingly legitimate, such as attending music lessons, the majority were not. 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 invitation from her to do so, sometimes as part of a group of other children/young people to take part in social activities. In fourteen per cent (n=19) of cases the sexual 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). 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.

Trips/excursions

It was also evident in a number of cases that the sexual abuse took place in hotels, 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. On some occasions, the perpetrator shared a room with the victim and other young people during such trips. 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 towns/cities, theme parks, industrial estates, coaches/minibuses, public toilets, libraries and an aeroplane.

Vehicles

The perpetrator giving the victim lifts in her vehicle was also identified as both an important situational factor enhancing the risk of an inappropriate relationship developing and as a physical location where sexual abuse occurred. A third (33.1%; n=45) of cases involved

abuse taking place in the perpetrator's car. Often the situation began when the perpetrator drove the victim home following after-school tuition or activities.

Virtual environments

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 sexual abuse occurring exclusively in the virtual environment. Inappropriate, personal communication exchanges often began 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 in the first instance. Sometimes the perpetrator and victim would create pseudo accounts in order to conceal their communications.

[Insert Table 1 here]

Organisational locations

Despite the inherent risks of being caught, 41.9% (n=57) of perpetrators engaged in sexually abusive behaviour with victims whilst in the organisational environment. 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. 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.

Some abuse took place in supervised study areas or behaviour intervention rooms; spaces where children became isolated when 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, that such spaces are potentially high-risk locations. The proximal living and sleeping environments of staff and children in residential settings were also identified as a key situational factor leading to sexually abusive behaviour in a few cases.

Contextual Factors

In addition to the physical and virtual environmental factors, numerous commonalities were identified in this study regarding the socio-ecosystemic and cultural context in which the sexually abusive relationship occurred. These factors were identified from qualitative case file data using qualitative content analysis to analyse the richer contextual data in each case and across all cases.

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 sexual abuse occurs. There was some evidence in the case data of organisational culture which demonstrated an apparent unwillingness on behalf of employers, colleagues and parents to accept that female-perpetrated CSA could occur, as well as some evidence of victim-blaming attitudes. For example, in one case the perpetrator's colleagues and employer entirely disbelieved a male adolescent victim's allegations of sexual abuse by his 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 a male member of staff in a school had been told several times by a victim and her friend about the uncomfortable approaches that were being made towards the victim by a female teacher. This male colleague failed to do anything about it and later explained he considered it 'akin to a mother/daughter relationship' and that he had not believed it could be sexual in nature.

Rumour circulation

Linked to such a 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 but doing nothing in response.

Supply teaching

A few cases concerned sexual abuse perpetrated by supply or substitute teachers. The case data showed that in these instances the sexually abusive behaviour followed the teacher developing inappropriate friendships and breaching professional boundaries in her contact with the young people she taught. Some perpetrators behaved in more informal and friendly ways with pupils in order to try and help manage behavioural problems in the classroom exacerbated by the temporary nature of their roles. The intransient work situation for some

also contributed to their own lack of established working relationships and support networks with their adult colleagues. For the less experienced and immature supply teachers this appeared to contribute to the development of inappropriate friendships with adolescent pupils. This resulted in them socialising with their pupils and other young people and ultimately establishing sexually abusive relationships with them

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.

Additional roles

Inappropriate relationships were often initially established during additional roles the perpetrator held in relation to the victim outside of her main position in the organisation, such as formal or informal mentoring or tutoring roles, sports coaching or running 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 and often before or after normal working hours.

Policy and procedure

In many cases there was a lack of understanding about, or failure to adhere to, organisational policy and procedure particularly concerning social media and personal mobile phone contact; giving lifts; out of organisation contact and physical contact between children and adults. Even where policies or codes of conduct existed, they were often ignored. In other cases, staff members were either not actually aware of the expectations of the policy or failed to take seriously enough or act upon any breaches by colleagues.

Early indicators

Just as inquiries into organisational CSA 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. These included spending significant or frequent periods of time together, meeting alone, exchanging personal messages, over-friendly behaviour and inappropriate physical closeness. Just over a third of those cases (34%; n=18) resulted in the perpetrator being given a formal warning by their employer about their behaviour. Employers or colleagues held an informal discussion with the perpetrator or gave her advice in 43.4% (n=23) of cases. 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 perpetrator's employer, perpetrator'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.

Failure to Act Appropriately

Employers

In some cases, employers did not conduct sufficient or thorough pre-employment checks before engaging the perpetrator to work with children. This included not communicating at all with previous employers to identify any issues of concern, failing to comprehensively check the individual's suitability to work with children and failing to act in the knowledge of previous behaviour of concern. There were instances where, despite concerns being raised about a perpetrator's behaviour, employers did not investigate those concerns adequately or at all. There were also failures to reprimand and subsequently supervise perpetrators after concerns had been raised. In instances where a perpetrator was challenged about her conduct or alleged conduct it was fairly typical for the perpetrator's denial to be simply accepted and then either not referred to senior colleagues or anything further done about the matter.

Colleagues

Colleagues working in close proximity to potential perpetrators on a daily basis have the enhanced potential to identify and intervene quickly when inappropriate behaviour or boundary breaches occur. However, the data analysis showed that there were often occasions where colleagues failed to do so. This effectively condoned or tolerated inappropriate

behaviour. In turn this contributed to a culture of ignorance wherein abusive relationships between female perpetrators and children in their care were able to occur, progress or continue.

Throughout the study there were examples of colleagues being aware of, but not reporting the perpetrator's inappropriate behaviour in: 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 to them. There were also instances where a perpetrator's colleagues failed to report specific allegations that were made to them or where they were actually aware of inappropriate sexual behaviour between the perpetrator and victim and did not report this.

Guardians

In addition to poor handling by employers and colleagues, there were also instances where guardians 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.

Reasons for failures to act were not always available in the data and this is an important area for future research. For employers and colleagues, there may be a complete unwillingness to recognise the possibility of female-perpetrated CSA by someone they know well; the existence of victim-blaming attitudes or an unwillingness to believe allegations made by children against female staff; and 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.

Discussion and implications for policy and practice

The research data revealed situational and contextual factors which allowed the opportunity for sexual abuse to be perpetrated by adult females working in organisations. These included situations where close, personal and emotional relationships were able to develop, often through additional roles and responsibilities where female adults were providing extra support to more vulnerable children such as those with learning disabilities, emotional, educational or social problems. Unmonitored one-to-one contact occurring both within and

external to the organisation, including in virtual environments, the perpetrator's car and the perpetrator or victim's home, was found to be a notable situational factor increasing the opportunity and risk of sexual abuse.

These findings regarding specific locations of the abuse appeared broadly similar to rates found in studies of male sex offenders abusing extra-familial victims, male offenders from youth-oriented organisations and male educator abusers (Jaffe et al., 2013; Leclerc & Cale, 2015; Smallbone & Wortley, 2011), particularly that which took place in the perpetrator's home. However, it was more common for female-perpetrated abuse to take place in the victim's home or the perpetrator's car than found in these previous male offender studies. The frequency of sexual abuse taking place in the organisational environment itself was similar to that found among male educator abusers (Jaffe et al., 2013) but interesting, was twice as common than found in a study of male offenders working in youth-oriented organisations (Leclerc & Cale, 2015). The findings here, similar to those in Jaffe et al.'s (2013) research on male educator abusers, also reveal the dominance of online and mobile telephone communication in establishing the inappropriate relationship and as a location for sexually abusive behaviour.

In many cases in this study, 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.

In order to address these risks SCP offers three main strategies for reducing CSA in organisational contexts by: *increasing effort*, *increasing risks* and *removing excuses/reducing permissibility* (Smallbone et al., 2008). *Increasing effort* means controlling the access potential perpetrators have to children in organisations. *Increasing risk* requires potential alterations to physical environments and facilitating the detection and punishment of inappropriate behaviour 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.

The evidence in this study suggests that the permissibility of inappropriate behaviour is likely to be enhanced for women in positions of trust. This is a particularly important area upon which to focus in attempting to prevent female-perpetrated CSA in organisations.

It is evident that the situational factors and areas of risk identified as relevant in these cases of female-perpetrated CSA in organisations are similar to those found in studies of male perpetrators who abuse in the same environments. This means prevention measures would equally apply to male and female adults in positions of trust. However, what appears to be specifically needed in cases of female-perpetrated abuse is for parents, colleagues, employers and other bystanders to primarily recognise the reality that some female adults in positions of professional trust may sexually abuse children in the same way that some males might. Consequently they need to be equally aware of the areas and situational factors in organisations, which present opportunities for abuse by women as well as by men.

Therefore it is acknowledged that the following suggested prevention measures are not solely applicable to the prevention of female-perpetrated abuse, however they are included as they target the particular risks identified in this study sample.

Recruitment

More enhanced and sophisticated pre-employment checks prior to allowing an individual to take up a post would be helpful. This would include making direct contact with previous employers/referees asking specific rather than general questions regarding any previous incidents of concern or allegations raised and how these were responded to, as well as explicitly asking for the respondent's views on the individual's suitability to work with children. A few cases in the sample concerned the engagement of supply teachers suggesting similar care is required in the recruitment and monitoring of temporary staff.

Policies and Procedures

Organisations need to have clear and comprehensive policies and procedures around staff-child contact which all staff understand and understand the consequences of any breaches. Especially important are policies covering: contact external to the organisation; social media use; appropriate professional boundaries; overnight stays and trips away with children; transporting children; mentoring and tutoring; one-to-one contact with children. Identified breaches should be acted on quickly, appropriately and robustly. Organisations could also 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.

It is also 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. There should be regular opportunities for open discussion on wider safeguarding issues as well as confidential avenues to discuss any specific concerns. All those involved with organisations also need to understand that women can, and do, sexually abuse children, in the same way that men can.

Monitoring and Supervision in the Organisational Environment

Opportunities for unsupervised one-to-one contact between children and adult staff, particularly in isolated areas should be limited as far as possible and take place in more public areas of the organisation or where Close Circuit Television (CCTV) is operational.

Discouraging any practice of adult staff spending substantial amounts of additional time alone together with children outside of official contact hours would also be a helpful safeguard.

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 was evidenced as a particular issue in the wider study from which this paper arises. This could be an important preventative measure given the findings of this research around female perpetrator risk factors and victim vulnerabilities.

Any rumours circulating about staff-child relationships or inappropriate staff behaviour should be explored and subsequent contact between the alleged perpetrator and child(ren) in question should be carefully monitored, potentially also advising the child's guardians to ascertain any concerns and prompt the monitoring of any future contact.

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. For example, classrooms have external and uncovered internal and external windows and any internal doors should have windows in them. 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.

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, including appropriate supervision. Informal mentoring should be agreed with parents/guardians and potentially approved by senior managers. As above, one-to-one tutoring or mentoring sessions might advisably take place in more public areas of the organisation.

Contact Outside of the Organisational Environment

Colleagues, parents and guardians should be alert to any indications of personal communication or inappropriate socialising between adult staff and children outside of the organisational environment. 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 without employer permission and/or another adult being present. Any instances could be recorded providing an opportunity to identify if there is a pattern of behaviour developing should concerns arise. Sexual abuse often takes place in either the perpetrator or victim's home or the homes of close relatives, therefore organisational policy should specifically prohibit any unofficial visits by adults to children's homes and vice versa and this should also be communicated to parents and guardians.

Staff Pastoral Supervision

Personal difficulties in their own lives have led to vulnerabilities in most of the female perpetrators 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. 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. In addition, organisations might provide staff access to confidential external counselling and emotional support services should the need arise.

Managing Allegations

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. 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 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.

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 female cases in any examples used. It is important for friends, colleagues and other members of the community to be aware of a method of anonymously reporting any concerns about an adult in a position of trust. These mechanisms could be promoted both within the organisation itself and in any local community sexual abuse prevention campaigns.

Summary

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 (Marshall, Serran & Marshall, 2006; Smallbone et al., 2006). 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 CSA 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.

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 CSA. For example, staff supervision and pastoral support and involving parents more fully in organisational processes concerning their children.

Limitations

Although this research examined a significantly larger sample of female perpetrators of CSA in organisations than previous studies, the study is limited in several regards. The intention of the study was to explore this particular phenomenon in some descriptive depth and in a way not previously done with such a sample size rather than to produce generalisable findings. Typical of any study using secondary data analysis the findings here are subject to the limitations of the data sources. Consequently, an entirely comprehensive and complete picture of each case as a whole was not available. However, this is rarely the case in studies with such difficult-to-reach samples. To improve validity and reliability of the data extracted all available sources for each case were cross-referenced.

Conclusion

This research has found that there are many situational, environmental and contextual 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. The findings also reveal the impact organisational culture can have on facilitating inappropriate relationships between female adults and children in their care and in allowing them to continue.

A range of practical prevention measures in response to these identified risk factors and inappropriate responses have been presented which 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.

Although there is little empirical research to date evaluating the success of situational interventions in reducing CSA (Smallbone et al., 2008) it is hoped that the often easily-implemented, practical suggestions for prevention identified in this study might 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 sexually 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.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Funding

This work was supported by the Economic and Social Research Council [ES/1447912], which provided funding to the lead author via a doctoral studentship at Durham University.

ORCID

Andrea J. Darling http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5605-4943

Simon Hackett https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3275-9324

References

Almond, L., McManus, M. A., Giles, S., & Houston, E. (2015). Female Sex Offenders An Analysis of Crime Scene Behaviors. *Journal of interpersonal violence*. doi:10.1177/0886260515603976

Blakemore, T., Herbert, J. L., Arney, F., & Parkinson, S. (2017). The impacts of institutional child sexual abuse: A rapid review of the evidence. *Child Abuse and Neglect*.

Böhm, B., Zollner, H., Fegert, J. M., & Liebhardt, H. (2014). Child sexual abuse in the context of the Roman Catholic Church: a review of literature from 1981–2013. *Journal of child sexual abuse, 23*(6), 635-656.

Colton, M., Roberts, S., & Vanstone, M. (2010). Sexual abuse by men who work with children. *Journal of child sexual abuse, 19*(3), 345-364.

Colton, M., & Vanstone, M. (1996). *Betrayal of Trust: Sexual Abuse by Men who Work with Children...In their own words*. London: Free Association Books.

Cortoni, F., Babchishin, K. M., & Rat, C. (2016). The Proportion of Sexual Offenders Who Are Female is Higher Than Thought: A Meta-Analysis. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*. doi:10.1177/0093854816658923

Danvin, P. A. (1999). Secrets Revealed: A Study of Female Sex Offenders. In E. Bear (Ed.), *Female sexual abusers: Three views* (pp. 9-134). Brandon, Vermont: Safer Society Press.

Darling, A. J. (2018). *Understanding Female-Perpetrated Child Sexual Abuse in Organisational Contexts.* (PhD Doctoral Thesis), University of Durham, Online. Retrieved from http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/12768/

Darling, A. J. (2013). *How and Why Do Women Engage in Abuse of Trust Behaviours?* (MSc), Teesside University.

Darling, A. J., & Antonopoulos, G. A. (2013). 'Notes on a Scandal': Why do Females Engage in Abuse of Trust Behaviours? *International Journal of Criminology and Sociology, 2*, 525-537.

Darling, A. J., Hackett, S., & Jamie, K. (2018). Female sex offenders who abuse children whilst working in organisational contexts: offending, conviction and sentencing. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 1-19. doi:10.1080/13552600.2018.1476601

Denov, M. S. (2004). *Perspectives on Female Sexual Offending: A Culture of Denial*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Erooga, M., Allnock, D., & Telford, P. (2012). Sexual Abuse of Children By People in Organisations: What Offenders can Teach Us about Protection. In M. Erooga (Ed.), *Creating Safer Organisations: Practical Steps to Prevent the Abuse of Children by Those Working with Them* (pp. 63-84). Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Erooga, M. (2009). *Towards safer organisations: Adults who pose a risk to children in the workplace and implications for recruitment and selection*. London: NSPCC.

Erooga, M. (2012). *Creating safer organisations: Practical steps to prevent the abuse of children by those working with them* (Vol. 35): John Wiley & Sons.

Faller, K. C. (1987). Women who sexually abuse children. *Violence and Victims, 2*(4), 263-276.

Finkelhor, D., Williams, L. M., Burns, N., & Kalinowski, M. (1988). *Nursery crimes: Sexual abuse in day care*. Newbury Park, CA, Sage Publications, Inc.

Firestone, P., Moulden, H. M., & Wexler, A. F. (2009). Clerics who commit sexual offenses: Offender, offence and victim characteristics. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 18,* 442–454.

Frketic, K., & Easteal, P. L. (2010). 'Public Perception of Teachers' Sexual Misconduct: Does the Sex of the Teacher Make a Difference?'. *Alternative Law Journal, 35*(3), 142-146.

Gallagher, B. (2000). The extent and nature of known cases of institutional child sexual abuse. *British Journal of Social Work, 30,* 795 – 817.

Gannon, T., Waugh, G., Taylor, K., Blanchette, K., O'Connor, A., Blake, E., & Ciardha, C. Ó. (2014). Women who sexually offend display three main offense styles: A re-examination of the descriptive model of female sexual offending. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 207-224. doi:1079063213486835

Geddes, R. A., Tyson, G. A., & McGreal, S. (2013). Gender bias in the education system: Perceptions of teacher-student sexual relationships. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law, 20*(4), 608-618. doi:10.1080/13218719.2012.728428

Hislop, J. (1999). Female Child Molesters. In E. Bear (Ed.), *Female Sexual Abusers: Three Views* (pp. 135-310). Brandon, Vermont: Safer Society Press.

Hunt, L. (2006). *Females who Sexually Abuse Working in Organisations with Children*. Retrieved from http://childwise.blob.core.windows.net/assets/uploads/files/Online%20Publication/Females_Who_Sexually_Abuse_Child.pdf

Jaffe, P., Straatman, A.L., Harris,B., Georges, A., Vink, K., &Reif, K. (2013).Emerging trends in teacher sexual misconduct in Ontario 2007–2012. *Education Law Journal, 23*(1), 19.

Kite, D., & Tyson, G. (2004). The impact of perpetrator gender on male and female police officers' perceptions of child sexual abuse. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law, 11*(2), 308-318. doi:10.1375/pplt.2004.11.2.308

Knoll, J. (2010).Teacher sexual misconduct: Grooming patterns and female offenders. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 19*(4), 371–386.

Leclerc, B., & Cale, J. (2015). Adult sex offenders in youth-oriented institutions: Evidence on sexual victimisation experiences of offenders and their offending patterns. *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice* (497), 1. doi: 10.1186/s40163-015-0044-3

Leclerc, B., Feakes, J., & Cale, J. (2015). Child sexual abuse in youth-oriented organisations: tapping into situational crime prevention from the offender's perspective. *Crime Science, 4*(1), 1-12. doi:DOI 10.1186/s40163-015-0044-3

Leclerc, B., Proulx, J., & McKibben, A. (2005). Modus operandi of sexual offenders working or doing voluntary work with children and adolescents. *Journal of sexual aggression, 11*(2), 187-195.

Gannon, T. A., & Rose, M. R. (2008). Female child sexual offenders: Towards integrating theory and practice. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 13*(6), 442-461.

Mackelprang, E., & Becker, J. V. (2015). Beauty and the Eye of the Beholder Gender and Attractiveness Affect Judgments in Teacher Sex Offense Cases. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 1079063215597646.

Marshall, W. L., Serran, G. A., & Marshall, L. E. (2006). Situational and Dispositional Factors in Child Sexual Molestation: A Clincial Perspective. In R. Wortley & S. Smallbone (Eds.), *Situational Prevention of Child Sexual Abuse* (Vol. 19, pp. 37-64). Devon: Wilan Publishing.

Mathews, R., Matthews, J. K., & Speltz, K. (1989). *Female sexual offenders: An exploratory study*: Safer Society Press Orwell, VT.

Matravers, A. (2013). *Sex Offenders in the Community*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

McLeod, D. A. (2015). Female Offenders in Child Sexual Abuse Cases: A National Picture. *Journal of child sexual abuse, 24*(1), 97-114. doi:10.1080/10538712.2015.978925

McNeish, D., & Scott, S. (2018). *Key messages from research on institutional child sexual abuse*. Centre of expertise into child sexual abuse (online). Retrieved from https://www.csacentre.org.uk/research-publications/key-messages/institutional-csa/#downloads

Mellor, D., & Deering, R. (2010). Professional response and attitudes toward female-perpetrated child sexual abuse: a study of psychologists, psychiatrists, probationary psychologists and child protection workers. *Psychology, crime & law, 16*(5), 415-438. doi:10.1080/10683160902776850

Mototsune, T. (2015). *Ontario College of Teachers Cases of Teacher Sexual Misconduct.* The University of Western Ontario. Retrieved from http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/2840/

Moulden, H. M., Firestone, P., Kingston, D. A., & Wexler, A. F. (2010). A description of sexual offending committed by Canadian teachers. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 19*(4), 403-418.

Moulden, H. M., Firestone, P., & Wexler, A. F. (2007). Childcare providers who commit sexual offences: A description of offender, offense, and victim characteristics. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 51*, 384–406

Nathan, P., & Ward, T. (2001). Females who sexually abuse children: Assessment and treatment issues. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law, 8*(1), 44-55.

Palmer, D., & Feldman, V. (2017). Toward a more comprehensive analysis of the role of organizational culture in child sexual abuse in institutional contexts. *Child Abuse and Neglect*(74), 23-34. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2017.08.004

Parkinson, P., Oates, K., & Jayakody, A. (2010). Breaking the long silence: Reports of child sexual abuse in the Anglican Church of Australia. *Ecclesiology, 6*(2), 183-200.

Porter, L. E., & Alison, L. J. (2004). Behavioural coherence in violent group activity: An interpersonal model of sexually violent gang behaviour. *Aggressive Behavior, 30*(6), 449-468. doi:10.1002/ab.20047

Porter, L. E., & Alison, L. J. (2006). Leadership and hierarchies in criminal groups: Scaling degrees of leader behaviour in group robbery. *Legal and Criminological Psychology, 11*(2), 245-265. doi:10.1348/135532505X68692

Proeve, M., Malvaso, C., & Delfabbro, P. H. (2016). *Evidence and frameworks for understanding perpetrators of institutional child sexual abuse*. Sydney: Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse.

Radford, L., Richardson Foster, H., Barter, C., & Stanley, N. (2017). *Rapid Evidence Assessment: What can be learnt from other jurisdictions about preventing and responding to child sexual abuse*. Retrieved from London: http://clok.uclan.ac.uk/18215/

Ratliff, L., & Watson, J. (2014). A Descriptive Analysis of Public School Educators Arrested for Sex Offenses. *Journal of child sexual abuse, 23*(2), 217-228. doi:10.1080/10538712.2014.870275

Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse (2017). *Final Information Update*, Australia.

Saradjian, J. (1996). *Women who sexually abuse children: From research to clinical practice*: John Wiley & Son Ltd.

Shakeshaft, C. (2004). Educator Sexual Misconduct: A synthesis of existing literature. U.S. Department of Education.

Smallbone, S., & McKillop, N. (2016). Prevention of child sexual abuse: A place-based approach. In Y. Smaal, A. Kaladelfos, & M. Finnane (Eds.), *The Sexual Abuse of Children: Recognition and Redress*. Melbourne, Australia: Monash University Publishing.

Smallbone, S., Marshall, W. L., & Wortley, R. (2008). *Preventing Child Sexual Abuse: Evidence, policy and practice*. Cullompton: Willan Publishing.

Smallbone, S., & Wortley, R. K. (2000). *Child sexual abuse in Queensland: Offender characteristics and modus operandi*.

Stranger, M. B. (2015). *Female teachers who sexually offend against students: A collective case study.* (Doctor of Psychology), Alliant International University. Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/docview/1657424672/fulltextPDF/EFB71A4650B94328PQ/1?accountid=14533

Solis, O. L., & Benedek, E. P. (2012). Female sexual offenders in the educational system: A brief overview. *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic, 76*(2), 172.

Spröber, N., Schneider, T., Rassenhofer, M., Seitz, A., Liebhardt, H., König, L., & Fegert, J. M. (2014). Child sexual abuse in religiously affiliated and secular institutions: a retrospective descriptive analysis of data provided by victims in a government-sponsored reappraisal program in Germany. *BMC Public Health, 14*(1), 282.

Sullivan, J., & Beech, A. (2002). Professional perpetrators: Sex offenders who use their employment to target and sexually abuse the children with whom they work. *Child Abuse Review, 11*, 153–167.

Sullivan, J., & Beech, A. (2004). A comparative study of demographic data relating to intra- and extra-familial child sexual abusers and professional perpetrators. *Journal of Sexual Aggression, 10*(1), 39-50.

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

Terry, K. J., & Ackerman, A. (2008). Child Sexual Abuse in the Catholic Church: How Situational Crime Prevention Strategies Can Help Create Safe Environments. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 35*(5), 643-657. doi:10.1177/0093854808314469

Vandiver, D. M., & Walker, J. T. (2002). Female sex offenders: An overview and analysis of 40 cases. *Criminal Justice Review, 27*(2), 284-300.

Wolfe, D. A., Jaffe, P. G., Jetté, J. L., & Poisson, S. E. (2003). The impact of child abuse in community institutions and organizations: Advancing professional and scientific understanding. *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice, 10*(2), 179-191

Wortley, R., & Smallbone, S. (2014, 10-12th September). *Situational Prevention of Sexual Abuse.* Paper presented at the Annual Conference, National Association for the Treatment of Abusers, University of York.

Wortley, R. K., & Smallbone, S. (2006). Applying situational principles to sexual offending against children *Situational Prevention of Child Sexual Abuse* (Vol. 19, pp. 7-35). Cullompton, Devon: Criminal Justice Press.

Wortley, R. (2001). A classification of techniques for controlling situational precipitators of crime. *Security Journal, 14*(4), 63-82.

Tables

Table 1: Location of abuse

Location	Percentage	n
Outside organisation only	55.1%	75
In organisation only	5.9%	8
Both in and outside organisation	36.0%	49
Not known	3.0%	4
Total	100%	136
Outside organisation locations[a]		
Perpetrator's home	46.3%	63
Victim's home	14.0%	19
Perpetrator's car	33.1%	45
Other[b]	48.5%	66
Virtual environment[c]	47.8%	65

[a] Totals equal more than 100 per cent as some perpetrators abused in multiple different locations.

[b] These included: hotels, motels, campgrounds, beaches, fields, parks, car parks, fast food restaurants, pubs, cinemas and theatres, golf clubs, other towns/cities, theme parks, industrial estates, public transport, public toilets and libraries.

[c] This reflects the number of perpetrators who also abused in virtual environments