



**Child Sexual Abuse Material-  
Victims, Victimizerers, &  
Victimization**  
*A Bibliography*

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**Championing and Strengthening the  
Global Response to Child Abuse**

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## Scope

This bibliography lists publications related to various aspects of child sexual abuse material (CSAM or pornography) including offenders & victims, investigations and the effects of exposure.

## Organization

This bibliography is grouped by subject sections. Publications include articles, book chapters, reports, and research briefs and are arranged in date descending order. Links are provided to full text publications when possible. However, this collection may not be complete. More information can be obtained in CALiO™, the Child Abuse Library Online.

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# Child Sexual Abuse Material- Victims, Victimizers, & Victimization

## A Bibliography

### ***Producers and Consumers***

Erdim, N. K., & Baş, G. (2026). Adolescent online child sexual abuse material offending in Turkey: Psychosocial and forensic profiles from NCMEC reports and child protection implications. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 172, 107851. DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2025.107851

Adolescent involvement in online child sexual abuse material (CSAM) poses a growing child-protection challenge worldwide. Reports from the U.S. National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC) often trigger investigations, yet psychosocial profiles in non-Western contexts remain underexamined. To describe psychosocial, clinical, and offense-related characteristics of adolescents referred after NCMEC reports in Turkey, a retrospective cohort of 35 adolescents (97.1% male; mean age = 14.2 years) were evaluated by the national forensic psychiatry board between January 2021 and August 2025 to explore associations with offense patterns. Forensic reports were coded for demographics, family background, psychosocial context, offense type/platform, and motivations. Descriptive statistics summarized profiles, and group differences were tested. Most adolescents lived with both parents (85.7%), had no psychiatric history (80.0%), and reported no substance use (74.3%). CSAM involvement was predominantly distribution/sharing (97.1%), while production was rare (2.9%). Platforms included Instagram (14.3%), Discord (8.6%), Facebook (8.6%), and WhatsApp (5.7%), though in many cases platform was unknown (62.9%). Motivations included unawareness of illegality (25.7%), peer influence (20.0%), and sexual or digital curiosity (14.3% each). A small subgroup (11.4%) demonstrated co-occurring descriptive characteristics across the social, clinical, and online-behavior domains. Motivation did not predict distribution/production, and platform use did not differ significantly by age. Among the materials detected, 94.3% depicted prepubescent children, and no cases involved self-

generated or peer-produced imagery. Adolescent CSAM offending in this context appears shaped more by developmental immaturity, peer dynamics, and digital environments than by entrenched psychopathology. Prevention may support legal awareness education, interventions targeting peer norms, and digital literacy within child-protection and school systems.

Finkelhor, D., Colburn, D., Gewirtz-Meydan, A., O'Brien, J. E., Jones, L. M., Turner, H. A., & Mitchell, K. J. (2026). [Youth-produced images are the majority of child sexual abuse materials: Categories of youth and adult perpetrators from a victim based study](#). *Sexual Abuse*, 38(3), 337–353. DOI:10.1177/10790632261415819

This study examined dynamics of childhood sexual image abuse episodes prior to age 18, based on victim self-reports. An online sample of individuals aged 18–28 filled out a survey, yielding 3,254 episodes of image abuse that occurred prior to age 18. The majority (86%) of abusive episodes involved images that were produced by youth, either as victims or perpetrators. Less than 8% of episodes involved adult-produced images. Youth were identified as perpetrators in 30% of the episodes, and adults were perpetrators in 29%, with the remainder unidentified. Notably, even among adult-perpetrated episodes, 75% of the images had been originally produced by the youth victim. In cases of adult perpetrators, 59% were offline acquaintances. To better understand the diversity of image abuse experiences, we proposed a five-category framework. Adult perpetrator cases were subdivided into (1) adult image producers, (2) adult coercers of youth made images and (3) adult groomers of youth made images. Youth perpetrator cases were subdivided into (4) juvenile coercers, who pressured victims, and (5) juvenile betrayers, who misused images originally taken or exchanged voluntarily. The prevalence of youth-produced and youth-involved image abuse highlights the importance of prevention strategies tailored to school-aged youth.

Lätth, J., Joleby, M., McMahan, A., Luke, T. J., & Rahm, C. (2026). [Child sexual abuse material users on the Darknet: Psychiatric morbidities related to offence behavior](#). *Sexual Abuse*, 38(1), 3-22. DOI:10.1177/10790632251347562

Individuals engaging in child sexual abuse often present pedophilic interest, but the other psychiatric morbidities among undetected users of child sexual abuse material (CSAM) are largely unknown. We mapped the psychiatric profile of 160 mainly male and primarily non-convicted anonymous Darknet-recruited adult CSAM users. The participants' psychiatric morbidities were analyzed descriptively, and correlations between sexual pathologies known as risk factors for committing child sexual abuse (paraphilias, hypersexuality) and CSAM offense behavior (viewing time, content) were examined in a series of exploratory linear regression models. Pedophilic interests, hypersexuality, autism traits, ADHD, and depression were commonly reported. Further, hypersexuality was associated with CSAM viewing time ( $r = .295, b = 0.07, p = .001$ ), zoophilic interest was associated with CSAM severity ( $r = .195, b = 0.46, p = .003$ ) and both zoophilic and pedophilic sexual interest were associated with the age of the youngest child in CSAM viewed ( $r = -.218, b = -0.56, p = .01$  and  $r = -.273, b = -1.01, p < .001$ ). We conclude that CSAM users presented sexual pathologies, some related to their CSAM-use behavior, as well as multiple other mental health needs.

Baskurt, S., Babchishin, K. M., Hilkes, G., & Seto, M. C. (2025). A meta-analysis of recidivism rates among individuals who commit child sexual exploitation material (CSEM) offending. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 85, 102080. DOI:10.1016/j.avb.2025.102080

A critical challenge for managing individuals with Child Sexual Exploitation Material (CSEM) offenses is addressing their risk of sexual recidivism, especially contact sexual offending. We report on a meta-analysis of 30 non-overlapping samples (total  $N = 25,978$ ), with 26 samples identifying CSEM index offenses and subsequent recidivism using official sources (e.g., charges) and 4 samples identifying CSEM offenses and subsequent recidivism using self-report. Individuals with CSEM offenses based on

official sources showed a fixed-effect recidivism rate of 5.9 % any sexual (95 % CI = [5.6, 6.3],  $k$  [studies] = 21,  $N$  = 19,112), 1.5 % contact sexual (95 % CI = [1.4, 1.7],  $k$  = 20,  $N$  = 18,543), and 4.1 % CSEM (95 % CI = [3.8, 4.4],  $k$  = 21,  $N$  = 13,522), after an average of 5-year follow-up. Based on official sources, the odds of contact sexual offenses among Mixed individuals (CSEM plus contact sexual offending) were 16 times higher than CSEM-Exclusive individuals (exclusively CSEM offenses in their sexual offending history) at 8.8 % versus 0.6 % (OR = 15.99), respectively. There were several other significant moderators: National sources of official recidivism data produced higher rates than local sources ( = 58.1,  $p$  < .0001,  $df$  = 1); official recidivism had lower rates than self-reported recidivism ( = 232.2,  $p$  < .0001,  $df$  = 1); longer follow-ups were associated with higher rates (unstandardized  $B$  = 0.01,  $Z$  = 75.8,  $p$  < .001); and more recent studies showed higher rates, unstandardized ( $B$  = 0.002,  $Z$  = 68.0,  $p$  < .001). This meta-analysis establishes new recidivism base rates for individuals with CSEM offenses, which can be used to inform risk-driven policies and practices.

Christiansen, L. F., Langvik, E., Størdal, T. R., & Iversen, A. (2025). [“It could be anybody”- Content analysis of lay perceptions of individuals committing online child sexual offences](#). *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 34(4), 446–466.  
DOI:10.1080/10538712.2025.2544145

The aim of this study was to explore lay person perceptions of individuals who commit online child sexual offenses. Shame due to stigma and fear of consequences are significant barriers to help-seeking among individuals who commit online child sexual abuse. Lay perceptions of individuals committing online child sexual offenses were explored through an online survey in Norway. Responses ( $n$  = 573) to a question asking the respondents to describe the typical online child sexual offender were analyzed through a qualitative content analysis resulting in four categories. The largest category, “The average Joe” represents a view that it could be anybody. The other categories substantiate more stereotypical perceptions: social marginalization, mental health

issues, and antisocial personality. Results indicate that the lay perceptions of individuals who commit online child sexual offenses convey perceptual complexity in line with empirical findings and that media portrayal may contribute to nuancing perceptions. Knowledge of these perceptions may facilitate the development of interventions aiming at reducing stereotyping that hinders effective treatment.

Cross, T. P., Cross, E. M., Cooper, C., Pellegrino, D., Pounder, G., Turkheimer, S., & Bailey, S. (2025). Characteristics of child sexual abuse material in peer-to-peer networks and predictors of its severity: Insights from filenames. *Child Maltreatment, 30*(3), 473–485. DOI:10.1177/10775595251314035

The Internet has empowered millions of perpetrators who create and consume *child sexual abuse material* (CSAM), the current term replacing *child pornography*. In this study, we coded data from a random sample of 2980 filenames from files shared in peer-to-peer (P2P) networks from U.S. IP addresses in 2021. Most filenames referenced girls and just under half referenced children aged 5 to 12. A wide variety of child races, ethnicities and nationalities were referenced. Over half of filenames described a sexually abusive act, most of which referenced penetration. The abuse referenced was more severe when filenames referenced children under the age of 13, both girls and boys, incest, and/or children or youth of color. The findings underline the harm to children from CSAM, suggest the value of a racial justice perspective on CSAM, and support the need to search for CSAM as part of contact child sexual abuse investigations.

King, D., Slikboer, R., Henshaw, M., Meyer, D., & Ogloff, J. R. (2025). [Unmasking the men who produce Child Sexual Abuse Material \(CSAM\): Criminal diversity and sociodemographic characteristics](#). *Sexual Abuse, 37*(8), 883–909. DOI:10.1177/10790632251377705

Child sexual abuse material (CSAM) production poses a grave and evolving threat, causing revictimization through the circulation of material for years. The availability of

online technology has enabled sophisticated methods of CSAM production and police evasion. The aims of this study were to explore the sociodemographic features of those with a history of CSAM production, explore criminal sub-types of those who produce CSAM, and explore the sociodemographic and criminal features of possible sub-types. Men who came to police attention for CSAM production offenses between 2004–2019 in Victoria, Australia ( $n = 741$ ) were included. A hierarchical cluster analysis revealed two distinct criminal profiles: (1) a group with *specialist* offense histories, which were sexually focused ( $n = 455$ ) and (2) a group with a *generalist* ( $n = 286$ ) offending history, including sexual and non-sexual offenses. The frequency of CSAM production offenses across the sample period almost doubled with an increasing number of individuals with a *generalist* criminal history coming to the attention of police, whilst the number of those with a *specialist* criminal history remained largely stable. Uncovering these two distinct criminal profiles is a pivotal step toward understanding the nuanced characteristics of individuals responsible for producing CSAM.

Lehmann, R. J. B., Reichel, R., Gnielka, F. M., Schmidt, A. F., Gannon, C., Huikuri, S., & Quinten, L. (2025). Beyond images and videos: A narrative review of text-based child sexual exploitation and abuse material. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 0*(0). DOI:10.1177/15248380251388139

While there is a growing body of literature on the content and impact of image- and video-based child sexual exploitation and abuse material (CSEAM), knowledge of text-based CSEAM (e.g., fictional stories describing sexual interactions between a child and an adult) remains sparse. This narrative review synthesizes findings from nine theoretical and empirical studies, which were identified through a systematic search of PsycInfo, PsycNet, PSYINDEX, PubMed, and Scholars Portal Journals. Any study addressing the definition and content of text-based CSEAM, societal reactions to and receptions of text-based CSEAM, or the potential role of text-based CSEAM as a risk or protective factor was included. We found that limited empirical research on the effects of text-based CSEAM

exists. While some preliminary findings and theoretical considerations suggest that engagement with text-based CSEAM may be a risk factor for (re-)offending against children, there may also be circumstances in which text-based CSEAM could even serve as a protective sexual outlet for individuals with pedohebephilic interests. It will be the task of future research to further elucidate the phenomenon of text-based CSEAM. Specifically, empirical research is needed on the content of text-based CSEAM, on situational factors, and on individual differences in users and producers that determine the criminogenic or protective effects of text-based CSEAM.

Napier, S., Seto, M. C., Shackel, R., Cashmore, J., & McGeechan, K. (2025). Viewing child sexual abuse material for the first time: Findings from an anonymous survey of internet users. *Sexual Abuse, 37*(7), 853–880. DOI:10.1177/10790632251326550

The number of reports of child sexual abuse material (CSAM) detected on online platforms has increased dramatically in the last decade. Research has suggested that some individuals engage in a progression from typical adult pornography to atypical adult pornography (e.g., bondage, discipline, sadism, and masochism (BDSM), bestiality) to CSAM. Examining the onset to adult pornography and CSAM can therefore help identify intervention points for prevention and disruption. To investigate first exposure to adult pornography and CSAM, we anonymously surveyed a community sample of 5512 adults in five different countries: 742 (13.5%) survey participants self-reported viewing CSAM; 77% were male, 19.5% were female and 3.5% identified as another gender/sex. Majorities of respondents who viewed CSAM (71.2%), BDSM adult pornography (66.6%), and bestiality adult pornography (62.4%) were first exposed to this material prior to age 18. Females were significantly more likely than males to view adult content at younger ages. Younger age of exposure to typical and atypical adult pornography predicted younger age of exposure to CSAM, and respondents aged under 40 years were significantly more likely to view CSAM at younger ages ( $p < .001$ ). Self-reported CSAM viewers predominantly first discovered CSAM unintentionally (86.1%) and when alone (76%). The findings suggest a

need for increased interventions that prevent exposure to CSAM and illegal adult content among adolescents.

Reichel, R., Daser, A., Gnielka, F. M., Schmidt, A. F., Blokland, A., & Lehmann, R. J. B. (2025). A review of risk factors for online and mixed child sexual abuse material offending: What is being researched? *Journal of Sexual Aggression, 31*(3), 317–360. DOI:10.1080/13552600.2024.2418100

Possession and distribution of child sexual abuse material (CSAM) is a serious criminal offence facilitated by online technologies. To prevent, investigate, and treat online CSAM offending, comprehensive knowledge of potential risk factors for these crimes is required. Given the large body of relevant research, a systematic overview of the risk factors typically considered in research and their link to (testable) theories is lacking. We present a review of 43 quantitative studies (sample sizes ranging from  $N = 60$  to  $N = 14,804$ ) identified from 56 meta-analyses, reviews, and book chapters on online CSAM offending. Risk factors were extracted and grouped into 12 categories and 75 subcategories via qualitative clustering. The most frequent categories were Criminal History, Socio-Demographics, and Social Relations, whereas genuine psychological constructs were rare. Comparing risk factors for online CSAM offending to those for general (sexual) offending, the need for more specific theories of online CSAM offending is discussed along with implications for future research.

Turner, H. A., Finkelhor, D., & Colburn, D. (2025). [Contexts and characteristics of imaged-based sexual exploitation and abuse of children: Incident dynamics in a national sample](#). *Child Maltreatment, 30*(1), 68–81. DOI:10.1177/10775595241233970

This paper describes incident characteristics and dynamics associated with six specific forms of image-based sexual exploitation and abuse of children (IBSEAC). Data were collected on a national sample of 2639 individuals aged 18-to-28 from a probability-based online panel. Respondents completed a self-administered survey questionnaire,

providing detailed follow-up information on their experiences of image-based sexual victimization before the age of 18. A total of 607 incidents of IBSEAC were included in the analyses. Findings show substantial diversity in incident characteristics within and across the six forms of IBSEAC (nonconsensual sharing of sexual images, nonconsensual taking or making of images, forced image recruitment, threatened sharing, voluntary image sharing with an older adult, and commercial sexual exploitation involving images). Some notable patterns include frequent involvement of perpetrators who are other youth or young adults, who are known in-person to the victim, and who are intimate partners. The diversity and complexity of dynamics revealed in this study underscores the need for careful design and evaluation of prevention programs and the core messages directed at youth.

Henry, N., & Beard, G. (2024). [Image-based sexual abuse perpetration: A scoping review](#). *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 25*(5), 3981–3998. DOI:10.1177/15248380241266137

Image-based sexual abuse (IBSA) refers to the nonconsensual creating, taking, or sharing of intimate images, including threatening to share images. It can also include coercing someone into sharing intimate images, or sending unwanted intimate images. In recent years, there has been growing attention to the nature, scope, and impacts of IBSA, but comparatively little attention has been paid to the perpetration of these harms. This scoping review consolidates and synthesizes the existing knowledge on the perpetration of IBSA against adults. The review involved a systematic search of scholarly and gray literature across select databases. In total, 26 studies met the inclusion criteria. Studies were included if they were published in English between 2013 and 2023 and reported on findings of a sample of adults over the age of 16 who admitted IBSA perpetration behaviors. The review found that prevalence of subtypes of IBSA varied significantly across the studies. There was consensus that adults who engage in IBSA perpetration are more likely to be men, younger adults, and LGBTIQ+. Motivations were multifaceted, but tended to relate to social rewards, power dynamics, sexual gratification,

and retaliatory impulses. Dark Tetrad traits were found to be positively associated with IBSA perpetration. The research also indicates on overlap between victimization and perpetration, as well as an association with other offending behaviors, such as intimate partner violence. Prevention interventions should be focused on changing the opportunities, affordances, and infrastructures for offending, as well as addressing problematic societal attitudes and norms, with early interventions focused on building resilience and self-esteem, and promoting healthy behaviors and respectful relationships.

Hörnle, T., Tetal, C., & Wössner, G. (2024). Reoffending after convictions related to child sexual exploitation material: Data from the German Federal Central Criminal Register. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 153, 106806. DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2024.106806

As digitalization has made it easier to produce, copy, and distribute child sexual exploitation material (CSEM), the possession and distribution of child sexual abuse images has become more widespread. Thus, the need to assess the risk of subsequent sex offenses – above all, sexual abuse of children by individuals who have been convicted of CSEM offenses – becomes more and more important. The main objective of this paper is to contribute to the understanding of the respective size of two groups of offenders: first, offenders who commit CSEM offenses without ever crossing the line to sexual abuse of children, and second, so-called crossover offenders, that is, individuals who commit CSEM offenses *and* engage in child sexual abuse. Identification of differences between these two groups facilitates analyzing the risk that someone convicted of a CSEM offense might in the future sexually assault children. We used data from the German Federal Central Criminal Register (*Bundeszentralregister*), a data set that includes information about all persons convicted of any criminal offense, including “child pornography” offenses, by a court in Germany. For persons convicted of CSEM offenses only, with no additional concurring sex offenses, the rate of subsequent convictions for child sexual abuse is very low (1.1 % after a six-year follow-up period, adult offenders). This risk is even lower if

offenders are older than 30 years of age, and it is slightly higher for offenders with previous offense-specific convictions (i.e., previous sex offenses). The mere existence of a conviction for a CSEM offense is not an indication that the convicted person poses a significant risk of committing child sexual abuse. To pinpoint such a risk more accurately, the following factors should be examined: the existence of offense-specific prior records, the presence of crossover-offending in the form of concurring offenses, and the age of the offender.

Newman, E. F., Efthymiadou, E., Quayle, E., Squire, T., Denis, D., Wortley, R., Beier, K. M., & Koukopoulos, N. (2024). The impact of a public health campaign to deter viewing of child sexual abuse images online: A case study of the UK Stop It Now! campaign. *Sexual Abuse, 36*(6), 635-661. DOI:10.1177/10790632231205784

Public campaigns offer an opportunity to prevent child sexual abuse by raising awareness and promoting help available to bystanders, victims, and those at risk of perpetrating the abuse. This paper explores the impact of The Lucy Faithfull Foundation's 'Stop It Now!' campaign in the UK (2015-2018) on help-seeking. Helpline calls (11,190 unique callers), website analytics (109,432 new website visitors) and three website-hosted surveys ( $N = 252$ ) provided data on help-seeking, awareness, and self-reported behavior. Results indicated that there were more visitors to the help website during active campaigning periods, and helpline callers and website visitors were more likely to seek help after viewing campaign materials during active than non-active campaign periods. Help-seekers were predominantly men concerned about their own behavior. Survey 2 respondents concerned about their own behavior ( $n = 53$ ) indicated that their awareness of the law (75.5%), and legal and personal consequences (67.9%) had changed after hearing about the campaign, and 66% reported a change in behavior. Public health campaigns may be an effective way to promote help-seeking and prevent abuse.

Salter, M., & Wong, T. (2024). [Parental production of child sexual abuse material: A critical review](#). *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 25(3), 1826–1837.  
DOI:10.1177/15248380231195891

The aim of this review is to summarize the available empirical research on parental production and to explore the discursive positioning of parental perpetrators within scholarship on child sexual abuse material (CSAM). Academic databases were searched using a combination of relevant terms, and the review was expanded as new terms were identified. The review identified 66 scholarly articles, papers, or books that referred to parental production of CSAM published since 1970. To explore how parental offenders have been positioned within this literature over time, the review is presented according to a chronological summary, drawing out key themes and empirical insights. The review showed that parental CSAM production is common, more likely to involve pre-pubescent victims, more severe abuse, female as well as male perpetrators, and produces high-demand illegal content with serious long-term sequelae. However, the review found that the focus of child trafficking and sexual exploitation scholarship on “commercial” and profit-driven abuse has marginalized and obscured parental CSAM production as a serious policy challenge. These findings warrant a reorientation of research, policy, and practice approaches to technology-facilitated child sexual exploitation, as well as a reflection on the resistance of researchers and policymakers to acknowledging the problem of family-based sexual exploitation.

Anillo, I., Feldman, D., & Kennedy, T. (2023). A global outlook on child sexual abuse and sexually explicit material online during COVID-19: Trends and interdisciplinary prevention methods. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 32(8), 921–939.  
DOI:10.1080/10538712.2023.2285960

This scoping review investigates the impact of COVID-19 on global and national trends in online child sexually explicit material (CSEM) trafficking and production in addition to online child sexual abuse (OCSA). Globally, CSEM consumption increased dramatically during the pandemic, as well as trafficking of self-generated material. The hypothesized

reasons for the increase in OCSA and CSEM that guided this review included stay-at-home orders, COVID-19-related precautions, technology use increase, economic instability, and lack of available victim and legal resources. Current global and national law enforcement procedures to prevent the proliferation of online sexual abuse are reviewed with suggestions for preventing further increases in CSEM production, distribution, and consumption at the micro and macro levels.

Babchishin, K. M., Dibayula, S., McCulloch, C., Hanson, R. K., & Helmus, L. M. (2023). ACUTE-2007 and STABLE-2007 predict recidivism for men adjudicated for child sexual exploitation material offending. *Law and Human Behavior, 47*(5), 606–618.  
DOI:10.1037/lhb0000540

Risk assessment is essential to effective correctional practice. For individuals with contact sexual offenses, many risk tools are available. There are fewer options, however, for individuals whose sexual offending exclusively involves child sexual exploitation materials (CSEM; legally referred to in Canada and the United States as child pornography). The present study examined the predictive validity of the ACUTE-2007 and STABLE-2007 sexual recidivism risk tools among men with CSEM offenses. We expected these tools to show moderate predictive validity across study groups. We compared the scales' discrimination and calibration across three groups: (a) 1,042 men with contact sexual offenses against children (baseline comparison), (b) 228 men with exclusive CSEM offending (no contact sexual offenses), and (c) 80 men with both contact sexual offenses and CSEM offenses. We found that the ACUTE-2007 and STABLE-2007 total scores and items had comparable (and often better) discrimination for men with CSEM offending compared with contact sexual offending against children in the prediction of any sexual recidivism, violent recidivism, and any recidivism. Calibration analyses indicated that the overall sexual recidivism rates for the median ACUTE-2007 and STABLE-2007 scores were similar for men with exclusive CSEM offenses compared with men with any contact offending against children. Almost all of the sexual recidivism for the CSEM-exclusive

group involved further CSEM offenses. This study supports the use of these tools to rank-order men with CSEM offending in terms of their risk of reoffending and to help direct treatment and management efforts.

Eke, A. W., & Seto, M. C. (2023). Correspondence of child age and gender distribution in child sexual exploitation material and other child content with age and gender of child sexual assault victims. *Sexual Abuse, 35*(3), 375–397.  
DOI:10.1177/10790632221108951

Accessing child sexual exploitation material (CSEM; *child pornography* in legal statutes) can indicate sexual interest in children. It logically follows then that the age and gender of the depicted children may reflect specific interests in those age/gender groups, and if so, may correspond to age and gender of any known contact offending victims. We had data on CSEM characteristics and child victims for 71 men convicted of CSEM offenses who also had contact sexual offenses against children; some had also sexually solicited children online. Sixty-four men had 134 prior or concurrent child victims, and 14 men reoffended directly against 17 children during follow-up. There were significant, positive associations (with moderate to large effect sizes) between age and gender of children depicted in CSEM and age and gender of child contact or solicitation victims. Examining future offending, though with only 14 recidivists, all men who sexually reoffended against a girl had more girl CSEM content, and all men who sexually reoffended against a boy had more boy CSEM content. Our results suggest that CSEM characteristics can reflect child preferences. This information can be relevant in clinical settings, police investigations, and community risk management, though it does not rule out interest in, or offending against, victims of other ages or gender. We discuss these findings in the context of other evidence regarding victim cross-over, and suggest future research.

Scurich, N., & Krauss, D. A. (2023). Risk assessment of child-pornography-exclusive offenders. *Law and Human Behavior, 47*(4), 499–509. DOI:10.1037/lhb0000537

A sizeable percentage of federally sentenced child pornography offenders have no history of other criminal offenses (hereinafter “child-pornography-exclusive offenders”). There is a critical legal need to assess the recidivism risk of this population. The Child Pornography Offender Risk Tool (CPORT) is a commonly used actuarial instrument developed specifically to assess the risk of recidivism among child pornography offenders. Hypotheses: We hypothesized that there would be a sound scientific basis supporting the use of the CPORT in the United States as well as research demonstrating its applicability to child-pornography-exclusive offenders, given that the instrument is currently being used in forensic settings. We critically examined all of the existing empirical studies that constitute the research base of the CPORT. The empirical studies of the CPORT suffer from at least three significant limitations: extremely small samples of recidivists, inordinate amounts of missing data, and potentially outdated samples. Further, none of the studies have tested the CPORT in a sample of offenders in the United States. An illustrative example of how the instrument has been misapplied in forensic settings and courtroom testimony is provided. These issues make it inappropriate to use the CPORT on child-pornography-exclusive offenders in the United States at this time. We conclude by describing avenues for future research that can advance our understanding of this distinct and growing population of offenders.

Elbert, M. J., Drury, A. J., & DeLisi, M. (2022). [Child pornography possession/receipt offenders: Developing a forensic profile](#). *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law, 29*(1), 93–106. DOI:10.1080/13218719.2021.1904447

Child pornography possession/receipt offenders are a controversial offender group due to mixed and occasionally divergent evidence about their risk profile, offending history and psychopathology. Using a population of male offenders who ever perpetrated a sexual offense from a federal jurisdiction in the central United States, the current study

developed an exploratory post hoc empirical profile of these offenders. The profile has some success in the validation component of our study and showed significant associations with self-reported sexual abuse of child victims ages 3–12 years, but non-significant associations to adolescent and adult victims. It significantly linked to the conceptually expected victim group and the significant statistical effect withstood controls for generally robust indicators of antisocial conduct including antisocial personality disorder, arrest onset, total adverse childhood experiences, age and race. We view the findings as exploratory and encourage additional empirical study of this important offender group.

Christensen, L. S., Moritz, D., & Pearson, A. (2021). Psychological perspectives of virtual child sexual abuse material. *Sexuality & Culture, 25*(4), 1353–1365.  
DOI:10.1007/s12119-021-09820-1

Virtual child sexual abuse material (VCSAM) has become a growing global concern amongst policy and practice professionals. This theoretical paper aimed to provide a discussion on the landscape for the types of virtual material and apply psychological perspectives to further our limited understanding of these offenders. When considering the landscape, the types of morphing were explored along with the issues that have resulted due to the advances in 3D software and hardware rendering, including difficulties distinguishing VCSAM from child sexual abuse material involving real children. Throughout the paper, logic is drawn from the strong theoretical basis of child sexual abuse material offenders, allowing for the application of theoretical perspectives, such as schemas, cognitive distortions, the person–situation interaction, and rational choice theory. This paper offers some preliminary foundations and insights in an attempt to better understand VCSAM offenders, while providing avenues for further research. Overall, this paper offers a valuable and timely resource for psychology and law enforcement disciplines, along with policy makers, at an international level.

Steel, C. M. S., Newman, E., O'Rourke, S., & Quayle, E. (2021). Collecting and viewing behaviors of child sexual exploitation material offenders. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 118, 105133. DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2021.105133

The collecting behaviors of child sexual exploitation material (CSEM) offenders provide insight into their cognitions and motivations that have clinical applications. This study analyzed the CSEM collecting and viewing behaviors of previously convicted offenders. A postal letter soliciting participation in an online survey was sent to adults previously convicted of CSEM offenses in the United States. Comparison information from a non-offending population of adults within the United States (N = 524) was collected and compared to the CSEM respondents (N = 78). A mixed-methods approach was utilized. The CSEM group was compared to a gender-matched sample from the non-offending group for general adult sexual exploitation material (SEM) viewing. Exploratory analyses of CSEM offender behaviors related to collecting, collection diversity, and recidivism were conducted. The majority (78%) of the offenders did not organize their content and 74% deleted their entire collection on at least one occasion. Offenders viewed more diverse categories of adult SEM than non-offenders, including more bestiality, hentai, teen, and nudist/naturist material. None of the offenders viewed CSEM exclusively, and 74% viewed more adult SEM than CSEM. The age range of CSEM content viewed did not support highly preferential viewing but did support general novelty seeking. The self-reported recidivism rate was 10%, with infrequent post-conviction CSEM activity. Treatment professionals should not assume that pedophilic interests are the sole or even primary motivator for CSEM behavior. Problematic Internet usage, general pornography consumption, coping issues, or novelty seeking may be more appropriate targets for some offenders.

Gottfried, E. D., Shier, E. K., & Mulay, A. L. (2020). Child pornography and online sexual solicitation. *Current Psychiatry Reports*, 22(10). DOI:10.1007/s11920-020-1132-y

This review highlights recent literature regarding online sexual offending, including the prevalence, characteristics, a brief review of recent typology literature, victimization risk

factors, risk factors of being a “crossover” offender, rates and risk factors for recidivism, and a discussion of prevention efforts. Online sexual offenders are overwhelmingly White men with relationship problems who were rarely previously arrested for felonies. They score lower on measures of antisocial behavior, compared to offenders who commit contact sexual offenses against children. Individuals who commit pornography offenses are at lower risk to commit contact offenses and their risk factors include having sexual interest in children and antisocial attitudes. Online offenders are different from contact sexual offenders and from offenders who commit both types of offenses. Recidivism in online noncontact offenders is difficult to assess due to the lack of empirically supported tools and the inappropriateness of using popular actuarial tools that lack norms on these offenders, but a new measure (CPORT) is being studied for use with this population.

Knack, N., Holmes, D., & Fedoroff, J. P. (2020). Motivational pathways underlying the onset and maintenance of viewing child pornography on the Internet. *Behavioral Sciences & the Law*, 38(2), 100–116. DOI:10.1002/bsl.2450

The staggering rate at which incidents of child pornography (CP) are increasing highlights the need for proactive approaches to this problem. Improving the efficacy and accessibility of interventions designed for individuals who view CP provides one means of addressing this growing concern. This article explores the self-identified motivations underlying the onset and maintenance of viewing Internet-based CP among a sample of 20 men receiving treatment for this behavior. Our findings suggest two primary motivational pathways, namely a desire to achieve sexual gratification and/or an attempt to avoid emotional pain. We propose a behavioral facilitation process, initiated by extensive exposure to Internet pornography, to explain the use of CP in men without a sexual interest in children. We also discuss factors that appeared to facilitate the maintenance of this behavior. Our findings indicate that social skills deficits, maladaptive coping strategies, and a lack of sexual education require further investigation regarding their role in promoting or precluding desistance from viewing CP.

Bickart, W., McLearn, A. M., Grady, M. D., & Stoler, K. (2019). [A descriptive study of psychosocial characteristics and offense patterns in females with online child pornography offenses](#). *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law*, 26(2), 295–311.  
DOI:10.1080/13218719.2018.1506714

Despite a growing body of literature on females who sexually offend, there is a dearth of research on online sexual offending in women. This study collected descriptive psychosocial and offense conduct data on 98 females convicted of online sexual offenses housed in United States federal prisons. Psychosocial history results demonstrated that 60% of the subjects reported a history of sexual abuse (n = 59), while 46% reported physical abuse (n = 45). In addition, 47% reported a history of outpatient mental health treatment (n = 46), and 15% reported prior inpatient mental health treatment (n = 15). The majority (n = 70) of the women's offenses involved the victimization of accessible minors to produce child pornography for distribution on the Internet, most often in association with a male co-offender. Typically, the subject's child was the victim and the focus of the child pornography. Contact offending frequently (n = 39) occurred in the context of the production of child pornography. The implications of these findings, especially regarding the role that women play in the creation and distribution of child pornography, are discussed as well as important directions for future research.

Elliott, I. A., Mandeville-Norden, R., Rakestrow-Dickens, J., & Beech, A. R. (2019). Reoffending rates in a UK community sample of individuals with convictions for indecent images of children. *Law and Human Behavior*, 43(4), 369–382.  
DOI:10.1037/lhb0000328

Although they remain a relatively small proportion of all identified sex offenders, there is increasing concern about individuals with offenses relating to indecent images of children (IIOC) online. This study examined the reoffending rates of a sample of IIOC-only (n = 584, 84.6%) and mixed IIOC-contact (n = 106, 15.4%) offenders who participated in a U.K. community intervention and the predictive validity of risk and psychological

assessment outcomes. Proven reoffending rates were 24.8% for any reconviction and 12.6% for sexual reconvictions after a 13-year average follow-up. Rates differed significantly, with the mixed group 2 times more likely to receive any reconviction and 3 times more likely to receive a sexual reconviction. Only 2.7% of the IIOC-only group was convicted of a subsequent contact offense. Prior general offenses were found to be significantly predictive of general reconviction and prior sexual convictions were significantly predictive of sexual convictions, albeit with weak predictive power. Reliable change on treatment "domains" was not predictive of either general or sexual reconvictions. While lower reconviction rates do not minimize the seriousness of IIOC use, these findings highlight the need for comprehensive assessment of proven and self-reported offending history to make sound risk decisions and the need for larger samples with longer follow-ups and comparisons between detected and undetected IIOC users. The findings also raise questions about the nature and efficiencies related to treatment for a population in which rates of reconviction appear to be relatively low.

Johnson, S. A. (2018). [Erotica and the sexual offender: The importance of restricting sex offenders from using or possessing erotica and pornography](#). *Forensic Research & Criminology International Journal*, 6(1), 00186.

The Courts are struggling with issues of civil liberty in regards to sexual offenders. The rights of sexual offenders to possess pornography or erotica is of utmost concern. When an individual's erotica has become intertwined in sex offense or other violent behavior, the erotica has now become part of the offender's violent fantasies and behavior. The offender should no longer have access to or possession of any erotica that involves the offender's offense behavior or target victim population. This has become an issue of constitutional rights and even some in the sex offender treatment profession fail to see the connection. For the Courts, this is an important issue to rethink when imposing probation, parole, or other restrictions on the sex offender. What follows is a discussion of the importance of restricting sex offenders from accessing or possessing any erotica or

pornography that is related in any way to their sexual offense behavior or other violent crime.

Ly, T., Dwyer, R. G., & Fedoroff, J. P. (2018). Characteristics and treatment of internet child pornography offenders. *Behavioral Sciences & the Law*, 36(2), 216-234. DOI:10.1002/bsl.2340

In the realm of sexual offenses, there has been a decrease in hands-on offenses, but an increase in online offenses against children. The current issue is whether online and offline sexual offenders are alike or differ. This literature review investigates the differences among individuals who have committed child pornography offenses, individuals who have committed contact offenses against children, and individuals who have committed both. This review discusses the various typologies that have been proposed of those who have committed online offenses against children, the diagnostic implications of having committed child pornography offenses, and the current state of treatment and prevention of individuals who have committed online sex offenses against children. The studies examined were found from psychology databases, listserv links, and references of those collected articles. Only articles in English were included in the review. Overall, Internet child pornography offenders (ICPOs) tend to score significantly differently from contact offenders on various psychological measures. These findings may imply that ICPOs have different treatment needs than contact offenders.

Malamuth, N. (2018). [“Adding fuel to the fire”? Does exposure to non-consenting adult or to child pornography increase risk of sexual aggression?.](#) *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 41, 74-89. DOI:10.1016/j.avb.2018.02.013

This article is the first to integrate the vast research literatures on non-consenting adult and on child pornography (also a form of non-consenting pornography) by using the framework of the Confluence Model of sexual aggression. In contrast to the contradictory

conclusions reached by various reviewers and commentators who have typically emphasized a particular methodology or parts of the literature, this review finds a great deal of consistency and convergence among the differing methodologies and literatures that have examined the impact of pornography on individuals. It is concluded that pornography use may add to the risk of sexual aggression only for those men already predisposed to aggress sexually due to more primary causes than pornography use.

Merdian, H. L., Moghaddam, N., Boer, D. P., Wilson, N., Thakker, J., Curtis, C., & Dawson, D. (2018). Fantasy-driven versus contact-driven users of child sexual exploitation material: Offender classification and implications for their risk assessment. *Sexual Abuse, 30*(3), 230-253. DOI:10.1177/1079063216641109

Since the advent of the internet, convictions for the possession, display, trading and distribution of child sexual exploitation material (CSEM) have risen steadily, but little is known about the appropriate assessment and treatment of this offender group, especially in regards to their risk of reoffending. It has been suggested that a conceptual distinction of fantasy- vs. contact-driven CSEM users might be of merit. Sixty-eight offenders recruited from sex offender treatment providers were assessed via an anonymous computer survey including a variety of clinical and risk-related variables; the findings showed differences in the psychological profiles between CSEM users and contact child sex offenders. Numerical and spatial methods were employed to identify subgroups of CSEM users; these confirmed the two-fold distinction of fantasy vs. contact driven offending. The spatial representation of participants identified three dimensions as crucial in the classification of these subgroups: direct sexual contact with a minor, possession of fantasy-generating material, and social contact with other users with a sexual interest in minors, potentially differentiating distinct offender subgroups with different risks and needs. The current study informed the development of an empirical model of CSEM users that could aid in the assessment of risk of reoffending and cross-over to contact sex offending.

Steely, M., Ten Benschel, T., Bratton, T., & Lytle, R. (2018). All part of the process? A qualitative examination of change in online child pornography behaviors. *Criminal Justice Studies*, 31(3), 279-296. DOI:10.1080/1478601X.2018.1492389

Over the past two decades, there has been increased attention on offending behaviors and motivations of child pornography offenders (CPOs). Although existing research has provided a knowledgeable foundation in regard to this offending subpopulation, the literature has been relatively limited on examining changes in offender behaviors and motivations. This study used interviews with 25 online CPOs in a southern state to identify themes underlying offending behaviors and motives at onset, as well as, continuation of offending over time. We found that offenders reported various circumstances (ranging from intentional to unintentional) and motivations (including thrill-seeking and attraction) at onset; however, CPOs reported thrill-seeking and attraction to be the most common factors driving their continued offending. We applied these themes to the existing literature on child pornography offending and recommended directions for future research. Based on our findings, we offered considerations for the treatment of CPOs.

Henshaw, M., Ogloff, J. R., & Clough, J. A. (2017). Looking beyond the screen: A critical review of the literature on the online child pornography offender. *Sexual Abuse*, 29(5), 416-445. DOI:10.1177/1079063215603690

This article reviews the current literature pertaining to those who engage in child pornography offending. The basic characteristics of online child pornography offenders (CPOs) and related typologies are briefly presented prior to reviewing the comparative literature pertaining to CPOs and child contact sexual offenders. In general, CPOs have been found to be relatively high functioning and generally pro-social individuals with less extensive and diverse offending histories than contact offenders. CPOs also display high levels of sexual pre-occupation, deviant sexual interests, and deficits in interpersonal and affective domains that surpass those of contact offenders. Although further research is

required to replicate and clarify preliminary findings, the available evidence indicates that existing sexual offender risk assessment tools and treatment programs are not suitable for use with CPOs, and thus require revision and empirical evaluation prior to widespread use among this population. The article concludes with implications for clinical practice and directions for future research.

Seto, M. C., & Eke, A. W. (2017). Correlates of admitted sexual interest in children among individuals convicted of child pornography offenses. *Law and Human Behavior, 41*(3), 305–313. DOI:10.1037/lhb0000240

Recent research on a risk assessment tool for child pornography offending suggests that admission of sexual interest in children is a risk factor for any sexual recidivism. Admission is easily vulnerable to lying, however, or to refusals to respond when asked about sexual interests. This may become a particular issue when individuals are concerned about the potential impact of admission of sexual interest on sentencing and other risk-related decisions. In this study, we identified the following behavioral correlates (coded yes/no) of admission of sexual interest in children in the risk tool development sample of 286 men convicted of child pornography offenses: (a) never married (54% of sample), (b) child pornography content included child sexual abuse videos (64%), (c) child pornography content included sex stories involving children (31%), (d) evidence of interest in child pornography spanned 2 or more years (55%), (e) volunteered in a role with high access to children (7%), and (f) engaged in online sexual communication with a minor or officer posing as a minor (10%). When summed, the average score on this Correlates of Admission of Sexual Interest in Children (CASIC) measure was 2.21 (*SD* = 1.22, range 0–6) out of a possible 6, and the CASIC score was significantly associated with admission of sexual interest in children, area under the curve (AUC) = .71, 95% CI [.65, .77]. The CASIC had a stronger relationship with admission in a small cross-validation sample of 60 child pornography offenders, AUC = .81, 95% CI [.68, .95]. CASIC scores may substitute for

admission of sexual interest in risk assessment involving those with child pornography offenses.

Kuhle, L. F., Schlinzig, E., Kaiser, G., Amelung, T., Konrad, A., Röhle, R., & Beier, K. M. (2016). The association of sexual preference and dynamic risk factors with undetected child pornography offending. *Journal of Sexual Aggression, 23*(1), 3-18.  
DOI:10.1080/13552600.2016.1201157

The risk for using child abuse images (CAI) is difficult to assess, especially as it mostly remains undetected by legal authorities. The present study investigates the association of aspects of sexual preference and dynamic risk factors with CAI only and mixed offending (CAI and child sexual abuse) over lifetime and within six months prior to assessment. A sample of 190 undetected, self-identified pedo- and/or hebephiles was investigated. Multinomial logistic regression analyses revealed that sexual preoccupation is of great importance, especially for recent CAI only and mixed offending, as well as lifetime mixed offending. Although inconclusive, a sexual preference for early-pubescent children seems to be of interest for recent and lifetime offending. A sexual preference for prepubescent children, additional paraphilias and sexualised coping have shown some, although no statistically meaningful association with lifetime offending. Gender preference, exclusivity of pedohebephilia and offence-supportive attitudes did not show any significant relation with offending behaviour.

Johnson, S. A. (2015). [Child pornography users & child contact offenders: Applications for law enforcement, prosecution and forensic mental health](#). *International Journal of Emergency Mental Health and Human Resilience, 17*(4), 666-669.

Child pornography offenders are a new breed of sexual offender. Although they may present with similar characteristics and problems/issues of contact sex offenders, their ability to access child and deviant pornography is relatively easy. The research literature has begun to address the child pornography offender (CPO) and found many factors

related to crossover from online to actual contact sexual offenses with children. Some offenders appear to limit their sexually offending behaviour to online only whereas others progress to contact sexual offenses- either way children are being victimized. My concerns are that law enforcement, prosecution and forensic mental health professionals need to take this data concerning the child pornography offender and use it to guide their interviews, interrogation and assessments. In addition, it is difficult and impossible to accurately identify which of the child pornography offenders will become contact offenders and which will limit their sexual offense behaviour to online only.

Seto, M. C., & Eke, A. W. (2015). Predicting recidivism among adult male child pornography offenders: Development of the child pornography offender risk tool (CPORT). *Law and Human Behavior, 39*(4), 416-429. DOI:10.1037/lhb0000128

In this study, we developed a structured risk checklist, the Child Pornography Offender Risk Tool (CPORT), to predict any sexual recidivism among adult male offenders with a conviction for child pornography offenses. We identified predictors of sexual recidivism using a 5-year fixed follow-up analysis from a police case file sample of 266 adult male child pornography offenders in the community after their index offense. In our 5-year follow-up, 29% committed a new offense, and 11% committed a new sexual offense, with 3% committing a new contact sexual offense against a child and 9% committing a new child pornography offense. The CPORT items comprised younger offender age, any prior criminal history, any contact sexual offending, any failure on conditional release, indication of sexual interest in child pornography material or prepubescent or pubescent children, more boy than girl content in child pornography, and more boy than girl content in other child depictions. The CPORT was significantly associated with any sexual recidivism, with moderate predictive accuracy, and thus has promise in the risk assessment of adult male child pornography offenders with further cross-validation.

Babchishin, K. M., Hanson, R. K., & VanZuylen, H. (2015). Online child pornography offenders are different: A meta-analysis of the characteristics of online and offline sex offenders against children. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 44*(1), 45-66. DOI:10.1007/s10508-014-0270-x

The current meta-analysis compared the characteristics of online child pornography-only offenders, typical (offline) sex offenders against children, and offenders with both child pornography and contact sex offences against children (mixed). Based on 30 unique samples (comparison *ns* ranging from 98 to 2,702), the meta-analysis found key differences between groups. Offenders who committed contact sex offences were more likely to have access to children than those with only child pornography offences. In contrast, offenders who used the internet to commit sexual offences had greater access to the internet than those with contact sex offenders. Differences between the groups, however, were not limited to differential opportunities. Sex offenders against children and mixed offenders were found to score higher on indicators of antisociality than online child pornography offenders (CPOs). CPOs were also more likely to have psychological barriers to sexual offending than sex offenders against children and mixed offenders (e.g., greater victim empathy). Mixed offenders were found to be the most pedophilic, even more than CPOs. The findings suggest that offenders who restricted their offending behavior to online child pornography offences were different from mixed offenders and offline sex offenders against children, and that mixed offenders were a particularly high risk group.

Clevenger, S. L., Navarro, J. N., & Jasinski, J. L. (2014). A matter of low self-control? Exploring differences between child pornography possessors and child pornography producers/distributors using self-control theory. *Sexual Abuse, 28*(6), 555-571. DOI:10.1177/1079063214557173

This study examined the demographic and background characteristic differences between those arrested for child pornography (CP) possession (only), or CP production/distribution, or an attempted or completed sexual exploitation of a minor (SEM) that involved the Internet in some capacity within the context of self-control theory

using data from the second wave of the National Juvenile Online Victimization Study (N-JOV2). Results indicate few demographic similarities, which thereby suggest these are largely heterogeneous groupings of individuals. Results also indicate CP producers/distributors engaged in a greater number of behaviors indicative of low self-control compared with CP possessors. Specifically, offenders arrested for CP production/distribution were more likely to have (a) had problems with drugs/alcohol at the time of the crime and (b) been previously violent. In contrast, the only indicator of low self-control that reached statistical significance for CP possessors was the previous use of violence. Moreover, in contrast to CP producers/distributors, full-time employment and marital status may be important factors to consider in the likelihood of arrest for CP possessors, which is congruent with the tenets of self-control theory.

Faust, E., Bickart, W., Renaud, C., & Camp, S. (2014). Child pornography possessors and child contact sex offenders: A multilevel comparison of demographic characteristics and rates of recidivism. *Sexual Abuse, 27*(5), 460-478.  
DOI:10.1177/1079063214521469

Considerable debate surrounds the topic of whether possessing or distributing online images of child pornography (CP) represents a new type of crime perpetrated by conventional sex offenders (e.g., child contact [CC] sex offenders), or whether individuals who commit these crimes differ from contact sex offenders in meaningful ways. The current study compares groups of Internet (CP) and CC sexual offenders, with each group's sexual offending history exclusively confined to its offense category. *T* tests were used to conduct bivariate comparisons of group demographics and criminal histories. Rates of recidivism were examined using survival curves and Cox proportional hazard regression models. Results showed significant differences on demographic and criminal history variables, with CP offenders demonstrating a lower frequency of prior criminal offending and substance abuse, and higher rates of pre-incarceration employment and level of education. Rates of recidivism were significantly different between the two groups,

with CP offenders showing lower rates of re-offense for most measures of recidivism. When controlling for background characteristics and the timing of the event, CC offenders were at much greater risk for having an arrest for a new crime or a non-sexual violent crime than CP offenders. Treatment and policy implications are discussed, along with suggestions for future research.

Houtepen, J. A., Sijtsema, J. J., & Bogaerts, S. (2014). From child pornography offending to child sexual abuse: A review of child pornography offender characteristics and risks for cross-over. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 19*(5), 466-473.  
DOI:10.1016/j.avb.2014.07.011

In this review, concrete directions are provided for individual risk assessment, treatment planning, and future research on child pornography offending. First, based on reviewing offender characteristics, including demographics, socio-affective difficulties, cognitive distortions and psychosexual issues, it is concluded that despite individual differences, many child pornography offenders have psychological difficulties in multiple areas of functioning. Based on earlier child pornography offender typologies, it is proposed that risk factors of individual offenders can be viewed along the lines of two continua: (1) features related to criminal behavior, and (2) sexual deviance/fantasy. These continua not only give insight into psychological differences between offender types, but also allow for variation in the severity of psychological difficulties within offender types and therefore may enhance individual risk assessment and treatment planning. Moreover, risk factors for cross-over are discussed, including individual characteristics, factors related to engagement with the internet, and the offline environment. Future research should focus on the integration of risk domains within particular offending types. Specifically, research is needed on non-offending pedophiles in order to gain more insight into the relationship between pedophilia and child pornography offending in general.

Aebi, M., Plattner, B., Ernest, M., Kaszynski, K., & Bessler, C. (2013). Criminal history and future offending of juveniles convicted of the possession of child pornography. *Sexual Abuse, 26*(4), 375–390. DOI:10.1177/1079063213492344

Most child pornography is distributed online. It is estimated that 3% to 15% of child pornography consumers are juveniles. The present study analyzed a consecutive sample of 54 male juveniles convicted of the possession of child pornography. Demographic characteristics, criminal history, and subsequent offending were assessed from criminal files and official reports. Juvenile possessors of child pornography were compared to three different groups of juveniles: Juvenile possessors of other illegal pornography (n = 42), juveniles who committed a sexual contact offense against a child (n = 64), and juveniles who committed a sexual contact offense against a peer or adult (n = 104). Juvenile possessors of child pornography were found to have downloaded the illegal material more frequently and over a longer time period than juvenile possessors of other illegal pornography. Furthermore, juvenile possessors of child pornography differed from juveniles who had committed a sexual contact offense in terms of demographics and showed fewer previous and subsequent offending than juveniles who sexually offended against a peer or adult. We conclude that juvenile possessors of child pornography need a specific target intervention focusing on dysfunctional Internet use and sexually deviant arousal.

Hurley, R., Prusty, S., Soroush, H., Walls, R. J., Albrecht, J., Cecchet, E., Levine, B. N., Liberatore, M., Lynn, B., & Wolak, J. (2013). [Measurement and analysis of child pornography trafficking on p2p networks](#). In D. Schwabe (Ed.), *Proceedings of the 22nd international conference on World Wide Web* (pp. 631–642). ACM.

Peer-to-peer networks are the most popular mechanism for the criminal acquisition and distribution of child pornography (CP). In this paper, we examine observations of peers sharing known CP on the eMule and Gnutella networks, which were collected by law enforcement using forensic tools that we developed. We characterize a year's worth of network activity and evaluate different strategies for prioritizing investigators' limited

resources. The highest impact research in criminal forensics works within, and is evaluated under, the constraints and goals of investigations. We follow that principle, rather than presenting a set of isolated, exploratory characterizations of users. First, we focus on strategies for reducing the number of CP files available on the network by removing a minimal number of peers. We present a metric for peer removal that is more effective than simply selecting peers with the largest libraries or the most days online. Second, we characterize six aggressive peer subgroups, including: peers using Tor, peers that bridge multiple p2p networks, and the top 10% of peers contributing to file availability. We find that these subgroups are more active in their trafficking, having more known CP and more uptime, than the average peer. Finally, while in theory Tor presents a challenge to investigators, we observe that in practice offenders use Tor inconsistently. Over 90% of regular Tor users send traffic from a non-Tor IP at least once after first using Tor.

Long, M. L., Alison, L. A., & McManus, M. A. (2013). Child pornography and likelihood of contact abuse: A comparison between contact child sexual offenders and noncontact offenders. *Sexual Abuse, 25*(4), 370-395.  
DOI:10.1177/1079063212464398

This study examined a sample of 120 adult males convicted of offences involving indecent images of children (IIOC); 60 had a previous contact child sexual offence (dual offenders) and 60 had no evidence of an offence against a child. Analyses explored socio-demographic characteristics, previous convictions, and access to children. Of the 120 offenders, a subsample of 60 offenders (30 dual offenders and 30 non-contact) were further examined in terms of the quantity of IIOC, types of IIOC, and offending behavior. The study found the two offender groups could be discriminated by previous convictions, access to children, the number, proportion, and type of IIOC viewed. The IIOC preferences displayed within their possession differentiated dual offenders from non-contact IIOC offenders. Within group comparisons of the dual offenders differentiated sadistic rapists from sexual penetrative and sexual touching offenders. The paper suggests there may be

a homology between IIOC possession, victim selection, and offending behavior. Implications for law enforcement are discussed in terms of likelihood of contact offending and assisting in investigative prioritization.

Martin, J., & Alaggia, R. (2013). Sexual abuse images in cyberspace: Expanding the ecology of the child. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 22*(4), 398–415.  
DOI:10.1080/10538712.2013.781091

Cyberspace has added a new dimension to the ecology of children made the subjects of sexual abuse images distributed online. These images cannot be permanently removed and can continue to circulate in cyberspace forever. A review of the current literature suggests that helping professionals are not consistently aware of or do not probe possibilities of online sexual victimization in the investigation, assessment, and treatment of child sexual abuse. Nor is this issue adequately addressed in their education and training. There are gaps in the literature regarding how to identify and provide treatment for these children. New assessment and treatment targets are needed to enhance existing practice approaches. A contemporary ecological model that incorporates an explicit consideration of the cybersystem is provided as a starting point for practitioners to be aware of the possibility that images of child sexual abuse were recorded and distributed online.

Merdian, H. (2013). The three dimensions of online child pornography offending. *Journal of Sexual Aggression, 19*(1), 121–132. DOI:10.1080/13552600.2011.611898

The internet has opened up opportunities for non-contact sex offending, such as the viewing of child pornography. This paper proposes a model for the classification of child pornography offenders as an aid for their assessment and treatment, deduced from empirical studies and existing typologies for child pornography offenders. Different subgroups of child pornography offenders may be described according to three

dimensions: (1) type of offending, (2) the motivation behind child pornography offending and (3) the situational and social engagement in the offending behaviour. Distinct pathways of child pornography offending can be identified, related to differing criminogenic needs, severity of offending, and appropriate assessment and treatment strategies for the offenders.

Neutze, J., Grundmann, D., Scherner, G., & Beier, K. M. (2012). Undetected and detected child sexual abuse and child pornography offenders. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, 35(3), 168-175. DOI:10.1016/j.ijlp.2012.02.004

Current knowledge about risk factors for child sexual abuse and child pornography offenses is based on samples of convicted offenders. Only few studies focus on offenders not detected by the criminal justice system. In this study, a sample of 345 self-referred pedophiles and hebephiles was recruited from the community. All participants met DSM-IV-TR criteria for pedophilia or hebephilia (paraphilia not otherwise specified), were assured of confidentiality, and self-reported lifetime sexual offending against prepubescent and/or pubescent children. Two sets of group comparisons were conducted on self-report data of risk factors for sexual reoffending. Measures of risk factors address the following dimensions identified in samples of convicted offenders: sexual preferences (i.e. co-occurring paraphilias), sexual self-regulation problems, offense-supportive cognitions, diverse socio-affective deficits, and indicators of social functioning (e.g., education, employment). Men who admitted current or previous investigation or conviction by legal authorities (detected offenders) were compared with those who denied any detection for their sexual offenses against children (undetected offenders). Group comparisons (detected vs. undetected) were further conducted for each offense type separately (child pornography only offenders, child sexual abuse only offenders, mixed offenders). Although there were more similarities between undetected and detected offenders, selected measures of sexual-self regulation problems, socio-affective deficits, and social functioning data demonstrated group differences.

Eke, A. W., Seto, M. C., & Williams, J. (2011). Examining the criminal history and future offending of child pornography offenders: An extended prospective follow-up study. *Law and Human Behavior, 35*(6), 466-478. DOI:10.1007/s10979-010-9252-2

We examined police occurrence and criminal records data for a sample of 201 registered male child pornography offenders originally reported by Seto and Eke, extending the average follow-up time for this sample to 5.9 years. In addition, we obtained the same data for another 340 offenders, increasing our full sample to 541 men, with a total average follow-up of 4.1 years. In the extended follow-up of the original sample, 34% of offenders had new charges for any type of reoffense, with 6% charged with a contact sexual offense against a child and an additional 3% charged with historical contact sex offenses. For the full sample, there was a 32% any recidivism rate; 4% of offenders were charged with new contact sex offenses, an additional 2% of offenders were charged with historical contact sex offenses and 7% of offenders were charged with a new child pornography offense. Predictors of new violent (including sexual contact) offending were prior offense history, including violent history, & younger offender age. Approximately a quarter of the sample was sanctioned for a failure on conditional release; in half of these failures, the offenders were in contact with children or used the internet, often to access pornography again.

Neutze, J., Seto, M. C., Schaefer, G. A., Mundt, I. A., & Beier, K. M. (2011). Predictors of child pornography offenses and child sexual abuse in a community sample of pedophiles and hebephiles. *Sexual Abuse, 23*(2), 212-242. DOI:10.1177/1079063210382043

Little is known about factors that distinguish men who act upon their self-identified sexual interest in prepubescent or pubescent children from those who do not. Even less is known about pedophiles or hebephiles who are not involved with the criminal justice system. In this study, a sample of 155 self-referred pedophiles & hebephiles was recruited from the community. All participants met DSM-IV-TR criteria for pedophilia (or paraphilia not otherwise specified for those sexually attracted to pubescent children). Two sets of group comparisons were conducted on sociodemographic variables and measures of dynamic

risk factors. The first set was based on recent activity and compared men who had committed child pornography only or child sexual abuse offenses in the past 6 months with men who remained offense-free during the same period. The second set was based on lifetime offense history and compared child pornography offenders with child sexual abuse offenders and men who had committed both kinds of offenses. Overall, there were more similarities than differences between groups.

Nielssen, O. (2011). Child pornography offenders detected by surveillance of the Internet and by other methods. *Criminal Behaviour & Mental Health, 21*(3), 215-224.  
DOI:10.1002/cbm.809

Availability of child pornography on the Internet has created new opportunities for offending. It has been noted that many people charged with offences relating to this had not previously been identified as sexual offenders against children. Our aim was to compare the characteristics of people charged with child pornography offences as a result of police monitoring of the Internet with those detected by other means. We hypothesised that those apprehended via the Internet are more likely to be older and less likely to have severe psychiatric disorder or to have been previously charged with a sexual offence involving contact with a child than those identified by other means. Data were extracted from the findings of clinical examinations by the authors either in the course of preparing reports for court, or by providing treatment. There were 52 men detected by police Internet surveillance and 53 men detected by other means, the latter including 16 men who had not been charged with an offence at the time of referral. Those detected via the Internet were more likely to be in possession of very large quantities of child pornography. Those detected by other means were more likely to have major psychiatric & substance abuse disorders and reported childhood sexual abuse. A subgroup analysis of the 89 people who were facing charges at the time of the assessment found that the only significant differences were in the amount of material & the history of sexual abuse. The characteristics of the subjects did not confirm the stereotype of an Internet child

pornography offender who was high functioning and otherwise well-adjusted and carried a low risk of other types of offences.

Seto, M. C., Hanson, R. K., & Babchishin, K. M. (2011). Contact sexual offending by men with online sexual offenses. *Sexual Abuse, 23*(1), 124-145.  
DOI:10.1177/1079063210369013

There is much concern about the likelihood that online sexual offenders (particularly online child pornography offenders) have either committed or will commit offline sexual offenses involving contact with a victim. This study addresses this question in two meta-analyses. The first examined the contact sexual offense histories of online offenders, whereas the second examined the recidivism rates from follow-up studies of online offenders. The first meta-analysis found that approximately 1 in 8 online offenders (12%) have an officially known contact sexual offense history at the time of their index offense. Approximately one in two (55%) online offenders admitted to a contact sexual offense in the 6 studies that had self-report data. The second meta-analysis revealed that 4.6% of online offenders committed a new sexual offense of some kind during a 1.5- to 6-year follow-up; 2.0% committed a contact sexual offense and 3.4% committed a new child pornography offense. The results of these 2 quantitative reviews suggest that there may be a distinct subgroup of online-only offenders who pose relatively low risk of committing contact sexual offenses in the future.

Wolak, J., Finkelhor, D., & Mitchell, K. (2011). Child pornography possessors: Trends in offender and case characteristics. *Sexual Abuse, 23*(1), 22-42.  
DOI:10.1177/1079063210372143

This article describes trends in child pornography (CP) possession cases that ended in arrest in 2000 and in 2006, using data from the National Juvenile Online Victimization Study, a two-wave longitudinal survey of a national sample of more than 2,500 U.S. law

enforcement agencies. In 2006, there were an estimated 3,672 arrests for CP possession, compared with 1,713 arrests in 2000. Many characteristics of the offenders and the offense remained stable. In both 2006 and 2000, most offenders were White, non-Hispanic males and socioeconomically diverse. Few were known to have committed previous sex crimes. Most had CP that depicted preteen children and serious sexual abuse. In 2006, however, a higher proportion of offenders were aged 18 to 25 years, used peer-to-peer (p2p) networks, had images of children younger than 3 years, and had CP videos. P2p users had more extreme images and larger numbers of images than those who did not use p2p networks. Findings reflect heightened efforts in the criminal justice system to combat CP crimes. More cases originated with investigations of CP possession and involved proactive investigations aimed at detecting CP. The great majority of cases were successfully prosecuted, with more offenders sentenced to incarceration and serving longer sentences than in 2000. As in 2000, 1 in 6 cases that began with investigations of CP possession detected offenders who had molested children.

Hessick, C. B. (2010). Disentangling child pornography from child sex abuse. *Washington University Law Review*, 88, 853-902.

Recent years have seen a significant increase in the criminal penalties associated with possession of child pornography. The new severity appears to be premised on arguments that blur the distinction between those who possess images of child pornography and those who sexually abuse children. In particular, sentences have been increased based on arguments that possession of pornography is equivalent to or worse than child sex abuse, arguments that viewing child pornography increases the risk that an individual will sexually abuse a child, and arguments that those who possess child pornography are abusing children undetected. This article identifies instances where possession of child pornography and child sex abuse have been conflated, critically evaluates the arguments that promote such conflation, and identifies independent concerns with conflation. Specifically, it argues that blurring the distinction between the 2 crimes allows

us to continue to misperceive child sex abuse as a stranger-danger issue and that when law enforcement statistics aggregate possession and child sex abuse, the public may be misled into believing that law enforcement is successfully battling child sex abuse. The modern trend of increasing sentences for possession of child pornography ought to be reviewed & several possible areas of reform are suggested.

McCarthy, J. A. (2010). Internet sexual activity: A comparison between contact and non-contact child pornography offenders. *Journal of Sexual Aggression, 16*(2), 181-195. DOI:10.1080/13552601003760006

By exploring the internet sexual activity of two groups of adult male child pornography offenders, this study sought to identify potential risk factors associated with those offenders who also sexually abused minors. Six areas of internet sexual activity were explored: (1) the level of involvement with child pornography; (2) the level of involvement with nonpornographic material depicting minors; (3) the online seduction of minors; (4) the level of communication with individuals who also have a sexual interest in minors; (5) the level of involvement with adult pornography; and (6) the level of involvement in internet chatrooms related to adults. Results indicated that child pornography offenders are a heterogeneous group. Additionally, dispositional factors related to substance abuse, antisocial orientation and deviant sexual interest and situational factors related to internet sexual activity discriminated child pornography offenders who sexually abused minors from those who did not.

Seto, M. C. (2010). Child pornography use and internet solicitation in the diagnosis of pedophilia. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 39*(3), 591-593. DOI:10.1007/s10508-010-9603-6

The DSM-V Paraphilias subworkgroup has proposed changes to the diagnostic criteria for pedophilia. In this commentary, I briefly discuss some of these changes in light of recent

research on internet facilitated sexual offenders and focus on the relevance of child pornography and internet solicitation when considering the diagnosis of pedophilia.

Sheehan, V., & Sullivan, J. (2010). A qualitative analysis of child sex offenders involved in the manufacture of indecent images of children. *Journal of Sexual Aggression, 16*(2), 143-167. DOI:10.1080/13552601003698644

This study aimed to explore qualitatively the lived experiences of four males convicted of manufacturing indecent images of children to determine whether there were similarities or differences in their experiences, perspectives and behaviours which might lead to a better understanding of this offence type. Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) is used to examine the participants' responses to a semi-structured interview. The results identify links between formative life experiences and subsequent offending& indicate that the majority of the producers had an awareness of their sexual interest in children prior to engagement with the internet. All participants possessed a collection of images covering the full spectrum of seriousness. The analysis identified differences between the experiences, perceptions and behaviours of "sharing producers" and "non-sharing producers". Sharing producers had greater levels of access to their victims and the nature of their abuse was more serious, while their manipulation focused on persuading victims to collaborate with the abuse. The findings of the study suggest that producers of indecent images of children may not be a homogeneous group, and that some are meeting quite different needs than others by engaging in the behaviour.

Winder, B., & Gough, B. (2010). "I never touched anybody—that's my defense": A qualitative analysis of internet sex offender accounts. *Journal of Sexual Aggression, 16*(2), 125-141. DOI:10.1080/13552600903503383

There is an ongoing public debate about internet sex offenders: do they progress to contact offences, or are their deviant interests sufficiently satisfied through downloading

indecent images of children? Also, do such individuals accept that they create victims in the absence of direct physical contact with children? This paper presents an analysis of the accounts offered by individuals convicted of internet-based sexual offences involving the downloading and viewing of images of children (n = 7). The data were collected through semi-structured interviews, & analysed using interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA); a number of themes were generated from the rich data set produced. Here we focus upon the dominant theme of “self-distancing” wherein interviewees variously and often creatively rejected the view that they were creating child victims, actively dis-identified from the sex offender label and generally downplayed their accountability relating to their offending activities. Findings are discussed in relation to policy implications and treatment.

Bourke, M. L., & Hernandez, A. E. (2009). The ‘Butner Study’ redux: A report of the incidence of hands-on child victimization by child pornography offenders. *Journal of Family Violence, 24*(3), 183–191. DOI:10.1007/s10896-008-9219-y

This study compared two groups of child pornography offenders participating in a voluntary treatment program: men whose known sexual offense history at the time of judicial sentencing involved the possession, receipt, or distribution of child abuse images, but did not include any “hands-on” sexual abuse; and men convicted of similar offenses who had documented histories of hands-on sexual offending against at least one child victim. The goal was to determine whether the former group of offenders were “merely” collectors of child pornography at little risk for engaging in hands-on sexual offenses, or if they were contact sex offenders whose criminal sexual behavior involving children, with the exception of Internet crimes, went undetected. Our findings show that the Internet offenders in our sample were significantly more likely than not to have sexually abused a child via a hands-on act. They also indicate that the offenders who abused children were likely to have offended against multiple victims, and that the incidence of “crossover” by gender and age is high.

Elliott, I. A., & Beech, A. R. (2009). Understanding online child pornography use: Applying sexual offense theory to internet offenders. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 14*(3), 180–193. DOI:10.1016/j.avb.2009.03.002

This review outlines the links between contemporary etiological and offense-process theories of child sexual abuse and our current knowledge of individuals who commit offenses related to online child pornography. First, we integrate previous behavioral typologies into a four-category internet offender typology. Second, we summarize development of etiological theory and evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of these theories in explaining the child pornography offender. Third, we outline the potential situational and ecological factors relating to the online environment that may also be a cause for the development and maintenance of prurient online behavior. Fourth, we review theories of the offense process and apply these to research into the modus operandi of child pornography offenders. Finally, we examine the usefulness of this approach in the assessment of risk and the treatment of online offenders.

Endrass, J., Urbaniok, F., Hammermeister, L. C., Benz, C., Elbert, T., Laubacher, A., & Rossegger, A. (2009). [The consumption of Internet child pornography and violent sex offending](#). *BMC Psychiatry, 9*(1), 1–7. DOI:10.1186/1471-244X-9-43

There is an ongoing debate on whether consumers of child pornography pose a risk for hands-on sex offenses. Up until now, there have been very few studies which have analyzed the association between the consumption of child pornography and the subsequent perpetration of hands-on sex offenses. The aim of this study was to examine the recidivism rates for hands-on and hands-off sex offenses in a sample of child pornography users using a 6 year follow-up design. The current study population consisted of 231 men, who were subsequently charged with consumption of illegal pornographic material after being detected by a special operation against Internet child pornography, conducted by the Swiss police in 2002. Criminal history, as well as recidivism, was assessed using the criminal records from 2008. 4.8% (n = 11) of the study

sample had a prior conviction for a sexual and/or violent offense, 1% (n = 2) for a hands-on sex offense, involving child sexual abuse, 3.3% (n = 8) for a hands-off sex offense and one for a nonsexual violent offense. When applying a broad definition of recidivism, which included ongoing investigations, charges and convictions, 3% (n = 7) of the study sample recidivated with a violent and/or sex offense, 3.9% (n = 9) with a hands-off sex offense and 0.8% (n = 2) with a hands-on sex offense. Consuming child pornography alone is not a risk factor for committing hands-on sex offenses – at least not for those subjects who had never committed a hands-on sex offense. The majority of the investigated consumers had no previous convictions for hands-on sex offenses. For those offenders, the prognosis for hands-on sex offenses, as well as for recidivism with child pornography, is favorable.

Beech, A. R., Elliott, I. A., Birgden, A., & Findlater, D. (2008). The internet and child sexual offending: A criminological review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 13*(3), 216–228. DOI:10.1016/j.avb.2008.03.007

This paper outlines the current literature on what is known about the processes by which individuals utilize the Internet for child sexual abuse. First, three ways in which the Internet is utilized are outlined: (1) by dissemination of sexually abusive images of children for personal and/or commercial reasons; (2) by communication with other individuals with a sexual interest in children: and (3) by maintaining and developing online pedophilic networks. Second, content and availability of abusive images are described, and the difficulties faced by criminal justice agencies in both the definition of abusive images and their prohibition is discussed. Third, the potential for offenders to ‘cross-over’ from online offenses to contact sexual victimization of children is examined and placed within a context of various Internet offender typologies that have been developed. Finally, implications of this body of research for law and public policy are considered.

Webb, L., Craissati, J., & Keen, S. (2007). Characteristics of Internet child pornography offenders: A comparison with child molesters. *Sexual Abuse, 19*(4), 449-465. DOI:10.1007/s11194-007-9063-2

The aim of this exploratory study was to compare internet sex offenders with a matched group of child molesters in the Greater London Area. Over an 8-month period 210 subjects were assessed, of whom 90 were internet sex offenders and 120 were child molesters. A wide range of background data was collected, including a number of psychometric measures to determine risk and personality traits. The research identified a number of similarities between internet sex offenders and child molesters on background variables. Specifically, in comparison to the child molesters, the internet offenders reported more psychological difficulties in adulthood and fewer prior sexual convictions. The socio-affective characteristics of internet offenders and child molesters look similar, but the antisocial variables, such as, 'acting out' and breaking social rules underlines their difference. The follow up research was carried out after a short period of time at risk—averaging 18 months—but suggested that internet sex offenders were significantly less likely to fail in the community than child molesters in terms of all types of recidivism.

Seto, M. C., Cantor, J. M., & Blanchard, R. (2006). Child pornography offenses are a valid diagnostic indicator of pedophilia. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 115*(3), 610-615. DOI:10.1037/0021-843X.115.3.610

This study investigated whether being charged with a child pornography offense is a valid diagnostic indicator of pedophilia, as represented by an index of phallometrically assessed sexual arousal to children. The sample of 685 male patients was referred between 1995 and 2004 for a sexological assessment of their sexual interests and behavior. As a group, child pornography offenders showed greater sexual arousal to children than to adults and differed from groups of sex offenders against children, sex offenders against adults, and general sexology patients. The results suggest child

pornography offending is a stronger diagnostic indicator of pedophilia than is sexually offending against child victims. Theoretical and clinical implications are discussed.

Seto, M. C., & Eke, A. W. (2005). The criminal histories and later offending of child pornography offenders. *Sexual Abuse, 17*(2), 201-210. DOI:10.1007/s11194-005-4605-y

The likelihood that child pornography offenders will later commit a contact sexual offense is unknown. In the present study, we identified a sample of 201 adult male child pornography offenders using police databases and examined their charges or convictions after the index child pornography offense(s). We also examined their criminal records to identify potential predictors of later offenses: 56% of the sample had a prior criminal record, 24% had prior contact sexual offenses, and 15% had prior child pornography offenses. One-third were concurrently charged with other crimes at the time they were charged for child pornography offenses. The average time at risk was 2.5 years; 17% of the sample offended again in some way during this time, and 4% committed a new contact sexual offense. Child pornography offenders with prior criminal records were significantly more likely to offend again in any way during the follow-up period. Child pornography offenders who had committed a prior or concurrent contact sexual offense were the most likely to offend again, either generally or sexually.

Wolak, J., Finkelhor, D., & Mitchell, K. (2005). [Child-pornography possessors arrested in internet-related crimes: Findings from the National Juvenile Online Victimization study](https://scholars.unh.edu/ccrc/). Crimes Against Research Center, University of New Hampshire. <https://scholars.unh.edu/ccrc/>

The N-JOV Study collected information from a national sample of law enforcement agencies about the characteristics of Internet sex crimes against minors and the number of arrests for these crimes during a 1-year period. The goals of the study were to estimate a baseline number of arrests during a 1-year period, so that the increase in the number

of these cases can be measured in the future; to develop a statistical portrait of the characteristics of Internet sex crimes against minors and how such cases are handled by the criminal justice system; and to organize the cases into a typology useful for tracking and analysis. The study found that law enforcement agencies at all levels made an estimated 2,577 arrests for Internet sex crimes against minors during the 12 months that began on July 1, 2000. The types of crimes for which arrests occurred were as follows: Internet-related contacts between offenders and victims that resulted in sexual assaults and the use of the victims in the production of child pornography (39 percent of arrests); Internet solicitations for sexual contact made to undercover law enforcement officers posing as minors (25 percent of arrests); and the possession, distribution, or trading of Internet child pornography by offenders who did not use the Internet to sexually exploit identified victims or solicit undercover investigators (36 percent of arrests). Two-thirds (67 percent) of offenders who committed any of the types of Internet sex crimes against minors possessed child pornography. The vast majority of offenders were non-Hispanic White males older than 25 who were acting alone. Most investigations (79 percent) involved more than one law enforcement agency. State, county, and local agencies were involved in 85 percent of all cases; Federal agencies were involved in 46 percent of the cases. Apparently there were fewer dismissals and acquittals in cases that involved Internet-related sex crimes against minors than for conventional prosecutions of child sexual abuse.

Burke, A., Sowerbutts, S., Blundell, B., & Sherry, M. (2002). Child pornography and the Internet: Policing and treatment issues. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law*, 9(1), 79-84. DOI:10.1375/pplt.2002.9.1.79

A recent increase in the number of referrals for individuals who have accessed child pornography over the Internet has led to a need for clinicians to familiarise themselves with the language and concepts associated with this type of sexual offence. A brief review of the area highlights the legal dilemmas posed by the

nature of the Internet. While definitional issues are a primary focus in legal processes, a demonstrated sexual arousal to children is more relevant in therapy. Modifications of traditional treatment approaches are suggested to facilitate therapeutic progress for this population. Discussion focuses on the early motivation for treatment, cognitive distortions, victim impact and cycles of offending behaviour. This work is offered as an early intervention to prevent potential future progression to hands-on sexual offending against children.

Quayle, E., & Taylor, M. (2002). Child pornography and the Internet: Perpetuating a cycle of abuse. *Deviant Behavior*, 23(4), 331-361. DOI:10.1080/01639620290086413

Thirteen men convicted of downloading child pornography were interviewed with a view to understanding how these men talked about the photographs and the function such talk played in their accounts. The interviews were informed by earlier work with defended subjects and were analyzed within a discursive framework. Quotations are used from the interviews to illustrate the analysis. Six principal discourses emerged within these accounts in relation to child pornography: sexual arousal; as collectibles; facilitating social relationships; as a way of avoiding real life; as therapy; and in relation to the Internet. These are discussed in the context of previous research. The analysis illustrates the important role that the Internet plays in increasing sexual arousal to child pornography and highlights individual differences in whether this serves as a substitute or as a blueprint for contact offenses. It also draws our attention to the important role that community plays in the Internet and how collecting facilitates the objectification of children and increases the likelihood that in the quest for new images children continue to be sexually abused. Discourses focusing on both therapy and addiction serve to distance the respondent from personal agency and allow for continued engagement with child pornography.

Itzin, C. (1997). Pornography and the organization of intra-familial and extra-familial child sexual abuse: Developing a conceptual model. *Child Abuse Review*, 6(2), 94–106. DOI:10.1080/01639620290086413

This paper uses a case study (the experience of having been sexually abused as a child) and a review of the relevant literature as the basis for developing a conceptual model of the relationship between intra-familial and extra-familial child sexual abuse and child sexual exploitation, and the role of adult and child pornography in it. The paper illustrates some of the characteristics and effects of pornography and child sexual abuse including: gender; intra- and intergenerational patterns of victimization; coercion and compliance; the sexualization of the child; pornography and prostitution; and the function of incest as a form of pimping for the perpetrator and as grooming for extra-familial abuse. It also illustrates the way in which pornography is a part of all forms of intra-familial and extra-familial abuse and is itself a form of organized abuse.

## ***Victims of Child Sexual Abuse Material***

Herrie, M. B., & Philipsen, L. (2026). [‘No children were harmed’: Aesthetic infrastructures and ethical implications of AI-generated portraits](#). *Visual Studies*, 1–12.  
DOI:10.1080/1472586X.2025.2606201

This article critically examines the Danish NGO Children’s Wellbeing’s 2023 campaign Stop Violence Against Children, which employed AI-generated portraits of children to visualise the effects of abuse. While the NGO framed the campaign as an ethical alternative to photographing real children (“no children were harmed in the design process”) we argue that using AI-generated images was not a neutral and innocent solution. By placing this campaign alongside the first Danish criminal case involving AI-generated child sexual abuse material, we highlight unsettling parallels between 2 different uses of photorealistic AI imagery. Drawing on images’ operative & relational dimensions, our analysis shows how the AI-generated portraits actively engage with cultural, technical, and social infrastructures that renders it very likely that children were harmed in the extended design process. By unpacking the campaign’s visual rhetoric, specific technical creation, and cultural embedding, the article demonstrates that AI cannot serve as a simple ethical safeguard, but that the campaigns’ ethical intentions conflict with ‘The Civil Contract of Photography’ as elaborated by Ariella Azoulay. We conclude that the campaign’s AI-generated images cannot be understood apart from the aesthetic structures & ethical traditions of photography, even if the NGO attempts to do so.

Turner, H. A., Mitchell, K. J., & Finkelhor, D. (2026). Risk factors associated image-based sexual abuse in childhood: Findings from a diverse sample of young adults. *Child Maltreatment*, 0(0). DOI:10.1177/10775595261444571

Advancements in digital communication and imaging technologies have created new avenues for online victimization of youth, including image-based sexual abuse (IBSA). Based on an online survey of 2,652 young adults ages 18–29, this study examined characteristics of different forms of IBSA experienced before the age of 18 (nonconsensual

sending of images, threatened/pressured production, threatened sharing, self-produced image-sharing with someone older, commercial sexual exploitation) and risk factors among different sexual and gender identity groups. Findings show that most forms of IBSA start at ages 13–15, frequently occurred, are interrelated, and differ across sexual & gender identity, with sexual & gender minority (SGM) female individuals most likely to be exposed. Several important risk factors were significantly related to experiencing any IBSA but differed in their relevance across different sexual and gender identity groups: In-person sexual abuse and social networks' image-sharing with strangers had particularly strong associations with IBSA among SGM male individuals, early sexual initiation was most strongly related to IBSA among heterosexual female individuals, & peer norms favoring sexual image-sharing with friends/acquaintances had the strongest association to IBSA among SGM female individuals. Implications for prevention strategies are discussed.

Cuvalo, A., & Wekerle, C. (2025). Child sex doll and sex robot research: Taking a child rights perspective. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 107623. DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2025.107623

Direct child sexual abuse is pervasive, with consistent estimates across reviews and epidemiology at up to 20 % for girls and up to 15 % for boys; the values are in line with additional online exposure to child sexual abuse materials (CSAM). The 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child confirms the child's right to protection, to have their views heard, and to have their best interests as a primary consideration. A child rights perspective requires that child safety and safeguarding are prioritized above adult developmental concerns. This article discusses the issue of one type of child sexual abuse material – child sex dolls and sex robots – i.e., anatomically correct, child-like commercial products for adults with a sexual interest in child materials. These customizable dolls/robotics have child-like features, body orifices and technology-facilitated programmable features. Child sex dolls have been used in therapeutic contexts with self-identified, treatment-seeking adults with various levels of interest in children. While advocates of child sex dolls propose a harm reduction rationale, in terms of satisfying

adult sexual choice, there is little supportive scientific evidence. We discuss the research on the risk-benefit approach to child sex dolls in the context of a child rights framework. With many jurisdictions categorizing these as either illegal or CSAM, we call for a standardized policy and clinical approach to achieve uniform child safeguarding initiatives.

Dai, T. T., Spiller, L. R., Kellogg, N. D., & Gelfond, J. (2025). [Anogenital findings in confirmed victims of child sexual abuse materials](#). *Pediatrics Open Science*, 1(1), 1-9.  
DOI:10.1542/pedsos.2024-000315

The purpose of this study is to describe the medical evaluation including history, physical examination, and diagnostic testing results in children/adolescents who are confirmed subjects of child sexual abuse materials (CSAMs) & to compare these findings with age-matched controls who are suspected victims of sexual abuse without CSAMs. This retrospective case-control study examined anogenital findings & disclosure patterns in children who were aged no more than 17 years, who were evaluated for sexual abuse/assault at an urban children's hospital, and who had additional history of being photographed and/or videotaped while performing sexual acts. Two control patients per study patient were matched by age, gender, acute vs nonacute examination, and type of sexual contact. Photo documentation of all anogenital examinations was reviewed by 2 child abuse pediatricians blinded to the clinical history. There were 22 cases and 44 controls. Girls comprised 91% of the patients. Fourteen cases (64%) disclosed details of sexual abuse. Eight cases (36%) did not make a disclosure of sexual abuse. Although half of the cases (55%) were evaluated within 120 hours of the most recent sexual abuse contact, only 1 had an abnormal anogenital examination. There were no significant differences in examination findings or diagnostic tests when cases were compared with controls, but more than 1/3 of cases were preverbal or denied abuse. Children with objective evidence of sexual abuse via CSAMs were unlikely to have examination findings of trauma and were frequently unable/unwilling to fully disclose their abuse.

Finkelhor, D., Turner, H., Colburn, D., & Mitchell, K. J. (2025). Persisting concerns about image exposure among survivors of image-based sexual exploitation and abuse in childhood. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*, 17(Suppl 1), S88–S93. DOI:10.1037/tra0001815

Among survivors of image-based sexual exploitation and abuse, how many experienced persisting concerns about others encountering their sexual images? An online self-administered questionnaire was used. A sample of 189 unique incidents of image-based sexual abuse or exploitation in childhood from 154 respondents ages 18–28 were gathered in a follow-up study to a previous national online survey about technology-facilitated abuse. Twenty-six percent of the episodes generated high levels of persisting concern about possible unwanted exposure from the online availability of images. Among those who knew their image was publicly posted, 86% reported high levels of concern, but among the survivors confident that the images were not available online, only 7% had high levels of concern. There was also greater concern about exposure among survivors who experienced the abuse incident within the last 3 years. Abuse at the hands of other juveniles resulted in a similar level of concern as abuse by adults. The study highlights that some survivors of sexual image exploitation and abuse have persistent concerns about further image exposure to other audiences. Survivors with lower levels of persistent concern are typically those who do not believe the images are available online.

Gewirtz-Meydan, A., Mitchell, K. J., O'Brien, J. E., & Colburn, D. A. (2025). [One group or many? Identifying distinct profiles of adolescents involved in image-based sexual abuse](#). *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 0(0). DOI:10.1177/08862605251393734

Image-Based Sexual Abuse (IBSA) represents a significant and growing public health concern, yet individuals affected by IBSA exhibit diverse experiences of risk, victimization, and resilience. This study aimed to identify distinct profiles among individuals exposed to IBSA, childhood victimization and adversity, online risk behavior, and delinquency. Using Latent Profile Analysis (LPA), we analyzed data from 2,630 young adults (ages 18–28)

recruited through an online survey, oversampling sexual and gender minorities and individuals with IBSA experiences prior to the age of 18. Seven distinct profiles emerged, reflecting varying levels of risk engagement. The largest group *Minimal IBSA Exposure* (48.58%) reported minimal IBSA exposure and overall low-risk engagement. The *Severe Adversity with Online and Offline Exposure* (3.02%), in contrast, exhibited the highest levels of IBSA experiences, childhood victimization, adversity, and delinquency, as well as elevated psychological distress and suicidal ideation. The *Image Sharing and IBSA Experience – Online Only* (7.69%) engaged in online image-sharing behaviors but avoided face-to-face risky encounters and had relatively high levels of victimization and history of adversity. The *Active Image Sharing with IBSA Exposure* (9.56%) displayed higher IBSA involvement alongside greater image sharing. The *Low-Risk Engagement with Early Adversity* (14.22%) group, despite significant early-life victimization, exhibited low engagement in risky online behaviors, suggesting potential protective mechanisms. The *Offline Interaction Group* (5.67%) frequently met online acquaintances in person, demonstrating risk-taking in offline contexts rather than IBSA. Lastly, the *Low-Risk Porn Viewers* (11.07%) engaged in high pornography use but had lower levels of IBSA victimization. These findings highlight the heterogeneity of IBSA experiences, emphasizing that risk is not uniform across affected individuals.

Hellevik, P. M., Haugen, L. E. A., & Överlien, C. (2025). [Outcomes of image-based sexual abuse among young people: A systematic review](#). *Frontiers in Psychology, 16*, 1599087. DOI:10.3389/fpsyg.2025.1599087

Image-Based Sexual Abuse (IBSA) is an increasingly recognized issue, especially among young people, yet empirical research on its consequences remains relatively scarce. Following PRISMA guidelines, a systematic search identified peer-reviewed studies published between 2010 and 2024, and eligible studies were screened and quality-assessed using standardized criteria. This systematic review synthesizes findings from 12 empirical studies to provide a comprehensive overview of the psychological, social,

educational and occupational consequences of IBSA victimization among individuals aged 10–24. The findings highlight severe emotional and psychological distress, including fear, anxiety, depression, and suicidal ideation. Social repercussions such as bullying, ostracization, and victim-blaming further exacerbate these impacts. Additionally, IBSA is associated with significant disruptions in educational and occupational trajectories, with victims reporting school relocation and/or job loss. These outcomes underscore the parallels between IBSA and physical sexual abuse, emphasizing the need for targeted prevention strategies, improved legal frameworks, and informed victim support services. The study calls for further research into the long-term consequences of IBSA and the development of interventions that address both its digital and societal dimensions. Given the legal and psychological severity of IBSA, this review also highlights the need for forensic psychological assessment, integration of victim experiences into legal processes, and the development of trauma-informed policies that support young people through the justice system.

Mitchell, K. J., Jones, L. M., Gewirtz-Meydan, A., O'Brien, J., & Colburn, D. (2025). [Image based sexual abuse: Characteristics linked to different reasons why youth decide not to disclose](#). *Prevention Science*, 26(8), 1157–1168. DOI:10.1007/s11121-025-01853-4

Image-based sexual abuse is an increasingly prevalent form of technology-facilitated harm, yet disclosure rates remain low. Understanding why youth do not disclose image-based sexual abuse is critical for developing effective prevention and intervention strategies. This paper examined the reasons youth do not disclose image-based sexual abuse incidents and identified incident- and person-level characteristics associated with different nondisclosure motives. Participants were recruited online to this US-based cross-sectional study between June 28, 2023, and April 1, 2024, using social media advertisements targeting individuals aged 18–28. A total of 6204 individuals completed the survey; 2854 (46.0%) reported experiencing image-based sexual abuse before age

18. The analytic sample included 2522 incidents reported by 1551 participants that were not disclosed. The most frequently cited reasons for nondisclosure were fear of getting in trouble with family (53.9%), embarrassment (52.9%), and the belief that they could handle the incident alone (45.2%). Reasons varied by image-based sexual abuse subtype. Longer incident duration and explicit content were related to fear of getting into trouble with their family or the police, and having multiple people responsible was related to many reasons for nondisclosure (i.e., fear of getting in trouble, fear the person would find out, embarrassment, and feeling like no one could help) . Female participants and sexual/gender minority youth were more likely to report barriers specific to fear and shame. Prior victimization was associated with a greater belief that no one could help and fear of getting in trouble or the person finding out. Prevention should address common fears, challenge stigma and self-blame, and ensure youth have access to trusted adults and non-punitive disclosure options. These findings support clinical efforts to reduce barriers and promote safe disclosure pathways for these survivors.

Bloxsom, G., McKibbin, G., Humphreys, C., Davidson, J., & Halfpenny, N. (2024). [Five forms of coerced “self-produced” child sexual exploitation material: A critical interpretive synthesis](#). *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 25(5), 4230–4244.  
DOI:10.1177/15248380241271376

This review explored how the phenomenon of coerced “self-produced” child sexual exploitation material (CSEM) has been constructed in the literature using Critical Interpretative Synthesis. Selected keywords were systematically searched on relevant databases & included: peer-reviewed research articles; conceptual papers; commentary papers; theses; book chapters; systematic reviews; and government reports. Papers published in English between January 2005 and November 2022 were included. The initial search revealed 1,021 papers, after 2 reviewers applied the inclusion and exclusion criteria, 38 papers were selected for the final sample. Findings indicated 5 forms of coerced “self-produced” CSEM: Solicitation; Peer Sexting; Viral Challenge; Sextortion; and Financial

Coercion. The forms are described and critically analyzed through an “Accountability Lens.” This Lens was developed to be victim-centered including identifying the coercive actions of the person responsible for the exploitation. The review found an absence of a consistent victim-centered approach to how the phenomena of coerced “self-produced” CSEM is understood and ensure children are not held responsible for being exploited.

Drejer, C., Riegler, M. A., Halvorsen, P., Johnson, M. S., & Baugerud, G. A. (2024). [Livestreaming technology and online child sexual exploitation and abuse: A scoping review](#). *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 25*(1), 260–274.  
DOI:10.1177/15248380221147564

Livestreaming of child sexual abuse (LSCSA) is an established form of online child sexual exploitation and abuse (OCSEA). However, only a limited body of research has examined this issue. The Covid-19 pandemic has accelerated internet use and user knowledge of livestreaming services emphasizing the importance of understanding this crime. In this scoping review, existing literature was brought together through an iterative search of eight databases containing peer-reviewed journal articles, as well as grey literature. Records were eligible for inclusion if the primary focus was on livestream technology and OCSEA, the child being defined as eighteen years or younger. Fourteen of the 2,218 records were selected. The data were charted and divided into four categories: victims, offenders, legislation, and technology. Limited research, differences in terminology, study design, and population inclusion criteria present a challenge to drawing general conclusions on the current state of LSCSA. The records show that victims are predominantly female. The average livestream offender was found to be older than the average online child sexual abuse offender. Therefore, it is unclear whether the findings are representative of the global population of livestream offenders. Furthermore, there appears to be a gap in what the records show on platforms and payment services used and current digital trends. The lack of a legal definition and privacy considerations pose a challenge to investigation,

detection, and prosecution. The available data allow some insights into a potentially much larger issue.

Pedersen, W., Bakken, A., Stefansen, K., & von Soest, T. (2023). [Sexual victimization in the digital age: A population-based study of physical and image-based sexual abuse among adolescents](#). *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 52(1), 399-410.  
DOI:10.1007/s10508-021-02200-8

Adolescents increasingly use social media platforms, and these practices open up new forms of sexual victimization, in particular image-based sexual abuse (IBSA). Few studies have examined prevalence rates and correlates of both physical sexual victimization (PSV) and these new forms of victimization in representative samples. We used data from 5,245 adolescent girls (53%) and 4,580 adolescent boys (47%) from the population-based *Young in Oslo Study* (mean age 17.1 years, SD = 0.9). Of all respondents, 2.9% had experienced IBSA, 4.3% PSV, and 1.7% both IBSA and PSV in the course of the previous 12 months. Multivariate analyses revealed that PSV victims, after control for other variables, had many characteristics described in previous studies of sexual victimization. Girls had higher prevalence rates than boys, many had been victims of other types of violence, and were part of peer groups with much use of alcohol and drugs. PSV victims also reported early intercourse onset and a higher proportion had been commercially sexually exploited. Lesbian, gay, and bisexual adolescents had higher victimization rates. Victims of both PSV and IBSA had a similar but even more pronounced profile. The IBSA victims were different: They lacked many of the traditional risk factors for sexual victimization, there were no significant gender differences in this group, and IBSA victims more often came from high socioeconomic backgrounds. In conclusion, we observe a reconfigured landscape of sexual victimization patterns among Norway adolescents due to their increasing participation on social media and digital platforms.

Schmidt, F., Varese, F., & Bucci, S. (2023). [Understanding the prolonged impact of online sexual abuse occurring in childhood](#). *Frontiers in Psychology, 14*, 1281996.  
DOI:10.3389/fpsyg.2023.1281996

There has been a rapid increase in prevalence rates of online sexual abuse (OSA). Existing research has highlighted the negative impact OSA can have on victims. However, there is a gap in understanding the long-term impact of OSA when it occurred in childhood. This qualitative study comprised interviews with eight female participants aged 18–28 years recruited in UK NHS Trusts, and via mental health charities, University bulletins and social media. Each participant self-reported having experienced abuse through either the production or dissemination of sexual material online. Results showed that the longer-term impact of OSA was multi-fold, including negative impact on sense of self and broader interpersonal relationships, and significant impact on the participants' mental health, including experiences of self-harm, anxiety, and low mood. Likewise, participants discussed long-term apprehension to taking images and the added fear and worry that their sexual images were distributed online. Seven participants had received mental health support but only two recounted a positive experience when receiving support for OSA. Future research using a quantitative longitudinal design is needed to further explore the prolonged impact of OSA. Clinical implications of the research highlight the need for support services to assess the impact of OSA and interventions that target OSA experiences.

Finkelhor, D., Turner, H., & Colburn, D. (2022). [Prevalence of online sexual offenses against children in the US](#). *JAMA Network Open, 5*(10), e2234471.  
DOI:10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2022.34471

Sexual abuse is increasingly facilitated by technology, but the prevalence and dynamics of such offenses have not been well delineated, making it difficult to design prevention strategies. To examine the frequency and characteristics of online and technology-facilitated sexual abuse against children and youth, a nationally representative online

survey study was performed from November 19 to December 29, 2021. Young adults aged 18 to 28 years were asked retrospectively about their childhood (<18 years) experiences of online and technology-facilitated abuse. The 2639 participants were sampled from an online panel. Participants were asked questions about 11 different kinds of online and technology-facilitated sexual abuse with follow-up questions about their dynamics and offenders. Prevalence rates were calculated for several cross-cutting concepts (online child sexual abuse, image-based sexual abuse, self-produced child sexual abuse images, nonconsensual sexting, online grooming by adults, revenge pornography, sextortion, and online commercial sexual exploitation). Survey weights were applied to obtain population prevalence estimates. A total of 2639 individuals (48.5% male, 49.8% female, and 1.8% other gender; 23.7% Hispanic, 12.6% non-Hispanic Black, 53.9% non-Hispanic White, 4.8% other race, and 5.0% ≥2 races) were surveyed. Childhood (before 18 years of age) prevalence rates were as follows: online child sexual abuse, 15.6% (SE, 1.0%); image-based sexual abuse, 11.0% (SE, 0.9%); self-produced child sexual abuse images, 7.2% (SE, 0.7%); nonconsensual sexting, 7.2% (SE, 0.7%); online grooming by adults, 5.4% (SE, 0.5%); revenge pornography, 3.1% (SE, 0.5%); sextortion, 3.5% (SE, 0.6%); and online commercial sexual exploitation, 1.7% (SE, 0.3%). The prime age of vulnerability across all categories was 13 to 17 years. Perpetrators in most categories were predominantly dating partners, friends, and acquaintances, not online strangers. The results of this national survey study suggest that a considerable portion of youth have experienced online child sexual abuse. Professionals planning prevention and intervention strategies for online sexual abuse should understand that dynamics include diverse episodes that are often extensions of dating abuse, sexual bullying, and sexual harassment, not only events perpetrated by adult internet predators.

Gámez-Guadix, M., Mateos-Pérez, E., Wachs, S., Wright, M., Martínez, J., & Íncera, D. (2022). [Assessing image-based sexual abuse: Measurement, prevalence, and temporal stability of sextortion and nonconsensual sexting \(“revenge porn”\) among adolescents](#). *Journal of Adolescence*, 94(5), 789–799. DOI:10.1002/jad.12064

The aim of this study is to develop a new measure of victimization and perpetration of two frequent forms of image-based sexual abuse, namely sextortion (i.e., the threat of distributing sexual images to pressure the victim into doing something) and nonconsensual sexting (i.e., distributing sexual images of someone without the consent of the victim). Additional aims were to analyze the prevalence of these forms of victimization and perpetration and to examine their temporal stability over a 1-year period. The sample was made up of 1820 Spanish adolescents (mean age = 13.38, SD = 1.42; 929 girls, 878 boys, 3 nonbinary, and 10 did not indicate gender) who completed self-report instruments on image-based sexual abuse and related variables (e.g., cyberbullying victimization). Confirmatory factor analysis supported a structure composed of the four hypothesized factors: sextortion victimization and perpetration, and nonconsensual sexting victimization and perpetration. Higher sexting, cyberbullying victimization, and symptoms of depression and anxiety had stronger associations with image-based sexual victimization than with perpetration, which showed evidence of concurrent validity. Prevalence was 2.6% and 0.7% for sextortion victimization and perpetration, respectively, and 3.4% and 4.9% for nonconsensual sexting victimization and perpetration, respectively. Temporal stability over 1 year was .26 for sextortion victimization, .19 for nonconsensual sexting victimization, .33 for nonconsensual sexting perpetration (all  $ps < .001$ ), and nonsignificant for sextortion perpetration. The stability of nonconsensual sexting victimization was significantly higher for girls compared to boys, whereas nonconsensual sexting perpetration was more stable over 1 year for boys. Future studies must advance the analysis of the predictors and consequences of image-based sexual abuse among adolescents to better prevent this problem. Prevalence of sextortion and nonconsensual sexting is not negligible, and these problems should be particularly addressed in prevention programs.

Wahid Satar, S. N. A., Norhayati, M. N., Sulaiman, Z., Othman, A., Yaacob, L. H., & Nik Hazlina, N. H. (2021). [Predisposing factors and impact of child victimization: A qualitative study](#). *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 18(17), 9373. DOI:10.3390/ijerph18179373

Sexual abuse of children is increasing at an alarming rate. This study aims to describe the risk factors and the effects of sexual abuse on children. This unobtrusive qualitative study was conducted on children aged 10 to 18 years old who experienced sexual abuse and followed-up at a psychiatric clinic between the years 2019 and 2021. The information from case records was transcribed. Thematic analysis was performed. Thirty case records were reviewed. The mean age of the victims was 14.6 years; 94% of the victims had experienced vaginal penetration, & 23% of the cases involved incest. The results indicated that socio-psychological predisposing factors involving family structure and dynamic dysfunction, low intrapersonal strength, social influence, and low family socioeconomic status could lead to sexual victimization. This sexual victimization can then lead to emotional turmoil, negative effects on cognitive, academic and social function, negative parental reactions toward the incident, the creation of baby-mother relationships and love-hate relationships, and a lack of goals and hope for the future. Children who experienced sexual abuse may show rape or pregnancy symptoms but may also show entirely non-specific ones. A thorough examination of their history, including biopsychosocial aspects, is necessary to appropriately care for them.

Cassell, P. G., & Marsh, J. R. (2019). [The new Amy, Vicky, and Andy act: A positive step towards full restitution for child pornography victims](#). *Federal Sentencing Reporter*, 31(3), 187-205.

In this article, we describe the impact of this important new legislation. We set the stage by describing the need for restitution for child pornography victims, using the story of the lead victim in the Act ("Amy") as an illustration of why restitution is needed. We then turn to the problematic legal regime that was created by the Supreme Court's Paroline decision, noting some of the confusion in the lower courts following the ruling. Against

this backdrop, we then discuss the AVAA, explaining how it will be a useful step forward for victims of these crimes.

Gewirtz-Meydan, A., Lahav, Y., Walsh, W., & Finkelhor, D. (2019). Psychopathology among adult survivors of child pornography. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 98*, 104189.  
DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2019.104189

The majority of studies investigating child pornography have focused on conceptualizing the problem and the harm of the crime, evaluating the risk for child pornography offending, or discuss preventive measures. Little is known about survivors of this type of crime. This research explores the relationship between child pornography victimization & psychopathology in adulthood. Specifically, we examined the contribution of emotional reactions at the time of the crime and shortly after (guilt, embarrassment and avoidance) on psychopathology among adult survivors of child pornography. The study was conducted among 107 child pornography adult survivors, aged 18–63 (M = 39.48). An online survey was completed by a convenience sample of adult survivors of child pornography. Findings indicate survivor's current age predicted current psychopathology symptoms. Survivor's emotional reactions of guilt and embarrassment at the time of the crime and shortly after were significantly associated with elevated psychopathology, above and beyond demographic characteristics and features of the crime. The present results suggest the way survivors of child pornography react to the crime might shape their mental health in the long term.

Gewirtz-Meydan, A., Walsh, W., Wolak, J., & Finkelhor, D. (2018). [The complex experience of child pornography survivors](#). *Child Abuse & Neglect, 80*, 238–248.  
DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2018.03.031

This research explores the complex experiences of survivors of child pornography production. The study was conducted among a convenience sample of child

pornography adult survivors (N=133), using an online survey which included a series of open-ended questions. Nearly half of respondents reported that they felt the production of sexual images caused specific problems that were different from the problems caused by other aspects of the abuse. Nearly half of the sample worried all the time that people would think they were willing participants or that people would recognize them, one-third refused to talk about the images and 22% denied there were images. The qualitative analysis identified three major themes which emerged from the survivor's perspective as adults: Guilt and shame, their ongoing vulnerability and an empowerment dimension the images sometimes brought. Recommendations for further research and additional implications are discussed.

Walsh, W. A., Wolak, J., Lounsbury, K., Howley, S., Lippert, T., & Thompson Jr, L. (2018).  
Lessons learned: Conducting research with victims portrayed in sexual abuse  
images and their parents. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 33(24), 3829-3839.  
DOI:10.1177/0886260516640545

Victims portrayed in sexual abuse images may be resistant to participate in research because of embarrassment or shame due to the sensitive nature and potential permanency of images. No studies we are aware of explore reactions to participating in research after this type of crime. Telephone interviews were conducted with convenience samples of parents ( $n = 46$ ) & adolescents who were victims of child sexual abuse ( $n = 11$  some of whom were portrayed in sexual abuse images), & online surveys were completed by adult survivors depicted in abuse images ( $N = 133$ ). The first lesson was that few agencies tracked this type of crime. This lack of tracking raises the question as to what types of data should be collected and tracked as part of an investigation. The second lesson was that few victims at the two participating agencies had been portrayed in sexual abuse images (4%-5%). The third lesson was that once possible cases were identified, we found relatively high percentages of consent to contact and interview completions. This implies that researchers and service providers should not be hesitant

about conducting research after an investigation of child sexual abuse. The fourth lesson was that the vast majority of participants reported not being upset by the questions. We hope that the data presented here will encourage agencies to reconsider the types of data being tracked and will encourage researchers to conduct in-depth research with populations that are often difficult to reach to continue improving the professional response to child victimization.

Westlake, B. G. (2018). [Delineating victims from perpetrators: Prosecuting self-produced child pornography in youth criminal justice systems](#). *International Journal of Cyber Criminology*, 12(1), 255-268. DOI:10.5281/zenodo.1467907

Video recording technology advancements & accessibility has been paralleled by a growth in self-produced child pornography (SPCP). Although social & judicial attention has been given to instances of teenage sexting, Internet-based forms of SPCP, such as webcam/website sex tourism, have almost been ignored. While some of the proposed legislation reform has referenced video-based SPCP, the majority has focused on SPCP distributed through cellular phones; excluding that which is manifested online or through entrepreneurial efforts. The purpose of this article is to introduce non-sexting SPCP, using the case study of Justin Berry, and to propose broad punishment, education, & counseling response from youth criminal justice systems (YCJS). Recommendations are meant as a starting point, framed with multiple YCJS structures, the duality of victim and perpetrator, the justice and welfare approaches to juvenile justice, and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in mind.

Ost, S. (2016). A new paradigm of reparation for victims of child pornography. *Legal Studies*, 36(4), 613-638. DOI:10.1111/lest.12128

This paper outlines the distinctive harm caused & wrong done to child pornography victims. It presents a paradigm of reparation within a restorative justice framework that

explains the significance of material reparation for the victims. The paper demonstrates that because of the particular nature of child pornography offences & the harms and wrongs occasioned, existing avenues for legal redress in England & Wales and the USA are generally inadequate and ill-fitting, and that a new mechanism for effecting suitable reparation is required. It concludes by sketching a new mode of restorative justice for victims of child pornography, emphasising significant matters that must be addressed alongside financial redress in order to facilitate victims' restoration.

Martin, J. (2015). Conceptualizing the harms done to children made the subjects of sexual abuse images online. *Child & Youth Services, 36*(4), 267-287.  
DOI:10.1080/0145935X.2015.1092832

The innovation of the Internet and the proliferation of new digital technologies in everyday life have unfortunately created more opportunities for the sexual abuse of children and the global distribution of child sexual abuse images online (CSAIO). Most of the current therapeutic interventions being used were designed to treat 'conventional' sexual abuse trauma. Victims of CSAIO may experience ongoing trauma because the recordings of their abuse have the potential to be endlessly viewed and shared by those with a sexual interest in children some of whom may be known to them. However, little is known about the potential psychological harm to victims, the extent to which existing trauma treatment modalities are applicable to them, or what modifications of these treatments are required for effective treatment.

Slane, A. (2015). Legal conceptions of harm related to sexual images online in the United States and Canada. *Child & Youth Services, 36*(4), 288-311.  
DOI:10.1080/0145935X.2015.1092837

This article examines the history of legal discussion of the harms of child pornography possession and viewing in the United States and Canada, with special attention to the

evolving conception of direct harms to children and youth pictured in these images. The article further addresses ongoing uncertainty about harms associated with images that do not record an instance of sexual abuse, but where the harm arises solely from non-consensual distribution of nude and/or sexual images. Achieving greater understanding and recognition of both the similarities and differences between the harms that arise from the “permanent record of abuse” and from ongoing circulation and use of images beyond the subject’s control are necessary in order to equip both clinical and legal practitioners with the knowledge they need in order to provide appropriate support for victims of the varied forms of sexual abuse related to sexual image online.

Martin, J. (2014). “It’s just an image, right?”: Practitioners’ understanding of child sexual abuse images online and effects on victims. *Child & Youth Services, 35*(2), 96–115. DOI:10.1080/0145935X.2014.924334

Child sexual abuse images online (CSAIO) present new and daunting challenges for practitioners working in the field of child sexual abuse (CSA). Current understanding of the phenomenon is severely limited due to a lack of theoretical and empirical research in the area. This article reports findings from a study that examined practitioners’ experiences with, and views of, CSAIO. Participants differed in how they conceptualized what constituted online CSA images and held varying degrees of concern regarding the potential effects of CSAIO on the child. Some practitioners were uncertain about whether child victims of CSAIO experience particular effects different from or over and above those caused by conventional (non-Internet related) CSA. A key finding was that most practitioners did not have a clear understanding of CSAIO. This article includes recommendations for future research regarding the implications of technology in the field of CSA.

Walsh, W., Wolak, J., & Finkelhor, D. (2013). [\*Prosecution dilemmas and challenges for child pornography crimes: The Third National Juvenile Online Victimization Study \(NJOV-3\)\*](#). Crimes Against Research Center, University of New Hampshire. <https://scholars.unh.edu/ccrc/>

Results from the National Juvenile Online Victimization (N- JOV) Prosecutor Study indicate that prosecutors use a mix of strategies to handle defendants who possess large amounts of child pornography (CP). Prosecutors reported difficulties with computer forensics and the police investigation, but not so much with defense strategies. One-quarter of prosecutors who dealt with CP cases had one that went in front of a jury in the past 2 years. Nearly half of prosecutors would like clearer guidelines about the types of CP cases accepted for federal prosecution.

Giannini, M. (2012). Slow acid drips and evidentiary nightmares: Smoothing out the rough justice of child pornography restitution with a presumed damages theory. *American Criminal Law Review*, 49(4), 1723-1776.

The article focuses on the presumed damages theory in child pornography restitution cases. Topics include the proximate cause requirement for restitution, the denial of recovery for child pornography victims, and the doctrine of presumed damages. Information is provided on victim relief for privacy and defamation torts.

Quayle, E., & Jones, T. (2011). Sexualized images of children on the internet. *Sexual Abuse*, 23(1), 7-21. DOI:10.1177/1079063210392596

Despite an increase in research on child abuse images and sex offender risk, we still lack specific data about the characteristics of the children found within these images. Such data would assist us with understanding the exploitation of children through abusive images and the choice of images by offenders. We accessed sexualized child images submitted to the Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre (CEOP) in the United Kingdom. In 1998, CEOP developed a database (ChildBase) of child abuse images

gathered from police seizures across the United Kingdom. This database is continually updated and is operationally used to identify victims. We randomly selected 10% of the 247,950 images, submitted during 2005–2009, and sorted them into the following categories: gender, age, and ethnic group (White, Asian, Black, and Hispanic/Latino). Codes (n = 24,550) were analyzed using frequencies and cross tabulations in relation to gender, age, and racial group. The odds of the abuse images being female versus male were about 4 to 1, and the odds of the images being of White children versus non-White children were about 10 to 1 (9.805). There was a significant gender difference in age distribution of all the children within the images. The limitations of this study are also discussed along with possible implications and recommendations for future research.

Leonard, M. (2010). "I did what I was directed to do but he didn't touch me": The impact of being a victim of internet offending. *Journal of Sexual Aggression, 16*(2), 249–256. DOI:10.1080/13552601003690526

The trauma of being a victim of sexual abuse is very difficult to live with, but for victims of internet offending there are added complexities for him/her in trying to make sense of what has happened. They are often "directed" by the offender to perform sexual acts on themselves and/or others, which creates huge confusion for the victim in terms of even using the common language of perpetrator/offender because of the victim needing to make sense of the fact that they touched themselves and/or others in many incidents and, for them, does this make them the perpetrator? The perpetrator role of being the "director" needs to be explored with the victim in the very layers of what this means as opposed to the perpetrator doing the touching, but also needs to be considered in treatment programmes when often internet offenders debate the "I didn't touch her/him". This paper will explore the complexities as a therapist working with victims of internet abuse as well as the impact of this on assessment and treatment of internet offenders.

von Weiler, J., Haardt-Becker, A., & Schulte, S. (2010). Care and treatment of child victims of child pornographic exploitation (CPE) in Germany. *Journal of Sexual Aggression, 16*(2), 211-222. DOI:10.1080/13552601003759990

The online distribution of abusive images has risen dramatically over recent years and this raises many questions concerning the children within the images, particularly in relation to identification and provision of services. From October 2004 until September 2007, Innocence in Danger e.V. conducted an empirical study concerning the care and treatment of victims of child pornographic exploitation (CPE) in Germany by contacting all specialized institutions nationwide dealing with sexually abused children. This was achieved through questionnaires and interviews. A total of 245 cases of child pornographic exploitation (197 girls, 48 boys) and 280 suspected cases of child pornographic exploitation were identified. It was reported that cases of CPE were of a higher complexity than offline abuse, more demanding for professionals and raised many questions about professional involvement. Identified challenges included the issue of permanence once abusive images have been distributed online, and the coping strategies of children which might foster resilience. The study concludes that even though child pornographic exploitation is much talked about, there is still a lack of knowledge in how to identify, approach and help such children.

Leary, M. G. (2007). [Self-produced child pornography: The appropriate societal response to juvenile self-sexual exploitation](#). *Virginia Journal of Social Policy and Law, 15*(1).

One need only read the newspaper to see a rising dangerous phenomenon among juveniles: the creation and subsequent sharing via the Internet of sexually explicit photographs. This "self exploitation" is not only a tragic social problem, but a growing legal one as well. Judges, attorneys, and legislators, are forced to address this activity because, in addition to being self destructive, it is also a violation of state and federal child pornography laws. Juvenile self exploitation illustrates a clash of two lines of jurisprudence and public policy: the aggressive opposition to child pornography and the

more lenient rehabilitative treatment of juvenile self-destructive behavior. This article offers an in depth analysis of the appropriate societal and governmental response to this behavior and, specifically, whether juvenile prosecution should remain an option for the state. The article analyzes all the growing number of cases in this area; other legal models including criminal child pornography laws, child prostitution laws, and statutory rape laws; the doctrinal bases for governmental intervention in juveniles' lives; as well as numerous social science studies concerning child pornography's effects. Among those most closely examined are the social harms recognized by social science, the courts, and legislatures. The article concludes that, based upon the vast social harms caused by child pornography to children within and exposed to the images, the purpose of the juvenile justice system, and the need for a deterrent to this behavior, juvenile prosecution should remain an option for the state. While prosecution should not be mandatory, policy makers should create a policy and protocol for addressing this self destructive behavior. The article concludes with a proposed protocol offering guidance to policy makers as to when prosecution befits the activity and when it does not.

Manning, J. C. (2006). The impact of Internet pornography on marriage and the family: A review of the research. *Sexual Addiction & Compulsivity*, 13(2-3), 131-165.  
DOI:10.1080/10720160600870711

Since the advent of the Internet, the sex industry has profited from an unprecedented proximity to the home environment. Consequently, couples, families, and individuals of all ages are being impacted by pornography in new ways. Examining the systemic impact of Internet pornography, however, is relatively uncharted territory and the body of systemically-focused research is limited. A review of the research that does exist was undertaken and many negative trends were revealed. While much remains unknown about the impact of Internet pornography on marriages and families, the available data provide an informed starting point for policy makers, educators, clinicians, and researchers.

Taylor, M., & Quayle, E. (2003). *Child pornography: An internet crime*. Routledge.  
DOI:10.4324/9780203695548

Two complementary perspectives on child pornography— legal and psychological—are presented and an emergent typology for understanding the nature of such pictures on the Internet is outlined. Data from the Combating Paedophile Information Networks in Europe (COPINE) project is used to illustrate the nature of the material available to people with a sexual interest in children, where it can be found and how offenders use and are changed by the Internet. It concludes with a consideration of issues that are of concern in relation to child pornography, the Internet and offending behaviour.

Burgess, A. W., & Hartman, C. R. (1987). Child abuse aspects of child pornography. *Psychiatric Annals*, 17(4), 248-253. DOI:10.3928/0048-5713-19870401-08

Reports on the child sexual abuse (CSA) aspects of child pornography from the viewpoint of the negative impact on the cognitive, psychological, and social development of the child victim. Elements of CSA, sex ring dynamics, acute symptoms, and adaptive behavioral responses of victims and perpetrators are discussed. Treatment issues include the careful evaluation of unresolved childhood sexual abuse and the disclosure aspects of abuse, which confronts males with gender identity problems related to bi- or homosexuality. It is argued that the CSA victim's symptoms may best be understood under the diagnosis of chronic or delayed posttraumatic stress.

Tyler, R. P., & Stone, L. E. (1985). Child pornography: Perpetuating the sexual victimization of children. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 9(3), 313-318.  
DOI:10.1016/0145-2134(85)90026-2

Children have been sexually exploited throughout recorded history. The invention of the camera and subsequent related technological advances (slides, movies, instant picture cameras and videotape) have provided new avenues for the exploitation of children by

facilitating the distribution of pictorial representations of these children on a world-wide basis. A major use of commercial child pornography is to convince a potential child victim that the sexual acts desired by the adult offender are fun, exciting, can satisfy the child's curiosity and are a societally acceptable means of expressing affection. Commercial child pornography publications contain numerous pictures of children viewing child pornography, in some cases replicating the pose(s) depicted in the viewed material. Although many jurisdictions have now prohibited child pornography, the need for a world-wide ban continues, as the remaining producers distribute their material throughout the world.

## ***Effects of Exposure to Pornography upon Children and Adolescents***

Donevan, M., Bladh, M., Landberg, Å., Jonsson, L. S., Priebe, G., Denhag, I., & Svedin, C. G. (2026). [Closing the gender gap? A cohort comparison of adolescent responses to and attitudes toward pornography, 2004 vs. 2021](#). *The Journal of Sex Research*, 63(4), 581–595. DOI:10.1080/00224499.2024.2408269

Pornography has become increasingly prevalent and normalized within society, raising questions about how today's adolescents might differ in their responses to and attitudes toward pornography compared to earlier generations. This study begins to fill this gap by comparing cross-sectional data from two cohorts of high school students in Sweden in 2004 ( $n = 4,266$ , mean age = 18.15,  $SD = 0.74$ , 53.9% girls) and 2020–21 ( $n = 3,256$ , mean age = 18.20,  $SD = 0.61$ , 55.4% girls). Gender-stratified bivariate analyses and logistic regression models were performed to examine the impact of survey year on outcomes. Results reveal an increase in frequent pornography use among both genders and a narrowing of the gender gap in responses and attitudes by 2020–21. Boys reported decreased arousal responses, fewer positive emotional responses, and were less inclined to imitate the behaviors seen in pornography. Girls were less averse to and upset by the pornography they encountered. Both genders became more tolerant of pornography, yet more critical of its purported benefits. Notable gender differences remain, especially with girls being more likely to recognize pornography as degrading and exploitative. These findings underscore the need for educational strategies that foster critical understandings of pornography and its societal impact.

Alvarez-Segura, M., Fernández, I., El Kasmy, Y., Francisco, E., Gallo Martínez, S., Ortiz Jiménez, E. M., & Butjosa, A. (2025). [Impact of pornography consumption on children and adolescents: A trauma-informed approach](#). *Frontiers in Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 4, 1567649. DOI:10.3389/frcha.2025.1567649

Parallels may exist between consequences of underage pornography use and the post-traumatic symptoms of child sexual abuse. Could pornography alter child and adolescent development and become a trauma in itself? Child victims of these images

could face a conflict similar to witnesses of domestic violence, but instead of impacting mainly on the bonding system, it would affect the sexual system. Victims faced with the erotisation of violence are subjected to contradictory, incomprehensible, and sometimes inexplicable forces, which can lead to a traumatised sexuality with negative consequences in interpersonal relationships. The inability to explain something, or to make sense of it, activates the three classic pathways of trauma. One response to trauma is flight, which can lead to distancing from oneself and from others. This isolation, moreover, reinforces the consumption of pornography. Another response is the struggle to overcome the impact through self-control and aggression. Sexual coercion may appear as an attempt to modulate one's own contradictory emotions, as a form of self-protection and avoidance of the dreaded humiliation. Finally, there may be a dissociation response in the re-victimisation that appears in affected children. Unable to find a way to integrate the scenes, these minors may end up learning to adopt a posture of absolute surrender. The reconceptualisation of pornography in underage consumers as something potentially traumatic would help to better our understanding of its effects and the differing susceptibility of the victims, so that we may develop real and effective legislation and more appropriate therapeutic interventions.

Andamon, L. C. B., Bacote, I. H. O., Estampa, K. G., Sabuero, L. J. G., & Genelza, G. G. (2025). [Regain consciousness: The impact of internet pornography on children and adolescents–A review](#). *International Journal of Human Research and Social Science Studies*, 2(4), 160–177. DOI:10.55677/ijhrsss/07-2025-Vol0214

Excessive pornography consumption may distort children's and adolescent's perceptions of relationships, intimacy, and body image, fostering unrealistic expectations that contribute to confusion and dissatisfaction. The normalization of such content can also lead to the reinforcement of gender stereotypes and unhealthy views on sex, which may have long-term psychological consequences. This systematic literature review aimed to identify the impact of internet pornography on children and adolescents. The review

attained and identified four themes: Showing Emotional and Behavioral Issues, Lacking Parental Engagement in Digital Literacy and Online Safety for Children and Adolescents, Promoting Unhealthy Sexual Behaviors due to Excessive Porn Consumption, and Addressing the Psychological and Developmental Effects of Internet Pornography. Teaching internet literacy and safe online behaviors in schools is critical, as it prepares learners to navigate the digital world responsibly, identify unsafe content, and make educated media consumption decisions. Encouraging participation in extracurricular activities is also healthier as it fosters friendships, teamwork, and a feeling of purpose. When young people are included and valued within an environment, they are less likely to seek approval from pornography, lowering their dependency on explicit content and improving their emotional well-being.

Feijóo, S., Portela, V., & Rial, A. (2025). [Online pornography consumption, risky behaviors, and sexist attitudes in adolescence: A cross-sectional survey study](#). *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 54(8), 3223–3233. DOI:10.1007/s10508-025-03217-z

The present study aimed to analyze the consumption of pornography among adolescents, examine its relationship with sexist attitudes, and explore how its consumption relates to participation in other risky behaviors. The final sample consisted of 664 Galician (Spain) students aged 12–17 years ( $M = 14.55$ ;  $SD = 1.70$ ) who completed a survey including ad hoc items about online and offline risky behavior and the Spanish version of the Social Roles Questionnaire. Almost half of the sample (48.8%) had consumed pornography at least once in their lifetime, with 21.7% having done so in the prior month. These rates were significantly higher among males and older students. Those who had used pornography had a significantly higher mean score on the subscale of traditional sexist attitudes and higher engagement in several other risky behaviors. Furthermore, logistic regression analysis showed which of these variables best predicted pornography consumption for females and for males. These results indicate the need for a comprehensive or holistic preventive approach to risky sexual behavior and early

sexual education and porn literacy, which leads adolescents to reflect on how pornography may impact their attitudes and relationships.

Bordoloi, M., Durkin, I., & Aggarwal, A. (2024). [Effects of pornography on youth: A review](#). *Missouri Medicine*, 121(3), 195–197.

Pornography refers to sexually explicit material created to ‘entertain’ and arouse the viewer. A 2002 Australian study found that 73% of boys aged 16–17 years-old watched X-rated movies five times per week.<sup>1</sup> That was in a time when smartphones had just been introduced and were not easily available. Now, over 20 years later, with smartphones omnipresent, children and adolescents have access to porn through the internet, streaming services, social media forums, adult entertainment websites, and virtual private networks. Three major factors contribute to increased access: affordability, accessibility, and anonymity. The exact effects of pornography are not yet completely determined and deserve further study. An obsession with porn is detrimental as are most addictions. Given the enormous and increasing exposure of our youth to pornography it deserves to be designated a public health problem and considerable resources devoted to education, research, prevention and treatment of porn habituation and addiction.

Paulus, F. W., Nouri, F., Ohmann, S., Möhler, E., & Popow, C. (2024). [The impact of Internet pornography on children and adolescents: A systematic review](#). *L'encephale*, 50(6), 649–662. DOI:10.1016/j.encep.2023.12.004

Young people's exposure to online pornographic material has increased in the past years. Its impact is a complex topic but an important issue due to growing concerns. Therefore, we reviewed the literature on Internet pornography consumption and its impact on children & adolescents. Furthermore, we examined young people's thoughts about pornography and their reasons for consumption. We performed a systematic literature search in the online databases ERIC, PsycARTICLES, PsycINFO, and PSYINDEX for peer-

reviewed articles in English, published between 2000 and 2022 & additionally identified secondary references. We could determine associations between pornography consumption and demographic variables (e.g., age, gender), personal characteristics (e.g., [sexual] sensation seeking, sexual interest and experience, general risk behavior), environmental variables (e.g., peers, family), attitudes (e.g., gender role attitudes, permissive sexual attitudes), behavior (e.g. sexual risk behaviour, sexting) and sexual aggression (e.g., sexual cybervictimization, grooming). Moreover, we found that girls have a more negative attitude towards pornography than boys who have an ambivalent opinion on the subject. Most adolescents are aware that the majority of pornographic material is exaggerated and unrealistic. Furthermore, pornography is not only watched out of curiosity and for sexual arousal but also used as a source of sexual information, especially by minority groups. Many effects that impair children's development have been documented. The results found in this review are often contradictory & further replication studies are needed. In addition, we propose several preventive measures, e.g., sexual health education at schools for both heterosexuals and LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, & Transgender) people.

Cerbara, L., Ciancimino, G., Corsetti, G., & Tintori, A. (2023). [The \(un\) equal effect of binary socialisation on adolescents' exposure to pornography: Girls' empowerment and boys' sexism from a new representative national survey](#). *Societies*, 13(6), 146.  
DOI:10.3390/soc13060146

Due to the increasing trend in the use of pornography recorded in recent years, along with the decreasing age of its consumers, many studies have investigated its potential negative effects on adolescents, who are developing their social and sexual identity, often producing inconsistent results. With the present study, which is based on a large representative sample of Italian students attending public upper secondary schools, predictors as well as negative and positive effects of pornography use on adolescents' attitudes, beliefs & well-being have been identified through a psychosocial approach. To

achieve these results, the study involved a two-step analysis: first, the decision tree method for classification was applied to identify the main predictors of different frequencies in pornography consumption; subsequently, multinomial logistic regressions were carried out to detect the effects of pornography use. The results show a large difference between boys and girls in terms of frequency of pornography use, but also in the effects on adherence to gender roles, which is related to a still strongly stereotyped socialisation. Instead, similar negative effects on both girls and boys were found on self-esteem, body satisfaction, negative primary emotions and distress, suggesting the need for adequate sex education provided by both parents and schools to counteract taboos and blind internalisation of models of beauty and sexual behaviours provided by pornography.

Jhe, G. B., Addison, J., Lin, J., & Pluhar, E. (2023). [Pornography use among adolescents and the role of primary care](#). *Family Medicine and Community Health*, 11(1), e001776. DOI:10.1136/fmch-2022-001776

Given the increase in pornography use among adolescents over the years, we discuss the impact of its use on sexual health development as well as the role of primary care providers (PCPs) in assessing use and providing sexual health education. While pornography use is often viewed negatively, it is important to develop unbiased understanding of the use in order to provide non-judgemental, adolescent-focused and educational care. As PCPs are often the first point of contact when adolescents experience medical and behavioural health concerns, it is essential for them to be equipped to screen for pornography use effectively, create a confidential and comfortable environment to talk about pornography use and sexuality, and be informed of ways to promote open discussion between youth and parents. In addition to PCP involvement, parental collaboration, knowledge and comfortability with discussing pornography use with their child are powerful tools in understanding and navigating pornography use in this population. This special communication seeks to provide an

objective view of adolescents' pornography use, guidelines for screening of pornography use and ways to facilitate conversations about the use between adolescents and caregivers.

Peterson, A. J., Silver, G. K., Bell, H. A., Guinosso, S. A., & Coyle, K. K. (2023). Young people's views on pornography and their sexual development, attitudes, and behaviors: A systematic review and synthesis of qualitative research. *American Journal of Sexuality Education, 18*(2), 171–209. DOI:10.1080/15546128.2022.2096163

This synthesis of 30 qualitative studies examined young people's views on pornography related to their sexual health. Synthesis revealed pornography use is considered normal by young people, reinforced by its usefulness as a tool for pleasure, information, & instruction in the absence of sufficient sexuality education. However, youth can become distressed by misogynistic, racist, homophobic, transphobic, or violent content. Youth lack spaces to discuss pornography with trusted adults, leaving them to manage their use without support and potentially leading to harmful attitudes & unrealistic expectations about sex. Implications include the need for additional research and increased access to inclusive sexuality education.

Svedin, C. G., Donevan, M., Bladh, M., Priebe, G., Fredlund, C., & Jonsson, L. S. (2023). [Associations between adolescents watching pornography and poor mental health in three Swedish surveys](#). *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry, 32*(9), 1765–1780. DOI:10.1007/s00787-022-01992-x

The aim of this study was to examine the association between watching pornography and poor mental health in three repeated cross-sectional surveys in Sweden (2004, 2009, 2014) among high school seniors (13,277 students) with an average age of 18 years. The same index questions concerning ever having watched pornography and the frequency of watching pornography during the last year were combined with 3 different measures of psychological health and background control variables in multiple logistic regression

and forward stepwise logistic regression models. The repeated cross-sectional surveys did not find any consistent associations across years between poor mental health and ever having watched pornography or the frequency of watching pornography. Having watched deviant pornography (containing violence, children and/or animals) was associated with poor mental health among boys in 2 surveys but only in 1 survey among girls. Other characteristics, such as mother's unemployment (especially boys), parenting style (especially high controlling parents among boys) and experiences of sexual abuse (especially penetrating abuse among girls), were more consistently and strongly associated to poor mental health across the three surveys. This study stresses the importance of controlling for multiple background variables when studying the association between watching pornography and mental health, since the association might primarily be explained by underlying confounding variables.

Gassó, A. M., & Bruch-Granados, A. (2021). [Psychological and forensic challenges regarding youth consumption of pornography: A narrative review](#). *Adolescents*, 1(2), 108-122. DOI:10.3390/adolescents1020009

Technology has become part of the daily activities of a large part of the population. Many of the activities and development & socialization processes of minors and young people have been transferred to the online world. One of the most worrying issues derived from this new online world is the consumption of pornography by teens. The objective of this literature review is to draw attention to the emotional disturbances and consequences derived from the consumption of pornography in young people, as well as the forensic implications of this phenomenon, among which are paraphilias, perpetration, & victimization of sexual assaults, and the development of new forms of online sexual victimization. The main findings suggest that the first contact with pornography starts at the age of 8 years old, with important behavioral and psychological consequences, such as hypersexualization, emotional disturbances, & the perpetuation of gender inequality. Furthermore, pornography consumption by youth has been linked to the exacerbation of

paraphilias, an increase in sexual aggression & victimization, and it has been linked to an increase in online victimization. Implications & future lines of research are discussed.

Massey, K., Burns, J., & Franz, A. (2021). Young people, sexuality and the age of pornography. *Sexuality & Culture, 25*(1), 318–336. DOI:10.1007/s12119-020-09771-z

Recently interest into the effects of pornography on children and young people's sexual development has increased leading to an increase in studies in the area, laws being changed & public concern growing. This paper aims to recap these findings including more recent studies carried out in the UK. The literature shows links between viewing pornography & sexually explicit material and young people's attitudes and behaviours. This suggests that young people's sexuality is affected by sexual imagery and that this influences children & young people's sexual attitudes and behaviours. The impact is contingent on the young person's support network, social learning & other demographic factors, not least gender which has been consistently found to be significant. Recent studies have found changes in sexual practices of young people which are attributed to viewing pornography such as an increase in anal sex & casual attitudes to consent. Links between porn use & sexual coercion have also been found. How and in what ways children and young people are affected by such imagery, and what can be done to reduce the negative impact on young people is debated in the light of the gaps in the literature & the issues with the existing literature. Further need for study is discussed.

Wright, P. J., Paul, B., & Herbenick, D. (2021). Preliminary insights from a US probability sample on adolescents' pornography exposure, media psychology, and sexual aggression. *Journal of Health Communication, 26*(1), 39–46. DOI:10.1080/10810730.2021.1887980

Sexual aggression is now widely recognized as a public health crisis. Using the sexual script acquisition, activation, application model (3AM) as a guide, this paper reports

findings on U.S. teenagers' exposure to pornography, motivation for viewing pornography, perceptions of pornography's realism, identification with pornographic actors, and sexual aggression risk from the National Survey of Porn Use, Relationships, and Sexual Socialization (NSPRSS), a U.S. population-based probability study. Sexual aggression was operationalized as pressuring another person into having sex despite their explicit declaration of nonconsent. Having been exposed to pornography and perceiving pornography as realistic were associated with increased sexual aggression risk. A stronger level of identification with pornographic actors was associated with an increased probability of sexual aggression for males, but not females. A motivation to learn about others' sexual expectations from pornography was unrelated to sexual aggression. Results interpretation and discussion focus on the need for additional theoretical nuance and measurement specificity in the media psychology literature on pornography and sexual aggression.

Yu, C., Kågsten, A. E., De Meyer, S., Moreau, C., van Reeuwijk, M., & Lou, C. (2021). [Pornography use and perceived gender norms among young adolescents in urban poor environments: A cross-site study](#). *Journal of Adolescent Health, 69*(1), S31–S38. DOI:10.1016/j.jadohealth.2021.03.008

The purpose of the study is to assess the prevalence of pornography use and its association with a range of perceived gender norms among adolescents aged 10–14 years across five urban poor settings globally. The study includes 9,250 adolescents aged 10–14 years from Belgium, China, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ecuador, and Indonesia, as part of the Global Early Adolescent Study. We examined the percentage of pornography use by sex and site and conducted multivariate logistic regressions to examine the relation between gender norm perceptions and pornography use, adjusting for individual, family, peer, and media exposures. Ever-use of pornography ranged from 14.5% in Ecuador to 33.0% in Belgium and was more common among boys than girls. Overall, boys who perceived greater permissiveness about romantic relations,

adolescents who engaged in such relations, and adolescents who assumed that their friends were sexually active had greater pornography exposure. Pornography use did not systematically correlate with unequal gender norms. Such correlations only exist among boys in two Asian sites, where a supportive school environment, more caregiver awareness, and/or neighborhood cohesion were related to less pornography use. Pornography use is a gendered experience that begins in early adolescence. Although factors of pornography use vary across the social context, the exposure to pornography has become a normative part of adolescent sexuality development. Young people, especially those from where sexuality remains taboo, need the ability to critically process information and avoid potential risks associated with pornographic gendered and sexual stereotypes, calling for comprehensive sexuality education programs to help them build the knowledge and confidence they need.

Boniell-Nissim, M., Efrati, Y., & Dolev-Cohen, M. (2020). Parental mediation regarding children's pornography exposure: The role of parenting style, protection motivation and gender. *The Journal of Sex Research, 57*(1), 42-51.  
DOI:10.1080/00224499.2019.1590795

Communication between parent and child regarding pornography can be awkward. In the following study, we examined if parenting style (authoritarian, authoritative, or permissive) and gender was associated with parental mediation strategies (restrictive, active, and co-use) in relation to pornography exposure, mediated by threat appraisal and coping appraisal (protection motivation theory). A sample of 1,070 Israeli parents of 10- to 14-year-old youth completed a set of online questionnaires. Findings suggested that authoritarian and permissive parents, who had lower scores in authoritative parenthood, were more likely to have dysfunctional (i.e., low-quality) communication about pornography and subsequently be less active in their mediation regarding pornography. Conversely, parents who were more authoritative were more likely to perceive the severity of pornography consumption and were more restrictive and active

in mediating pornography. Finally, fathers tended to have more dysfunctional communication about pornography than mothers and were consequently less active in their mediation strategies concerning pornography.

Rostad, W. L., Gittins-Stone, D., Huntington, C., Rizzo, C. J., Pearlman, D., & Orchowski, L. (2019). [The association between exposure to violent pornography and teen dating violence in grade 10 high school students](#). *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 48(7), 2137–2147. DOI:10.1007/s10508-019-1435-4

Exposure to pornography in general has been linked with adolescent dating violence and sexual aggression, but less is known about exposure to violent pornography specifically. The current study examined the association of violent pornography exposure with different forms of teen dating violence (TDV) using baseline survey data from a sample of Grade 10 high school students who reported being in a dating relationship in the past year (n = 1694). Gender-stratified logistic regression models generated odds ratios adjusted for demographics, substance use, history of suspension/expulsion, gender equitable attitudes, and tolerance of rape myths to identify significant associations between violent pornography exposure and self-reported physical, sexual, and threatening TDV perpetration and victimization. Violent pornography exposure was associated with all types of TDV, though patterns differed by gender. Boys exposed to violent pornography were 2–3 times more likely to report sexual TDV perpetration and victimization and physical TDV victimization, while girls exposed to violent pornography were over 1.5 times more likely to be perpetrate threatening TDV compared to their non-exposed counterparts. Comprehensive prevention strategies for TDV may consider the potential risks associated with exposure to violent pornography, particularly for boys, and provide an alternative source of education about healthy sexual behavior and relationships.

Shin, J., & Lee, C. H. (2019). Exposure to internet pornography and sexually aggressive behaviour: Protective roles of social support among Korean adolescents. *Journal of Sexual Aggression, 25*(2), 90–104. DOI:10.1080/13552600.2018.1528795

Adolescents' exposure to internet pornography and its negative effects on healthy sexual development have been extensively investigated. However, little research has addressed the identification of protective factors that can buffer these negative effects. Based on the conceptualisation of a stress-buffering model of social support, this study empirically tested whether social support would provide a buffer against negative effects of internet pornography on sexually aggressive behaviours in adolescents. Results from an online survey of two-hundred-ten (210) Korean high school students revealed that social support from parents and friends performed buffering roles, and the buffering effect of friend support was the strongest. Based on these results, practical implications for healthy adolescent sexual development were discussed.

Alexandraki, K., Stavropoulos, V., Anderson, E., Latifi, M. Q., & Gomez, R. (2018). Adolescent pornography use: A systematic literature review of research trends 2000–2017. *Current Psychiatry Reviews, 14*(1), 47–58. DOI:10.2174/2211556007666180606073617

Pornography Use (PU) has been defined as the viewing of explicit materials in the form of pictures and videos, in which people are performing intercourse with clearly exposed and visible genitals. The prevalence of PU has increased dramatically among adolescents, partly attributed to the wide availability of such online material. The aim of this systematic literature review is to map the research interest in the field and to examine whether statistically significant results have emerged from the areas of research focus. To address these aims: a) the PRISMA guidelines are adopted and; b) an integrative conceptualization (derived from the merging of two widely accepted models of understanding of Internet use behaviours) was introduced to guide the synthesis of the findings. In total, 57 studies were integrated into the present literature review. Findings were conceptualized/ classified into individual, contextual and activity factors related to

PU in adolescence. In that context, individual associated factors, such as development, victimization, mental health and religiosity, appear to have primarily captivated research interest demonstrating significant relationships with adolescent PU. Results indicate that more research focus on contextual and activity related factors is required to improve the level of understanding of adolescent PU and to inform a more holistic conceptual framework of understanding of the phenomenon during adolescence that could potentially guide future research.

Przybylski, A. K., & Nash, V. (2018). [Internet filtering and adolescent exposure to online sexual material](#). *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, 21(7), 405-410. DOI:10.1089/cyber.2017.0466

Early adolescents are spending an increasing amount of time online, and a significant share of caregivers now use Internet filtering tools to shield this population from online sexual material. Despite wide use, the efficacy of filters is poorly understood. In this article, we present two studies: one exploratory analysis of secondary data collected in the European Union (n = 13,176), and one preregistered study focused on British adolescents and caregivers (n = 1,004) to rigorously evaluate their utility. In both studies, caregivers were asked about their use of Internet filtering, and adolescent participants were interviewed about their recent online experiences. Analyses focused on the absolute and relative risks of young people encountering online sexual material and the effectiveness of Internet filters. Results suggested that caregiver's use of Internet filtering had inconsistent and practically insignificant links with young people reports of encountering online sexual material. Our findings underscore the need for randomized controlled trials to determine the extent to which Internet filtering and related technologies support versus thwarts young people online, and if their perceived utility justifies their financial and informational costs.

Baxter, A. (2014). How pornography harms children: The advocate's role. *ABA Child Law Practice*, 33(5), 118-120.

Although blocking and filtering software can prevent access, unwanted and intentional exposure is always possible.<sup>2</sup> In 2005, a study of youth aged 10-17 found 42% reported wanted and unwanted exposure to online pornography in the past year.<sup>3</sup> Continued exposure to pornography can have negative effects on children and youth. Lawyers who represent children and youth should be aware of the possibility of such exposure and prepared to advocate for them.

Sinković, M., Štulhofer, A., & Božić, J. (2013). Revisiting the association between pornography use and risky sexual behaviors: The role of early exposure to pornography and sexual sensation seeking. *Journal of Sex Research*, 50(7), 633-641. DOI:10.1080/00224499.2012.681403

Among the suggested problems and harms associated with widespread pornography use among young people, risky sexual behaviors have been frequently mentioned. To further explore this public health concern, this article analyzed sexual sensation seeking (SSS) as a potential confounder of the association between pornography use and sexual risks using data collected in 2010 from a population-based sample of young Croatian adults aged 18 to 25 (n=1,005). Significant, but small, correlations were found between the indicators of pornography use (age at first exposure, frequency of use in the past 12 months, and personal importance of pornography) and sexual risk taking. However, in a multivariate analysis, only age at first exposure to pornography remained a significant, albeit weak, predictor of sexual risk taking among both women and men. SSS, defined as the dispositional tendency toward the impulsive pursuit of sexual arousal and stimulation, neither confounded nor moderated this association. Overall, the findings do not support the notion that pornography use is substantially associated with sexual risk taking among young adults, but suggest that early exposure to sexually explicit material and high SSS are additive risk factors for sexual risk taking.

Ybarra, M. L., Mitchell, K. J., Hamburger, M., Diener-West, M., & Leaf, P. J. (2011). X-rated material and perpetration of sexually aggressive behavior among children and adolescents: Is there a link? *Aggressive Behavior*, 37(1), 1-18. DOI:10.1002/ab.20367

Longitudinal linkages between intentional exposure to x-rated material and sexually aggressive behavior were examined among youth 10–15 year olds surveyed nationally in the United States. At Wave 1 in 2006, participants (n=51,588) were queried about these exposures and outcomes in the preceding 12 months. Wave 2 data (n=51,206) were collected approximately 12 months after Wave 1 and Wave 3 data (n=51,159) were collected approximately 24 months after Wave 1. Thus, data for this project represent a 36-month time frame. A marginal model with generalized estimating equations was used to represent the population-average odds of sexually aggressive behavior over the 36 months as a function of exposure to x-rated material over the same time and to account for clustering in the data within person over time. An average of 5% of youth reported perpetrating sexually aggressive behavior and 23% of youth reported intentional exposure to x-rated material. After adjusting for other potentially influential proximal (i.e., sexual aggression victimization) and distal characteristics (e.g., substance use), we found that intentional exposure to violent x-rated material over time predicted an almost 6-fold increase in the odds of self-reported sexually aggressive behavior (aOR: 5.8, 95% CI: 3.2, 10.5), whereas exposure to nonviolent x-rated material was not statistically significantly related (aOR: 1.7, 95% CI: 0.94, 2.9). Associations were similar for boys and girls (boys nonviolent x-rated material aOR 52.0, 95% CI: 0.8, 4.7; violent x-rated material aOR 56.5, 95% CI: 2.7, 15.3; girls nonviolent x-rated material aOR 51.2, 95% CI: 0.5, 3.2; violent x-rated material aOR 56.1, 95% CI: 2.5, 14.8).

Bryant, C. (2009). [Adolescence, pornography and harm](#). *Trends & Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, 368. Australian Institute of Criminology.

Flood, M. (2009). The harms of pornography exposure among children and young people. *Child Abuse Review, 18*(6), 384-400. DOI:10.1002/car.1092

Exposure to pornography is routine among children & young people, with a range of troubling effects. Exposure to pornography may be disturbing or upsetting, particularly among younger children. Exposure helps to sustain young people's adherence to sexist & unhealthy notions of sex & relationships, especially among boys & young men. In more violent materials, consumption intensifies attitudes supportive of sexual coercion and increases their likelihood of perpetrating assault. While children and young people are sexual beings and deserve age-appropriate materials on sex and sexuality, pornography is a poor & dangerous sex educator.

Sabina, C., Wolak, J., & Finkelhor, D. (2008). [The nature and dynamics of Internet pornography exposure for youth](#). *CyberPsychology & Behavior, 11*(6), 691-693. DOI:10.1089/cpb.2007.0179

We examined exposure to Internet pornography before the age of 18, as reported by college students via an online survey. Ninety-three percent of boys and 62% of girls were exposed to online pornography during adolescence. Exposure prior to age 13 was relatively uncommon. Boys were more likely to be exposed at an earlier age, to view pornography more often with more extreme images, while girls reported more involuntary exposure. If participants in this study are typical, exposure to pornography on the Internet can be described as a normal experience, & more study of its impact is clearly warranted.

Wolak, J., Mitchell, K., & Finkelhor, D. (2007). Unwanted and wanted exposure to online pornography in a national sample of youth Internet users. *Pediatrics, 119*(2), 247-257. DOI:10.1542/peds.2006-1891

The goal was to assess the extent of unwanted and wanted exposure to online pornography among youth Internet users and associated risk factors. A telephone survey

of a nationally representative sample of 1500 youth Internet users aged 10 to 17 years was conducted between March and June 2005. Forty-two percent of youth Internet users had been exposed to online pornography in the past year. Of those, 66% reported only unwanted exposure. Multinomial logistic regression analysis was used to compare youth with unwanted exposure only or any wanted exposure with those with no exposure. Unwanted exposure was related to only 1 Internet activity, namely, using file-sharing programs to download images. Filtering and blocking software reduced the risk of unwanted exposure, as did attending an Internet safety presentation by law enforcement personnel. Unwanted exposure rates were higher for teens, youth who reported being harassed or sexually solicited online or interpersonally victimized offline, and youth who scored in the borderline or clinically significant range on the Child Behavior Checklist subscale for depression. Wanted exposure rates were higher for teens, boys, and youth who used file-sharing programs to download images, talked online to unknown persons about sex, used the Internet at friends' homes, or scored in the borderline or clinically significant range on the Child Behavior Checklist subscale for rule-breaking. Depression also could be a risk factor for some youth. Youth who used filtering and blocking software had lower odds of wanted exposure. More research concerning the potential impact of Internet pornography on youth is warranted, given the high rate of exposure, the fact that much exposure is unwanted, and the fact that youth with certain vulnerabilities, such as depression, interpersonal victimization, and delinquent tendencies, have more exposure.

Bonino, S., Ciairano, S., Rabaglietti, E., & Cattelino, E. (2006). Use of pornography and self-reported engagement in sexual violence among adolescents. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology, 3*(3), 265–288.  
DOI:10.1080/17405620600562359

This cross-sectional study examined 804 adolescents, boys and girls, aged from 14 to 19 years, attending different types of high schools in the northwest of Italy; the questionnaire "Me and My Health" (Bonino, 1996) was used to collect data. The main goals were: (i) to

investigate the relationship between active and passive forms of sexual harassment and violence and the relationship between pornography (reading magazines and viewing films or videos) and unwanted sex among adolescents; (ii) to explore the differences in these relationships with respect to gender and age; and (iii) to investigate the factors (pornography, gender and age) that are most likely to promote unwanted sex. The findings showed that active and passive sexual violence and unwanted sex and pornography were correlated. However, reading pornographic material was more strongly linked to active sexual violence, while being a boy was found to be protective against passive sexual violence. Nevertheless, some effects of viewing pornographic films on passive unwanted sex were also found, especially among girls.

Ybarra, M. L., & Mitchell, K. J. (2005). [Exposure to Internet pornography among children and adolescents: A national survey](#). *CyberPsychology & Behavior*, 8(5), 473-486. DOI:10.1089/cpb.2005.8.473

Estimates suggest that up to 90% or more youth between 12 and 18 years have access to the Internet. Concern has been raised that this increased accessibility may lead to a rise in pornography seeking among children and adolescents, with potentially serious ramifications for child and adolescent sexual development. Using data from the Youth Internet Safety Survey, a nationally representative, cross-sectional telephone survey of 1501 children and adolescents (ages 10-17 years), characteristics associated with self-reported pornography seeking behavior, both on the Internet and using traditional methods (e.g., magazines), are identified. Seekers of pornography, both online and offline, are significantly more likely to be male, with only 5% of self-identified seekers being female. The vast majority (87%) of youth who report looking for sexual images online are 14 years of age or older, when it is developmentally appropriate to be sexually curious. Children under the age of 14 who have intentionally looked at pornography are more likely to report traditional exposures, such as magazines or movies. Concerns about a large group of young children exposing themselves to pornography on the Internet may be

overstated. Those who report intentional exposure to pornography, irrespective of source, are significantly more likely to cross-sectionally report delinquent behavior and substance use in the previous year. Further, online seekers versus offline seekers are more likely to report clinical features associated with depression and lower levels of emotional bonding with their caregiver. Results of the current investigation raise important questions for further inquiry. Findings from these cross-sectional data provide justification for longitudinal studies aimed at parsing out temporal sequencing of psychosocial experiences.

Greenfield, P. M. (2004). Inadvertent exposure to pornography on the internet: Implications of peer-to-peer file-sharing networks for child development and families. *Applied Developmental Psychology, 25*(6), 741-750.  
DOI:10.1016/j.appdev.2004.09.009

This essay comprises testimony to the Congressional Committee on Government Reform. The Committee's concern was the possibility of exposure to pornography when children and teens participate in peer-to-peer file-sharing networks, which are extremely popular in these age groups. A review of the relevant literature led to three major conclusions: (1) Pornography and related sexual media can influence sexual violence, sexual attitudes, moral values, and sexual activity of children and youth. (2) Peer-to-peer file-sharing networks are part of an all-pervasive sexualized media environment. This total environment, including file-sharing networks, leads to a tremendous amount of inadvertent and unintentional exposure of children and young people to pornography and other adult sexual media. Peer-to-peer networks and the Internet differ from other sexualized media in that young people construct important components of this sexualized environment themselves. (3) A warm and communicative parent-child relationship is the most important nontechnical means that parents can use to deal with the challenges of the sexualized media environment, including peer-to-peer file-sharing networks. In addition, open parent-child channels for communicating about sexual and

media experiences, sex education at home or school, and parental participation with children on the Internet are constructive influences. For boys already at risk for antisocial behavior, parents should carefully monitor and severely limit access to pornography on file-sharing networks and elsewhere.

## ***Investigation***

Rottier, M., van Eeten, M., & Zannettou, S. (2026). [Gold standard or gold-plated? Human practices of triple verification in CSAM takedown](#). In N. Oliver, D. A. Shamma, H. Candello, P. Cesar, P. Lopes, A. Bozzon, T. Kosch, V. Liao, X. Ma, V. Artizzu, F. Draxler, G. López, A. V. Reinschluessel, X. Tong, & P. O. T. Dugas (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 2026 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, 333. Association for Computing Machinery. DOI:10.1145/3772318.3791039

Child sexual abuse material (CSAM) presents a critical challenge for online safety, yet the verification procedures that determine which items are classified as CSAM remain poorly understood. Triple verification (requiring three reviewers to agree) is promoted as a safeguard, but little is known about how it is implemented, how it is perceived by experts, and how voting conditions affect reliability. We address this gap through a mixed-methods study. We interviewed 14 experts from seven organizations (e.g., law enforcement, hotlines, etc.) to map current verification practices, then ran an inter-reliability experiment with Dutch National Police experts who reviewed 2,031 images and videos under different voting conditions (blind vs. non-blind, varied order). Finally, we held a focus group to explore the reasons behind disagreements. We find that practices vary widely, perceptions of triple verification reflect both safeguards and burdens, and expert agreement depends on voting conditions and content type.

O'Brien, J. E., Kahn, G. Z., Gast, L., & Mitchell, K. J. (2025). "They are not victimless crimes... that's frustrating to hear": Qualitative insights from prosecutors working on cases related to technology facilitated child sexual abuse material. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 159, 107169. DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2024.107169

Child sexual abuse material (CSAM) are any videos or images of individuals under the age of 18 engaging in sexually explicit activities or positions. The incidence and scope of CSAM has increased since the COVID-19 pandemic; however, the prosecution of such crimes has not risen at the same rate. This study presents exploratory qualitative findings regarding prosecutors' challenges prosecuting CSAM cases from the perspectives of

experienced CSAM prosecutors. A total of 24 prosecutors from 16 states across the United States who affirmed working on prosecuting CSAM cases participated in a recorded, 1-h, semi-structured interview. The semi-structured interview guide questions focused on participant's experiences prosecuting cases, including things that contributed and detracted from the successful prosecution of CSAM cases. Digital recordings of all interviews were transcribed verbatim and reviewed for accuracy by research team members. Interviews were coded independently using a grounded theory approach. Methods to enhance the rigor of the research included regular debriefing, and the use of detailed case notes capturing nonverbal participant cues. Qualitative analysis revealed 3 main challenges related to prosecution including CSAM awareness, resource allocation, and legal response. Subcategories within themes as well as regional differences are captured and shared. Findings from the current study provide a context for understanding the role of prosecutors in criminal justice response to CSAM but also point to directions for systemic improvements that would aid in prosecuting these crimes.

Rimer, J. R., Brown, S., Martin, J., & Slane, A. (2025). [“Once you see it you can't unsee it”: Law enforcement trauma and immersion in child sexual abuse material](#). *Child Protection and Practice*, 4, 100085. DOI:10.1016/j.chipro.2024.100085

Police working with child sexual abuse material (CSAM) have a complex and significant job. Their experiences have potential to cause trauma, and so to inform better responses and supports, more must be understood about their work from their perspectives. This article focuses on internet child exploitation law enforcement (ICE LE) experiences and perspectives regarding the impacts of working with CSAM, trauma, and implications for professional practice. The sample encompassed 27 ICE LE investigators and supervisors in Ontario, Canada whose main job is investigations involving CSAM. Three focus groups were conducted with participants, followed by an inductive thematic analysis, whereby themes were developed through a multi-stage process of coding and clustering. Instead of simply viewing, seeing, hearing, being exposed to, or working with CSAM, participants

described *immersion in/with* the material. Framed within a taxonomy of trauma focusing on events, experiences, and effects, participants described being warned about the depravity and difficulty of CSAM, continually seeing and hearing distressing content, working closely with CSAM, and being greatly impacted by audio. They reported effects including shock, never forgetting CSAM, feeling suspicious, and wanting distance. Events, experiences, and effects were recounted as experiential and detrimental. Therefore, it is more accurate to categorise participants' immersion in/with CSAM as a direct experience of primary trauma, not "secondary" or "vicarious" trauma. Implications for multiple sectors involved in child protection and practice are discussed.

Bleakley, P., Martellozzo, E., Spence, R., & DeMarco, J. (2024). Moderating online child sexual abuse material (CSAM): Does self-regulation work, or is greater state regulation needed? *European Journal of Criminology*, 21(2), 231-250.  
DOI:10.1177/14773708231181361

Social media platforms are crucial public forums connecting users around the world through a decentralised cyberspace. These platforms host high volumes of content and, as such, employ content moderators (CMs) to safeguard users against harmful content like child sexual abuse material (CSAM). These roles are critical in the social media landscape however, CMs' work as "digital first responders" is complicated by legal and systemic debates over whether the policing of cyberspace should be left to the self-regulation of technology companies, or if greater state-regulation is required. In this empirical policy and literature review, major debates in the area of content moderation and, in particular, the online policing of CSAM are identified and evaluated. This includes the issue of territorial jurisdiction, and how it obstructs traditional policing; concerns over free speech and privacy if CMs are given greater powers, and debates over whether technology companies should be legally liable for user-generated content (UGC). In outlining these issues, a more comprehensive foundation for evaluating current practices for monitoring and combatting online CSAM is established which illustrates both the

practical and philosophical challenges of the existing status quo, wherein the state and private companies share these important responsibilities.

Choi, K. S., & Lee, H. (2024). The trend of online child sexual abuse and exploitations: A profile of online sexual offenders and criminal justice response. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 33(6), 804–823. DOI:10.1080/10538712.2023.2214540

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the number of technology-facilitated crimes against children worldwide has increased substantially. Due to these considerations, there is a lack of large-scale systematic reviews investigating Cybercrime in and of itself could be challenging to investigate in comparison to traditional ones due to the elusiveness of the cyber realm. Specifically, investigating internet crimes against children comes with specific challenges. These offenses target vulnerable children who are less likely to realize their victimization, lowering the probability of reporting to the proper authorities. With these obstacles in mind, this research study utilizes data information regarding the characteristics of online CSAM users and their practices to inform law enforcement, parents, and the public for preventative and strategic purposes. Furthermore, this study diagnoses the significant challenges of investigating technology-facilitated crimes against children by examining how the current criminal justice system responds to these incidents. The policy recommendations discussed offer a holistic lens for highlighting this critical issue and implementing practical and proactive training solutions for law enforcement and the public.

Conway, P., Redmond, T., Lundrigan, S., Davy, D., Bailey, S., & Lee, P. (2024). [Protecting the protectors: Moral injury, coping styles, and mental health of UK police officers and staff investigating child sexual abuse material](#). *Depression and Anxiety*, 2024(1), 1854312. DOI:10.1155/da/1854312

Police officers and staff who investigate child sexual abuse material (CSAM) may be at elevated risk for mental health problems, which may be mitigated or exacerbated by

institutional and interpersonal factors. The current work examined mental health in a large sample of UK CSAM investigators ( $N = 661$ ). Results suggest substantially elevated rates of depression and anxiety but not posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Feeling successful and supported powerfully buffered against negative outcomes, whereas moral injury—particularly feelings of institutional betrayal—predicted worse outcomes. Although exposure to CSAM and contact with victims predicted worse outcomes, these effects were much smaller. Regarding coping styles, self-blame, rumination, catastrophizing, withdrawal, ignoring, and negative religious coping predicted worse outcomes, whereas positive refocusing, seeking distraction, and social support were effective. These results held controlling for demographics. These results suggest that UK CSAM police officers and staff experience elevated depression and anxiety, but institutional and interpersonal support can buffer outcomes.

Parti, K., & Szabó, J. (2024). [The legal challenges of realistic and AI-driven child sexual abuse material: Regulatory and enforcement perspectives in Europe](#). *Laws*, 13(6), 67. DOI:10.3390/laws13060067

Although the escalation in online child sexual abuse material (CSAM) is not a novel problem, recent digital proliferation has brought about new alarming challenges in addressing the issue. CSAM poses significant risks to children and society in general, the most serious being the long-lasting harmful effects on depicted victims. The already distressing problem is exacerbated by the worldwide appearance and spread of AI-driven or virtual CSAM, as AI offers a fast and increasingly profitable means for the sexual exploitation of children. The paper aims to provide a comprehensive review of current legislative measures focusing the European Union for combating online CSAM. With a particular focus on AI-driven CSAM, we will systematically evaluate the effectiveness and applicability of these regulations in addressing virtual CSAM. The paper will conclude with policy recommendations to address identified gaps in the European legislative framework concerning virtual CSAM.

Seto, M. C., & Eke, A. W. (2024). Child sexual exploitation material offenses: Differences in individual and case characteristics based on how they came to attention of police. *Police Practice and Research*, 25(6), 673–691.  
DOI:10.1080/15614263.2024.2342782

There is global demand for methods to prioritize child sexual exploitation material (CSEM) investigations. Previous research comparing online CSEM offenders based on how they were detected found potentially meaningful differences in offense and individual characteristics, including factors relating to targets for prioritization, such as risk of other offending. The present study builds on this work by providing an in-depth comparison of the individual characteristics and offending behavior of a sample of 336 men convicted of CSEM offenses, divided into four detection groups: (1) those reported by others; (2) those identified during another police investigation; (3) those identified due to their online web purchases or downloads, and; (4) those detected during proactive online police investigations. As a group, the riskiest individuals were detected by reports of others and during other investigations (Cohen's  $f = .25$ ). This finding suggests that it is important to search for CSEM when doing other police investigations, particularly those involving allegations of sexual offending or crimes against children. Risk relevant information may also assist prioritization, though it will depend on the information available at different points in an investigation and may require the use of professional judgement in approximating evidence of robust risk factors.

Brewer, R., Westlake, B., Swearingen, T., Patterson, S., Bright, D., Ross, A., Logos, K., & Michalski, D. (2023). [Advancing child sexual abuse investigations using biometrics and social network analysis](#). *Trends & Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, 668. Australian Institute of Criminology.

This paper demonstrates how biometric features can be extracted from people in child sexual abuse material (CSAM) and examined using social network analysis to reveal important patterns across seized media files. Using an automated software system previously developed by the research team (the Biometric Analyser and Network

Extractor), we extract, match and plot multiple biometric attributes (face and voice) from a database of CSAM videos compiled by law enforcement. We apply a series of network measures to illustrate how the biometric match data can be used to rapidly pinpoint key media files associated with an investigation, without the need for an investigator to manually review and catalogue all files. Future directions for this research are also discussed.

Finkelhor, D., Turner, H., Colburn, D., Mitchell, K., & Mathews, B. (2023). Child sexual abuse images and youth produced images: The varieties of image-based sexual exploitation and abuse of children. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 143*, 106269. DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2023.106269

This paper presents a categorization of sexual image crimes and abuse that occur against children, and it compares their frequency, dynamics, and emotional impact. An online self-administered questionnaire national was given to a sample of 2639 respondents aged 18-to-28 who disclosed 369 childhood episodes involving a variety of image abuse. The analysis classified the cases into five incident types: 1) adult made images (child sexual abuse images), 2) images non-consensually made by other youth, 3) voluntarily provided self-made images that were non-consensually shared by other youth, 4) voluntarily provided self-made images non-consensually shared by adults, and 5) voluntarily provided self-made images to adults that entailed an illegal age difference or were part of a commercial transaction. We propose to refer to this aggregation of types as Image Based Sexual Exploitation and Abuse of Children (IBSEAC). Only 12 % of the image episodes qualified as adult produced, child sexual abuse images. Such adult produced image experiences were also not higher in negative emotional impact than the youth produced images. Only 10 % of the episodes involved images of children under age 13. The study highlights the predominance of youth made sexual images among the image exploitation and abuse affecting youth according to self-report. It also highlights

the difference between what victim surveys reveal about the problem and what is inferred from police record studies.

Westlake, B., Brewer, R., Swearingen, T., Ross, A., Patterson, S., Michalski, D., Hole, M., Logos, K., Frank, R., Bright, D., & Afana, E. (2022). [Developing automated methods to detect and match face and voice biometrics in child sexual abuse videos](#). *Trends & Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, 648. Australian Institute of Criminology.

The proliferation of child sexual abuse material (CSAM) is outpacing law enforcement's ability to address the problem. In response, investigators are increasingly integrating automated software tools into their investigations. These tools can detect or locate files containing CSAM, and extract information contained within these files to identify both victims and offenders. Software tools using biometric systems have shown promise in this area but are limited in their utility due to a reliance on a single biometric cue (namely, the face). This research seeks to improve current investigative practices by developing a software prototype that uses both faces and voices to match victims and offenders across CSAM videos. This paper describes the development of this prototype and the results of a performance test conducted on a database of CSAM. Future directions for this research are also discussed.

Chiang, E. (2021). 'Send me some pics': Performing the offender identity in online undercover child abuse investigations. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 15(2), 1173–1187. DOI:10.1093/police/paaa065

This article presents a case study examining the performance of the offender identity in online child sexual abuse interactions between genuine suspected offenders and an undercover officer posing as an offender. Using a linguistic framework known as move analysis, the study describes and compares interactants' use of rhetorical moves, as well as move frequencies and structures. Similarities and differences in the performance of offenderness between suspected offenders and the undercover police officer are

discussed. Interactions are characterised by a high level of rapport-building, sharing stories, and exchanging support. While the undercover officer largely emulates the moves of suspected offenders, key discrepancies include his comparative reluctance to engage in abuse-related story-telling and an increased tendency to inquire about abusive images. This work highlights possible target areas for police training in the task of online identity assumption in online child abuse cases.

Edwards, G., Christensen, L. S., Rayment-McHugh, S., & Jones, C. (2021). Cyber strategies used to combat child sexual abuse material. *Trends & Issues in Crime & Criminal Justice*, 636. Australian Institute of Criminology.

Cyber strategies play a role in combating child sexual abuse material (CSAM). These strategies aim to detect offenders and prevent them from accessing and producing CSAM, or to identify victims. This paper explores five cyber strategies: peer-to-peer network monitoring, automated multi-modal CSAM detection tools, using web crawlers to identify CSAM sites, pop-up warning messages, and facial recognition. This research synthesis captures the background of each strategy, how it works and the evaluative research, along with the benefits, limitations and implementation considerations, offering a practical overview for a broad audience.

Guerra, E., & Westlake, B. G. (2021). Detecting child sexual abuse images: Traits of child sexual exploitation hosting and displaying websites. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 122, 105336. DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2021.105336

Automated detection of child sexual abuse images (CSAI) often relies on image attributes, such as hash values. However, electronic service providers and others without access to hash value databases are limited in their ability to detect CSAI. Additionally, the increasing amount of CSA content being distributed means that a large percentage of images are not yet cataloged in hash value databases. Therefore, additional detection

criteria need to be determined to improve identification of non-hashed CSAI. We aim to identify patterns in the locations and folder/file naming practices of websites hosting and displaying CSAI, to use as additional detection criteria for non-hashed CSAI. Using a custom-designed web crawler and snowball sampling, we analyzed the locations and naming practices of 103 Surface Web websites hosting and/or displaying 8108 known CSAI hash values. Websites specialize in either hosting or displaying CSAI with only 20% doing both. Neither hosting nor displaying websites fear repercussions. Over 27% of CSAI were displayed in the home directory (i.e., main page) with only 6% located in at least 4th-level sub-folder. Websites focused more on organizing images than hiding them with 68% of hosted and 54% of displayed CSAI being found in folders formatted year/month. Qualitatively, hosting websites were likely to use alphanumeric or disguised folder and file names to conceal images, while displaying websites were more explicit. File and folder naming patterns can be combined with existing criteria to improve automated detection of websites and website locations likely hosting and/or displaying CSAI. • Child sexual abuse image detection can be enhanced with structural-based criteria. • File/folder naming and location patterns found on child sexual abuse websites. • Websites specialize in hosting or displaying images, with little overlap. • Websites focus more on organizing rather than concealing child sexual abuse images. • Companies can use structural traits to identify non-hashed child sexual abuse images.

Hartley, R. D., Testa, A., & Martinez, E. (2021). Race, ethnicity, and punishment for federal sex offenses: Changing composition in child pornography and sex abuse cases and temporal disparity in sentencing over time. *Sexual Abuse, 33*(8), 891-922. DOI:10.1177/1079063220981062

In response to several high-profile violent offenses against children over the past two decades, Congress has enacted several pieces of legislation aimed at increasing punishment for those convicted of federal sex offenses. Coinciding with these enhanced penalties was a demographic shift in the composition of those prosecuted for these

offenses. In the federal criminal justice system, sex offenses fall into two main categories: child pornography and sexual abuse. The racial and ethnic makeup of individuals charged for federal sex offenses has significantly changed over the past 15 years. The current study utilizes federal sentencing data from the United States Sentencing Commission for the years 2006 to 2017 to explore the nature of punishment for these offenses over time. We also employ multivariate analyses to examine differences in punishment for the two types of offenses and employ disaggregated analyses by offense type to examine temporal change in racial/ethnic disparities in sentence length and departures from the federal sentencing guidelines. Findings demonstrate that convicted individuals who are Black and Hispanic are receiving harsher sentences over time net of controls for other key predictors such as age, sex, criminal history, and presumptive sentence length. Implications for how legislatively enhanced penalties and changing demographic makeup of those convicted for these offenses may have introduced extra-legal disparity into federal sentencing are further discussed.

Holt, T. J., Cale, J., Leclerc, B., & Drew, J. (2020). Assessing the challenges affecting the investigative methods to combat online child exploitation material offenses. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 55*, 101464. DOI:10.1016/j.avb.2020.101464

Technology has dramatically simplified the process of engaging in a variety of crimes, particularly the distribution of child exploitation materials, or CEM. The ability to share photos and video across the globe through high speed Internet connections and mobile devices has made it easy to access CEM. At the same time, technology has complicated the investigation of these crimes by increasing the scope of spaces to police that is operated by public and private entities. This review outlines the challenges inherent in the investigation of CEM in the context of Wall's typology of policing online spaces, recognizing formal and informal sources of social control. The methods used by law enforcement to affect CEM are discussed, highlighting current limitations inherent in online investigations; namely the sheer scope of the problem and the nexus between

rapid technological advances and commensurate legal responses, among others. The review highlights the need for engagement from industrial and non-governmental organizations in addition to law enforcement in order to facilitate the investigation of CEM offenses; strategies to improve the state of policing CEM need to include integrating public and private sphere responses to these offenses.

Steel, C. M., Newman, E., O'Rourke, S., & Quayle, E. (2020). An integrative review of historical technology and countermeasure usage trends in online child sexual exploitation material offenders. *Forensic Science International: Digital Investigation*, 33, 300971. DOI:10.1016/j.fsidi.2020.300971

Starting with electronic Bulletin Board Systems (BBSs), Usenet and email, the adoption and continued use of technology to facilitate the viewing and possession of child sexual exploitation material (CSEM) has been of research interest for investigation, treatment, intervention, and interdiction purposes, and has been used in developing risk assessment tools. In this review, a systematic search of databases containing peer reviewed journal and conference papers as well as grey literature was conducted to identify prior quantitative research using the SPIDER methodology. The search was broken into a search for general technology usage, which identified 1,093 papers, and a search for countermeasure usage, which identified 3,190 papers. Following a title and abstract triage, then a subsequent full text review of the remaining papers, 33 papers were identified for inclusion as meeting relevancy and quality standards as measured by a modified Quality Assessment Tool for Observational Cohort and Cross-Sectional Studies analysis. The review found long term trends indicative of a slow growth in collection sizes with growing percentages of video content. Additionally, offenders continued to use technologies beyond their normative usage periods and only adopted new technologies once capabilities specific to offender needs were incorporated into those technologies. Finally, the review noted issues with current countermeasures research in not adequately addressing integrated countermeasures that are enabled by default in newer

technologies, and with general technology research in using older data and not including mixed-method technologies.

Burruss, G. W., Holt, T. J., & Wall-Parker, A. (2018). The hazards of investigating internet crimes against children: Digital evidence handlers' experiences with vicarious trauma and coping behaviors. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 43(3), 433-447. DOI:10.1007/s12103-017-9417-3

Over the last two decades there has been a substantive increase in the number of cybercrime and digital forensic units in local and state police agencies across the US. There is, however, little research on the occupational responses of individuals serving in specialized roles within criminal justice agencies. Individuals tasked to these units are likely to encounter psychologically harmful materials on a regular basis due to the number of child pornography and sexual exploitation cases they are assigned. As a result, this study examined the experiences of vicarious trauma and coping behaviors of digital forensic examiners in a sample culled from across the country. The findings suggest that exposure to content involving crimes against children directly and indirectly increases the likelihood of trauma and incidence of coping strategies employed.

Steinberg, S. (2018). [Changing faces: Morphed child pornography images and the First Amendment](https://scholarlycommons.law.emory.edu/elj-collection/). *Emory Law Journal*, 68(5), 909.  
<https://scholarlycommons.law.emory.edu/elj-collection/>

Part I of this Article will explore the historical underpinnings of First Amendment jurisprudence as it pertains to actual child pornography from its inception as a criminal offense, to the morphed images depicting child pornography of today. Part II of this Article will discuss the harms morphed images cause. It will also explore the harm that circulation of other private material that is sexual in nature causes and discuss how this harm has been balanced against a defendant's right to free speech. This nuanced approach allows us to better understand how courts might balance the harm that

circulation of a morphed image causes with the First Amendment. Lastly, Part III of this Article lays out a cogent path forward. It proposes a workable solution that balances a defendant's First Amendment right to free speech against the harm that circulation of morphed images causes.

Smid, W., Schepers, K., Kamphuis, J. H., van Linden, S., & Bartling, S. (2014). Prioritizing child pornography notifications: Predicting direct victimization. *Sexual Abuse, 27*(4), 398-413. DOI:10.1177/1079063213514453

The growing number of notifications for child pornography (CP) possession constitutes a capacity problem for police forces entrusted with the investigation of these offenses. Notifications of CP offenses in which the investigation reveals concurrent direct victimization, in the form of contact offenses, grooming, online offending, or the production of CP material, form a potential target group for prioritization. The first of the twofold aims of this study was to validate the occurring distinction between mixed suspects (i.e., CP possession suspects who were also ever associated with direct victimization) and CP-only suspects (i.e., CP possession suspects who were never associated with direct victimization) to predict an outcome of the investigation including direct victimization. The second aim was to explore variables related to direct victimization among CP-only suspects. A total of 150 files of police investigations into notifications for CP offenses were studied. Findings confirmed significantly greater prevalence of direct victimization as an outcome of the investigation among mixed suspects than CP-only suspects (90% vs. 10%). Among CP-only suspects, direct victimization was predicted by (a) prior police contacts, charges, or convictions concerning noncontact sexual offending, (b) the confiscation of more than two computers during the house search, and (c) a more serious nature of the CP material that formed the basis for the notification in terms of younger victims and more extreme content. These variables may point to a small subgroup of heavily invested CP offenders

who are at a higher risk to cross the line to direct victimization. Cross-validation of these preliminary findings is indicated.

Wolak, J., Liberatore, M., & Levine, B. N. (2014). Measuring a year of child pornography trafficking by US computers on a peer-to-peer network. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 38(2), 347-356. DOI:10.1016/j.chiabu.2013.10.018

We used data gathered via investigative “RoundUp” software to measure a year of online child pornography (CP) trafficking activity by U.S. computers on the Gnutella peer-to-peer network. The data include millions of observations of Internet Protocol addresses sharing known CP files, identified as such in previous law enforcement investigations. We found that 244,920 U.S. computers shared 120,418 unique known CP files on Gnutella during the study year. More than 80% of these computers shared fewer than 10 such files during the study year or shared files for fewer than 10 days. However, less than 1% of computers (n = 915) made high annual contributions to the number of known CP files available on the network (100 or more files). If law enforcement arrested the operators of these high-contribution computers and took their files offline, the number of distinct known CP files available in the P2P network could be reduced by as much as 30%. Our findings indicate widespread low level CP trafficking by U.S. computers in one peer-to-peer network, while a small percentage of computers made high contributions to the problem. However, our measures were not comprehensive and should be considered lower bounds estimates. Nonetheless, our findings show that data can be systematically gathered and analyzed to develop an empirical grasp of the scope and characteristics of CP trafficking on peer-to-peer networks. Such measurements can be used to combat the problem. Further, investigative software tools can be used strategically to help law enforcement prioritize investigations.

Rosenbloom, A. L. (2013). Inaccuracy of age assessment from images of postpubescent subjects in cases of alleged child pornography. *International Journal of Legal Medicine*, 127(2), 467-471. DOI:10.1007/s00414-012-0765-8

Despite frequent medical expert testimony authoritatively stating that images of individuals who are postpubescent indicate age less than 18 and therefore, child pornography, developmental experts have noted that a scientific basis for such estimation is lacking. In fact, recent studies have demonstrated a high degree of inaccuracy in such estimates, and that the stage of breast development often used as indicative of age under 18 years is present in a substantial percentage of adult women. Ten images of adult women from legitimate pornographic sites promoting youthful images were shown to 16 pediatric endocrinologists expert in evaluating maturation, who determined whether or not the individuals represented were under 18 years of age. They also provided information about what features were most important in their evaluations. Sixty-nine percent of the 160 estimates were that the images represented females under 18 years of age. There was wide variability in the designation of importance of the various features of maturation in reaching conclusions, with breast development and facial appearance considered most important. This study confirms that medical testimony, even by experts in adolescent development, can deem images of adult women selected for their youthful appearance to be under age 18 two thirds of the time. Thus, important as prosecuting users of child pornographic material may be, justice requires the avoidance of testimony that is not scientifically based.