

*Gender Equity in the Field of Child Sexual Abuse:  
Does Gender Matter in Sexual Offense Treatment for Females and their  
Victims?*

Author

Karen A. Duncan, M.A., LSW, LMFT

The Right To Be Safe, Inc.

P.O. Box 7124

Greenwood, Indiana 46142

317-888-4141

Adapted from a paper presented at the Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers  
originally titled

*“Does Gender Matter: Female Sex Offender”*

September 28, 2006

2006 Conference in Chicago, Illinois

***Gender Equity in the Field of Child Sexual Abuse:  
Does Gender Matter in Sexual Offense Treatment for Females and their Victims?***

**AUTHOR SUMMARY<sup>a</sup>**

The purpose of this paper is to present the premise that when *gender equity* is provided to females who sexually offend not only do they benefit in terms of criminal justice policy, increase funding for research to develop best practices, and gender-specific programming, but so do their victims.

The discussion of *gender equity* for female sex offenders and their victims is placed within the context of gender—the social effects of being male and female—has on the crimes men and women commit and the manner in which social systems respond to those offenses.

*Gender* is viewed beyond what some scholars' term 'women's issues'. Rather it is viewed in terms of gender equity defined as policy and programming that recognizes and encompasses gender differences that include sex, ethnicity, socio-political economics and culture in order to provide gender-based services based on *parity*—gender specific treatment within a context of these recognized distinctions.

*Gender bias* is discussed in terms of covert and overt ways in which it can be expressed and how gender bias creates barriers to *gender parity* for female offenders. Without gender parity, gender equity is hindered for both female offenders and their victims and one of the outcomes is gender bias—the non-inclusion of gender parity based on gender differences.

The *gendered differences* in females' pathway to crime, their offending patterns, their histories, and their program needs while incarcerated and when released into the community are examined in relation to the outcomes of gender bias and gender equity.

The repercussions of gender bias are examined inclusively for females who sexually offend and their victims. Examples of repercussion to *victims* are examined by gender within society's gender bias and the gender bias of professionals regarding reports, investigations, prosecutions and convictions, along with repercussions to victims when services are provided. Examples of repercussions to females who sexually offend are examined within the context of barriers within the criminal justice system that impede relevant (best practice) treatment and rehabilitation, obscuring of female sexual crimes which impedes investigation, prosecution and conviction, and most importantly diminishes the veracity of reported sexual crimes by females and the prevention efforts toward this group of sexual offenders.

Gender bias within social systems such as professional organizations, specialized publications and the criminal justice system (adult and juvenile) are discussed as

---

<sup>a</sup> Karen A. Duncan, M.A., LSW, LMFT (The Right to Be Safe, Inc.) [karenduncan@healing4women.com](mailto:karenduncan@healing4women.com)

examples of how a lack of awareness of the impact of gender bias can create barriers to gender equity within the field of child sexual abuse. In particular, this discussion highlights a lack of gender-specific risk assessment, evaluation, treatment and community management for female offenders, which leads to a continuation of misinformation about females who sexually offend and a lack of theory and framework for best practices with female offenders and their victims.

Female crime and gender bias is presented regarding the estimated prevalence of sexual abuse by females within the scope and context of female offending, offender-victim relationship, violent and non-violent crimes committed by females, and gender as a role in victimization. The gendered specific histories of female offenders in relation to female crime is discussed along with the research on the significance of trauma, especially sexual trauma, within the lives of female offenders both sexual offenders and non-sexual offenders.

Four typologies of females who sexually offend are presented that builds on the work of Vandiver & Kercher (2004) and Matthews et al (1989). These typologies are briefly examined for consideration in the development of gender-specific typologies for adult women who commit sexual offenses against minors as a component in the development and standardization of best practice programming. These four typologies include the *predisposed familial offender*, *developmentally delayed offender*, *child exploiter offender* and *violent female offender*.

Discussion then turns to standards of gender-specific evaluation and treatment within a case management and multi-systemic approach for females who sexually offend. Focus is on working with adult women and includes evaluation, individual treatment, group treatment, family treatment and community management.

The impact of female sexual abuse on males is explored to further awareness that gender matters in child sexual abuse, especially for boys who are sexually offended against by females. Discussion of the development of a sexual offending pathway for males from the sexual abuse by females is considered and tied to the overall goal of the prevention of sexual offending by males toward females. Screening for sexual victimization and referral to gender responsive programs is advocated as a part of preventing sexual abuse and other types of child maltreatment.

The prevention of sexual abuse by females begins with gender parity that leads to gender equity in legal responses, distribution of resources and establishing programming for female offenders who commit sexual crimes and most importantly for their victims. Gender does matter when it comes to the traumatic crime of sexual abuse. Within the field of child sexual abuse, gender equity results in improved safety, and knowledgeable prevention for children and adolescents and a best practice framework with female offenders who commit sexual crimes.

***Gender Equity in the Field of Child Sexual Abuse:  
Does Gender Matter in Sexual Offense Treatment for Females and their Victims?***

**Author**

**Karen A. Duncan, M.A., LSW, LMFT**

**The Right To Be Safe, Inc.**

Adapted from paper presented at the Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers originally titled

*“Does Gender Matter: Female Sex Offender”*

September 28, 2006

2006 Conference in Chicago, Illinois

“Correctional systems should be guided by the principle of parity. Female offenders must receive the equivalent range of services available to male offenders, including opportunities for individual programming and services that recognize the unique needs of this population”

(American Correctional Association, 1995<sup>1</sup>. p. 2).

**Introduction: Gender Equity**

During the 1970’s, scholars and practitioners introduced the premise that *gender* – the social effects of being male and female—has an enormous impact on both the kind of crimes men and women commit and the ways in which social systems respond to those offenses (Rafter, 2003 p. ix<sup>2</sup>). Thirty years later, the importance of gender is now accepted and has led to the recognition that when the impact of gender is not integrated into practice it can produce *gender bias*<sup>b</sup>. As stated by Chesney-Lind and Bloom (1997<sup>3</sup>) “A focus on gender and gender differences is not simply a focus on what some scholars’ term ‘women’s issues.’ It is a far more encompassing enterprise, raising questions about how gender organizes the disciplines of criminology and sociolegal studies” (p. 45). Supporting this premise is the idea put forth by Martin & Jurik (1996<sup>4</sup>) that equality is not the same as *parity*. In other words, gender equity is not about treating men and women the same rather it is about parity—gender specific treatment [for women] within a context of [their] distinct socio-political and ethnic-cultural history. Therefore, the “gendered differences” in females pathways to crime, their offending patterns, their histories, their

---

<sup>b</sup> *Gender bias* is defined as the non-inclusion of gender parity based on gender differences.

program needs while incarcerated and when released into the community, all identify a need for *gender-responsive* policies, practices and programming (Bloom, 2003<sup>5</sup>) and within this framework is the inclusion of females who commit sexual crimes.

When *gender parity* is applied to crimes committed by females it diminishes gender bias for both female offenders and their victims by creating *gender equity*<sup>c</sup>. When gender equity is put into practice within the criminal justice system specifically targeted toward child sexual abuse and applied by practitioners that serve this specific sub-system of criminal justice, it establishes gender as integral to a broad-spectrum of programming aimed at reducing sexual crimes. Gender equity also brings *gender parity to the victims of females* and in particular minors who experience sexual abuse committed by female sexual offenders.

While the majority of reported and convicted sex offenders are adult and adolescent males (McCloskey and Raphael, 2005<sup>6</sup>; Snyder, 2000<sup>7</sup>; Hanson, 2000<sup>8</sup>) sexual crimes committed by females and in particular, the sexual abuse of minors<sup>d</sup> by females is obscured within a culture where gender bias exists rather than gender equity (Duncan, 2004<sup>9</sup>; Denov 2003<sup>10</sup>; Vandiver and Walker 2002<sup>11</sup>; Lewis and Stanley, 2000<sup>12</sup>; Allen, 1991<sup>13</sup>). In general terms, gender bias can exist overtly such as paying higher wages in male dominated fields of employment or covertly such as the underfunding (or lack of funding) of gender-specific (female) programs citing budget constraints as the reason (Faludi, 1991<sup>14</sup>; Wurtzel, 1998<sup>15</sup>). Gender bias can occur within the field of child sexual abuse when risk assessment, treatment programs and community management are based on male program models and the need for gender-responsive programming is not included in research or within the budgets of programs targeted toward sexual offending (Hannah-Moffat & Shaw, 2003<sup>16</sup>). Gender bias within the field of child sexual abuse results in negative repercussions to females who commit sex offenses and to their victims (Denov, 2004<sup>17</sup>; Duncan, 2004<sup>18</sup>; Denov, 2003<sup>19</sup>; Elliott, 1993<sup>20</sup>). These repercussions

---

<sup>c</sup> *Gender equity* is defined as policy and programming that recognizes and encompasses gender differences that include sex, ethnicity, socio-political economics, and culture in order to provide services based on gender-parity. This premise is based on a substantial body of research over the past thirty years documenting the gender differences of males and females and in particular gender-based pathways to crime. This research includes gender differences in the offending patterns and histories of female offenders. The outcome of services based on gender equity is the diminishment of gender bias and promoting parity under the law.

<sup>d</sup> Within the scope of this paper, *minors* are defined as persons 17 years of age and younger. However; when referred to specifically children are defined as 12 years and younger and adolescents as 13 to 17 years of age.

occur even when the gender bias is not purposeful due to cultural stereotypes, lack of gender-specific information and education, and a general lack of awareness regarding the field of gender equity and its importance to the field of criminal justice.

The repercussions of gender bias for the victims of females who commit sexual abuse includes professionals who ignore the reality of female sexual offending thereby perpetuating the underreporting of this type of sexual abuse (Allen, 1991<sup>21</sup>; Hetherington & Beardsall, 1998<sup>22</sup>; Denov, 2001<sup>23</sup>) as well as the minimization of the impact of sexual abuse by females on their victims (Banning, 1989<sup>24</sup>; Denov, 2004<sup>25</sup> & 2003<sup>26</sup>; Elliott, 1993<sup>27</sup>; Hetherington & Beardsall, 1998<sup>28</sup>). Additionally prevention efforts and researchers may disregard the role female sex offenders have in perpetuating the sexual abuse of minors or the development of sexual offending patterns in both genders, especially the offending patterns of males toward females (Denov, 2003<sup>29</sup>; Duncan, 2006<sup>30</sup> & 2004<sup>31</sup>; Peluso & Putnam, 1996<sup>32</sup>).

When boys are the victims of female offenders they may be blamed for the sexual abuse or their victimization may be downplayed by authorities and glamorized by the media (Byers<sup>33</sup>, 1996; Denov, 2003<sup>34</sup>; Duncan 2006<sup>35</sup>; Peluso & Putnam, 1996<sup>36</sup>). Girls also experience gender bias when they have been the victims of female sexual abuse. Similar to boys that are sexually abused by males, girls can experience confusion with regard to their sexual orientation and sexual responses when abused by females; however, a girl's sexual confusion may not be as readily recognized as it is with boys who are sexually abused by males (Duncan, 2006<sup>37</sup>; Goodwin & DeVasto, 1979<sup>38</sup>; Ogilvie, 2004<sup>39</sup>). In addition, the question of whether *victimization by females* creates a specific pathway to *violent offenses against females* for either gender, and in particular for boys, is viewed as an integral question in the prevention of sexual abuse (Duncan, 2006<sup>40</sup>). A far-reaching outcome of gender bias with regard to female sexual abuse is a diminishment in the reported estimate of sexual abuse by females that in turn impedes the prevention of sexual abuse by this population of sex offenders.

When considering the repercussions of gender bias for female offenders what becomes apparent is a lack of gender-specific programming for females within the criminal justice system (Bloom, 2003<sup>41</sup>; Schafer, 2003<sup>42</sup>). This lack of gender-based programming creates barriers to females securing relevant treatment which in turn

impedes meaningful rehabilitation—*reduction of female crime*. When gender-specific programming does not exist then females who commit crimes, (and this includes sexual crimes) are denied *gender equity* in terms of the development of public policy, judicial review, mandated laws, research and program funding and published guidelines for best practices (Jacobs, 2004<sup>43</sup>; Duncan, 2005<sup>44</sup>; Richie, 2000<sup>45</sup>). Without gender equity the investigation, substantiation, prosecution, conviction, sentencing, assessment, treatment and community management of female offenders is at-risk of gender bias which in turn increases the likelihood of female crime (Bloom (2003)<sup>46</sup>; Jacobs, 2004<sup>47</sup>; Richie, 2000<sup>48</sup>) and the continued victimization of minors and adults. In addition, without gender-specific programming females who commit sexual offenses are possibly denied the opportunity to stop their sexual offending pattern. Therefore, the risk of sexual offenses by females continues when females who commit sexual abuse are denied gender equity in policy and programming.

For female sex offenders, the manner in which gender bias is evidenced can be found in the apparent lack of established gender-specific guidelines for the assessment and treatment of female sexual offenders (both adult and adolescent) by such noted organizations as the Association of the Treatment of Sexual Abusers (ATSA)<sup>e</sup> the premiere group representing the field of sexual offending treatment. While ATSA has supported the establishment of risk-assessment tools and practice guidelines for adult male sexual offenders and it remains an advocate for establishing practice guidelines for juveniles based on the premise that adolescence represents a unique developmental stage, it has yet to publish a specific position paper on gender equity for both adolescent and adult females who commit sexual crimes.

Given that the field of sexual offending assessment and treatment is considered a developing field in criminal justice it would seem including gender would be both timely and integral to the current research undertaken and funded by ATSA and in the development of best practices to prevent sexual offenses. In doing so ATSA would support dispelling misinformation regarding females who commit sexual abuse, begin to establish best practice guidelines for female sexual offenders and promote gender equity

---

<sup>e</sup> Results of a survey of the publications available on the organization's web site ([www.ATSA.com](http://www.ATSA.com)). There is a link to *Resources and Bibliography on Female Sexual Deviance and Sexually Abusive/Criminal Behavior* compiled by Alan Listiak, Minnesota Department of Corrections (Revised, 2004).

for victims. The apparent absence of gender-specific guidelines for females by ATSA is not necessarily viewed as purposeful rather it is viewed as an indication of a general absence of awareness of the research on gendered differences for female offenders (National Institute of Corrections (NIC), 2006<sup>49</sup>) along with perhaps not attending to the impact of gender bias to victims sexually abused by females.

Within the criminal justice system, gender bias is observed as an absence of equitable funding (parity funding) for the development and establishment of female specific treatment<sup>f</sup> and management within the federal and state prison populations for adult women and the juvenile justice system for girls (Bloom, 2003<sup>50</sup>; Richie, 2000<sup>51</sup>). Gender-inequity is also noted in the shortage of gender-specific training for probation and parole officers in the community management of females convicted of sexual offenses even though sex offender management itself is considered a specialized field in corrections (Baerga-Buffler & Johnson, 2006<sup>52</sup>). A lack of female specific risk assessment tools along with the inclusion of females in male-oriented treatment programs or the development of female treatment and rehabilitation programs based on a male-model of offenders is another example of gender inequity which further diminishes the validity of risk assessment and recidivism studies on females who sexually offend and criminal justice programs aimed at reducing crimes by females (Cortoni & Hanson, 2005<sup>53</sup>; Kuhlman, 2005<sup>54</sup>).

Given that risk assessment and treatment for sexual offenders is advocated by experts in the field of sexual offending as a primary factor to decrease sexual offense recidivism it seems imperative that gender-specific risk assessment, evaluation and treatment be established within this developing field. As stated by Hanson (2000<sup>55</sup>) “Risk assessment is one of the most important and most frequent tasks required of those working with sexual offenders. Formal risk assessments are needed for many important decisions, including sentencing, family reunification, conditional release and civil

---

<sup>f</sup> Three notable exceptions are the National Institute of Corrections which promotes gender equity, the Sex Offender Treatment Programs for the Texas Department of Criminal Justice under the supervision of Judy Johnson, Clinical Director. Information on Texas was obtained from an e-mail interview with Charles Onley (October 24, 2005) of the Center for Sex Offender Management ([www.csom.org](http://www.csom.org)) and the Genesis II program established by Jane Kinder Matthews and Ruth Matthews in Minneapolis, Minnesota. To obtain information on gender-responsive programs for girls entering the juvenile justice system was obtained from *Gender specific programming: Bibliography* (JRSA 98-JN-FX-0112). Report to the Justice and Statistics Research Association. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Justice Program, U.S. Department of Justice, Schafer, N.E. (2003).

commitment” (p.1). In light of this position it was of interest to review a recent study by Cortoni and Hanson (2005<sup>56</sup>) that provided information on recidivism rates of adult female sexual offenders. This study highlights the impact of gender bias within the field of sexual offending treatment and management due to the limited number of studies referenced (one published study, two conference presentations and two official sources of recidivism from the United Kingdom and Florida State (p. 5), gender-specific treatment was absent in all of the reports and in five out of the six reports referenced in this review the authors noted, “It was unknown whether offenders in the study had received offense-specific treatment” (pp. 5-6). At the same time this study supports the importance of gender equity assessment and programming for females as noted by the authors, “risk tools developed on male sexual offenders are unlikely to apply to females... [And], simply extrapolating from the male sexual offender literature to assess risk in female sexual offenders is likely to lead to invalid risk appraisal and unintended consequences” (p.12). While the authors identified dynamic factors as precursors to general recidivism in women and recommended that “evaluation of risk [for adult women] take into consideration dynamic risk factors related to general recidivism in women [offenders]” they failed to identify the *gender-specific history of relational trauma* as integral to women’s offending patterns and the impact this history has on female sexual offending. Collectively, studies on female crime and female sexual offending support the premise that gender-specific risk assessment is needed and has the opportunity to inform the criminal justice system when it includes gendered differences in the offending patterns and histories of females. Gender equity will decrease gender-bias for both victims and offenders of female sexual abuse as well as professionals working within this specialized field.

Even within the relatively newer field of study, sexual crimes by juveniles, there is an indication of gender bias. A 2004 publication of the *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse* (2004<sup>57</sup>) devoted the entire journal to youth who sexually offend. However, this respected journal did not have one article devoted to adolescent females who sexually offend and a majority of the articles did not differentiate research and programming based on sex or gender.<sup>58</sup> It is as though the gender and sex of adolescent offenders is assumed to be male and that developed programming follows this assumption or that

adolescent girls who commit sexual offenses are not given the same opportunities (gender equity) as afforded to adolescent males who commit sexual offenses. Again, gender bias in the field of child sexual abuse does not have to be purposeful in order for it to exist but it must be recognized if it is to be diminished as a barrier to sexual abuse prevention.

Another example is a recent publication by ATSA on youth with sexual behavior problems, “Report of the Task Force on Children with Sexual Behavior Problems” (2006<sup>59</sup>). This report identified that “children with sexual behavior problems are qualitatively different from adult sex offenders [and] public policies, assessment procedures and most treatment approaches developed for adult sex offenders are inappropriate for these children”(p.2). However, this report did not address the relevancy of gender or sex differences to the understanding and treatment of children with sexual behavior problems even though reported gender differences exists with regard to the victimization patterns of children who are sexually abused with girls as the majority of reported victims (McCloskey and Raphael, 2005<sup>60</sup>) and the impact that culture has on the sexual behavior problems reported for girls and boys as evidenced from collective studies over the past years (Rasmussen, 2004<sup>61</sup>).

It would seem that a link between sexual behavior problems and gender is relevant based on the risk factors identified in the ATSA report (2006<sup>62</sup>). Including gender could answer critical questions such as whether sexual victimization might be a risk factor in the propensity toward the development of sexual offending patterns for girls and whether exposure to sexually explicit material combined with domestic violence might be a risk factor in the propensity toward the development of sexual offending patterns for boys. Early detection of such developmental patterns would then allow for *early intervention* in preventing both sexual offending and victimization by advocating for the *screening of children* within schools and healthcare systems and then referral to *gender-responsive programs*.

While bias toward sex offenders is accepted as existing within our society and readily understood in terms of child protection and safety, it becomes especially problematic when it occurs as gender-bias toward female sexual offenders within the professional fields responsible for reporting and investigating sexual abuse and the management and treatment of convicted sexual offenders. When the expected impetus for

more effective community management of sexual offenders combines with gender bias, it increases the likelihood that females who commit sexual offenses are within our neighborhoods and decreases the likelihood that they have received gender-equity risk assessment, treatment and management. It therefore becomes imperative that a coherent effort occur to diminish gender-bias and increase gender-equity services for females who commit sexual abuse (Tewksbury, 2004<sup>63</sup>). Most importantly is that gender-equity exists for victims and potential victims. When it does, efforts are increased in the prevention of female sexual abuse within the overall goal of preventing new cases of sexual abuse. Gender equity for female sexual offenders will assure equitable treatment of victims within the systems designed to serve their treatment and protection needs.

#### Overview of Female Offenders: Gender Matters

Females continue to enter the criminal justice system at increasing rates (BJS, 2000<sup>64</sup>). While the majority of convicted offenses for women are non-violent property and drug related crimes (BJS, 2000<sup>65</sup>; Sapiro, V. (1999<sup>66</sup>), females also account for 14% of violent offenders incarcerated in the criminal justice system (BJS, 2000<sup>67</sup>; Lemgruber, 2000<sup>68</sup>). Females are convicted of violent offenses that include murder, rape/sexual assault, robbery and aggravated assault (BJS, 2000<sup>69</sup>). When considering offender-victim relationship, 62% of violent female offenders are reported to know their victims (BJS, 2000<sup>70</sup>). At the same time, females continue to be the majority of reported crime victims regardless of the gender of the offender (McCloskey & Raphael, 2005<sup>71</sup>; BJS, 2000<sup>72</sup>). This is especially true for crimes of personal violence that include rape and sexual assault, domestic violence and childhood sexual abuse (McCloskey & Raphael, 2005<sup>73</sup>; Richie, 2000<sup>74</sup>; Sapiro, 1999<sup>75</sup>). This history of victimization is a risk factor that impacts the crimes women commit and the development of their offending patterns (Covington & Bloom, 1999<sup>76</sup>; Mullins et al, 2003<sup>77</sup>; Widom, 2000<sup>78</sup>)

Gender-specific programming for women within the criminal justice system is advocated within the field of gender studies (Bloom, 2003<sup>79</sup>; Duncan, 2005<sup>80</sup>; Schafer, 2003<sup>81</sup>; Report of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), 1975<sup>82</sup>; Sapiro, 1999<sup>83</sup>). As far back as 1975, the LEAA Task Force on Women characterized women in prison as the “forgotten offenders” because of their small numbers relative to

men and described the general lack of attention given to adult female offenders within the U.S. criminal justice system. The LEAA report cited a lack of awareness of the [gender-specific] needs of female offenders while citing that the priority is given to male-specific programs [gender-preference] (author's brackets) (Report of the LEAA, 1975<sup>84</sup>). Richie (2000<sup>85</sup>) notes that until recently very little research has been conducted on violence against women who are convicted offenders and that this group of offenders is disproportionately underrepresented in criminal justice studies.

Early studies on female offenders confirmed that almost half of the women in jails and prison have been physically or sexually abused prior to their imprisonment (Harlow, 1999<sup>86</sup>). More recent analyses indicates that up to 80% of female offenders have a history of sexual and physical abuse and a significant number report some type of violence prior to their most current incarceration (Bloom, 2003<sup>87</sup>; BJS 2000<sup>88</sup>; Duncan, 2005<sup>89</sup>; Richie, 2000<sup>90</sup>). This is a much higher rate than reported for the overall population of offenders. These studies support the premise that gender does matter when it comes to female offenders and that their history of relational trauma is related to their victimization patterns and the outcomes of this trauma history has a significant role in their offending patterns and their continued victimization (Bloom, 2003<sup>91</sup>; Duncan, 2005<sup>92</sup>; Widom, 2000<sup>93</sup>). What needs to be determined is the extent to which histories of trauma, especially sexual trauma, also influence female sexual offending. Most importantly is whether addressing these gendered histories of offending and trauma will decrease reoffending by females both in terms of sexual offending and other types of crimes. These questions are in direct alignment with the current programming for female offenders<sup>94</sup> and the advocacy for sex offender specific treatment to reduce sex offender recidivism that is supported as a link to decreasing child sexual abuse within a multi-systemic programming framework to reduce overall criminal recidivism among sex offenders (Hanson, 2000<sup>95</sup>).

Gendered research also brings to light certain questions about female sexual offending that supports the premise of gender equity in programming for female sex offenders and prevention efforts focused with this group. Among the issues for gender-equity programming are whether females who experience sexual trauma combined with other relational traumas are more likely to develop a pattern of sexual offending when

compared to their male counterparts. Another issue is whether a history of sexual trauma within a history of female sexual offending needs to be considered a distinct typology for females. With regard to primary prevention, the field of gender-specific programming raises the issue of whether *screening for sexual trauma with females* would prevent not only a pattern of sexual offending, but also a pattern of victimization including sexual victimization when referral to gender-specific treatment is provided (Duncan, 2004<sup>96</sup>).

#### Prevalence of Female Sexual Abuse: The Impact of Gender Bias in Reporting

A recent study by McCloskey and Raphael (2005<sup>97</sup>) reviewed data from the 2000 National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) to differentiate offending patterns of adult male and female sex offenders. The authors identified the need for gender equity when it comes to the research and clinical studies of females who sexually offend as a link to other types of child maltreatment by this group as well (McCloskey & Raphael, p.3<sup>98</sup>). The fact that females are primary caretakers of children is cited as one of the factors that accounts for the underreporting of female sexual abuse along with entrenched cultural stereotypes against believing women can perpetrate sexual abuse (Allen, 1991<sup>99</sup>; Mayer (1992<sup>100</sup>). Gender bias is seen as not only diminishing the reporting sexual abuse it can further decreases the conviction rates of females who commit these types of offenses if not their arrests rates<sup>101</sup>. Given that, sexual abuse is one of the most underreported crimes to start with makes it even more difficult to determine the true estimate of female sexual abuse.

Within the literature, sexual abuse by females is considered underestimated due to gender bias outcomes, an inconsistency in defining sexual abuse and the lack of agreement on what constitutes a minor within reporting methods that track these numbers across agencies (Denov, 2004<sup>102</sup>; Vandiver & Kercher, 2004<sup>103</sup>). As stated by Denov (2003<sup>104</sup>) “Official statistics on female sex offending which suggest that female offenders account for 1% to 4% of all sexual offences may be more of a reflection of the (gendered) norms and beliefs which appear to shape the criminal law, victim reporting practices, professional decision making and societal attitudes than a true extent of the problem. The low rates of female sex offending in official sources must be considered within this context” (p. 313).

Cortoni and Hanson (2005<sup>105</sup>) reported *6000 females were arrested* in 2002 in the United States for sexual offences (p.11). McCloskey and Raphael's study (2005<sup>106</sup>) which differentiated sexual offending by gender (see Table 1) identified that in 1999 females *accounted for 1162 sex offenses* in 1999. However, based on population figures for July 1, 1989 and sexual abuse estimates by females for women and men at that time, Allen (1991<sup>107</sup>) estimated an accumulative total of roughly 1.5 million females and 1.6 million males (a total of 3.1 million adults) who may have been sexually abused as children by females. Ten years later, this accumulative estimate by Allen within the United States alone would top 3.1 million adults and it would be even greater worldwide. Sexual abuse by females may be one of the final taboos to be breached within the fields of child and adolescent health, child protection and criminal justice. Gender equity requires that practitioners use specialized knowledge in the investigation, assessment and treatment of sexual abuse by females.

#### Trauma and Sexual Offending: Female Victimization and Offending

Perhaps it is not so surprising that recent studies that have begun to examine the social and family histories of females who sexually offend are finding that sexual abuse is predominant in the lives of these females. Vandiver and Walker (2002<sup>108</sup>) cited four studies that reported between 40% and 80% of females who sexually offended had also experienced sexual abuse in the studies reported. Similarly Tardif et al (2005<sup>109</sup>) found that 61.5% of adult and 60% of juvenile females in their study who had sexually offended had experienced sexual abuse with reported perpetrators as father, mother's spouse, sister and other family members (p.158).

A study by Lewis and Stanley (2000<sup>110</sup>) found that while case reports on women who sexually offend can conflict, what is consistent is a high level of past relational trauma. Lewis and Stanley (2000<sup>111</sup>) state, "Women accused of committing sexual offenses have a high likelihood of past sexual and physical victimization as well as ongoing physical victimization" (p. 73). These findings are consistent with gender studies on female offenders where up to 90% of women and girls in the criminal justice system are found to have histories of significant trauma combined with on-going substance abuse

issues (Baergia-Buffler & Johnson, 2006<sup>112</sup>; Bloom, 2003<sup>113</sup>; Duncan, 2005<sup>114</sup>; Mullins et al, 2003<sup>115</sup>; Widom, 2000<sup>116</sup>).

What this combined research on female offenders points to is that significant trauma histories exist for both sexual offending and non-sexual offending females and more than likely has a role in creating specific types of offending patterns based on gender and victimization. In light of these findings, gender-responsive programming<sup>117</sup> would encompass targeting interpersonal trauma for both groups of female offenders based on relational theory with distinct differences given to their offenses. In doing so, gender equity programming would exist for female offenders across their offending histories combining accountability for offenses with treatment for dynamic risk factors involved with offending while increasing community safety when transitioning to community management and reintegration (Bloom, 2003<sup>118</sup>; Hannah-Moffat & Shaw, 2003<sup>119</sup>; Richie, 2000<sup>120</sup>; Tardif et al, 2005<sup>121</sup>).

#### Treatment and Typology: Classification and Treatment Development

Building on the work of Vandiver and Kercher (2004)<sup>122</sup> and Matthews et al (1989<sup>123</sup>) four typologies of adult female sexual offenders are presented. These typologies are briefly examined for consideration in the development of typologies for *adult women who commit sexual offenses against minors* as a component in the development of best practice programming for this group of females. These typologies are identified as the predisposed familial offender, the developmentally delayed offender, the child exploiter offender and the violent female offender. The predisposed familial offender and the child exploiter offender may be the most common typology of reported female sexual offender in the literature to date<sup>124</sup>. The typology presented recognized that each group of female offender may present with a combination of cognitive distortions related to both their victimization and their offending.

The *predisposed familial offender* is an adult female family member who has a history of trauma herself and is predisposed to sexual offending and other types of child maltreatment as an outcome of her own history of sexual abuse and maltreatment. This typology would include a woman who is currently the victim of domestic violence by a male who is sexually offending. This category recognizes the risk of previous and

current victimization (relational trauma) as influencing the developmental pathway to sexual offending for females either alone or with a partner.

The *developmentally delayed offender* would be a female 18 years or older who indicates some type of developmental delay that is diagnosed by a standardized assessment. This category recognizes the impact developmental problems and organic syndromes have on the history of sexual offending for this group of females as well as their risk for a history of sexual victimization.

The *child exploiter offender* would be an adult female who is a non-family member and has a history of exploiting her dominant relationship or authority status with a child or adolescent. This category recognizes the cognitive distortions that may be distinct to this category of female offender in terms of believing that her sexual abuse is based on mutual attraction and love interests rather than on planned manipulation of a minor for her own sexual and emotional gratification.

The *violent female offender* would be an adult female who primarily uses physical coercion to commit her sexual offenses and may cross over to the above categories of typologies. These women may most often resemble the predatory type of aggressive sex offender who has a predominant need for power and control over her victim.

As shared by Matthews (1993<sup>125</sup>) women who sexually offend respond to treatment differently than men and that within a typology there will be specific challenges with basic therapeutic standards for all women to meet (pp. 58-61). Therefore, inclusive of these typologies, it is proposed that a standardized social and family history, a comprehensive trauma history and substantiated offending histories be obtained systematically as a first step in risk assessment and within a comprehensive evaluation to determine treatment planning. In addition risk assessment is recommended to focus on protective factors for females especially those factors that *protect against victimization* –employment, housing, safe environments, supportive community services, gender-specific treatment and management, and healthy relationships with children are viewed as also *protecting against reoffending*. Once these histories are completed and summarized, then determining what further standardized testing and overall assessment is appropriate at the individual level would occur. From there a specific treatment plan

would be developed in writing and reviewed with the female offender and appropriate staff working as a case management team.

### Guidelines for Gender-Based Approaches: Gender Equity in Action

The following guidelines are based on the “Women Offender Case Management Model” (2006<sup>126</sup>) and are presented here for consideration in the development of protective factor assessment, evaluation, treatment and community management with adult women who commit sexual offenses against minors and is based on the therapeutic standards outlined by Matthews (1993<sup>127</sup>) and the research on gender equity for female offenders (see Endnotes).

#### Evaluation:

1. A standardized social and family history.
2. A standardized comprehensive trauma history inclusive of the gender experience of women (see Appendix A).
3. Systematic review of documented offending histories both past and present.
4. Assessment of trauma-impact for women both past and present that are experienced by females (gender-specific). This would include anxiety, depression, dissociation, eating disorders, self-harm behavior, substance abuse and sexuality.
5. Assessment of relationships with their children and the risk of sexual abuse or other types of maltreatment to their children by either the offender or other family members.
6. Assessment of accountability and responsibility for the sexual abuse either in the absence of cognitive distortions regarding both sexual offending and sexual victimization or within the presence of cognitive distortions regarding both sexual offending and sexual victimization.

#### Individual Treatment:

1. Individual therapeutic work to establish trust and repute at a therapeutic level.
2. Acknowledgement and responsibility for the sexual offending.
3. Identification of the cognitive distortions that led to and maintained a pattern

of sexual offending.

4. Identification of how shame and anger are experienced and expressed based on gender.
5. A written and complete history of their sexual offending along with their history of sexual victimization or other types of violence experienced to be reviewed in session.
6. An examination of how sexual offending and sexual victimization intersect to place females at-risk for sexual offending.

Group Treatment:

1. Present a summary of their life story in group.
2. Present a summary of their criminal history to the group.
3. Prepare and discuss the effects of sexual offending and victimization on their female identity including their sexual identity and their ability to appropriately nurture the development of children.
4. Prepare a plan for making amends and providing restitution to their victims.
5. Prepare a personal safety plan that includes decrease risk for sexual offending and decrease risk for victimization by others.
6. Identify in writing their own individual criteria for successfully completing treatment.
7. Complete a class on female sexuality.
8. Complete a class on sexual abuse prevention.
9. Complete a class on boundaries and healthy relationships.
10. Complete a class on somatic treatment of trauma.
11. Participate in one supervised community service project.

Family Treatment:

1. Prepare a treatment plan with her therapist on the issues to be resolved within her family that directly pertains to sexual offending and victimization.
2. Prepare a family safety plan.

3. Determine the likelihood of safe family reunification and what criteria would need to be met in transitioning in stages back to the family.
4. Identify community resources that would need to be in place to support family reunification, child safety and successful community reintegration.
5. Have in place the identified community supports and indicate a willingness to engage these supports on a continuous basis.

#### Community Management:

1. Engagement of the probation or parole officer throughout the assessment and treatment of the offender through a case management and multi-systemic approach.
2. Determination of the type and frequency of community management needed to support successful community reintegration and decrease the risk of reoffending or of future victimizations.
3. Regard for child safety is integrated into the community management plan and would include sanctions against contact with children and adolescents when deemed necessary for safety and successful management.
4. Female offender views community management as a positive pro-social choice to successful reintegration.
5. Attendance at a monthly community reintegration support group for women.

#### Assessment of Protective Factors: Prevention versus Risk

1. Determination that gender-responsive services have been provided.
2. Completion of a specific protective factor assessment for women.
3. Engagement by the woman of services at a therapeutic level as determined by her individual treatment plan and community reintegration plan.
4. Monitoring and management within a case management model based on multi-system services.
5. Evaluation of a stage approach to prevention and reduced recidivism as demonstrated by the above model of programming.

### Impact of Female Sexual Abuse: Does Gender Matter

In a qualitative study by Denov (2004<sup>128</sup>) the long-term effects to fourteen victims (7 males, 7 females) of female sexual abuse was presented. The majority of her subjects reported that the experience of female-perpetrated sexual abuse was harmful and damaging. Individuals reported long-term difficulties with substance abuse, self-injury, suicide, depression, rage, and distrust in relationships with women and discomfort with sex. Contrary to the myths of sexual abuse by females as “harmless”, it becomes clear when listening to victims that sexual abuse by females is detrimental and has the potential for significant and prevalent negative effects on the child or adolescent who is the victim (Elliott, 1993<sup>129</sup>; Morse, 1998<sup>130</sup>; Ogilvie, 2004<sup>131</sup>; Peluso & Putnam, 1996<sup>132</sup>).

In particular, male victims of female sexual abuse may be at risk for developing offending patterns toward females. Duncan (2004<sup>133</sup>) discusses the need to accept that female sexual offending does occur if we are to “prevent child sexual abuse or stop it when it is occurring, we are going to have to accept that female perpetrators do exist and that they abuse both boys and girls” (p. 22). Duncan goes on to explain that “we will also need to challenge the belief that when women sexually abuse boys, their behavior is not harmless nor is it appropriate, and they certainly are not helping a boy to achieve manhood” (p. 22). When we consider that the sexual abuse of boys is purported to be underreported and that sexual abuse by females is considered to be underestimated it is within our interest for prevention to ask if these two types of underreporting are related and if they are in what way are they related. For example, what percentage of increase in incidences of female sexual abuse would occur if more boys reported sexual abuse in general?

In addition, given that, the majority of reported sex offenders are males and the majority of reported victims are female what developmental impact does sexual abuse by a female have on the potential for a male child or adolescent to develop a pattern of sexual offending or other violent behavior toward females. Duncan (2006<sup>134</sup>) cited three studies from 1979, 1984 and 1993 that indicated that 59%, 66% and 80% respectively of the adult male sex offenders included in these studies reported sexual abuse by females, and that in one study of male adolescent sex offenders abused by females these adolescents chose female victims exclusively.

The seven male subjects in Denov's study (2004<sup>135</sup>) reported rage, mistrust of women, retaliation toward women, discomfort with sex, fear of abusing children and reported sexual victimization of children as among the long-term effects of their sexual abuse by females. One man stated, "I [had sexual] fantasies, and they were an angry way of gaining control and taking revenge on women" (p. 1148). Another male victim related, "As a man, I'm supposed to be the powerful one and the actions of women are not supposed to affect me. I'm always supposed to have the upper hand" (p. 1149) and a third victim (male) shared, "I took pride in the fact that I knew how to perform cunnilingus and could turn on these young girls when I was young and was experimenting. I was already fully sexualized as a result of the sexual abuse, and I could make them crazy with this stuff. There was a sense of pride" (p. 1149). Another victim shared that by the time he was 12 he had started acting out sexually, "Twice I got in trouble at school for touching girls...When I was fourteen, I sexually abused my 9-year-old sister...[As an adult] I sexually assaulted two of my nieces and two girls who weren't related to me. I went to jail on two occasions" (p. 1151).

This study by Denov is particularly relevant to the question posed by Duncan (2004<sup>136</sup>) regarding the role sexual abuse by females to male victims has on the development of a pathway to sexual offending against females by males. With regard to gender equity, males who are victimized primarily by females may be a separate typology not previously considered. In addition, female sexual offenses may relate more directly to the sexual offending patterns of males toward girls and women than what has been recognized up until now in the literature on male sexual offending. This history of sexual trauma to male by women may well end up being a significant treatment issue for male sex offenders and one that directly impacts a reduction in sexual offending recidivism toward females.

## Discussion

As we continue to see an increase in the number of females adjudicated within the criminal justice system, gender equity and gender-responsive programming will rise in its importance and hopefully, in its funding. Gender equity for the victims of female sexual offenders is paramount to displacing the myths of female sexual abuse and increasing the

prevention efforts with this group of known offenders. In addition, when we bring gender equity to females who commit sexual offenses we bring gender parity to the crime of sexual abuse in terms of the development of public policy, judicial review, research and program funding and published guidelines for best practices with this group of female offenders. Without gender equity the reporting, investigation, substantiation, prosecution, conviction, sentencing, assessment, treatment and community management of females who commit sexual offenses is at-risk of gender bias, which in turn increases the likelihood of continued crimes committed by females and the continued victimization of others.

It is not a matter of whether the number of male sex offenders is greater than the reported number of female sex offenders in terms of how we decide on the commitment of dollars to research, risk assessment, evaluation and treatment and community management of sex offenders. Rather it is a matter of our commitment to sexual abuse prevention and gender equity for both female offenders and their victims. Gender-responsive programming for female offenders, both sexual offending and non-sexual offending, is inclusive and consistent within the theoretical and treatment frameworks dedicated to the study and application of gender relational theory and humanistic cognitive-behavioral programming<sup>137</sup>.

Practitioners within the fields of criminal justice and child sexual abuse must join to promote, support and establish gender-specific programming for adults, adolescents and children who experience the trauma of child sexual abuse. In so doing, we promote gender parity for females who commit sexual abuse and combine accountability for their crimes with evidence-based treatment that decreases recidivism and increases the safety of all children and adolescents within our communities.

Table 1: Summary of Findings<sup>g</sup>  
 Female Sexual Offenses for 1999

<b>Total Forcible Sex Offenses</b>	<b>Total Non-Forcible Sex Offenses</b>
1,016	146

**Total Forcible Sex Offenses by Gender**

Victim Male: 492

Victim Female: 607

**Total Non-Forcible Sex Offenses by Gender**

Victim Male: 131

Victim Female: 21

**Total Forcible Sex Offenses by Victim Gender and Age**

	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
Victims 0-11:	200	281
Victims 12-17:	216	209
Victims older than 18	67	124

**Total Non-Forcible Sex Offenses by Victim Gender and Age**

	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
Victims 0-11:	10	3
Victims 12-17:	112	16
Victims older than 18	4	1

---

<sup>g</sup> Adapted from McCloskey and Raphael (2005). Adult perpetrator gender asymmetries in child sexual assault victim selection: Results from the 2000 National Incident-Based Reporting System. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 14(4), 1-24. Totals will vary due to repeated counts within and across researcher cells.

- 
- <sup>1</sup> American Correctional Association (1995). *Public correctional policy on female offender services*. Lanham, MD: Author.
- <sup>2</sup> Rafter Hahn, N. (2003). Foreword. In B. Bloom (Ed.) *Gendered Justice: Addressing female offenders*. Ed. B. Bloom (pp. ix-x). Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.
- <sup>3</sup> Chesney-Lind, M. & Bloom, B. (1997). Feminist criminology: Thinking about women and crime. In B. MacLean & D. Milovanovic (Eds.), *Thinking critically about crime* (pp. 45-55). Vancouver, Canada: Collective Press.
- <sup>4</sup> Martin, S., & Jurik, N. (1996). *Doing justice: doing gender: Women in law and criminal justice occupations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- <sup>5</sup> Bloom, B. (2003). Introduction. In B. Bloom (Ed.) *Gendered Justice: Addressing female offenders*. Ed. B. Bloom (pp. xvii-xxiv). Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.
- <sup>6</sup> McCloskey, K., and Raphael, D. (2005). Adult perpetrator gender asymmetries in child sexual assault victim selection: Results from the 2000 National Incident-Based Reporting System. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 14(4), 1-24.
- <sup>7</sup> Snyder, H. N. (2000). *Sexual assault of young children as reported to law enforcement: Victim, offender and incident characteristics* (NCJ 182990). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice Bureau of Justice Statistics ([www.ncjrs.org](http://www.ncjrs.org)).
- <sup>8</sup> Hanson, R.K. (2000). Risk assessment: First in a series of ATSA Information Packages. Published by the Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers ([www.atsa.com](http://www.atsa.com)).
- <sup>9</sup> Duncan, K. (2004). *Healing from the trauma of childhood sexual abuse: The journey for women*. Greenwood, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers.
- <sup>10</sup> Denov, M. (2003). The myth of innocence: Sexual scripts and the recognition of child sexual abuse by female perpetrators. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 40 (3), 303-314.
- <sup>11</sup> Vandiver, D., and Walker J. (2002). Female sex offenders: An overview and analysis of 40 cases. *Criminal Justice Review*, 27 (2), 284-300.
- <sup>12</sup> Lewis, C., and Stanley, C. (2000). Women accused of sexual offenses. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law*, 18, 73-81.
- <sup>13</sup> Allen, C. (1991). *Women and men who sexually abuse children: A comparative study*. Orwell, VT: Safer Society Press.
- <sup>14</sup> Faludi, S. (1991). *Backlash: The undeclared war against American women* (pp. 325-331). New York: Doubleday Books.
- <sup>15</sup> Wurtzel, E. (1998). *Bitch: In praise of difficult women* (pp. 11-13). New York: Doubleday Books.
- <sup>16</sup> Hannah-Moffat, K. & Shaw, M. (2003). The meaning of risk in women's prisons: A critique. In B. Bloom (Ed.), *Gendered Justice: Addressing female offenders* (Chapter 3). Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.
- <sup>17</sup> Denov, M. (2004). The long-term effects of child sexual abuse by female perpetrators: A qualitative study of male and female victims. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 19 (10), 1137-1156.
- <sup>18</sup> Duncan, K. (2006). *Female sex offenders: Separating myth from reality*. Presentation at the Indiana Coalition Against Sexual Assault, 2006 Conference, Indianapolis, Indiana.
- <sup>19</sup> Denov, M. (2003). The myth of innocence: Sexual scripts and the recognition of child sexual abuse by female perpetrators. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 40 (3), 303-314.
- <sup>20</sup> Elliott, M.F. (1993). What survivors tell us—an overview. In M. Elliot (Ed.), *Female sexual abuse of children* (pp. 5-13). New York: The Guilford Press.
- <sup>21</sup> Allen, C. (1991). *Women and men who sexually abuse children: A comparative study*. Orwell, VT: Safer Society Press.
- <sup>22</sup> Hetherington, J., & Beardsall, L. (1998). Decisions and attitudes concerning child sexual abuse: Does the gender of the perpetrator make a difference to child protection professionals? *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 22, 1265-1253.
- <sup>23</sup> Denov, M. (2001). A culture of denial: Exploring professional perspectives on female sex offending. *Canadian Journal of Criminology*, 43, 303-329.
- <sup>24</sup> Banning, A. (1989). Mother-son incest: Confronting a prejudice. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 13 (549-563).
- <sup>25</sup> Denov, M. (2004). The long-term effects of child sexual abuse by female perpetrators: A qualitative study of male and female victims. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 19 (10), pp. 1137-1156.
- <sup>26</sup> Denov, M. (2003). To a safer place? Victims of sexual abuse by females and their disclosures to professionals. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 27, 47-61.
- <sup>27</sup> Elliott, M.F. Ed. (1993). *Female sexual abuse of children*. (New York: The Guilford Press).
- <sup>28</sup> Hetherington, J. and Beardsall, L. (1998) Decisions and attitudes concerning child sexual abuse: Does the gender of the perpetrator make a difference to child protection professionals? *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 22, 1265-1253.
- <sup>29</sup> Denov, M. (2003). The myth of innocence: Sexual scripts and the recognition of child sexual abuse by female perpetrators. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 40 (3), 303-314.
- <sup>30</sup> Duncan, K. (2006). *Female sex offenders: Separating myth from reality*. Presentation at the Indiana Coalition Against Sexual Assault, 2006 Conference, Indianapolis, Indiana.
- <sup>31</sup> Duncan, K. (2004). *Healing from the trauma of childhood sexual abuse: The journey for women*. Greenwood, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, (pp. 21-22).

- 
- <sup>32</sup> Peluso, E., & Putnam, N. (1996). Case study: Sexual abuse of boys by females. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 35 (1), 51-54.
- <sup>33</sup> Byers, E. (1996). How well does the traditional sexual script explain sexual coercion? Review of a program of research. *Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality*, 8, 6-26.
- <sup>34</sup> Denov, M. (2003). The myth of innocence: Sexual scripts and the recognition of child sexual abuse by female perpetrators. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 40 (3), 303-314.
- <sup>35</sup> Duncan, K. (2006). *Female sex offenders: Separating myth from reality*. Presentation at the Indiana Coalition Against Sexual Assault, 2006 Conference, Indianapolis, Indiana.
- <sup>36</sup> Peluso, E., & Putnam, N. (1996). Case study: Sexual abuse of boys by females. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 35 (1), 51-54.
- <sup>37</sup> Duncan, K. (2006). *Female sex offenders: Separating myth from reality*. Presentation at the Indiana Coalition Against Sexual Assault, 2006 Conference, Indianapolis, Indiana.
- <sup>38</sup> Goodwin, J. & DiVasto, P. (1979). Mother-daughter incest. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 3, 953-957.
- <sup>39</sup> Ogilvie, B. (2004). *Mother-Daughter Incest: A guide for helping professionals*. New York: The Haworth Press (pp. 64-66).
- <sup>40</sup> Duncan, K. (2006). *Female sex offenders: Separating myth from reality*. Presentation at the Indiana Coalition Against Sexual Assault, 2006 Conference, Indianapolis, Indiana.
- <sup>41</sup> Bloom, B. (2003). Introduction. In B. Bloom (Ed.) *Gendered Justice: Addressing female offenders*. Ed. B. Bloom (pp. xvii-xxiv). Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.
- <sup>42</sup> Schafer, N.E. (2003). *Gender specific programming: Bibliography* (JRRSA 98-JN-FX-0112). Report to the Justice and Statistics Research Association. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Justice Program, U.S. Department of Justice.
- <sup>43</sup> Jacobs, A. (2004). *Improving the odds: Women in community corrections*. Keynote Address to the Annual Conference of the American Society of Criminology, Nashville, Tennessee (November 17, 2004). Copy obtained from Women's Prison Association. New York, New York.
- <sup>44</sup> Duncan, K. (2005). The forgotten victims: Women, trauma and the criminal justice system. *Counseling Today*, 47(10). Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association.
- <sup>45</sup> Richie, B. (2000). *Exploring the link between violence against women and women's involvement in illegal activity: Research on Women and Girls in the Justice System*. National Institute of Justice, Office of Justice Program, U.S. Department of Justice.
- <sup>46</sup> Bloom, B. (2003). *Gendered Justice: Addressing female offenders*. Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.
- <sup>47</sup> Jacobs, A. (2004). *Improving the odds: Women in community corrections*. Keynote Address to the Annual Conference of the American Society of Criminology, Nashville, Tennessee (November 17, 2004). Copy obtained from Women's Prison Association. New York, New York.
- <sup>48</sup> Richie, B. (2000). *Exploring the link between violence against women and women's involvement in illegal activity: Research on Women and Girls in the Justice System*. National Institute of Justice, Office of Justice Program, U.S. Department of Justice.
- <sup>49</sup> *Women Offender Case Management Model* (2006). Orbis Partners, Inc. prepared for the National Institute of Corrections, September 2006.
- <sup>50</sup> Bloom, B. Ed. (2003). *Gendered Justice: Addressing female offenders*. Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.
- <sup>51</sup> Richie, B. (2000). *Exploring the link between violence against women and women's involvement in illegal activity: Research on Women and Girls in the Justice System*. National Institute of Justice, Office of Justice Program, U.S. Department of Justice.
- <sup>52</sup> Baergia-Buffler, M., & Johnson, J. (2006). Sex offender management in the federal probation and pretrial services system. *Federal Probation A Journal of Correctional Philosophy and Practice* 70 (1).
- <sup>53</sup> Cortoni, F. & Hanson, R.K., (2005). *A review of the recidivism rates of adult female sexual offenders*. Published by the Research Branch of the Correctional Service of Canada (2005 N R-169).
- <sup>54</sup> Kuhlman, A. (2005). The view from the other side of the fence: Incarcerated women talk about themselves. *Justice Policy Journal*, 2(1). Published as a revised version of a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Sociological Society, March 31-April 3, 2005.
- <sup>55</sup> Hanson, R.K. (2000). *Risk assessment: First in a series of ATSA Information Packages*. Published by the Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers ([www.atsa.com](http://www.atsa.com)).
- <sup>56</sup> Cortoni, F. & Hanson, R.K., (2005). *A review of the recidivism rates of adult female sexual offenders*. Published by the Research Branch of the Correctional Service of Canada (2005 N R-169).
- <sup>57</sup> *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse* (2004). Ed. Robert Geffner. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 13 (3/4), 1-324.
- <sup>58</sup> Ibid
- <sup>59</sup> Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers (2006). *Report of the task force on children with sexual behavior problem, 1-32*. Published by the Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers ([www.atsa.com](http://www.atsa.com)).

- 
- <sup>60</sup> McCloskey, K., and Raphael, D. (2005). Adult perpetrator gender asymmetries in child sexual assault victim selection: Results from the 2000 National Incident-Based Reporting System. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 14(4), 1-24.
- <sup>61</sup> Rasmussen, L. (2004). Differentiating youth who sexually abuse: Applying a multidimensional framework when assessing and treating subtypes. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 13 (3/4), 57-82.
- <sup>62</sup> Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers (2006). *Report of the task force on children with sexual behavior problem*, (p.4). Published by the Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers ([www.atsa.com](http://www.atsa.com)).
- <sup>63</sup> Tewksbury, R. (2004). Experiences and attitudes of registered female sex offenders. *Federal Probation A Journal of Correctional Philosophy and Practice*, 68 (3), 30-33.
- <sup>64</sup> *Women Offenders* (2000). Bureau of Justice Statistics, Special Report. U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs (175688).
- <sup>65</sup> Ibid
- <sup>66</sup> Sapiro, V. (1999). *Women in American society: An introduction to women's studies* (4<sup>th</sup> Edition). Mountain View, California: Mayfield Publishing Company.
- <sup>67</sup> *Women Offenders* (2000). Bureau of Justice Statistics, Special Report. U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs (175688).
- <sup>68</sup> Lemgruber, J. (2000). Keynote Speech in the workshop "Women in the Criminal Justice System" given at the Tenth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (April 2000: Vienna).
- <sup>69</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>70</sup> *Women Offenders* (2000). Bureau of Justice Statistics, Special Report. U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs (NCJ 175688).
- <sup>71</sup> McCloskey, K., and Raphael, D. (2005). Adult perpetrator gender asymmetries in child sexual assault victim selection: Results from the 2000 National Incident-Based Reporting System. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 14(4), 1-24.
- <sup>72</sup> *Women Offenders* (2000). Bureau of Justice Statistics, Special Report. U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs (NCJ 175688).
- <sup>73</sup> Ibid
- <sup>74</sup> Richie, B. (2000). *Exploring the link between violence against women and women's involvement in illegal activity: Research on Women and Girls in the Justice System*. National Institute of Justice, Office of Justice Program, U.S. Department of Justice.
- <sup>75</sup> Sapiro, V. (1999). *Women in American society: An introduction to women's studies* (4<sup>th</sup> Edition). Mountain View, California: Mayfield Publishing Company.
- <sup>76</sup> Covington, S., & Bloom, B., (1999). "Gender-responsive programming and evaluation for women in the criminal justice system: A shift from what works? To what is the work?" A paper presented at the 51<sup>st</sup> annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, November 17-20.
- <sup>77</sup> Mullins, J.L., Marquart, J., & Hartley, D.J. (2003). Exploring the effects of childhood sexual abuse and its impact on HIV/AIDS risk-taking behavior among women prisoners. *The Prison Journal*, 83 (4), 442-463.
- <sup>78</sup> Widom, C. (2000). *Childhood victimization and the derailment of girls and women to the criminal justice system*. National Institute of Justice, Office of Justice Program, U.S. Department of Justice.
- <sup>79</sup> Bloom, B. Ed. (2003). *Gendered Justice: Addressing female offenders*. Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.
- <sup>80</sup> Duncan, K. (2005). The forgotten victims: Women, trauma and the criminal justice system. *Counseling Today*, 47(10). Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association.
- <sup>81</sup> Schafer, N.E. (2003). *Gender specific programming: Bibliography* (JRRSA 98-JN-FX-0112). Report to the Justice and Statistics Research Association. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Justice Program, U.S. Department of Justice.
- <sup>82</sup> The Report of the LEAA (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration) Task Force on Women. October 1975. *The Report of the LEAA Task Force on Women*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.
- <sup>83</sup> Sapiro, V. (1999). *Women in American society: An introduction to women's studies* (4<sup>th</sup> Edition). Mountain View, California: Mayfield Publishing Company.
- <sup>84</sup> The Report of the LEAA (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration) Task Force on Women. October 1975. *The Report of the LEAA Task Force on Women*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.
- <sup>85</sup> Richie, B. (2000). *Exploring the link between violence against women and women's involvement in illegal activity: Research on Women and Girls in the Justice System*. National Institute of Justice, Office of Justice Program, U.S. Department of Justice.
- <sup>86</sup> Harlow, C.W. (1999). *Prior abuse reported by inmates and probationers*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, (NCJ 172879).
- <sup>87</sup> Bloom, B. (2003). *Gendered Justice: Addressing female offenders*. Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.
- <sup>88</sup> *Women Offenders* (2000). Bureau of Justice Statistics, Special Report. U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs (175688).

- 
- <sup>89</sup> Duncan, K. (2005). The forgotten victims: Women, trauma and the criminal justice system. *Counseling Today*, 47(10). Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association.
- <sup>90</sup> Richie, B. (2000). *Exploring the link between violence against women and women's involvement in illegal activity: Research on Women and Girls in the Justice System*. National Institute of Justice, Office of Justice Program, U.S. Department of Justice.
- <sup>91</sup> Bloom, B. (2003). *Gendered Justice: Addressing female offenders*. Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.
- <sup>92</sup> Duncan, K. (2005). The forgotten victims: Women, trauma and the criminal justice system. *Counseling Today*, 47(10). Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association.
- <sup>93</sup> Widom, C. (2000). *Childhood victimization and the derailment of girls and women to the criminal justice system*. National Institute of Justice, Office of Justice Program, U.S. Department of Justice.
- <sup>94</sup> *Women Offender Case Management Model* (2006). A report by Orbis Partners, Inc. prepared for the National Institute of Corrections, September 2006.
- <sup>95</sup> Hanson, R.K. (2000). *Risk assessment: First in a series of ATSA Information Packages*. Published by the Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers ([www.atsa.org](http://www.atsa.org)).
- <sup>96</sup> Duncan, K. (2004). *Healing from the trauma of childhood sexual abuse: The journey for women*. Greenwood, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers.
- <sup>97</sup> McCloskey, K., and Raphael, D. (2005). Adult perpetrator gender asymmetries in child sexual assault victim selection: Results from the 2000 National Incident-Based Reporting System. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 14(4), 1-24.
- <sup>98</sup> Ibid (p.3).
- <sup>99</sup> Allen, C. (1991). *Women and men who sexually abuse children: A comparative study*. Orwell, VT: Safer Society Press.
- <sup>100</sup> Mayer, A. (1992). *Women sex offenders*. Holmes Beach, FL: Learning Publications.
- <sup>101</sup> Cortoni, F. & Hanson, R.K., (2005). *A review of the recidivism rates of adult female sexual offenders*. Published by the Research Branch of the Correctional Service of Canada (2005 N R-169) p. 11.
- <sup>102</sup> Denov, M. (2004). The long-term effects of child sexual abuse by female perpetrators: A qualitative study of male and female victims. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 19 (10), pp. 1137-1156.
- <sup>103</sup> Vandiver, D., & Kercher, G. (2004). Offender and victim characteristics of registered female sexual offenders in Texas: A proposed typology of female sexual offenders. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 16 (2), 121-137.
- <sup>104</sup> Denov, M. (2003). The myth of innocence: Sexual scripts and the recognition of child sexual abuse by female perpetrators. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 40 (3), 303-314.
- <sup>105</sup> Cortoni, F. & Hanson, R.K., (2005). *A review of the recidivism rates of adult female sexual offenders*. Published by the Research Branch of the Correctional Service of Canada (2005 N R-169), p. 11.
- <sup>106</sup> McCloskey, K., and Raphael, D. (2005). Adult perpetrator gender asymmetries in child sexual assault victim selection: Results from the 2000 National Incident-Based Reporting System. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 14(4), 1-24.
- <sup>107</sup> Allen, C. (1991). *Women and men who sexually abuse children: A comparative study*. Orwell, VT: Safer Society Press.
- <sup>108</sup> Vandiver, D. & Walker, J. (2002). Female sex offenders: An overview and analysis of 40 cases. *Criminal Justice Review*, 27 (2), 284-300.
- <sup>109</sup> Tardif, M., Auclair, N., Jacob, M. & Carpentier, J. (2005). Sexual abuse perpetrated by adult and juvenile females: An ultimate attempt to resolve a conflict associated with maternal identity. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 29, 153-157.
- <sup>110</sup> Lewis, C., and Stanley, C. (2000). Women accused of sexual offenses. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law*, 18, 73-81.
- <sup>111</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>112</sup> Baergia-Buffler, M., & Johnson, J. (2006). Sex offender management in the federal probation and pretrial services system. *Federal Probation A Journal of Correctional Philosophy and Practice* 70 (1).
- <sup>113</sup> Bloom, B. (2003). *Gendered Justice: Addressing female offenders*. Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.
- <sup>114</sup> Duncan, K. (2005). The forgotten victims: Women, trauma and the criminal justice system. *Counseling Today*, 47(10). Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association.
- <sup>115</sup> Mullins, J.L., Marquart, J., & Hartley, D.J. (2003). Exploring the effects of childhood sexual abuse and its impact on HIV/AIDS risk-taking behavior among women prisoners. *The Prison Journal*, 83 (4), 442-463.
- <sup>116</sup> Widom, C. (2000). *Childhood victimization and the derailment of girls and women to the criminal justice system*. National Institute of Justice, Office of Justice Program, U.S. Department of Justice.
- <sup>117</sup> *Women Offender Case Management Model* (2006). A report by Orbis Partners, Inc. prepared for the National Institute of Corrections, September 2006.
- <sup>118</sup> Bloom, B. (2003). *Gendered Justice: Addressing female offenders*. Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.

- 
- <sup>119</sup> Hannah-Moffat, K. & Shaw, M. (2003). The meaning of risk in women's prisons: A critique. In B. Bloom (Ed.), *Gendered Justice: Addressing female offenders* (Chapter 3). Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.
- <sup>120</sup> Richie, B. (2000). *Exploring the link between violence against women and women's involvement in illegal activity: Research on Women and Girls in the Justice System*. National Institute of Justice, Office of Justice Program, U.S. Department of Justice.
- <sup>121</sup> Tardif, M., Auclair, N., Jacob, M. & Carpentier, J. (2005). Sexual abuse perpetrated by adult and juvenile females: An ultimate attempt to resolve a conflict associated with maternal identity. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 29, 153-157.
- <sup>122</sup> Vandiver, D., & Kercher, G. (2004). Offender and victim characteristics of registered female sexual offenders in Texas: A proposed typology of female sexual offenders. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 16 (2), 121-137
- <sup>123</sup> Matthews, R., Matthews, J. & Spelz, K. (1989). *Female sexual offenders: An exploratory study*. Vermont: Safer Society Press.
- <sup>124</sup> Resources and Bibliography on Female Sexual Deviance and Sexually Abusive/Criminal Behavior compiled by Alan Listiak, Minnesota Department of Corrections (Revised, 2004).
- <sup>125</sup> Matthews, J. (1993). Working with female sexual abusers. In M. Elliot (Ed.), *Female sexual abuse of children*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- <sup>126</sup> *Women Offender Case Management Model* (2006). A report by Orbis Partners, Inc. prepared for the National Institute of Corrections, September 2006.
- <sup>127</sup> Matthews, J. (1993). Working with female sexual abusers. In M. Elliot (Ed.), *Female sexual abuse of children*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- <sup>128</sup> Denov, M. (2006). The long-term effects of child sexual abuse by female perpetrators: A qualitative study of male and female victims. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 19 (10), 1137-1156.
- <sup>129</sup> Elliott, M.F. (1993). What survivors tell us—an overview. In M. Elliot (Ed.), *Female sexual abuse of children* (p. 13). New York: The Guilford Press.
- <sup>130</sup> Mitchell, J. and Morse, J. (1998). *From victims to survivors: Reclaimed voices of women sexually abused in childhood by females*. Washington, DC: Taylor and Francis Group.
- <sup>131</sup> Ogilvie, B. (2004). *Mother-Daughter Incest: A guide for helping professionals*. New York: The Haworth Press.
- <sup>132</sup> Peluso, E., & Putnam, N. (1996). Case study: Sexual abuse of boys by females. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 35 (1), 51-54.
- <sup>133</sup> Duncan, K. (2004). *Healing from the trauma of childhood sexual abuse: The journey for women*. Greenwood, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers.
- <sup>134</sup> Duncan, K. (2006). *Female sex offenders: Separating myth from reality*. Presentation at the Indiana Coalition Against Sexual Assault, 2006 Conference, Indianapolis, Indiana.
- <sup>135</sup> Denov, M. (2006). The long-term effects of child sexual abuse by female perpetrators: A qualitative study of male and female victims. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 19 (10), 1137-1156.
- <sup>136</sup> Duncan, K. (2004). *Healing from the trauma of childhood sexual abuse: The journey for women*. Greenwood, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers.
- <sup>137</sup> *Women Offender Case Management Model* (2006). A report by Orbis Partners, Inc. prepared for the National Institute of Corrections, September 2006.