New England Journal of Public Policy

9-22-2013

Online Predators: Myth versus Reality

Janis Wolak
University of New Hampshire - Main Campus

Lindsey Evans
Clark University

Stephanie Nguyen
Clark University

Denise A. Hines
Clark University

Follow this and additional works at: http://scholarworks.umb.edu/nejpp

🔵 Part of the Criminology and Criminal Justice Commons, Public Health Education and Promotion Commons, Public Policy Commons, Social Policy Commons, and the Social Welfare Commons

Online Predators:
Myth versus Reality

Janis Wolak, Lindsey Evans, Stephanie Nguyen, and Denise A. Hines

Media stories about "online predators" who use the Internet to gain access to young victims often give inaccurate impressions of Internet-initiated sex crimes. Most such crimes involve adult men who use the Internet to meet and seduce adolescents into sexual encounters. Most offenders are open about their ages and sexual motivations. Most are charged with statutory rape (i.e., nonforcible sexual activity with victims who are too young to consent). Internet-initiated sex crimes account for a salient but small proportion of all statutory rape offenses and a relatively low number of the sexual offenses committed against minors overall. Victims are often at-risk youths who have previously been abused or have problems in school or at home. Prevention strategies should be developmentally appropriate, target youths directly, acknowledge normal adolescent interests in romance and sex, and provide adolescents with awareness and avoidance skills.

Media stories about "online predators" who use the Internet to gain access to young victims have been a staple of news reports since the late 1990s. Much of the publicity about these cases depicts online molesters who use the Internet to lure children into sexual assaults. In the stereotypical media portrayal, these online child molesters lurk in Internet venues popular with children and adolescents. They use information publicly divulged in online profiles and social networking sites to identify potential targets. They contact victims, using deception to cover up their ages and sexual intentions. Then they entice unknowing victims into meetings or stalk and abduct them. Some news reports have suggested that law enforcement is facing an epidemic of these sex crimes perpetrated through a new medium by a new type of criminal.[1] These reports have raised fears about Internet use by children and adolescents and about the safety of such online activities as interacting with unknown people, posting profiles containing pictures and personal information, and maintaining social networking sites.

The reality about Internet-initiated sex crimes—those in which sex offenders meet juvenile victims online—is different, more complex, and serious but less archetypically frightening than the publicity about these crimes suggests.

Janis Wolak is a senior researcher at the Crimes Against Children Research Center, University of New Hampshire. Denise A. Hines is a research associate professor in the Department of Psychology, Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, director of the Massachusetts Family Impact Seminars, and co-director of the Clark Anti-Violence Education (CAVE) Program. Lindsey Evans is a former doctoral student in developmental psychology at Clark University. Stephanie Nguyen earned a bachelor's degree in psychology at Clark University. For additional information refer to: Are Crimes by Online Predators Different From Crimes by Sex Offenders Who Know Youth In-Person?
http://www.jahonline.org/article/S1054-139X(13)00336-4/abstract and visit
http://cola.unh.edu/research%E2%80%90papers/ccrc?topic=5048

The purpose of this report is to provide an accurate, research-based description of this high-profile social problem and make recommendations for effective responses. We present an overview of research relating to Internet-initiated sex crimes, much of it conducted at the Crimes against Children Research Center at the University of New Hampshire. We focus primarily on the National Juvenile Online Victimization (N-JOV) Study.[2] The study collected information from a national sample of law enforcement agencies about the prevalence of arrests for and characteristics of online sex crimes against minors during two 12-month periods: July 1, 2000 through June 30, 2001 (Wave 1) and calendar year 2006 (Wave 2).

Overall, our research about Internet-initiated sex crimes indicates that the stereotype of the Internet "predator" is largely inaccurate.[3] Most Internet-initiated sex crimes involve adult men who use the Internet to meet and seduce young adolescents into sexual encounters. Most such offenders are charged with crimes, such as statutory rape, that involve nonforcible sexual activity with victims who are too young to consent to sexual intercourse with adults. The statistics suggest that Internet-initiated sex crimes account for a salient but small proportion of all statutory rape offenses and a relatively low number of the sexual offenses committed against minors overall. According to crime report data, 25% of the sex crimes committed against minors and reported to police involve statutory rape.[4] Online relationships accounted for about 7% of arrests for statutory rape in 2000, and arrests of online predators in 2006 accounted for about 1% of all arrests for sex crimes committed against children and youths.[5]

Profiles of Relationships Initiated by Online Sexual Predators

Many online child molesters use online communications to establish trust and confidence in their victims, who typically are adolescents. Often they introduce talk of sex and then arrange to meet the adolescents in person for sexual encounters. In 89% of cases with face-to-face meetings, offenders had sexual intercourse, oral sex, or another form of penetrative sex with victims. Only 5% of meetings involved violent offenses, mostly rape or attempted rape, while 16% involved coercion (i.e., victims were pressured into having sex or doing sexual things that they did not want to do), not all of which happened during the first meeting.[6]

Some victims (40%) who attended face-to-face meetings were given illegal drugs or alcohol, exposed to adult or child pornography (23% and 15%, respectively), or photographed in sexual poses (21%). A few cases (3%) involved brief abductions that happened in the course of sexual assaults, and 29% of victims who attended face-to-face meetings with offenders were reported missing to police. Investigators described 24% of victims involved in face-to-face meetings as runaways. Another 5% who were reported missing had lied about their whereabouts to their parents, often claiming to be spending a night or a weekend with a friend.

Most offenders took time to develop relationships with victims. Investigators described victims in half of the cases as being in love with or having feelings of close friendship toward offenders. Sixty-four percent of offenders communicated online with victims for more than 1 month before in-person meetings; 79% had telephone conversations; 48% sent pictures online to victims; and 47% sent or offered gifts or money. Gifts ranged from small tokens, such as jewelry and teddy bears, to items such as clothing, cell phones, and digital cameras.

Because some adolescent victims feel love and allegiance toward offenders, they may feel victimized by authorities and parents and may blame them for any stigma or embarrassment they experience. Also, they may wish not to cooperate with law enforcement or mental health providers.[7]

Romantic and sexual involvements with adults during early and mid-adolescence are associated with a range of negative outcomes and may result in neglect of other important developmental tasks, such as academic performance.[8] Research has linked high teen-pregnancy rates to youths who have sex with older partners.[9] Young adolescents with older partners also have high rates of coerced intercourse.[10] Finally, early sexual activity itself is related to a range of risk behaviors, from unprotected sex with multiple partners to substance abuse and delinquency.[11] Engaging in these activities bodes ill for youths in terms of mental health and academic achievement.

Furthermore, the trauma of some may be compounded by an awareness that sexual pictures of themselves may be circulating online, if they complied with perpetrators' requests to send or have provocative pictures taken of them.[12]

In the next section, we outline two case examples that provide a window into the profiles of these types of relationships initiated by online sexual predators.

Crimes by Online Predators: Case Examples

Case #1

Police in a West Coast state found child pornography in the possession of the 22-year-old offender. The offender, who was from a northeastern state, confessed to befriending a 13-year-old local boy online, traveling to the West Coast, and meeting him for sex. Before the meeting, the offender and victim had corresponded online for about 6 months. The offender had sent the victim nude images by webcam and e-mail and they had called and texted each other hundreds of times. When they met for sex, the offender took graphic pictures of the encounter. The victim believed he was in love with the offender. He lived alone with his father and was struggling to fit in and come to terms with being gay. The offender possessed large quantities of child pornography that he had downloaded from the Internet. He was sentenced to 10 years in prison.[13]

Case #2

A 24-year-old man met a 14-year-old girl at a social networking site. He claimed to be 19. Their online conversation became romantic and sexual and the victim believed she was in love. They met several times for sex over a period of weeks. The offender took nude pictures of the victim and gave her alcohol and drugs. Her mother and stepfather found out and reported the crime to the police. The victim was lonely, had issues with drugs and alcohol, and problems at school and with her parents. She had posted provocative pictures of herself on her social networking site. She had met other men online and had sex with them. The offender was a suspect in another online enticement case. He was found guilty but had not been sentenced at time of the interview.[14]

Are Internet-Initiated Sex Crimes Increasing?

Between our two survey years of 2000 and 2006 arrests for Internet-initiated sex crimes against children increased 21% (see Figure 1).[15]
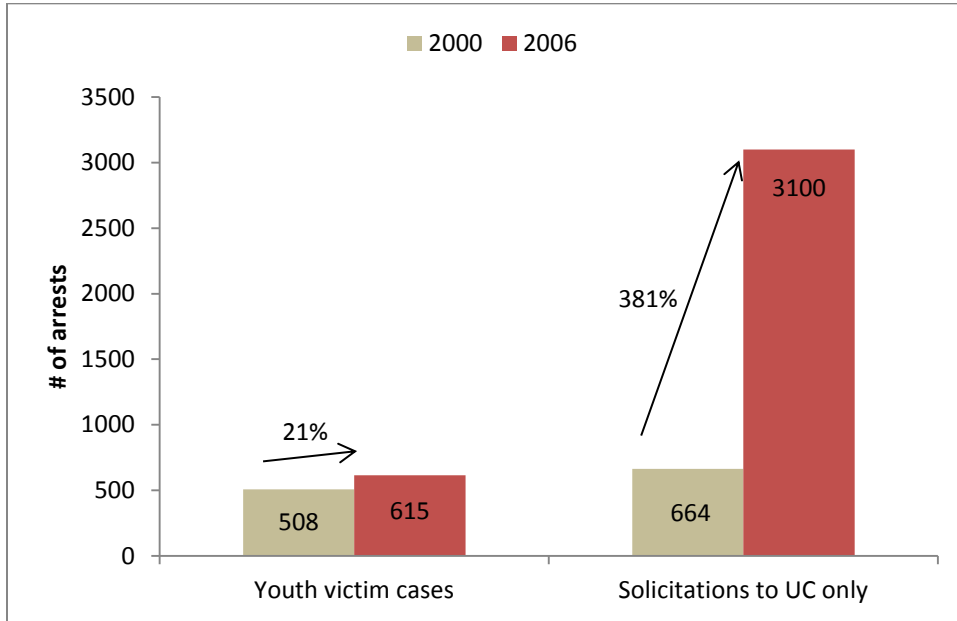
Figure 1. Online predator arrests, 2000–2006 (UC = undercover investigators)

It is important to note, however, that between 2000 and 2006, in the United States the percentage of Internet users ages 12 to17 also increased from 73% to 93%.[16] Moreover, between 2000 and 2006, arrests of offenders who solicited undercover investigators posing as youths increased 381%; in 2006, of those arrested for soliciting online, 87% solicited undercover investigators and 13% solicited youths.

Thus, although arrests of online predators are increasing, the facts do not suggest that the Internet is facilitating an epidemic of sex crimes against youths. Rather, increasing numbers of arrests for online predation probably reflect increasing rates of Internet use by youths, a migration of crime from offline to online venues, and the growth of law enforcement activity against online crimes. In addition, the nature of crimes in which sex offenders used the Internet to meet and victimize youths changed little between 2000 and 2006, despite the advent of social networking sites (see Figure 2).
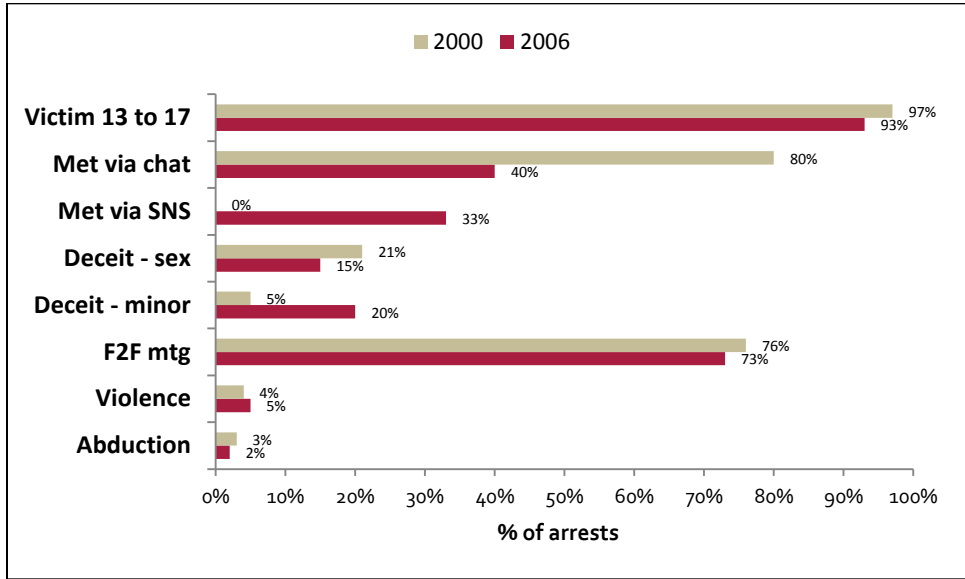
Figure 2. Characteristics of crimes committed by online predators, 2000– 2006 (SNS = social network site; F2F = face-to-face)

Who Is At Risk for Victimization?

Almost all of victims of Internet-initiated sex crimes studied were 13 to 17 years old. About half were 13 or 14 years old.[17] This age profile is different from conventional offline child molestation, which includes a large proportion of victims younger than age 12.[18]

Although online molesters take advantage of developmentally normal adolescent interests in romance and sex, some characteristics and online activities increase the likelihood that youths will receive online sexual solicitations, which in some cases lead to sexual victimization. For example, boys who are gay or questioning their sexual orientations; youths with histories of sexual or physical abuse, and other troubled youths; youths with poor relationships with their parents; and youths who frequent chatrooms, talk online to unknown people about sex, or engage in patterns of risky off- or online behavior are more likely than other youths to receive online sexual solicitations.[19]

Boys who are gay or questioning. When boys were victims of Internet-initiated sex crimes, virtually all of their offenders were male.[20] Hostility and social stigma toward homosexuality, as well as feelings of isolation and loneliness may impair the ability of boys who identify as gay or questioning to form age-appropriate intimate relationships.[21] Concerns about confidentiality can also limit these boys' willingness to get information about sexual matters from trusted adults.[22] For these reasons, some gay boys turn to the Internet to find answers to questions about sexuality or to meet potential romantic partners, and there they may encounter adults who exploit them.

Youths with histories of sexual or physical abuse, and other troubled youths. Abused youths are more at risk for sexual victimization and exploitation.[23] Abuse history could make some youths less able to recognize inappropriate sexual advances.[24] Some may be vulnerable to online sexual advances because they are looking for attention and affection.[25] For some, prior abuse may trigger risky sexual behavior that directly invites online sexual advances. Moreover, delinquency, depression, and social interaction problems unrelated to abuse also may increase vulnerability. Adolescents of both sexes who are troubled with depression and related problems are more likely than other adolescents to form close online relationships with people they meet

online.[26]

Youths with poor relationships with their parents. Adolescent girls who report a high degree of conflict with their parents and adolescent boys who report low parental monitoring are more likely than other youths to form close online relationships with people they meet online.

Youths who visit chatrooms, talk online to unknown people about sex, or engage in patterns of risky off- or online behavior. There is overlap between youths who visit chatrooms and the previously mentioned risk factors, in that adolescents who visit chatrooms are more likely to have problems with their parents; to suffer from sadness, loneliness, or depression; to have histories of sexual abuse; and to engage in risky behavior than those who do not visit chat rooms.[27] Youths who are lonely, shy, or lacking in social skills may interact with others in chatrooms to compensate for problems they have forming friendships offline.[28] Thus, visiting chat rooms is a risk factor for online sexual solicitations. In fact, about one-third of youths who received online sexual solicitations in 2006 had received them in chat rooms.[29]

Other online behaviors also increase risk for online sexual solicitation. Youths who send personal information (e.g., name, pictures, telephone number) to unknown people or talk online to such people about sex are more likely to receive aggressive sexual solicitations, that is, those that involve actual or attempted offline contact.[30] Overall, as the number of different online risk behaviors increased, so did the odds of online victimization (see Table 1). Specifically, youths who had engaged in three or four different types of these online behaviors were five and eleven times more likely to report online sexual solicitation or harassment, respectively, than those who had not.

Table 1. Online Risk Behaviors and the Percentage of Youths Who Engage in Them

Online risk behavior	% of youths engaging in risk behavior
Posting personal information online	56%
Interacting online with unknown people	43%
Having unknown people on a buddy list	35%
Using the Internet to make rude and nasty comments to others	28%
Sending personal information to unknown people met online	26%
Downloading images from file-sharing programs	15%
Visiting X-rated sites on purpose	13%
Using the Internet to embarrass or harass people one is mad at	9%
Talking online to unknown people about sex	5%

Source: Michele L. Ybarra, Kimberly Mitchell, David Finkelhor, and Janis Wolak, "Internet Prevention Messages:

Are We Targeting the Right Online Behaviors?," *Archives of Pediatric and Adolescent Medicine* 161 (2007): 138–45.

Of adolescent Internet users ages 10 to 17, 15% were high-risk interactors who communicated online with unknown people and engaged in at least four of the other behaviors listed in Table 1.[31]

Who Are the Offenders?

Online sexual predators appear to occupy a restricted range on the spectrum of the sex offender population and include few true pedophiles or violent or sadistic offenders. Figure 3 presents the demographic and other histories of the men arrested in the 2000 and 2006 N-JOV surveys.[32]
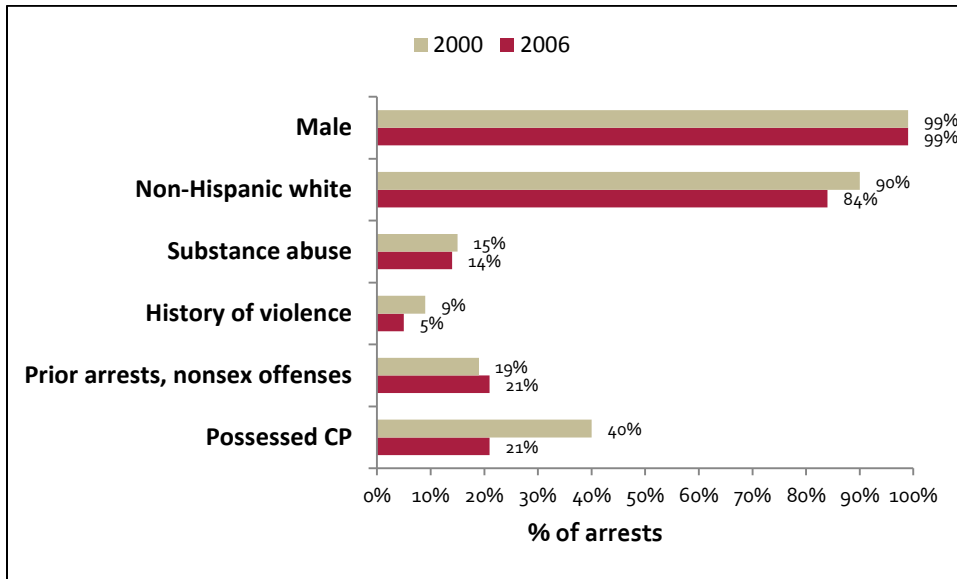

Figure 3. Characteristics of online predators, 2000–2006 (CP = child pornography)

Because online child molesters primarily target adolescents rather than young children, such offenders do not fit the clinical profile of pedophiles who are, by definition, sexually attracted to prepubescent children.[33]

Nunez suggests several possible motivations among adults who pursue sex with adolescents, which could apply to online molesters.[34] They may seek admiration from victims who are sexually responsive but naive, want to relive adolescent experiences, be inhibited by fear of adult partners, or desire the power and control they can exert over youth. Adult men who seek adolescent girls in offline environments are more likely to have criminal histories, less education, feelings of inadequacy, and arrested psychosocial development.[35] These offline offenders, however, may be different from online child molesters. Some online child molesters may be primarily sexually attracted to adults but target adolescents for reasons that include anger, impulse, curiosity, or desire for power.[36]

Offenders Caught by Stings

One in eight offenders arrested in undercover operations had committed crimes against actual adolescent victims, which were discovered as a result of the undercover operation. Those who

solicited undercover investigators were somewhat older and more middle class compared with those who solicited actual youth. They were also somewhat less likely to have prior arrests for sexual offenses against minors or for nonsexual offenses or to have histories of violence or deviant sexual behavior. Both groups, however, had the same high rates of child pornography possession (about 40%) and rates of substance abuse (about 15%).[37]

What Is Being and Can Be Done

Law Enforcement Response

Over the 6 years between the two studies, we saw considerable law enforcement mobilization in response to online predators and a marked increase in arrests of those who tried to use the Internet to recruit minors for sexual activity.

Most of these arrests occurred through the use of undercover decoys posing online as adolescents. Our earlier evaluation of this law enforcement activity suggested that overall it was being carried out responsibly by specially trained officers in multiagency operations, and that it had resulted in conviction rates as high as or higher than other sex crime investigations.[38] In the absence of evidence that police authority was being abused, we are inclined to see the overall declines in sex crimes against minors as a sign of a successful initiative to deploy law enforcement in a domain where criminal sexual activities may have been migrating, as well as the successful adaptation of new technology to improve police effectiveness.

Prevention

Prevention activities should be targeted to adolescents, rather than adults.[39] Because one-quarter of the victims were 13-year-olds, these prevention discussions need to start in earliest adolescence. One avenue is to educate teenagers directly about why such relationships are a bad idea. Young teens may not be fully aware that the adults in these relationships are committing crimes and can go to jail. They probably have not considered the publicity, embarrassment, and life disruption likely to accompany a public revelation of such a relationship. They may benefit from understanding the manipulations that adult offenders engage in, and from understanding that adults who care about their well-being would not propose sexual relationships or involve them in risky encounters. They should be informed of why such romances end quickly, even when not discovered, and that offenders frequently have other partners. They should know that corresponding with adults trolling for teenage partners can encourage offenders and endanger other youths, even when relationships are confined to the Internet. They need to be told bluntly that any sexual pictures they pose for may end up on the Internet or as evidence in a courtroom.

What Is Being and Can Be Done in Massachusetts

Most of these relationships fall under statutory rape laws. Massachusetts has set guidelines for what is considered statutory rape and appropriate punishment based on the age of both parties involved and whether the adult is a repeat offender.[40] Massachusetts has also enacted laws to protect minors from violent or obvious threats to safety that take place either on- or offline, including protection from sex offenders, forced or unsolicited sex, and criminal harassment. Finally, there are laws tailored to online or media interactions that protect victims against criminal harassment if that harassment causes significant distress. Thus, Massachusetts is clearly

focused on protecting children from sex offenders and threats that exist both on- and offline.

Bills currently in the state legislature that relate to this issue of online predators include H.2152: An Act creating a task force to study the use of the Internet by sex offenders. This bill proposes to convene a task force to report on electronic communications and the feasibility of tracking sex offender internet use, via methods including but not limited to: (1) internet protocol addresses, (2) media access control addresses, (3) internet service providers, (4) electronic mail, and (5) instant messaging. The task force's study shall address, but not be limited to, the following areas: (1) current laws and regulations; (2) other states laws, regulations, and efforts; (3) the feasibility of registration of sex offenders' online addresses; and (4) relevant civil liberties issues.

Although this bill is examining the feasibility of requiring sex offenders to register their online addresses, our 2006 study found that only 4% of online predators arrested for crimes against adolescent victims were registered sex offenders, as were 2% of those arrested for soliciting undercover investigators. Thus, policies that target registered sex offenders deal with a very small part of the problem. Efforts to increase Internet safety should be based on the assumption that most online predators are not registered offenders and have no prior record.

Victims are often at-risk youths who have previously been abused or already have problems in school or at home. The connection between at-risk youths and online activity has yet to be recognized in legislature. During the 2011–12 legislative session, Bill S.981 proposed the opening of five teen drop-in centers, where teens could go to seek free and confidential mental health services and access to information and support groups for whatever it is they are going through. The centers were intended to give youths a safe place to seek information about mental health or other issues. And though the bill does not directly address the issue of at-risk youths and online predators, it can provide at-risk youths a safety net and social support network that may steer them away from risky online behavior. The bill stalled in the Senate Ways and Means Committee in 2012 and, to our knowledge, has yet to be reintroduced in the current legislative session.

Notes

[1] Carly Blustein, "Summer Break Is Cause for Extra Vigilance Online," *Tampa Tribune*, May 21, 2007; Steven Gintz, "Parents Urged to Monitor Children's Internet Usage," *Foster's Daily Democrat*, March 8, 2007, http://www.fosters.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20070308/GJNEWS_01/103080242/0/SEARCH; Jennifer Medina, "States Weigh Laws to Block Web Predators," *New York Times*, May 6, 2007; Laura Crimaldi, "Cops, Child Advocates Offer Advice to Keep Kids Safe from Web of Predators," *Boston Herald*, May 26, 2007; Gwen Filosa, "Online Profiles Attracting Sexual Predators, Feds Warn: Teen Sites Being Used as Victim Directories," *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, March 24, 2007.

[2] Kimberly J. Mitchell, Janis Wolak, and David Finkelhor, *The National Juvenile Online Victimization Study Methodology Report* (Durham: Crimes against Children Research Center, University of New Hampshire, 2009).

[3] Janis Wolak, Kimberly Mitchell, and David Finkelhor, "Escaping or Connecting? Characteristics of Youth Who Form Close Online Relationships," *Journal of Adolescence* 26 (2003): 105–19; Janis Wolak, David Finkelhor, and Kimberly Mitchell, "Internet-Initiated Sex Crimes against Minors: Implications for Prevention Based on Findings from a National Study," *Journal of Adolescent Health* 35 (2004): 424.e11–e20; Janis Wolak, David Finkelhor, and Michelle L. Ybarra, "Online 'Predators' and Their Victims: Myths, Realities, and Implications for Prevention and Treatment," *American Psychologist* 63, no. 2 (2008): 111–28; Janis Wolak, David Finkelhor, and Kimberly

Mitchell, *Trends in Arrests of "Online Predators"* (Durham: University of New Hampshire, Crimes Against Children Research Center, 2009), http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/pdf/CV194.pdf.

[4] Karyl Troup-Leasure and Howard N. Snyder, "Statutory Rape Known to Law Enforcement," *Juvenile Justice Bulletin*, August 2005, http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/ojjdp/208803.pdf.

[5] Wolak, Finkelhor, and Mitchell, *Trends in Arrests of "Online Predators."*
[6] Ibid.
[7] Janis Wolak, Kimberly Mitchell, and David Finkelhor, "Is Talking Online to Unknown People Always Risky? Distinguishing Online Interaction Styles in a National Sample of Youth Internet Users," *CyberPsychology and Behavior* 11, no. 3 (2008): 340–43.

[8] Carolyn T. Halpern, Christine E. Kaestle, and Denise D. Hallfors, "Perceived Physical Maturity, Age of Romantic Partner, and Adolescent Risk Behavior," *Prevention Science* 8 (2007): 1–10; Jennifer Neemann, Jon Hubbard, and Ann S. Masten, "The Changing Importance of Romantic Relationship Involvement to Competence from Late Childhood to Adolescence," *Development and Psychopathology* 7 (1995): 727–50; David A. Wolfe, Peter G. Jaffe, P. G., and Claire V. Crooks, *Adolescent Risk Behaviors: Why Teens Experiment and Strategies to Keep Them Safe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006).

[9] Jacqueline E. Darroch, David J. Landry, and Selene Oslak, "Age Differences between Sexual Partners in the United States," *Family Planning Perspectives* 31 (1999): 160–67; Patricia Donovan, "Can Statutory Rape Laws Be Effective in Preventing Adolescent Pregnancy?," *Family Planning Perspectives* 29 (January–February 1997): 30–34, 40.

[10] Jennifer Manlove, Kristen A. Moore, Janet Liechty, Erum Ikramullah, and Sarah Cottingham, *Sex between Young Teens and Older Individuals: A Demographic Portrait* (Washington, DC: Child Trends, 2005).

[11] Anita Raj, Jay G., Silverman, and Hortensia Amaro, "The Relationship between Sexual Abuse and Sexual Risk among High School Students: Findings from the 1997 Massachusetts Youth Risk Behavior Survey," *Maternal and Child Health Journal* 4 (2000): 125–34; Wolfe, Jaffe, and Crooks, *Adolescent Risk Behaviors*.

[12] Wolak, Finkelhor, and Mitchell, "Internet-Initiated Sex Crimes against Minors."
[13] Wolak, Finkelhor, and Mitchell, *Trends in Arrests of "Online Predators*."
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Amanda Lenhart, Lee Rainie, and Oliver Lewis, *Teenage Life Online: The Rise of the Instant-Message Generation and the Internet's Impact on Friendships and Family Relationships* (Washington, DC: Pew Internet and American Life Project, 2001), http://www.pewinternet.org/Reports/2001/Teenage-Life-Online.aspx;

Alexandra Rankin Macgill, *Parent and Teen Internet Use* (Washington, DC: PEW/Internet, 2007), http://www.pewinternet.org/Reports/2007/Parent-and-Teen-Internet-Use/Data-Memo.aspx.

[17] Wolak, Finkelhor, and Mitchell, "Internet-Initiated Sex Crimes against Minors."
[18] David Finkelhor and Larry Baron, "High-Risk Children," in *A Sourcebook on Child Sexual Abuse*, ed. David Finkelhor and Associates (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1986), 60–88; Howard N. Snyder, *Sexual Assault of Young Children as Reported to Law Enforcement: Victim, Incident, and Offender Characteristics* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice).

[19] Wolak, Finkelhor, and Mitchell, "Internet-Initiated Sex Crimes against Minors."
[20] Ibid.
[21] Deborah Tharinger and Greg Wells, "An Attachment Perspective on the Developmental Challenges of Gay and Lesbian Adolescents: The Need for Continuity of Caregiving from Family and Schools," *School Psychology Review* 29 (2000): 158–72; Trish Williams, Jennifer Connolly, Debra Pepler, and Wendy Craig, "Peer Victimization, Social Support, and Psychosocial Adjustment of Sexual Minority Adolescents," *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 34, no. 5 (2005): 471–82; James I. Martin and Anthony R. D'Augelli, "How Lonely Are Gay and Lesbian Youth?," *Psychological Reports* 93 (2003): 486; Michael Sullivan and John S. Wodarski, "Social Alienation in Gay Youth,"

Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment 5 (2002): 1–17.

[22] Eric F. Dubow, Kenneth R. Lovko, and Donald F. Kausch, "Demographic Differences in Adolescents' Health Concerns and Perceptions of Helping Agents," *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology* 19 (1990): 44–54.

[23] David Finkelhor, Richard K. Ormrod, and Heather Turner, "Revictimization Patterns in a National Longitudinal Sample of Children and Youth," *Child Abuse and Neglect* 31 (2007): 479–502; Raj, Silverman, and Amaro, "Relationship between Sexual Abuse and Sexual Risk among High School Students."

[24] Lucy Berliner and Diana M. Elliott, "Sexual Abuse of Children," in *The APSAC Handbook on Child Maltreatment*, 2nd ed., ed. L. Berliner and J. E. Myers (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002), 55–78; Fred A. Rogosch, Dante Cicchetti, and J. Lawrence Aber, "The Role of Child Maltreatment in Early Deviations in Cognitive and Affective Processing Abilities and Later Peer Relationship Problems," *Development and Psychopathology* 7 (1995): 591–609.

[25] Kenneth V. Lanning, "Law Enforcement Perspective on the Compliant Child Victim," in "The Compliant Child Victim," special issue, *APSAC Advisor* 14, no. 2 (2002): 4–9.

[26] Wolak, Mitchell, and Finkelhor, "Escaping or Connecting?"
[27] Timothy J. Beebe, Stephen E. Asche, Patricia A. Harrison, and Kathryn B. Quinlan, "Heightened Vulnerability and Increased Risk-Taking among Adolescent Chatroom Users: Results from a Statewide School Survey," *Journal of Adolescent Health* 35 (2004): 116–23; Ping Sun, Jennifer B. Unger, Paula H. Palmer, Peggy Gallager, Chih-Ping Chou, Lourdes Baezconde-Garbanati, Steve Sussman et al., "Internet Accessibility and Usage among Urban Adolescents in Southern California: Implications for Web-Based Health Research," *CyberPsychology and Behavior* 8 (2005): 441–53.

[28] Jochen Peter, Patti M. Valkenburg, and Alexander P. Schouten, "Developing a Model of Adolescent Friendship Formation on the Internet," *CyberPsychology and Behavior* 8 (2005): 423–30.

[29] Michele L. Ybarra and Kimberly Mitchell, "How Risky Are Social Networking Sites? A Comparison of Places Online Where Youth Sexual Solicitation and Harassment Occurs," *Pediatrics* 121, no. 2 (2008): e350–e357.

[30] Kimberly Mitchell, David Finkelhor, and Janis Wolak, "Youth Internet Users at Risk for the Most Serious Online Sexual Solicitations," *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* 32 (2007): 532–37.

[31] Wolak, Finkelhor, and Ybarra, "Online 'Predators' and Their Victims."
[32] Wolak, Finkelhor, and Mitchell, *Trends in Arrests of "Online Predators,"* 36.
[33] American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 4th ed., text rev. (Washington, DC: Author, 2000).

[34] Jane Nunez, "Outpatient Treatment of the Sexually Compulsive Ephebophile," *Sexual Addiction and Compulsivity* 1 (2003): 23–51.

[35] Denise A. Hines and David Finkelhor, "Statutory Sex Crime Relationships between Juveniles and Adults: A Review of Social Scientific Research," *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 12 (2007): 300–314.

[36] Lanning, "Law Enforcement Perspective."
[37] Wolak, Finkelhor, and Mitchell, *Trends in Arrests of "Online Predators."*
[38] Kimberly J. Mitchell, Janis Wolak, and David Finkelhor, "Police Posing as Juveniles Online to Catch Sex Offenders: Is It Working?," *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment* 17, no. 3 (2005): 241–67.

[39] Cordelia Anderson, "A Prevention View on the Compliant Child Victim," in "The Compliant Child Victim," special issue, *APSAC Advisor* 14, no. 2 (2002): 16–18.

[40] MA Gen L ch 265 § 23.