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Working with Adult Men Involved in Domestic Sex Trafficking: Practical Guidance for Assessment, Treatment & Management

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PRESENTED FOR SAFER SOCIETY  
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Learning Goals

1. Identify federal and state definitions of human trafficking, as well as three elements of trafficking.
2. Explain psychological characteristics and criminogenic risk/need factors of adult men convicted of domestic sex trafficking crimes.
3. Explain why adult men convicted of domestic sex trafficking are a unique justice-involved population requiring specialized supervision and therapeutic interventions.
4. Apply strategies for assessing, treating, and supervising adult men involved in domestic sex trafficking.

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Note About Person First Language

- ▶ Labels do not serve our shared goals of rehabilitation and change
- ▶ Research has shown negative biases and responses to labels such as "addict," "sex offender," etc.
  - ▶ Don't label or call people the exact thing we don't want them to do or be!
- ▶ Any use of the term SO in the slides during the training is for brevity purposes or due to statutory language

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## Overarching Framework 4

- ▶ Six Dominant Perspectives for Human Trafficking
  1. Prostitution
  2. Migration
  3. Criminal Justice
  4. Forced Labor
  5. Human Rights
  6. Slavery
- ▶ My research:
  - ▶ Psychology & Criminology
  - ▶ Best contextualized as addressing domestic sex trafficking within the *criminal justice* and *human rights* perspectives

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## Human Trafficking Overview 5

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## Human Trafficking: National 6

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graph TD
    HT[Human Trafficking] --> LT[Labor Trafficking]
    HT --> ST[Sex Trafficking]
    ST --> CSTA[Commercial Sex Trafficking (Adults)]
    ST --> CSEC[Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC)]
    CSEC --> DMST[Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking (DMST)]
  
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## Human Trafficking: National (cont.)

- ▶ **Human Trafficking Federal Definition:** The recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, obtaining, patronizing, soliciting, or advertising of a child for labor or services through the use of force, fraud, or coercion. Under federal law, sex trafficking (such as prostitution, pornography, exotic dancing, etc.) does not require there to be force, fraud, or coercion if the victim is under 18.<sup>1</sup>
- ▶ **Labor Trafficking Federal Definition:** Recruiting, harboring, transporting, providing, or obtaining a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery.<sup>1</sup>
- ▶ **Sex Trafficking:** Recruiting, harboring, transporting, providing, obtaining, patronizing, soliciting, or advertising a person for a commercial sex act that is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced is under age 18.<sup>1</sup>

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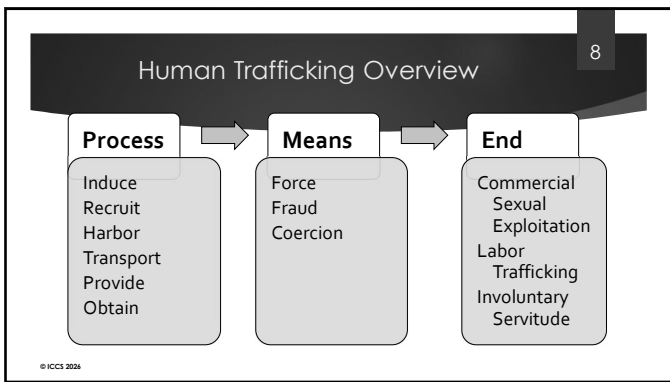
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## Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC)

- ▶ Sexual activity involving a child in exchange for something of value, or promise thereof, to the child or another person or persons
- ▶ The child is treated as a commercial and sexual object
- ▶ CSEC is a form of violence and abuse against children
- ▶ CSEC as an umbrella term can refer to commercial sexual exploitation of both domestic and foreign children

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## Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking (DMST)

- ▶ DMST consists of all forms of CSEC relating to children that are U.S. citizens or residents
- ▶ Term often used interchangeably with CSEC
- ▶ Key difference is location: domestic = USA

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## CSEC includes (not limited to):

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Hotel-based exploitation</li> <li>▶ Street exploitation</li> <li>▶ Sexual Images/videos</li> <li>▶ Stripping/exotic dancing</li> <li>▶ Erotic/nude massage</li> <li>▶ Escort services</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Phone sex lines</li> <li>▶ Private parties</li> <li>▶ Gang-based exploitation</li> <li>▶ Interfamilial exploitation</li> <li>▶ Internet-based exploitation</li> <li>▶ Extraterrestrial CSEC (sex tourism)</li> </ul>
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## Human Trafficking Triangle

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## CSEC Human Trafficking Triangle

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## Risk Factors for CSEC/DMST

- ▶ Abused children are at high risk for becoming runaways or homeless.
- ▶ Traffickers target youth shelters, group homes, and homeless youth service providers, as well as schools or academic centers where other kids who are already being abused may attend.
  - ▶ In 2017, an estimated one of every seven endangered runaways reported to the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC) were likely sex trafficking victims. Of those, 88% were in the care of social services or foster care when they were reported missing.
  - ▶ One in three teens will be recruited by a trafficker within 48 hours of leaving home and/or becoming homeless.

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## Risk Factors for CSEC/DMST (cont.)

- ▶ Youth with disabilities are especially vulnerable, as well as individuals experiencing poverty.
- ▶ For children who have experienced prior sexual abuse or sexual exploitation, commercial sexual exploitation may feel "normal" and even provide an illusion of gaining power.
- ▶ Children under 18 are presumed to be trafficking victims if they are engaging in commercial sex.
  - ▶ Children may run away to escape abuse or to escape their feelings about the abuse if it has ended.
  - ▶ Runaway youth have few resources with which to survive and can easily become dependent upon exploitative adults.
  - ▶ Survival sex is the term for engaging in the commercial sex industry out of desperation and lack of options.

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## Risk Factors for CSEC/DMST (cont.)

- ▶ Male youth are also potential victims of CSEC or labor trafficking
  - ▶ Often underreported for CSEC
  - ▶ Similar vulnerability forming risk factors
  - ▶ Frequently engage in survival sex to meet basic needs
  - ▶ May or may not identify as part of the LGBTQI community
- ▶ LGBTQI (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer/questioning, intersex) individuals especially vulnerable
  - ▶ 20-40% of homeless youth identify as LGBTQI
  - ▶ May resort to illegal activities or survival sex in order to meet basic needs
  - ▶ Criminalization of LGBTQI individuals internationally
  - ▶ Often discouraged from reporting abuse

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## Perpetrators of Domestic Sex Trafficking

- ▶ Growing body of literature focusing on perpetrators of international sex trafficking
- ▶ In contrast, little is known about perpetrators who profit from street-level domestic sex trafficking in the US, specifically:
  - ▶ Developmental or environmental factors?
  - ▶ Psychological characteristics?
  - ▶ Criminogenic risk/need factors?
  - ▶ Effective treatment interventions?
- ▶ Charging and sentencing practices applied at the state level often fall under sexual crime statutes associated with prostitution related activities (i.e., pimping and/or pandering statutes) rather than human-trafficking statutes

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## Gaps in the Research (cont.)

- ▶ Experiential data has identified potential intersections between multiple forms of violence (e.g., sexual, intimate partner, general) but...
  - ▶ Limited to no research!
- ▶ **Prevention!**
  - ▶ Requires development of effective interventions and empirical knowledge about potential predisposing factors, motivations, reasoning, and tactics of these perpetrators

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## Legal Definitions (Oregon)

- ▶ **Human Trafficking** (ORS 163.266): recruitment, harboring, transporting, obtaining, or maintaining of a person by means of force, fraud or coercion, for purposes of involuntary servitude, debt bondage, slavery, or participation in the sex trade
- ▶ **Compelling Prostitution** (ORS 167.017): aiding or facilitating a person under 18 to engage in prostitution, inducing, or causing the spouse, child, or stepchild of the offender to engage in prostitution or use of force or intimidation to compel any person of any age to engage in prostitution
- ▶ **Promoting Prostitution** (ORS 167.012): owning, controlling, managing, supervising, or otherwise maintaining a place of prostitution or prostitution enterprise, receiving or agreeing to receive money or other property derived from prostitution activity, or engaging in any conduct that institutes, aids or facilitates an act or enterprise of prostitution

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## Multiple Data Sets

- ▶ Gotch, K. (2016). Preliminary data on a sample of perpetrators of domestic trafficking for sexual exploitation: Suggestions for research & practice. *Journal of Human Trafficking, 2(1), 99-109.*
- ▶ 2025 combined sample (ongoing)
  - ▶ Fourth sample: n = 89
    - ▶ 2023 data: n = 73
    - ▶ 2021 data: n = 60
    - ▶ 2016 data: n = 28

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## Sample (2025)

- ▶ Adult men with an arrest, charge, and/or conviction for Promoting or Compelling Prostitution (or equivalent) in their history
- ▶ Participated in a pretreatment sexual-offense specific evaluation between 2004 and December 2025
- ▶ Six adult females were excluded from the sample
  - ▶ Well-established differences between adult men and adult women convicted of sexual crimes, as well as established differences for general criminal offenders
  - ▶ However, research has demonstrated women involved in sex trafficking have criminal histories more consistent with general criminality and exhibited more general antisocial features than women convicted of traditional sexual offenses

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## Demographics (2025)

<p>▶ <b>Age At Assessment:</b> 22 - 61</p> <p>▶ Mean = 37</p> <p>▶ <b>Ethnicity:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ African American 83% (n = 74)</li> <li>▶ Caucasian 7% (n = 6)</li> <li>▶ Bi-Racial 4% (n = 4)</li> <li>▶ Hispanic 2% (n = 2)</li> <li>▶ Asian 1% (n = 1)</li> <li>▶ Unknown 2% (n = 2)</li> </ul>	<p>▶ <b>Education:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Less than 12<sup>th</sup> 12% (n = 11)</li> <li>▶ HS diploma 27% (n = 24)</li> <li>▶ GED 39% (n = 35)</li> <li>▶ Some College 12% (n = 11)</li> <li>▶ College Grad 1% (n = 1)</li> <li>▶ Unknown 8% (n = 7)</li> </ul>
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## ACEs (2025)

<p><b>Childhood Abuse:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Physical (n = 19/74) 26%</li> <li>▶ Sexual (n = 10/75) 13%</li> <li>▶ Removed home (n = 29/73) 40%</li> <li>▶ Neglect (n = 19/67) 28%</li> <li>▶ Emotional (n = 13/60) 22%</li> </ul>	<p><b>Parental Behavior:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Substance abuse (n = 34/61) 56%</li> <li>▶ Domestic Abuse (n = 13/49) 27%</li> <li>▶ Prostitution Activity           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Trafficking (n = 4/42) 10%</li> <li>▶ Prostitution (n = 3/42) 7%</li> <li>▶ Both (n = 6/42) 14%</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
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## Trafficking Data (2025)

<p><b>Age of onset:</b> (n = 87)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Pre-adolescence (n = 1) 1%</li> <li>▶ Adolescence (n = 18) 21%</li> <li>▶ Adult (n = 68) 78%</li> </ul>	<p><b>Length Involved:</b> (n = 87)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Less than 5 years (n = 48) 55%</li> <li>▶ 5 to 10 years (n = 29) 22%</li> <li>▶ More than 10 years (n = 20) 23%</li> </ul>
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### Trafficking Data: Victims

100% were unrelated females    Perpetrator/Victim Relationship

▶ Adolescent Only    19% (n = 17)	▶ Stranger            9% (n = 6/55)
▶ Adult Only            47% (n = 42)	▶ Known              73% (n = 40/55)
▶ Adol + Adults        31% (n = 28)	▶ Both                16% (n = 9/55)
▶ All (including child) 2% (n = 2)	
▶ N = 89	*Self-prostitution 3% (n = 2/89)

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### Trafficking Data (cont.)

<b>Control tactics:</b> (n = 67)	<b>Gang involvement:</b> (n = 71)
▶ Threats only (n = 7)    10%	▶ Yes (n = 36)            51%
▶ Use of violence only (n = 2)    3%	▶ No (n = 35)            49%
▶ Threats & Violence (n = 37)    55%	
▶ None (n = 21)            31%	

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### Trafficking Data (cont.)

**Other Types of Violence:**

- ▶ IPV                    73% (n = 58/80)
- ▶ General              64% (n = 54/85)
- ▶ Sexual                47% (n = 29/62)
  - ▶ Forcible Rape    37% (n = 21)
  - ▶ Exposure          2% (n = 1)
  - ▶ Multiple          11% (n = 7)

▶ 63% (n = 51/81) also had a documented history of selling illegal drugs, primarily marijuana and cocaine

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## Risk Assessment (2025)

<b>PCL-R (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition; n = 82)</b>		<b>LS/CMI (n = 64)</b>	
▶ Low (n = 6)	7%	▶ Very Low (n = 1)	2%
▶ Moderate (n = 13)	16%	▶ Low (n = 3)	5%
▶ Moderate-High (n = 17)	21%	▶ Medium (n = 8)	13%
▶ High (n = 34)	41%	▶ High (n = 30)	47%
▶ Very High (n = 12)	15%	▶ Very High (n = 22)	34%

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## Psychopathy & Typologies

- ▶ Spidel et al. (2006)
  - ▶ First study looking at role of psychopathy within sex trafficking
  - ▶ High level of psychopathic traits was identified in over 1/3 of sample (n = 22)
- ▶ Hargreaves-Cormany et al. (2016 - FBI)
  - ▶ N = 117 with moderate-high to high levels of psychopathic traits identified (n = 99)
  - ▶ Identified two broad classes w/ four subtypes
    - ▶ Violent Charismatic/Manipulative (VCM)
    - ▶ Aggressive/Antisocial with Minor Charismatic/Manipulative Traits (AAMCM)
    - ▶ Aggressive/Antisocial with No Charismatic/Manipulative Traits (AANCM)
    - ▶ Non-violent Charismatic/Manipulative (NVCM)

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## Risk Assessment (2025)

<b>Static-99R (n = 39)</b>		<b>ODARA (n = 20)</b>
▶ Average (n = 8)	21%	▶ 100% fell in the highest risk category (7+)
▶ Above-Average (n = 19)	49%	
▶ Well-Above Avg (n = 12)	31%	
<b>Combined S-99R/STABLE-2007 (n = 24)</b>		
▶ Average (n = 1)	4%	
▶ Above Average (n = 15)	63%	
▶ Well-Above Avg (n = 8)	33%	

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## Case Examples: Promoting Prostitution

<p><b>James</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◊ Owner/manager of apartment complex</li> <li>◊ No other criminal history</li> <li>◊ Allowed prostitution to occur at the apartment complex</li> <li>◊ Took money for rent knowing it came from prostitution activity</li> <li>◊ Never solicited any of the female tenants for sexual favors per victim statements</li> </ul>	<p><b>Dante</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◊ Lengthy history of dealing drugs, as well as gang involvement (including violence)</li> <li>◊ Dating adult female who was arrested for prostitution – she identified as working solo, but there were indications he assisted in scheduling, provided protection, etc.</li> <li>◊ No other history of known prostitution involvement</li> <li>◊ No DV history and victim did not report any threats/coercion/violence</li> <li>◊ Recently released - married to the victim for 8 years and they have a child together</li> </ul>	<p><b>Mitchell</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◊ Criminally versatile with history of drug dealing, gang involvement, IPV, general violence</li> <li>◊ Several prostitution related convictions in past, including in NV &amp; HI</li> <li>◊ History of family involvement in the lifestyle</li> <li>◊ Reported being involved in prostitution for 10+ years, avg of 6 females + several bottoms</li> <li>◊ Denied any use of force or violence with any of the females despite numerous documented incidents of violence against women</li> <li>◊ Concerns he is actively trafficking and/or recruiting based on behavior, GPS, etc.</li> </ul>
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## Summary

- ▶ Not all the same
- ▶ ACEs are common
- ▶ Often present with risk potential for multiple forms of violence, as well as general criminality
- ▶ Gang involvement common
- ▶ Primarily targeting unrelated females, with high proportion of adolescent victims
- ▶ Utilization of threats and violence most common control tactics

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## Limitations

- ▶ Still a small sample size...but it continues to grow!
- ▶ Single data collection site
  - ▶ Generalizability is limited
- ▶ Overrepresentation of Black men
  - ▶ Not representative of other ethnic groups involved in other areas of the US
- ▶ Women involved in domestic sex trafficking were excluded

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What about Women?
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- ▶ Adult women convicted of traditional sexual crimes sexually recidivate at very low rates (~3%)
- ▶ Gender-informed practices are key
- ▶ Cortoni et al., 2015: CH more consistent with general criminality and exhibited more general antisocial features
  - ▶ This group also recidivated at a higher rate than FSO, specifically with sex trafficking (Sandler & Freeman, 2009)
- ▶ Psychopathy + general criminogenic risk/need best method for assessment
- ▶ Some may also start as victim, move into role of "bottom," and then into recruitment/trafficking

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Future Research
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- ▶ Potential differences between male and female perpetrators of domestic sex trafficking
- ▶ Potential differences between offender populations in other geographic locations due to sentencing practices or other factors
- ▶ Similarities and/or differences between prosecution of domestic sex trafficking at the federal and state levels
- ▶ Further investigation into the involvement of street gangs and the role these gangs may play in the facilitation, strategies, and implementation of domestic sex trafficking
- ▶ Additional research on psychological characteristics, developmental and environmental experiences, criminogenic risk/need factors, and effective interventions

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Cultural phenomenon?
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- ▶ Some researchers have identified "pimping" as a cultural issue for specific ethnic/racial groups
  - ▶ This assertion appears to be based on overrepresentation of certain group(s) being apprehended in a specific geographic area
  - ▶ No evidence to suggest this is correct
- ▶ Sex trafficking is not a "cultural" issue – it is a criminal issue and the ethnic breakdown of perpetrators varies depending on the geographic area

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## However, Historical Context Does Matter...

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- ▶ Prostitution in the US cannot be addressed without recognition of the historical impact of slavery, Jim Crow laws, poverty and systemic oppression
  - ▶ Think about:
    - ▶ Ownership of Black bodies
    - ▶ Eroticizing/fetishizing of Black bodies
  - ▶ If you are working with survivors or perpetrators, it is important to educate yourself about these concepts
    - ▶ Think responsivity!

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## Prevention of Future Sex Trafficking: What works? Do we actually know?

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Kind of...but definitely not complete due to lack of research specific to this population

- ▶ Recidivism risk?
  - ▶ Unknown
- ▶ Management needs?
  - ▶ Partial
- ▶ Treatment needs?
  - ▶ Partial

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## Punishment, Interventions, Both?

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▶ Incarceration &amp; Containment<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▶ Does not address root causes</li><li>▶ Does not address environmental factors</li><li>▶ Does not provide alternatives</li><li>▶ Does not prevent future behavior</li></ul></li></ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▶ Treatment/Interventions<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▶ Has potential to address individual causes</li><li>▶ Has potential to address environmental factors</li><li>▶ Has potential to provide alternatives</li><li>▶ Has potential for prevention</li></ul></li></ul> |
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## Foundational Principles: Risk, Need, Responsivity

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- **Risk Principle:** matching level of services to offender's risk level (e.g., higher risk receive more intensive services than lower risk)
- **Need Principle:** identifying individual criminogenic needs (dynamic risk factors) and target with interventions
- **Responsivity Principle:** tailoring and delivering services in a way to maximize offender's ability to learn (e.g., mental illness, cognitive limitations, culture, gender)

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## Evidence-Informed & Individualized

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### One-size fits all does not work!

- ▶ Based on principles of R-N-R
- ▶ Incorporate the use of empirically-validated risk and need assessments
- ▶ Deliver services in a manner designed to maximize learning
- ▶ Victim-centered
- ▶ Trauma-informed and holistic

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## What is Risk Assessment?

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"Criminal behavior can be predicted + levels of services should be matched to the risk level of an offender."

~Andrews & Bonta



"A risk is a hazard that is incompletely understood and whose occurrence can be forecast only with uncertainty."

~Stephen Hart

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## Risk Assessment: What is the question?

Types:

- ▶ General
- ▶ Sexual
- ▶ Violence
- ▶ IPV/DV
- ▶ Stalking
- ▶ Threat

Primary Methods:

- ▶ Actuarial
- ▶ Structured Professional Judgment (SPJ)

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## Risk Assessment Tools\*

▶ **General**

- ▶ LSI-R: LS/CMII
- ▶ COMPAS
- ▶ ORAS
- ▶ IORNS

▶ **IPV/DV**

- ▶ ODARA
- ▶ DVRAG
- ▶ SARA-V3
- ▶ SAM-V2


▶ **Violence**

- ▶ VRAG-R
- ▶ HCR-20 V3

▶ **Sexual**

- ▶ Static-99R/STABLE & ACUTE-2007
- ▶ RSVP-V2
- ▶ VRS-SO
- ▶ SOTIPS

▶ **Psychopathy Checklist Revised (2nd Ed)**



\*not an exhaustive list

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## Assessment: Suggested Approaches

- ▶ Comprehensive initial assessment is key to identification of what **type** of client and their individualized risk/needs
- ▶ No specific tool or data available regarding recidivism risk for sex trafficking
  - ▶ Utilization of a general criminogenic risk/need tool provides best guidance for recidivism risk potential
  - ▶ Think LSI-R, IORNS, etc.

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## Assessment: Suggested Approaches

- ▶ Use whichever risk/need instruments appropriate for that client
  - ▶ Static-99R/STABLE, ODARA, RSVP, HCR-20, etc.
- ▶ Formal assessment of psychopathy is extremely important
  - ▶ Think responsivity & amenability!

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## Psychopathy

- ▶ **Continuum of traits**
  - ▶ "High Psychopathic Traits" *NOT* "Psychopath"
- ▶ Combination of Antisocial and Narcissistic Personality Disorders
- ▶ Person is without a conscience - predatory, callous, remorseless
- ▶ Proclivity for violence
- ▶ Lack of empathy and exploitive of others
- ▶ Lack of "social" emotions and/or experiences shallow emotions = poor attachment to others
- ▶ Criminally versatile

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## Antisocial PD vs High Psychopathy

Persons who meet criteria for APD

High Psychopathy

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## Primary vs Secondary Psychopathy

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- ▶ Recent research has identified two types of psychopathy
- ▶ Primary Psychopathy = **inherited** affective deficit
  - ▶ genetic & brain abnormalities cause deficits in empathy and conscience
- ▶ Secondary Psychopathy = **acquired** affective disturbance
  - ▶ Greater trait anxiety, fewer psychopathic traits, and comparable levels of antisocial behavior
  - ▶ Higher number of ACEs, fewer protective factors to offset negative developmental experiences
  - ▶ Also manifested more borderline personality features, poorer interpersonal functioning (e.g., irritability, withdrawal, poor assertiveness), and more symptoms of major mental disorder than primary psychopaths

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## Research on Persons with High Psychopathy

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- ▶ Crimes begin at an early age
- ▶ High volume of crimes, with some reduction in frequency of crimes beginning in mid-30's
- ▶ Violence throughout the lifespan (no "burnout" on violent recidivism)
- ▶ 3 to 4 times more likely to recidivate than individuals with moderate to low psychopathic traits
- ▶ Recidivate faster upon release than individuals with moderate to low psychopathic traits
- ▶ More violent and frequent institutional misconducts

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## Treatment Efficacy for Psychopathy: Three Schools of Thought

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Three *original* schools of thought:

- ▶ Treatment makes "psychopaths" worse
  - ▶ Rice, Harris & Cormier (1989, 1992)
  - ▶ Seto & Barbaree (1999)
- ▶ Treatment has no impact on "psychopaths" (i.e., untreatable)
  - ▶ Too numerous to mention!
- ▶ Cautiously optimistic
  - ▶ Wong, 2000; Salekin, 2002; Skeem et al., 2002; Looman et al., 2005; Wong & Hare, 2005; Wong et al. 2006; Oliver & Wong, 2009; Yang et al., 2010; Oliver et al., 2013; Sewall & Oliver, 2019; Oliver et al., 2026

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### Cautiously Optimistic

Research shows that:

- ▶ Psychopathy is among one of the strongest predictors of treatment non-completion
- ▶ For those who did complete treatment, recidivated at a lower rate than psychopathic and non-psychopathic drop-outs (90% vs 60%)
  - ▶ NOTE: Residential samples only (Olver & Wong, 2011)

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### Psychopathy & Tx Outcome: Results from a SV Reduction Program (Sewall & Olver, 2019)

- ▶ N = 302, assessed with VRS-SO
- ▶ Followed up in community 17.6 years post release
- ▶ Significantly higher rates of SO treatment noncompletion (30%) when compared to low psychopathy men (6%)
  - ▶ However, they did not evidence significantly less therapeutic change
- ▶ Affective Facet significantly predicted decreased therapeutic progress
  - ▶ Also, along with Lifestyle facet, predicted treatment non-completion
- ▶ Treatment completion was not significantly associated with decreased recidivism
- ▶ Subgroup of HR psychopathic men with notable treatment gains had lower trajectories of sexual/violent recidivism

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### High Psychopathy Men with a History of Sexual Offending Have Protective Factors Too (Olver & Riemer, 2021)

- ▶ N = 461 SOTP adult male participants
  - ▶ Followed for almost 10 years post-release
- ▶ Assessed with PCL-R + SAPROF
  - ▶ Predicted sexual, violent and general recidivism
- ▶ PCL-R scores were inversely related to SAPROF scores
  - ▶ However, even high PCL scorers demonstrated pre-post changes on protective factors
- ▶ Conclusions: Protective factors can and do change with meaningful interventions, even among individuals with substantial psychopathic traits

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Hare PCL-R and Treatment of Psychopathy in Correctional & MH Settings: Past Practice, Current Findings, and Future Directions  
(Olver et al., 2026)

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- ▶ Current body of research supports optimism for specialized correctional/forensic treatment of individuals with high level of psychopathic traits (e.g., possible to reduce density and severity of criminal offending without eliminating antisocial behavior outright – harm reduction)
- ▶ Importance of considering relative level of Factor 1 and Factor 2 scores in formulating relationship of psychopathic traits with offending and potential for remediation
- ▶ Suggested methods for improvement
  - ▶ Applicability of trauma-informed intervention strategies?
  - ▶ Inclusion of neuroscientific knowledge in development and implementation of treatment (e.g., neurobiological effects of trauma/ACEs)?
  - ▶ Use of CBT techniques + incorporation of modern psychodynamic treatment approaches developed (and successfully evaluated) for treatment of severe personality disorders?

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Assessment (cont.)

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In addition to assessing the relative presence of psychopathic traits and general criminogenic risk/need factors, the following factors should be considered:

- ▶ Age of onset/involvement in sex trafficking
- ▶ Length of involvement in activities associated with sex trafficking
- ▶ Presence or absence of gang involvement (past and current)
- ▶ History of domestic and/or sexual violence (past and current)
- ▶ History of other forms of violence (past and current)

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Putting it all together...

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“The purpose of risk assessment is to speculate in an educated way about the violence that an individual might commit, and to identify what is required to stop such violence from occurring.”

~Hart, et al., 2003

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## Theory of Offending > Risk Factors for Reoffending

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- ▶ What sort of things **motivate** a person to engage in violence?
- ▶ What sort of things lower a person's natural inhibitions (**disinhibitors**)?
- ▶ What beliefs or attitudes **facilitate** violence or the belief in the need to use violence toward achievement of some goal?
- ▶ What might cause the person to become **destabilized**?
- ▶ What factors in the **environment** exert an influence on violent behavior?
- ▶ Who are the likely **victims** and how accessible are they?
- ▶ What **opportunities** are there to commit violence?

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## Strengths & Vulnerabilities

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"Whereas a vulnerability (or risk factor) is associated with *increases* in the likelihood of adverse outcomes, a strength is an inherent or emerging asset; a positive attribute that serves as a resource to *reduce, mitigate, and manage* the likelihood of adverse outcomes."

START, Version 1.1, 2009

(Rogers, 2000; Rutter, 1985)

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i..n...t.e..g...r.a.t...i.o.....n

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"You've got to *tegg* to connect the dots, Mr. McInchion."

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Case Formulation
61

- ▶ Describe the individual in context
- ▶ Identify relevant risk factors
- ▶ Identify strengths and protective factors
- ▶ Estimate & describe risk for reoffending
- ▶ Specify treatment needs
- ▶ Identify any barriers to treatment
- ▶ Assess amenability to treatment
- ▶ Provide recommendations (risk management plan)

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Risk Formulation
62

- ▶ Worst case scenario...
  - ▶ Who might the likely victims of violence be?
  - ▶ What is the nature of what they are likely to do?
  - ▶ How imminent would you expect this person to act violently?
  - ▶ What is the likelihood that they will/would become violence?
  - ▶ If the likelihood is low, say why.
- ▶ Best case scenario
  - ▶ What would desistance look like for this person?

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Risk Management Plan
63

- ▶ Identify which critical factors related to risk need to be routinely monitored.
- ▶ What level of supervision is ideally needed to manage and contain risk.
- ▶ Which criminogenic needs should be targeted in treatment.
- ▶ What plan should be implemented to ensure victim safety.

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## Creating an Integrated Risk/Needs Treatment or Case Plan

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- ▶ Write clear treatment/case plans based on *individualized* risk/need profiles
  - Identify intervention targets – think SMART goals
  - If denying clients certain privileges, be clear about what will need to happen for them to earn such privileges back
  - Collaborative process
- ▶ Treatment/case plans should be updated regularly (a minimum of every 90 days)
  - Regular updates demonstrate progress
  - Allow for achievement of short-term goals
  - Allow for readjustment when new challenges arise
  - Include rewards/positive reinforcers

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## Treatment & Intervention Dosage

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- ▶ General guidelines:
  - ▶ Very low/below average risk: limited to no interventions, no more than 100 hours
  - ▶ Average risk: 100 to 200 hours
  - ▶ Above average/well above average risk: 200 to 300/200 to 300+ hours
- ▶ Progress is individual specific and may be impacted by varying factors, such as:
  - ▶ Client motivation
  - ▶ General lifestyle stability (or lack thereof)
  - ▶ Responsivity factors
  - ▶ Resource availability/system issues
  - ▶ Progress across domains (supervision v. treatment)

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## Treatment: Suggested Approaches

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- ▶ Traditional sexual abuse specific treatment and/or batterer's intervention programming is typically **not** appropriate for this population
- ▶ Appropriate programming requires practitioners to have expertise in sexual violence/abuse, intimate partner violence, general violence, psychopathy, gang culture, sex trafficking, ACEs, poverty/systemic oppression...

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Working Hypothesis:  
Perpetrators
67

- ▶ High psychopathic traits as measured by PCL-R:
  - ▶ High grandiosity
  - ▶ High charm and manipulation
  - ▶ Low guilt and remorse
  - ▶ Entrenched and highly reinforced criminal lifestyle
- ▶ Money is the primary motivating factor, excitement/sex is secondary
- ▶ Extensive use of power and control tactics and violence outlined in domestic violence literature

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Treatment Guidance:  
Psychopathy
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- ▶ Treatment Objectives:
  - ▶ Reduce risk of violence & sexual violence through treatment interventions
  - ▶ Reduce violent & sexual violent recidivism in the community
  - ▶ Increase protective factors/distance
- ▶ Treatment Targets:
  - ▶ Target Factor 2 (Social Deviance) in treatment – specifically criminogenic issues
  - ▶ Factor 1 (Interpersonal/Affective) more of a responsivity factor; predictive of treatment drop-out, decreased therapeutic progress

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Working Hypothesis:  
Exploitation of Victims
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- ▶ Use of manipulation/power and control tactics is extensive and reinforces learned helplessness
- ▶ Threats and use of violence to maintain control
- ▶ Manipulation of “anxious” and/or “ambivalent” attachment issues within victims:
  - ▶ Perception of perpetrator as “caring” and victim needs reassurance
  - ▶ Perception of perpetrator as “caring” and inconsistent with reinforcement (caring and neglectful)

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## Common Tactics to Control Victims

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- ▶ Extremely skilled at identifying the victim's needs and vulnerabilities, and exploiting those needs/vulnerabilities
- ▶ Charismatic, charming, smooth talker
- ▶ Typically begins with compliments, \$ being spent, making the victim feel special/loved, etc.
- ▶ Victim often views it as a BF/GF relationship, even after coerced/forced into prostitution
- ▶ Tactics associated with intimate partner violence are common

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## Working Hypothesis: Risk

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High risk for re-offense given several potential factors:

- ▶ Criminally versatile
- ▶ Aggressive narcissism/grandiosity/identity
- ▶ Unresponsive to punishments/negative consequences
- ▶ Highly reinforcing criminal lifestyle (i.e. high frequency behaviors, low consequences)
- ▶ Lack of social emotions/empathy/inhibitors
- ▶ Inability/resistance to pro-social reinforcers

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## Working Hypothesis: Needs

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- ▶ Identity is a major component of sex trafficking and is repeatedly reinforced
- ▶ Personality features which require some attention - some may be flexible to change, others will not:
  - ▶ Possibly untreatable: grandiosity, excitement seeking
  - ▶ Possibly treatable: identity, pro-social lifestyle development, development of inhibitions & pro-social motivators
- ▶ Generalized & domestic violence issues:
  - ▶ Malevolent sexist attitudes (open hostility toward women)
  - ▶ Benevolent sexist attitudes (females "need" to be protected)

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### Working Hypothesis: Needs (cont.)

Sexual offense specific risk/need factors:

- ▶ Significant Social Influences
- ▶ Hostility Towards Women
- ▶ Lack of Concern for Others
- ▶ Sexual Preoccupation
- ▶ Generalized Violence

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### Working Hypothesis: Needs (cont.)

Motivation for change:

- ▶ Attempts at changing empathy as a motivator will be ineffective
- ▶ Attempts at motivation through punishment will have only short-term impact
- ▶ Decreasing use of violence/power and control could be effective
- ▶ Motivation through obtaining consistent rewards (e.g. freedom, stimulating employment) will likely prove the most effective
- ▶ Lifestyle stability will hopefully develop as intrinsically motivating

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### Working Hypothesis: How change may occur

- ▶ Containment, strict supervision and development of maintenance of alternative (prosocial) lifestyle
- ▶ Deliberate change of identity within themselves and community
- ▶ Rational and narcissistic (as opposed to empathy) identification with reasons for change
- ▶ Development of lifestyle consistent with more pro-social behaviors

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## Working Hypothesis: Responsivity (Client)

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- ▶ Ethnic/cultural factors (including gang culture)
- ▶ Adverse childhood experiences/trauma history
- ▶ Structural inequality, racism, oppression, poverty
- ▶ High level of psychopathic traits
- ▶ Intellectual functioning/learning disabilities
- ▶ Mental health issues
- ▶ Denial
- ▶ Lengthy incarceration/institutionalization

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## Working Hypothesis: Responsivity (Professionals)

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- ▶ Clinicians require experience and specialized training in sexual violence, domestic violence, generalized violence and psychopathy
- ▶ Clinicians must address motivation in a realistic manner (i.e., what is in their best interest?)
- ▶ Clinicians must address issues related to criminal lifestyle (e.g. identity, reinforcers)
- ▶ Clinicians need to work closely with supervising authorities without appearing to “choose sides”

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## Recommended Guidance for Interventions

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Effective response, management, and intervention requires incorporation of:

- ▶ **sexual offense-specific** and **domestic violence** concepts
- ▶ **culturally relevant** (e.g., ethnicity, experiences of structural inequality or racism, gang culture) and **responsivity-based** approaches (e.g., adverse developmental/childhood experiences, high psychopathic traits, familial/environmental influences)

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## Recommended Guidance for Interventions (cont.)

- ▶ Suggested primary areas of risk/need:
  - ▶ Personality/characterological (e.g., psychopathy)
  - ▶ Environmental/subcultural influences
  - ▶ General criminality
  - ▶ Values related to use of interpersonal violence, including extreme forms of power and control tactics, to manipulate and control victims
- ▶ Motivations
  - ▶ Money and status
  - ▶ Fundamental beliefs in both hostile and benevolent (i.e., women need men to protect them) sexism

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## Potential Dangers

- ▶ Influence of associates within the group
- ▶ Inflexibility of motivations for continuing the lifestyle choice
- ▶ Refinement of control techniques which may increase risk
- ▶ Potential "disarming" of clinicians and supervising authorities

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## Development of a Structured Intervention Program (2013)

- ▶ Not *treatment*, rather a *cognitive-behavioral based intervention*
  - ▶ 9 month structured program
  - ▶ 2 hour weekly group session
  - ▶ Intake process includes assessment of personality and attitudinal traits, as well as other responsivity factors
  - ▶ Program curriculum includes domestic violence, sexual offender, and culturally relevant treatment concepts
  - ▶ Program topics are tailored to specifically address the criminogenic risk/need factors for perpetrators of sex trafficking
  - ▶ Strong emphasis on multi-disciplinary collaboration to facilitate client success
- ▶ 9 Modules broken into 4 sessions
  1. Orientation
  2. Identity/Subculture
  3. Respect/Criminal Lifestyle
  4. Attitudes
  5. Emotion Management
  6. Sensation Seeking
  7. Healthy Sexuality
  8. Healthy Relationships
  9. Goals/Intent for the Future

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Questions? 82



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Contact Information 83

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