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The use of children in pornography in South Africa

Final Report submitted to the Anti-Child Pornography Task Team,

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THE USE OF CHILDREN IN PORNOGRAPHY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Executive Summary

Terms of Reference

The Terms of Reference for this report address the following issues:

1. The use of South African children in the *making of child pornography (child abuse images)* as an aspect of sexual abuse.

2. The extent *of manufacturing and distribution of child pornography (child abuse images)* in South Africa.

3. The number of *reported child pornography cases* (prosecutions for the manufacture, distribution and use of child abuse images) in South Africa; cases that went to court, prosecution and sentencing patterns.

4. *Profiles of children most at risk* of sexual abuse and exploitation in particular through being involved in the production of pornographic images and through exposure to risks of sexual abuse on media such as the internet and mobile telephones.

5. *Profiles of abusers* – in particular those who use and share child abuse images and manufacture such images, as well as those who use the internet and mobile telephone facilities (such as chat rooms) for online abuse and predatory behaviour.

It is important to note that this report does not cover children's exposure to adult pornographic images. Nor does it cover their impact on children. Attention is however paid to the risk of exposure through mobile telephones and the internet.

The study also does not address the wider topic of child sexual abuse in any depth. Rather the focus is specifically on the phenomenon of child sexual abuse images, commonly referred to as *child pornography.* Particular attention is paid to child pornography on the internet.

Definitions and terminology

Child sexual abuse: The phenomenon has two basic elements (Finkelhor, 1994, p. 33): <u>sexual activities involving a child</u>, as well as <u>abusive</u> conditions. These are present when:

- "the child's partner has a large age or maturational advantage over the child; or

- the child's partner is in a position of authority or in a caretaking relationship with the child; or

- the activities are carried out using force or trickery."

The definition of sexual abuse contained in the South African Child Protection Register is as follows (and is used for this report):

1. Sexual abuse is any act or acts, which result in the exploitation of a child or young person, whether with their consent or not, for the purposes of sexual or erotic gratification. This may be by adults or other children or young persons. Sexual abuse may include but are [sic] not restricted to the following behaviour:

2. Non-contact-abuse: exhibitionism (flashing), voyeurism (peeping), suggestive behaviour or comments, exposure to pornographic materials or producing visual depictions of such conduct.

3. Contact abuse: genital/anal fondling, masturbation, oral sex, object or finger penetration of the anus/vagina and/or encouraging the child/young person to perform such acts on the perpetrator.

4. Involvement of the child/young person in exploitive activities for the purposes of pornography or prostitution.

5. Rape, sodomy, indecent assault, molestation, prostitution and incest with children. (Department of Social Development, 2004, p. 46).

It is item 5 that concerns us here.

Perpetrators of child sexual abuse

Child sexual abusers may engage in one or other of the above activities but they are not all of a type. There is no one 'child abuser' type.

The term Paedophile is commonly and loosely used to label those who sexually abuse children. This is not appropriate. The psychiatric literature identifies *Paedophilia* as a specific psychiatric disorder. Not all those who sexually abuse

children (in terms of the acts specified in the child Protection Register) are Paedophiles.

The diagnosis of Paedophilia is made when:

"A. Over a period of at least 6 months, recurrent, intense, sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviours involving sexual activity with a prepubescent child or children (generally age 13 years or younger).

B. The fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviours cause clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational or other important sites of functioning.

C. The person is at least 16 years and at least 5 years older than the child." (American Psychiatric Association DSM IV, 1994). p.528).

A proportion of persons who use images of children for sexual gratification are paedophiles. But not all these users sexually abuse children.

Child pornography:

The term child pornography is open to a variety of interpretations (from pictures of naked children to images of children in sexualised poses, to records of contact abuse). For the purposes of this report, and where appropriate we will use the term child *sexual abuse images* in preference to child pornography. Following Save the Children Europe Group (2004), child sexual abuse images are records of the sexual abuse of children, including images in which children are in sexualised poses, engaged in autoerotic stimulation and in sexual activity either with another child or an adult or both. In the psychiatric literature these images are termed paedophiliac pornography.

Research Methods

The study commenced in April 2007 and involved desk reviews of the scientific literature, the grey literature, and sources on the internet. It should be noted that as the phenomenon of internet child sexual abuse is relatively recent, the research literature is very limited. There is no South African research on the issue.

For this reason, the research reviews were complemented by consultations with local and international experts. Interviews were held with a range of local stakeholders including members of the South African Police Service (SAPS), the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) and staff of child protection Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs). A two day seminar consultation was held which included experts from the United Kingdom, specifically the West Midland and Metropolitan Police and the John Grieve Centre based at London Metropolitan University, who specialise in the prevention, detection and prosecution of online child sexual abuse. Other participants included members of the Film and Publications Board (FPB) and the organisations listed above.

Summary of Findings

1: The use of South African children in the making of child abuse images:

- There is no data on the extent of this phenomenon. Informants indicate that children without adequate supervision such as those on the streets may be particularly vulnerable.

2: The extent of manufacturing and distribution of child pornography (child abuse images) in South Africa:

- There is no data on this question, but informants suggest that sources are in all but a few instances likely to be foreign;
- Internationally 27 750 child pornography websites were identified in 2005;
- The biggest market for child pornography is the United States of America which it is estimated accounts for 85% of world sales.
- At any one time there are likely to be more than 1 Million child abuse images on the internet, normally provided for a fee and for exchange in paedophile groups;
- Since 1996, 20 000 images have been removed from the net by ISPs.

3: The number of reported child pornography cases in South Africa:

- There is very limited data on this question as these cases are not captured separately and aggregated for national or provincial level statistics. Informants suggest that less than 20 cases of persons possessing, distributing or manufacturing child abuse images have been investigated in South Africa in the past five years. As reliable figures are not available this may not be an accurate estimate. Where such images have been seized in investigations, they are most likely to be of foreign origin.

4: Profiles of most vulnerable children:

- Far more children are likely to be subject to sexual abuse without the use of electronic media that those who are.

- Potentially, all children with access to mobile phones (with the necessary connectivity) and the internet, and whose parents do not supervise their use of these media, are vulnerable to this form of sexual abuse. Exposure to online contact with paedophiles (e.g. in chat rooms) is more likely when children's self-esteem is low, and when in need of comfort (abusers can detect these signs and manipulate the child as part of the 'grooming' process).

- If children are sexually provocative on the internet (e.g. in chat rooms) they risk contact with potential abusers who visit children's chat rooms.

- Currently a small proportion of South African children is likely to have an internet connection at home. Schools are however increasingly obtaining this technology so the risk of exposure will increase if appropriate supervision and software filtering is not in place.

- Children most likely to be involved as subjects in the production of child abuse images are those who have formed an established relationship with an abuser as well as those who are not under supervision. Street children are likely to be particularly vulnerable to this as well as other forms of sexual exploitation.

5: Profiles of abusers who use and share child abuse images, manufacture such images, and use internet and mobile telephones for online abuse:

- There is no clear offender profile as sexual abusers are a heterogeneous group. A major limitation is that the research evidence is limited to prison populations which are atypical of the wider offending group. Some common features of persons who use child abuse images and (who may) use the internet to groom children include:

  o Persons who fit the clinical criteria for Paedophilia (those sexually attracted to prepubescent children);

  o Men who tend to be over 30 years of age, who commonly relate well to children and whose sexual interest is focused on prepubescent children (even though they commonly have adult female partners); their interaction with adults is often peripheral to contact with children;

  o Their abusive urge reflects an addictive pattern which is difficult to change; they rationalise their abusive behaviour, have poor boundaries in terms of appropriate sexual behaviour, poor impulse control, often have appropriate sexual partners (which masks their offending behaviour), they are "calm" or "meek".

  o Evidence on the cycle of abuse for those who use child abuse images is not available. However there is evidence that men with an addictive pattern of sexual preference for young children are likely to have a history of experiencing child sexual abuse and family violence. For other forms of abuse the data is equivocal;

  o Those who use child abuse images are often members of virtual communities that exchange such images on the internet.

Solutions / prevention:

- Policing and prosecutorial teams need highly specialised skills with regard to child pornography including, but not limited to, in-depth knowledge of computers and the Internet. As the necessary expertise is lacking in South Africa collaboration and training with agencies abroad such as the Paedophile, Hi Tech Crime and Intelligence Units of the UK Metropolitan Police New Scotland Yard is highly recommended;

- Internet service providers and cell phone distributors need to take high level active steps to develop technology tools that will identify and prevent the distribution of child abuse images and draw on those developed elsewhere (e.g. the initiative in the United States under the leadership of the National Centre for Missing and Exploited Children). Self-regulation must be taken extremely seriously;

- Internet service providers and cell phone distributors' collaboration should refer clients who download and/or distribute pornography to the appropriate authorities for investigation. Some authorities recommend making it a legal responsibility for ISPs to report child pornography sites and those who access them. Preservation of ISP records aids in prosecution;

- A greater awareness must be created about the existence of the problem and prevention strategies must be disseminated to parents, teachers and children concerning the risks;

- Parents and teachers need to be familiar with the technology children use and all computers and mobile telephones used by children should have filtering software installed;

- All computers and mobile telephones should be supplied with information packs on the risks of exposure to child abuse through these media. Guidance on filtering software must also be provided.

THE USE OF CHILDREN IN PORNOGRAPHY IN SOUTH AFRICA

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Acronyms

CCSE	Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children
COPINE	Combating Paedophile Information Networks in Europe
ECPAT	End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes
FPB	Film and Publications Board
FCS unit	Family Violence, Child Protection and Sexual Offences unit
ISP	Internet Service Provider
IWF	Internet Watch Foundation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPA	National Prosecuting Authority
PSAs	Public Service Announcements
RAPCAN	Resources Aimed at Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect
SAPS	South African Police Services

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Ms Laurie Brittan, SAPS

Ms Dot Field, Vodacom

Ms Christa Botha, Vodacom / Magna Carta

Adv Retha Meintjes, NPA

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Detective Constable Andrew Richards, West Midlands Police UK

Ms Nadine Naidoo

Superintendent Amanda van Niekerk, SAPS

Inspector Thandile Sidiya, SAPS

Danny Myburgh, formerly SAPS Technical Support Unit now Cyanre

Superintendent Alma Wiese, Western Cape Child Pornography task team

Inspector Petra Kennedy, Western Cape Child Pornography task team

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The study also does not address the wider topic of child sexual abuse in any depth. Rather the focus is specifically on the phenomenon of child sexual abuse images, commonly referred to as child pornography. Particular attention is paid to child pornography on the internet.

Definitions and terminology

Child abuse: The Children's Act (No. 38 of 2005) defines child abuse as follows: "abuse, in relation to a child, means any form of harm or ill-treatment deliberately inflicted on a child, and includes:

(a) assaulting a child or inflicting any other form of deliberate injury to a child;

(b) sexually abusing a child or allowing a child to be sexually abused;

(c) bullying by another child;

(d) a labour practice that exploits a child; or

(e) exposing or subjecting a child to behaviour that may harm the child psychologically or emotionally."

Child sexual abuse: Child sexual abuse commonly has two basic elements (Finkelhor, 1994, p. 33): <u>sexual activities involving a child</u>, as well as <u>abusive</u> conditions. These are present when:

- "the child's partner has a large age or maturational advantage over the child; or

- the child's partner is in a position of authority or in a caretaking relationship with the child; or

- the activities are carried out using force or trickery."

More than one of these conditions may apply. All indicate unequal power between perpetrator and child, which is likely to be associated with a lack of consensuality, and the sexual activities are intended for the stimulation of the perpetrator. The question of what constitutes a 'large age gap' is a matter of debate and there is no South African guidance on this question.

The definition of sexual abuse contained in the South African Child Protection Register covers the following conditions:

1. "Sexual abuse is any act or acts, which result in the exploitation of a child or young person, whether with their consent or not, for the purposes of sexual or erotic gratification. This may be by adults or other children or

young persons. Sexual abuse may include but are [sic] not restricted to the following behaviour:

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4. Involvement of the child/young person in exploitive activities for the purposes of or prostitution.

5. Rape, sodomy, indecent assault, molestation, prostitution and incest with children". (Child Protection Manual of the Department of Social Development, 2004, p. 46).

It is item 4 that concerns us here.

Paedophilia: The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Psychiatric disorders IV is a psychiatric disorder within the family of Paraphilias (American Psychiatric Association Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV, 1994).

Persons with this diagnosis may be labelled *Exclusive Type,* that is, sexually attracted solely to prepubescent children (either male or female and generally under the age or 13 years), or *Non Exclusive Type,* in which case they are sexually attracted to both adults and prepubescent children.

Paedophiles are therefore a particular sub-class of those who sexually abuse children. The diagnosis of Paedophilia is made when:

"A. Over a period of at least 6 months, recurrent, intense, sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviours involving sexual activity with a prepubescent child or children (generally age 13 years or younger).

B. The fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviours cause clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational or other important sites of functioning.

C. The person is at least 16 years and at least 5 years older than the child." (p. 528).

From this definition it should be clear that Paedophilia is a specific psychiatric disorder, and not all those who sexually abuse children (in terms of the acts specified in the child Protection Register) are Paedophiles.

Child pornography: The term child pornography is open to a variety of interpretations (from pictures of naked children to images of children in sexualised poses, to records of contact abuse). It is defined in the Film and Publications Act for legal purposes.

For the purposes of this report, and where appropriate we will use the term child *sexual abuse images* in preference to child pornography, except in those cases where we refer to work by authors who use the term child pornography. Following Save the Children Europe Group (2004), child sexual abuse images are records of the sexual abuse of children, including images in which children are in sexualised poses, engaged in autoerotic stimulation and in sexual activity either with another child or an adult or both. In the psychiatric literature these images are termed paedophiliac pornography.

Research Methods

The study commenced in April 2007 and involved desk reviews of the scientific literature, the grey literature, and sources on the internet. It should be noted that as the phenomenon of internet child sexual abuse is relatively recent, the research literature is very limited. There is no South African research on the issue.

For this reason, the research reviews were complemented by consultations with local and international experts. Interviews were held with a range of local stakeholders including members of the South African Police Service (SAPS), the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) and staff of child protection Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) (see Acknowledgements). A two day seminar consultation was held which included experts from the United Kingdom,

specifically the West Midlands and Metropolitan Police and the John Grieve Centre for policing and community safety based at London Metropolitan University, who specialise in the prevention, detection and prosecution of online child sexual abuse. Other participants included members of the Film and Publications Board (FPB) and the interviewees listed above (see also Appendix 2).

Organisation of the Report

The report is organised as follows. Questions on the extent of the problem (manufacturing, distribution and availability of images) internationally and locally are dealt with first. A brief discussion of the extent of the problem in South Africa follows, informed by local prosecutions. The report then proceeds to discuss the issue of child vulnerability and asks whether or not we can speak of 'profiles' of children vulnerable to the manufacture of child sexual abuse images and to mobile telephone and internet sexual abuse. The next section examines who the perpetrators are and also discusses the possibility of profiling those who manufacture, use and distribute child sexual abuse images.

The report concludes with recommendations based on the findings of the study.

The Extent of the problem

It is impossible to assess the true extent of the availability of child sexual abuse images in South Africa. Given its illicit nature, the full extent will never be known. In addition, it is impossible to tell how many images exist on how many databases – much more so than trying to establish the number of offenders and victims involved. It is commonly accepted that sexual crimes against children and teenagers are under-reported – offences of this nature are more likely than other crimes to escape the legal system (Prentky, Lee & Knight, 1997).

Second, data sources concerning child sexual abuse images and related internet abuse are few and far between. The accuracy of many of those that do exist must be questioned. Reports are often anecdotal and identifying details of

sources are not provided. It is thus difficult to tell which records are valid or whether there is duplication of, for example, numbers of images reported.

Research into the problem is very limited. That said, there have been several international criminal investigations to which we will refer, and which will give some indication of the global extent of the problem, although this is unlikely to be conclusive. However, if these preliminary figures are examined, one will see that the problem is not small, especially if one assumes that the available figures are probably an under-estimate.

Turning to the extent of pornographic content on the internet, an audit conducted by Microsoft concluded that the Internet pornography industry earns about R57 billion per annum, with child pornography accounting for R3 billion. There are 68 million Internet searches for pornography daily and this content accounts for 12% of the Internet total. About 2.5 million emails containing child pornography are sent or attempted to be sent daily (Sunday Independent, Eleanor Momberg, 13 August 2006). Again, these are global figures, and give no indication of the extent of the problem in South Africa.

The Internet Watch Foundation (IWF) is a British based organisation dedicated to decreasing the availability of illegal Internet content, especially child abuse images. It was formed in 1996 as a collaborative effort between governments, police services and Internet Service Provider's. It operates a "hotline" via which individuals can report exposure to illegal online content (www.iwf.org.uk). The organisation also provides a service to ISP's by notifying them of illegal content they are hosting.

In 2005, a staggering 27 750 illegal sites were reported to IWF, which is 45 times more than the number it encountered when first formed (James Slack, Saturday Weekend Argus, 28 October 2006). Of course, the increase has paralleled exponential growth in internet access in the period. Although the IWF receives complaints from all over the world, it can only compel member British ISP's to dismantle those sites on their servers. It has no authority to shut down sites

operated by foreign service providers, but it does provide intelligence to the relevant authorities abroad.

The IWF also estimates that, at any one time, there are likely to be about 1 million child abuse images on the Internet and that at least 200 more are added daily. According to IWF, these images are accessed by more than 27 000 people each day. An organisation based in Italy, the Rainbow Group, identified over 17 000 websites dedicated exclusively to child sexual abuse images. British Telecom, an ISP in the United Kingdom, has reported that it blocks 35 000 attempted searches for child pornography in England daily (personal communication Iyavar Chetty, FPB, 2007).

It must be noted, of course, that these figures can never be precise, not only because there is no way to constantly monitor every single website that emerges, but also because websites of this nature are regularly shut down by the authorities, or shut themselves down (on suspicion of investigation) and are re-established elsewhere.

There is clearly a high demand for purchases of child abuse images (not solely on the internet) with the biggest market being the United States of America (US). It is estimated that in 1993, 85% of worldwide sales occurred there. In 1992, the United States Department of Justice estimated that the US child pornography industry was worth between $2 and $3 billion per annum (Flowers, 2001). About 1000 people are convicted every year in the US of online offences related to children (Stanley, 2001). There is evidence to suggest that the amount of activity is higher as arrests and convictions are only made when prosecution cases are very sound (and this is not always feasible).

In some countries, it is difficult to understand what constitutes child pornography and what does not because of societal standards of acceptance regarding the "grey areas". For example, In Japan, "child pornography" is available as manga (Japanese sub-culture comics) and adult reading material because there are no laws that specifically prohibit it. There is, however, a Child Welfare Law that prohibits child prostitution (Diamond & Uchiyama, 1999).

Trading in child sexual abuse images is a significant international activity as revealed by four well known criminal investigations. For example, to become a member of the "W0nderland Club" (a child sex abuse image ring), applicants had to provide 10 000 original images. When this ring was uncovered by an investigation known as Operation Cathedral, 750 000 images and 1800 videos were found, and 1236 children were identified as victims of this ring (Stanley, 2001). Operation Ore, resulted in 3744 arrests in the United Kingdom alone. Operation Myosis, an ongoing police investigation in the United Kingdom has reported 22 543 suspects worldwide, including some from South Africa. Another investigation in 2007 conducted from Austria, revealed that South Africans are among the 2360 suspects from 77 countries.

The scale of child abuse images on the Internet is partly due to increased Internet access. It is easy and relatively inexpensive to install an Internet connection in the home, even if it is not an ADSL or broadband line. Those who seek to abuse children in this way enjoy the use of the Internet because it makes child abuse images far more accessible; it makes this access anonymous; and it legitimises their behaviour in the form of online communities who engage in the same behaviour. More problematic, however, is the fact that sophisticated offenders can outwit the authorities and keep their websites open for long periods. This fact, coupled with the challenge that policing forces often lack the resources and skills to deal with the problem, means that escalation is probable.

Access to the internet and risk to children in South Africa

South Africa has experienced an explosion in the accessibility to communication technology. Cellular telephone access is at an all-time high, with over 30 million subscribers to South Africa's three cellular networks. 5% of South Africans had internet access in 2005 – a 1% increase from the previous year (Thlabela et. al, 2006).

The rapid rate at which South Africans are gaining access to digital and communication technology should serve as a warning to parents and law enforcement officials – with greater access to the technology, offenders have

greater access to the illicit material (and greater quantities of it) and also a smaller chance of being detected.

However, internet access is more limited. A study entitled "Internet Access in SA 2007" was conducted by World Wide Worx ("SA Internet access grows, but only for the haves": http://www.theworx.biz/access07.htm. Accessed on July 17 2007). The study reports that by the end of 2007, 3.85-million people in South Africa (12% of the population) will have access to the Internet (650 000 people on broadband). There are no figures for children's access. But as the vast majority of these connections are in businesses and private homes (which can afford them), and as broadband is costly at present, it is likely that better off children have access and are therefore the most vulnerable segment of the child population to internet child sexual abuse. As access to the internet becomes available in schools and connection costs drop, this the extent of vulnerability will increase.

Involvement of South African children in production of child abuse images and prosecution data

There are no statistics available on the number of children involved in the production of child sexual abuse images anywhere in the world. Furthermore there is no readily accessible data on prosecutions for the possession and distribution of these images in South Africa. The reason is that our court data is not disaggregated sufficiently to offer a true understanding of the extent of the problem. A senior official at the National Prosecuting Authority noted that matters relating to prosecution for possession, distribution and manufacturing of child sexual abuse images are collectively captured under "sexual offences". These cases are further broken down as rape of victims aged 16, rape of victims younger than 16, attempted rape, statutory sexual offences and indecent assault. There has been a proposal that this data be further broken down to highlight the child sexual abuse image cases that have gone to trial but, to this date, this has not occurred. While knowing how many cases have been processed in the justice

system will not show the full extent of the problem in the wider population, it will give some idea of the scale of the problem.

We draw on several sources of information in order to provide a very rough picture of the extent of prosecutions.

First, our South African key informants report that images of White children are by far the most evident in material seized and these are very likely to be have been manufactured abroad.

South African prosecutors and police investigators consulted for this study indicated that local offenders are likely to have some self-produced images, but that the vast bulk of their collections will have been downloaded or sourced from other people. Many collections contain predominantly Eastern European children. Very few Black children have been represented in the abusive images found in investigations.

A scan of the South African print media for the past 12 months revealed 11 new or ongoing cases involving child sexual abuse images. This figure may however well be a reflection of journalistic interest.

According to informants, the East Metropole Child Protection Unit of the Western Cape, which comprises 25 police stations, processed 10 cases in which child sexual abuse images had been found on perpetrators of abuse between June 2001 and August 2004 (around two per year).

The Western Cape has an ad hoc Child Pornography Task Team which was formed in 2006. The Team deals with cases in addition to those that are investigated by Family Violence, Child Protection and Sexual Offences (FCS) Units in the province. No other province currently has such a task team in place. When formed in 2006, its purpose was to locate and arrest offenders who downloaded pornographic images of children, based on evidence made available by the American Federal Bureau of Investigation. The group disbanded for some time but, since re-forming in May 2007, its key aims are to locate and arrest offenders involved in the production of these images in South Africa. Since the

beginning of 2006, the Team has dealt with 8 cases that have gone to trial (concluded or ongoing). The Team has never encountered an offender's collection with fewer than 100 images.

Finally, informants consulted for this study believe that there has been an increase in the number of self-generated images, that is, children taking pictures of themselves or each other in sexual ways. These pictures are then distributed to peers, generally when the people involved in the picture-taking have a disagreement. The images may also end up on the Internet.

A point to recognise is that children are abused in the manufacture of images, but are abused again and again as their pictures are accessed repeatedly on the internet and through other media. In many instances these images will remain in the public domain for many years beyond the victim's childhood experience. Although there is no South African trend data, South African experts who deal with this problem on a regular basis believe there is an increase in availability of images locally.

We turn now to a discussion of children who may be vulnerable to this form of sexual abuse.

Can we profile the most vulnerable children?

In this section of the report we present a summary of the risk factors for child maltreatment and sexual abuse in particular.

We then proceed to the more narrow question – is it possible to provide a profile of children most at risk of being involved in the production of pornographic images and exposure to risks of sexual abuse on media such as the internet and mobile telephones?

Risk factors for child maltreatment and sexual abuse

In 1990, the United States Advisory Board on Child Abuse and Neglect concluded that child abuse and neglect constituted a national emergency (Melton & Barry, 1994). A brief glance at the data on child abuse and sexual attacks on

South African women and children in particular, shouts out to us that we also have an emergency on our hands.

For example, a recent study conducted in the Western Cape (Dawes, Ward, Long & Alexander, 2006) provides some indication of the incidence of sexual assaults on children:

- Data for period 1991 – 1999 collected by the Red Cross Hospital shows that an average of 78 children under 12 years are admitted each year with injuries following sexual assault .

- Police statistics are not reliable for estimates of sexual abuse incidence. However, it is possible to use Children's Court Inquiries as a proxy for the incidence of the incidence of child abuse and neglect. It is a proxy because children appear before the commissioner for a variety of reasons. However, the vast majority of cases do involve a child and a family in trouble. Using these records we can estimate that around 3 in every 1000 children in the Western Cape are highly vulnerable and many will be subject to abuse. In some areas of the province the figure is much higher at between 16 and 30 per 1000 for one year alone.

Of course many vulnerable children do not come to the attention of the authorities.

But how do we understand these phenomena? The causes are complex and they interact. Multiple factors are associated with child maltreatment and sexual abuse. They can be best understood in terms of nested levels of influence as displayed in Figure 1, below. Each level carries risks and protective influences for children's lives.

Figure 1: Multiple nested factors associated with child maltreatment
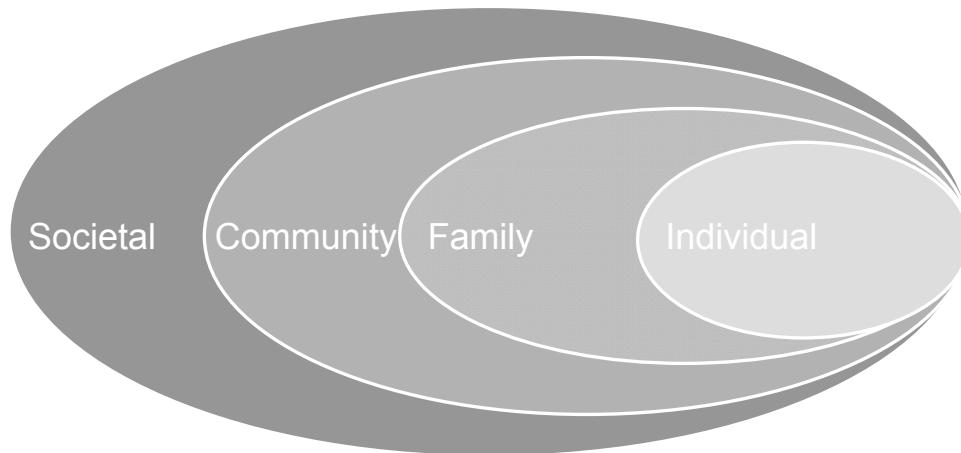
It is important to stress that this is an interactive model – no one factor is likely to predispose a child to maltreatment.

Closest to the child are those who care for him or her. Then, the quality of the surrounding community is crucial to child safety. Neighbourhood characteristics impact on the quality of relationships between caregivers and children. Where neighbourhood ties are strong, children are likely to be more protected. The societal level is most distant to children and has its influence indirectly via those persons that are responsible for them. It includes the law that protects children, and also the cultural scripts for parenting and childcare that prevail in the society.

Risk factors 'in' the child

First let it be said that it is adults (and sometimes other children) who abuse. Children do not invite abuse, but may possess characteristics that render them particularly vulnerable when interacting with some (vulnerable) adults and adolescents in certain settings.

In the case of child sexual abuse, the scientific literature indicates that there are few specific factors in the child that increase the risk of abuse (Townsend & Dawes, 2004). However, the research literature reveals that for all forms of

abuse, perpetrators often target children with certain characteristics (Stanley, 2001). They are very likely to be neglected and/or maltreated by their parents or guardians or have experienced abuse before. Often, they are emotionally immature, have low self-esteem, have few friends, or experience other social difficulties and learning problems.

There is no specific age or stage for emotional vulnerability. This can occur in the same child at different stages of development. Some children are vulnerable for long periods of childhood. For example, children in great need of affection may be vulnerable to the grooming of abusers who are frequently charming and offer warm supportive relationships to those children who do not have access to these resources. Some children may display patterns of neediness for long periods while all children are likely to have periods in their lives when this is the case.

Girls are more vulnerable than boys, and children with intellectual and sensory disabilities (visual or hearing impaired) are at particular risk. A disability may render the child physically unable to resist, and they may not understand what is being done to them. These children may not be able to report the abuse (due to their disability). They may also not be believed given their struggle to present a coherent story (Healy, 1997; Russell, 1993; Dickman & Roux, 2005; Dickman, Roux, Manson, Douglas & Shabalala, 2006).

Children who have been sexually abused, may also exhibit traumatic sexualised behaviours (e.g. precocious sexual behaviour and sexual pre-occupation) that place them at risk for further abuse by the same or additional perpetrators (Swann, 1993).

Contextual risk factors

The family and peer group are critical sources for protecting children and adolescents from the negative impact of violence exposure in the community. However, the family can also be a source of abuse and violence to children - most abuse and neglect occurs in the child's home, and most sexual abuse is

perpetrated by persons known to the child, either in the household or living close by (Townsend & Dawes, 2004).

Clearly significant numbers of children are exposed to abusive family environments. Recent studies indicate that 20 – 30 percent of children are exposed to domestic violence (Dawes et al, 2006). Sexual assault in schools is all too common (Leoschut & Burton 2006), and children's ideas about what constitutes appropriate sexual interaction are of great concern with significant numbers of teenagers, boys and girls believing that boys have the right to force sex on girls (Andersson, Ho-Foster, Matthis, Marokoane, Mashiane, Mhatre, et al 2004).

When there are problems in the family, children are more likely to avoid the home and spend more time on the streets (Legget, 2005). There they are both exposed to greater levels of community violence and also to potential abusers (including paedophiles), particularly when they are not supervised.

Children living in certain circumstances are particularly vulnerable to exposure to abusers. These are children living in structural poverty who also have to contend with circumstances that make them even more vulnerable. These include living and working in isolation from families or supportive community members. Examples include children living on the streets and those living in households that have no adult supervision.

For some, extreme household poverty alongside a lack of other money-earning opportunities can result in children selling sex in order to ensure survival (Barnes-September et al., 2000). International evidence shows that children who have been sexually abused, or who have run away from sexually abusive home circumstances, may be at particular risk of engaging in commercial sexual exploitation of children (CCSE), as are children who have left institutional care and who may also have been connected with abusive circumstances prior to entering care. Pilot projects in South Africa suggest triggers to children's movement into CCSE, include acute poverty, domestic violence, substance

abuse and more general child abuse and neglect (Barnes-September et al., 2000; Molo Songololo, 2005).

Children are exposed to abuse and violence across all social classes. However, it is well established that poverty increases the risk of exposure in the home and the surrounding community (Garbarino & Kostelny, 1992; 1994; Garbarino, 1995; Pelton, 1994). That said we must be cautious. It is most probable that by far the majority of people living in very difficult circumstances are not likely to perpetrate child abuse or neglect, and struggle to do the best for their children in spite of overwhelming odds.

The discussion thus far should indicate that all children across all social backgrounds are potentially at risk for maltreatment and sexual assault. However the South African and international evidence is that children living in vulnerable families in communities with high levels of violence in which alcohol abuse is a significant problem are particularly at risk.

There is no simple profile of a child who is vulnerable to sexual abuse or other forms of maltreatment.

Vulnerability of children to involvement in the production of pornographic images and internet or mobile phone abuse.

Minimal research has been conducted specifically into children who are vulnerable to the manufacture of child sexual abuse images or those who are lured through the use of it (Healy, 1997, Taylor, Holland and Quayle, 2001, Wolak, Finkelhor and Mitchell, 2004). For this report we have relied on this limited body of published information and discussions with key informants.

As with other forms of abuse, children only have as much protection as the adults around them afford them. They are subject to the controls that their parents and guardians lay down for them and, if these are inadequate, children will be vulnerable.

There are two aspects to the vulnerability of children in relation to child sexual abuse images in South Africa and elsewhere:

- Involvement in production: The use of children in the manufacturing of the child sexual abuse images;

- Internet and mobile phone abuse: Abusing children online through sexual talk and display of sexual images commonly occurs through perpetrators posing as children in children's chat rooms and via mobile phone messaging. Chat rooms and mobile phones may also be used to groom children for later sexual abuse outside the internet environment. Examples include the use of computer mounted cameras and sending of sexual abuse images over the internet or mobile phones; exchange of adult pornography, and requesting children to provide the perpetrator with pictures of themselves in sexualised poses. Eventually the perpetrator makes arrangements to meet the child.

Vulnerability to involvement in production of child sexual abuse images

Given the illicit nature of this practice, research data is very limited. Most information gathered for this report was gleaned from police and prosecution staff who have been involved in cases of this nature.

Similar to the vulnerability of children to other forms of abuse, South African key informants suggest that neglected or abandoned children (e.g. street children) are particularly vulnerable. This is because they may be lured into this activity with money and material possessions and, in many cases, drugs and alcohol.

In addition, their activities are not monitored and they have few or no persons who are concerned about their wellbeing, whereabouts and activities. Further, if any harm comes to them or if they feel uncomfortable in the manufacturing of the pornographic material, they are unlikely to report it to anyone, least of all the police. In the opinion of police personnel interviewed, street children do not consider law enforcement agencies their "protectors".

Healy (1997) confirms that, in most countries, street children and those with limited means are especially vulnerable to coercion into the production of pornographic material. Healy also notes that involvement in the manufacture of sexual abuse images is not uncommon for child prostitutes because it is a way for them to make extra money. While there is little local evidence on this matter, South African key informants interviewed concur.

In an investigation of 55 child pornography rings prior to the internet age, Belanger et al (1984) found that the children who fell victim to the offenders came from low-to-middle income families, most of which did not have a father. Many had run away from home and, often, the offenders took them into their homes. South African informants also claimed that children from broken homes or, especially, with absent fathers (or those that are looking for father figures) might be vulnerable. These children reflect the pattern of neediness referred to earlier in this report.

As with other forms of abuse, disabled children may also be targets for the production of child abuse images.

Of course it is not the case that all children from such backgrounds are equally vulnerable. These circumstances in interaction with other factors may serve to *raise* vulnerability.

The COPINE project (Combating Paedophile Information Networks in Europe), through the analysis of its child pornography database of over 80 000 images and 400 videos, found that the majority of children in pornographic images are used in the making of pornography are White with fewer being Asian. Almost none are Black. (The material was collected from various newsgroups on the internet that were known to host these images) (Taylor, Quayle and Holland, 2001).

Analysis of images on child pornography newsgroups suggests that the average age of the victims, especially girls, is decreasing. In the newer pictures (those that have been in circulation for less than 10 years), 41% of the girls and 56% of the boys are judged to be between the ages of 9 and 12. The rest are all younger than nine years. Very young children (aged 5 and below) may be particularly vulnerable to involvement – whereas older children may recognise an offender's requests or advances as inappropriate, the younger ones may not be sensitive to this. Young children have little or no awareness of the sexual context to what they are being asked to do. There is, of course, an even greater power imbalance between the adult and the child and a toddler's lack of language skills may reduce his/her capacity to disclose the problem to another adult. More than half of the victims in the images are girls (Taylor, Holland and Quayle, 2001)

Most images on the COPINE database are of children from Eastern Europe. South African key informants in the current study confirm that the bulk of collections of South African offenders also contain images of these children.

Healy (1997) reports that most child victims are from developing countries – "sex tourists" visit these countries specifically to have sex with minors and distribute the evidence of this worldwide. Children in these countries are very vulnerable

because they are easily lured with money, much like South African children who have no other means or income in their families.

South African key informants could not indicate in what areas in South Africa children are most vulnerable, but stated that child pornography syndicates do tend to strike where numbers of street children are high. They also feel that rural areas should not be overlooked as potential sites of abuse – often, people in these areas do have good access to technology, making it possible for children to be used in production or befriended over the internet.

Vulnerability to internet and mobile phone abuse

Given the recency of the phenomenon, this is an under-researched area.

In a recent North American study and one of the few in the field, Wolak, Finkelhor and Mitchell (2004) found that child victims approached by the online abusers were predominantly between the ages of 13 and 15 years of age. No victims were under the age of 12 and over 70% of them were girls. Of course adolescents are more likely than other children to be using this tool and this will influence the age of vulnerability.

Their study suggests that similar children are vulnerable to this form of abuse to those needy children who are vulnerable to abusers who do not use the internet to groom them.

Thus children with poor relationships with their parents are, in particular, quite vulnerable to "internet overtures" from adults looking for sexual relationships with underage partners (Wolak, Finkelhor & Mitchell, 2004). Girls with a high degree of conflict with parents and boys who have little monitoring from their parents are more likely than their counterparts with strong relationships with parents to develop close online relationships. This makes them more susceptible to online predators. Wolak and colleagues also find that adolescents (of both genders) who suffer from depression and depression-related problems are very likely to befriend people they meet on the internet to overcome feelings of loneliness and depression.

They also point to another group that may be particularly vulnerable – that is, gay or "questioning" boys. By questioning, they refer to the fact that these boys are beginning to explore their sexuality and the possibility that they may be homosexual. Wolak and colleagues found that about quarter of online relationships involved teenage boys and adult men. These children use the Internet to seek friends who are going through the same experience and to find information about homosexuality and sexual orientation. This may render them more vulnerable to adults who initiate sexual relationships under the pretext of helping adolescents work through these issues.

However it must be stressed that homosexual men are <u>not</u> a particular risk group for internet or other forms of child sexual abuse (see later discussion on perpetrators).

There is no South African data but key informants concur that Wolak and colleagues' findings would fit the South African situation.

A report by Chetty and Basson (2006) found that South African children who make use of the internet are at as much risk of exposure to adult pornographic content as are children from other countries. The authors concede that there has been no conclusive research that states that exposure to this material is harmful to children, but also point out that there is no consensus that there are *no* negative outcomes. This points to the fact that further research is needed in this area – it may be revealed that children who are exposed to adult material are more vulnerable to adult sexual predators because they have become somewhat disinhibited and are more curious than children who have had no such exposure. Wolak, Mitchell and Finkelhor (2007) confirm that more research is necessary in this regard.

A very recent study of children's internet behaviour has been conducted in the United Kingdom among 3227 children aged from 11 to 18 (MacVean & Ridley, 2007). Among other points, it is clear from their report that the children surveyed were frequent and sophisticated internet users. For example, while many received unsolicited pornographic images: "most of them were unperturbed by

this and just deleted it. The impression given is that these teenagers have accepted that this is an unwanted by-product of the internet" (p. 37). Worryingly, however, the report states: "In several of the focus groups, young people knew of girls who had exposed themselves on the web. One had a friend who had exposed her breasts. One group commented that it was 'really common' to see young exposed girls with the 'most common age being about 11'" (p. 38). This high risk behaviour (exactly the sort of behaviour that would attract abusers) could well reflect an expression of emerging sexuality associated with adolescence. As MacVean & Ridley note: "Teenagers have always engaged in risk-taking behaviour, the internet provides another forum in which to engage in risky behaviour. However, because using the internet is easy and anonymous, they are able to push the boundaries of risk taking further" (p. 5). Their study is encouraging in that while risky behaviour is clearly common on the internet, the sophistication of these British adolescents who have excellent control over their use of the internet is illuminating. No doubt their self-efficacy in this domain of activity has much to do with the extent of experience and training in this medium through the education system and in co-learning situations with peers. In any event, these young people appear to be much more knowledgeable about the internet than their parents.

Children who use the internet and visit "chatrooms" are of course vulnerable to online adult stalkers. These offenders engage children in conversations that are inappropriate for their age and/or sexual maturity and often expose them to adult or child pornography, or both. They make these children the objects of their sexual fantasies, often requesting that the children send pictures of themselves. These pictures, to begin with, are innocent enough but, as a relationship of trust is built up, the perpetrator requests more explicit sexual imagery, encouraging the children to perform sexual acts on themselves or their friends. These activities are all part of the grooming process, with the aim of making more direct (and, for the offender, more satisfying) contact e.g. telephone conversations and, ultimately, face-to-face meetings, where the offender intends to engage the child in sexual relations (Hughes, 2001).

Often, the offenders encourage children, while using voice chatting programs, to use headphones so that the adults in the house do no know to whom the child is speaking. In many instances, children are encouraged to have computers in their bedrooms and to perform sexual acts while the abusers watch over Webcams. Many offenders pretend to be far younger than they actually are, as a way of building up trust (Hughes, 2001).

As noted earlier in this report, at the present time, 12% of the South African population have access to the Internet and the vast majority are likely to be adults. There are no figures for children, but it is likely that better off children have access and are therefore the most vulnerable segment of the child population to internet child sexual abuse

Increasingly as access to the internet becomes available in schools this will increase the extent of vulnerability – potentially to the entire school-going population. However at this time, it is reasonable to assume that children in the middle to upper income brackets will be most at risk.

Vulnerability to internet and phone sexual abuse is naturally restricted to those who have access to the technology. However, many children with access to mobile phones (with the necessary connectivity i.e. Wireless Access Protocol) and whose parents do not supervise their use of the media, are vulnerable to this form of sexual abuse. WAP enabled phones are required for internet access and these are also bought by the more affluent end of the market. Again, children who are better off are likely to be more at risk via this medium.

Who are the perpetrators?

A problem with labels

In many ways the literature in this area is bedevilled by a lot of terms that attempt to grapple with a poorly understood phenomenon.

The psychiatric term *paedophile* is commonly used for persons with a sexual attraction to children (Healy, 1997). However, as Healy points out, not all

paedophiles engage in contact abuse, and many child molesters are not paedophiles. Child sexual abuse images can be important sources of sexual stimulation to those who sexually abuse children. However, by no means all those who abuse children use such resources.

Cohen, Seghorn and Calmas (1969) first classified child sexual offenders into the regressed, fixated and aggressive groups.

The aggressive offender is sadistic and generally targets boys.

The regressed offender does have some heterosexual interest in appropriate adult partners, but has some sense of inadequacy so, when his masculinity is attacked in some way or he is under stress, he reacts inappropriately (i.e. sexually) to a child. This type is also referred to as regressed / situational (Bickley and Beech, 2001). Another label used for such individuals is the 'opportunistic paedophile'.

The fixated offender seeks children and prefers their company so, in most instances, he will be known to the victims before the abuse begins. Also known as the fixated / preferential group (or "predatory" paedophile), these offenders prefer children over all others for sexual relations. Preferential child sexual abusers generally possess large amounts of child sexual abuse images, which they catalogue and guard dearly. It must be noted though that these are not the only people who are interested in such images.

Willis (1993, in Tomison, 1995) states that fixated offenders are more likely to be extrafamilial, while the situational offender is likely to commit intrafamilial abuse. The latter individuals are more likely to the open to changing their abusive behaviour patterns.

In spite of these labels, what evidence is there for profiles of *sex offenders who use child sexual abuse images of children* for sexual gratification or who exploit children by *using them in the production of these images*?

Is there a profile?

While there are some pointers (as we shall indicate below), there is no clear "profile" of these people. They form a heterogeneous group and preconceived ideas of who a child sex offender can be unhelpful and prove a distraction for investigating bodies (Wortley & Smallbone, 2006).

Apart from those with clear paedophile psychiatric diagnoses referred to above, (and even here matters are not precise), classifying and assessing these offenders are tasks that are complicated by significant variability in their personal characteristics, life experiences, offending histories and reasons for offending (Prentky, Lee & Knight, 1997; Bickley & Beech, 2001).

To some extent the lack of hard evidence for profiling purposes may be accounted for by the limited information that exists and the nature of the research that has been conducted. One needs a significant number of cases for profiles to be established with any degree of validity. A further limitation in research that has been conducted and tried to construct an offender profile is that most studies have been conducted on prison / convicted populations or those undergoing therapeutic intervention, which may well be atypical of the wider offending population. Besides not having a non-incarcerated control group with which to compare the profile of convicted offenders, the sample sizes in such studies are generally very small (Tomison, 1995 and Murray, 2000).

Some findings suggest that those who sexually abuse children are introverted and inadequate. For example, Marsa and colleagues (2004) compared 29 child sexual offenders, 30 violent offenders, 30 non-violent offenders and 30 community controls along the dimensions of attachment style and psychological profile. The child abuser was generally older and more of the child sexual offenders were involved in professional occupations than the other offenders. In terms of attachment styles, the comparison groups were three times more securely attached than the child abusers and the child abusers reported significantly more interpersonal anxiety and emotional loneliness. Similar findings are reported by Cullen, Smith, Funk and Haaf (2000).

If nothing else, from this research we can say that child sex offenders are likely to be more needy of affection and more insecure than comparison populations. Relationships with children who are not threatening to them may satisfy these needs.

Child abuse in the perpetrator's own history is often cited as contributing to the propensity to sexually abuse children. While there is some evidence for this claim the evidence is equivocal. It is the case that a proportion of sexual abusers were themselves sexually abused, but studies report a very wide range (20 – 90% depending on the population). Dobash, Carnie and Waterhouse (1996) provide a figure of 23% in their British study of case records of 498 abusers (from social work agencies, prisons and health services), where this data field was in the case file. It is by no means inevitable that the abused will abuse or that abusers were themselves abused (Townsend & Dawes, 2004). We also know very little about those who were abused and do not go on to do this as adults.

In terms of demographics, almost all of the perpetrators in the international studies are male. Dobash et al found that 75% of their cases came from stable intact family backgrounds and very few had been in residential care. Perpetrators cross social classes.

In the South African cases mentioned by experts, the majority were also male and, when females were involved, they operated in conjunction with male offenders

Healy (1997) points out that some child sexual offenders are attracted to children of the same sex, but that the majority of paedophiles are heterosexual. Smallbone and Wortley (2001) confirm that, in their study, over 75% of the offenders reported a heterosexual orientation.

It is understandable that society would like to have a profile of an offender so as to warn children that there are certain people that need to be avoided. However, there is just no one type of person who can be pointed out as a perpetrator. The offender can be blue collar or white collar, university-educated or a high school dropout. Save the Children Europe Group (2004) states that child sexual

exploitation cannot be effectively combated unless society acknowledges the diversity of the offender population. The fact that the majority of offenders do not conform to the stereotype portrayed in the media means that children are left even more vulnerable because society does not open itself to the possibility that "ordinary people" can be abusers.

It is well established that children are more likely to be abused by people who are known to them – the risk of "stranger danger" is not high (Tomison, 1995; Murray, 2000 and Stanley, 2001). Often, according to the South African informants, the perpetrators are not only known to the child, but known to the parents, too. They "groom" the parents as much as they do the children. These people seem to show more interest in children than adults – their contact with adults seems almost peripheral to the contact with the children. Often, if they have any interest in an adult couple, it is only because they are seen as a point of access to their children.

Smallbone and Wortley (2001) caution parents to be wary of intrafamilial contacts who look for (perhaps unusual) opportunities to spend time alone with children and for extrafamilial contacts who ingratiate themselves with the family. The offender can be someone who will not raise suspicion because he is in a legitimate position to have contact with the child e.g. a teacher or paediatrician (Belanger et al, 1984).

Studies of characteristics of consumers of child sexual abuse images

Very few studies have studied offenders who create or consume child sexual abuse images. One of the few is a study conducted in England, (Ames and Hovston, 1990 in Murray, 2000). Similar to the study conducted by Marsa and colleagues, these researchers found that a significant number were introverted shy and depressed. They were also emotionally immature and afraid of being unable to function in appropriate adult heterosexual relations.

South African key informants confirm that in their experience, offenders who have been arrested and/or convicted for the production or possession of child sexual abuse images have appeared "calm" or "meek" and that, only in rare instances, have they become angry or aggressive.

Wortley and Smallbone (2006) state that these offenders "come from all walks of life and show few, if any, warning signs of deviant behaviour" (p. 14). It is very likely that users of child sexual abuse images may be in a relationship – some may even be married which, according to South African informants, is a mask for their behaviour. In fact, they conceal it so well that their partners are not even aware of these preferences and are shocked when an investigation is launched and arrests made. Wortley and Smallbone also state that offenders are very likely to be employed and to have an above-average IQ and may even be university educated. They identify three user patterns:

"**Recreational users**: They access child pornography sites on impulse, out of curiosity, or for short-term entertainment. They are not seen to have long-term problems associated with child pornography use.

At-risk users: They are vulnerable individuals who have developed an interest in child pornography, but may not have done so had it not been for the Internet.

Sexual compulsives: They have a specific interest in children as sexual objects and seek out child pornography" (pp. 14-15).

The last group is probably closest to the person with a clinical paedophilia disorder.

What motivates those who collect child sexual abuse images?

Healy (1997) and Quayle and Taylor (2002) provide a summary of reasons as to why an individual may be motivated to collect images of child sexual abuse. The most obvious reason is that those who are interested in children sexually use the images to stimulate further sexual arousal. As Lanning and Burgess (1989) and Tate (1992) point out, the offender realises that potential contact abuse victims

will grow up eventually, but capturing them on film immortalises them at the preferred age. In addition, Tate states that there will often be times when there are no children available to have contact sexual relations with, which is why the collection of images is maintained to the extent it is. It must be noted that even images that are inherently "innocent" to the general population e.g. a child in a swimming costume can serve to arouse someone with a sexual interest in children.

Second, these pictures, by their very existence, justify their behaviour in that they "prove" to them that what occurs in the images is not abnormal, thus they are not abnormal for collecting them (Lanning, 1984).. The fact that many children are smiling in these pictures and appear to enjoy the abuse further validates this belief (Hartman, Lanning and Burgess, 1984).

A third, very important, reason to use child sexual abuse images is to groom potential sexual abuse victims (as noted above) – the images lower the inhibitions of children and encourage them to perform the activities they see there. They may, in some cases, even stimulate the arousal of children.

Fourth, images are very often used to blackmail the victims who have been captured – offenders threaten to show these images to all and sundry should the child choose to report the abuse. Feeling a sense of shame, the victims then choose not to disclose what has happened.

Fifth, images are used as a medium of exchange – perpetrators trade images, not only to increase their own collections, but also to establish trust and good relations with other collectors.

Finally, the images are used to generate profit – offenders can earn money if they sell images that have never been seen before by other perpetrators. However, Lanning and Burgess (1989) and Healy (1997) report that most of the pornography that is distributed has been sent more through private networks of paedophiles, rather than through commercial networks so, while the images may be exchanged for cash, the commercial value of them is not significant. Healy (1997) also states that, while organised crime is often involved in the adult

pornography industry, this is seldom the case with children. This is also the case in South Africa, where informants confirm that personal networks are more common than commercial ones.

In a study of Internet predators by Wolak, Finkelhor and Mitchell (2004), the offenders started off as strangers to the victims, but spent some time building up their trust and establishing online relationships with them.

Alexy, Burgess and Baker (2005) in a review of 91 news articles (referring to 225 offenders) found that the mean age of those that searched for child sexual abuse images on the internet was 37 years. Other studies report similar ages and a range of between 25 and the late thirties (Stanley, 2001; Wolak, Finkelhor & Mitchell, 2004; Hughes, 2001).

Wortley & Smallbone (2006) conclude that, among the few distinguishing features of these offenders using the internet to access child sexual abuse images are that they are likely to be White, male, and between the ages of 26 and 40 – not a very extraordinary observation!

The South African informants in the current study confirmed that all the male perpetrators that had been arrested and/or prosecuted were over the age of 30.

The majority of offenders in international studies have been Caucasian. This is also case currently in South Africa, where those arrested and/or convicted for the possession and/or production of child sexual abuse images have all been White. However, some informants in the present study feel that this is more of an economic than a racial issue – it is predicted that, as the Black population makes economic gains, there will be an increase in the number of non-White perpetrators. Not only will they then be able to purchase this material, but they will also have greater access to the technology that allows them to create and download it. As it stands in South Africa, informants at the National Prosecuting Authority report that they have only come across one instance in which a Black offender was arrested. This case has not yet gone to trial.

In the Belanger et al (1984) study, the majority of the offenders were middle to upper class. The Alexy, Burgess and Baker (2005) review revealed that 64% of the offenders were classified as "professional" whereas only 11% were classified as "labourers" and just under 9% were unemployed. Healy (1997) reports that those who use child sexual abuse images represent a cross-section of a larger community, which includes highly esteemed personalities. They tend to choose occupations that bring them into contact with children e.g. photographers and teachers.

Carnes (2003) finds that the "typical" profile of a paedophile arrested in the United States previously was a White middle to upper class male with a professional occupation e.g. a teacher or someone who was active in a youth-oriented program of some description. Now, however, with the advent of the internet, the author concludes that a "different" type of abuser is emerging (and being caught in sting operations by the Federal Bureau of Investigations). Those apprehended have included judges, high school dropouts, attorneys and physicians and even retired elderly offenders. Some of them do not even have a reported historical preoccupation with children. Stanley (2001) confirms that the internet has provided an opportunity for a wider range of people to become offenders and these increased opportunities for criminal behaviour will lead to an increase in the sexual exploitation of children.

Wortley & Smallbone (2006) also conclude that the internet makes it easy for people who may never have actively sought out child sexual abuse images to satisfy this curiosity online (because they can do this anonymously) and this may encourage casual users. Healy (1997) concurs, stating that the new, growing portion of society that is now accessing child pornographic material may not necessarily have a sexual preference for children but, after having viewed what is available in terms of the adult material, they are simply in search of something more "bizarre". It is possible that, given that the adult material is so easy to find and access, they are looking for the thrill of something that is more extreme.

Online child sexual abuse

Durkin (1997, in Quayle and Taylor, 2002) identifies four ways in which offenders may misuse the internet – it is used to transfer child sexual abuse images, to locate potential future victims of abuse, to communicate with other offenders and to engage in inappropriate sexual discussion with children. A very important aspect of the internet is the fact that these offenders are no longer isolated – by making contact with other perpetrators, they find even more ways to validate their behaviour and, given that they are generally anonymous, they allow even the most deviant of their fantasies to come to light (Quayle and Taylor, 2002).

To conclude this section, a brief description of the modus operandi of perpetrators on the internet is warranted. With the advent of digital and communication technology, abusers have found newer and faster ways of communicating with each other and with children. Hughes (2001) summarises the most common forms of communication.

1. Newsgroups are generally public forums based on the internet where perpetrators can contact like-minded others and establish relationships of trust and exchange;
2. web messages and bulletin boards operate in much the same way as newsgroups, but can be private and those who manage them can make it compulsory for members to enter a password before joining in discussion;
3. websites are still the most popular medium of distribution of child sexual abuse images. It is easy for anyone to establish a website and money can be made from advertising and through the sale of illicit material. These sites may be difficult to detect because they use keywords that are not related to child sexual abuse images and because they are transient – as soon as there is a suspicion of investigation from the authorities, the owners tend to dismantle them (as reported by South African informants);
4. chat rooms are very popular because, not only can perpetrators communicate with each other, but they are also very likely to find children in chat rooms. The communication is instantaneous and can be private

(between individuals) if desired. Generally speaking, no log files or transcripts of these "chats" are stored, as is often the case with email messages, which makes it easier for the offender to avoid detection and also more difficult for children and authorities to prove that undesirable communication occurred;

5. file transfer protocol (FTP) is an older method of communication but still somewhat popular because it allows perpetrators to have direct access to the hard drives of their fellow offenders – they can upload or download material to and from their computers with relatively little effort. This method of exchange is generally employed by offenders who have "met" each other elsewhere and have established some sort of trust between them;

6. search engines are becoming more sophisticated as technology advances. The indexing system of content on the world wide web has improved greatly so that users who know what they are looking for can find it quickly and easily – it is no longer a case of accidental discovery;

7. peer to peer networks and file swapping programs – all internet users with the same file sharing programs will be connected to each other once they log on to the internet. They can establish directories on their hard drives that allow the other users to download the material off their computers. If a user is searching for something in particular he can enter a keyword to that effect and the database will provide a list of the computers that store that material, making it quick and easy for the user to download it;

8. encryption is becoming more common for the discerning user – offenders disguise their files so that they appear to contain innocuous material and send them to other users. However, Hughes reported that, in 2001, experts in the technology arena were not convinced that this was that common a practice, given that encryption software is not easy to use.

Krone (2004) summarises the COPINE (Combating Paedophile Information Networks in Europe) definition of different types of pornography seekers on the internet (Table 1).

Table 1: A typology of online child sexual abuse images offending

Involvement	Features	Networking	Security	Abuse
Browser	Responds to spam – finds material accidentally, saves knowingly	None	None	Indirect
Private fantasy	Conscious creation of online text or images (personal use)	None	None	Indirect
Trawler	Actively seeks CP – uses openly available browsers	Low	None	Indirect
Non-secure collector	Actively seeks CP through peer-to-peer networks	High	None	Indirect
Secure collector	Actively seeks CP, but only through secure networks	High	Secure	Indirect
Groomer	Cultivates online relationship wit children. CP may be used to facilitate abuse	Varies – contact mainly with children	Security depends on child	Direct
Physical abuser	Abuse of child who may have been introduced online. May or may not seek material in any of above ways	Varies	Depends on child	Direct
Producer	Records own abuse or that of others or encourages children to submit pictures of themselves	Varies, depending on level of distribution	Depends on child	Direct
Distributor	May distribute at any of above levels	Varies	Secure	Indirect

(Source: Krone, 2004)

Wortley and Smallbone (2006) emphasise the importance of this offending typology because variations among offenders result in different types of behaviour on the internet. The offenders have different levels of involvement with the material on the internet and also different degrees to which they connect with other offenders. Knowing this may indicate what action is appropriate (legally and

therapeutically). It will be evident as Krone (2004) points out, that this, above all else, should show that there is no homogenous profile of offender – the very fact that there are at least nine different ways of offending (four of which do not involve contact abuse of children) shows significant differences amongst offenders.

That said, it remains important (as pointed out by our South African informants), to recognise the techniques that offenders use when exposing children to the world of child sexual abuse images – while this does not provide a "profile" of an offender so that children know at first sight which adults to avoid, it does indicate what behaviours they should be aware of. Predators most definitely "groom" children for the abuse. If it is in an online situation e.g. in a chat room, the offenders pretend to be other people e.g. a child intent on friendship. If it is in person, the contact is initially affectionate and attentive, progressing to light physical contact e.g. tickling, progressing to something heavier e.g. playful wrestling. This "foot-in-the-door" technique makes it easier for an abuser to move on to abusive behaviour. Specifically with regard to the production of sexual abuse images, many offenders begin by taking pictures of children while they are clothed, and then progressively ask them to remove certain items. They reinforce how beautiful they think the children are and build up a sense of confidence and trust (Lanning and Burgess, 1989).

They also expose them to child abuse images, often "accidentally" to gauge the children's reactions. This exposure lowers their inhibitions and desensitises them and trust is gradually established between the child and offender. For the same reasons, some offenders expose children to adult pornography, which may also stimulate them sexually. Some children are lured by the promise of money or material goods. Very often, children do not know that they are being filmed or photographed because they do not recognise the technology being used or the cameras are well-concealed.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Media and Community

The media and the community (comprising parents, schools and the population at large) can play a vital role in combating the spread of this problem. The main task for these role-players is to create awareness of the existence of the problem and to teach children to be wary of friends, family or strangers who ask them to become involved in any activity that could result in the production of child sexual abuse images. These activities include, but are not limited to, removing items of clothing, touching them physically in a way that makes them uncomfortable, taking pictures or videos (even if fully clothed as this may, after time, progress to something more sinister), wanting to spend time alone with them away from their parents, giving them gifts and being overly affectionate or attentive.

Cases that are given a high media profile can drive the agenda set by the Department of Home Affairs and the Film and Publications Act – to protect children from exposure to harmful and inappropriate materials and to protect them against sexual exploitation in the production of illicit material. Media need to find effective communication tools to bring the problem to light. An example is the "Think You Know" campaign, which was initiated by the Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre in the United Kingdom. This campaign alerts children to the dangers of communicating with strangers online, emphasising that any "friends" made on the internet e.g. in chart rooms are potential paedophiles and may have befriended them with the express purpose of engaging in sexual relations with them and to use them in the production of pornographic images. A concern was raised that South Africa does not necessarily have a platform for "Public Service Announcements" (PSAs) like those that were aired in the United Kingdom. This problem can be circumvented by converting those PSA's to television or radio advertisements of an "acceptable" length. In addition, the full-length announcements can be shown at schools, youth centres, religious organisations etc.

Another strategy orchestrated by the media in the United Kingdom involved a "name and shame" campaign of known or suspected paedophiles. This not only gave the public some idea of how *many* potential offenders existed, but also which people, specifically, needed to be avoided.

However, this is a dangerous and unwise strategy as some were wrongfully accused and there were several suicides associated with this campaign. Also there is the risk of attacks on affected persons as has occurred in South Africa. Such campaigns are also a violation of privacy so, if a campaign of this nature is to be undertaken in South Africa, much thought needs to go into considering the moral, legal and protection ramifications.

Internet safety messages that are aimed at the youth need to be carefully constructed, bearing in mind that children often have superior technical knowledge to adults. Messages should acknowledge and make use of the skills that children have, rather than just warning them that the internet is a potentially dangerous tool. To this end, they should also be composed by those with technical knowledge so that children take them seriously – South African informants from child protection groups believe that this will only be the case if the messages come from sources that are credible.

Parents not only need to be aware of the dangers that face their children, but also need to know that certain children are more vulnerable than others. To this end, parents must cultivate a sense of self-worth in children, as it is documented that children with low self-esteem and a weak sense of self are more vulnerable to predators. Children should also not be left unsupervised and computers should not be installed in their bedrooms or in other places where they have private access. In terms of mobile communication, parents must realise that many cellular telephones are equipped with technology that allows their children to communicate with unknown others and that enable the sending of files including photos and video clips. This is in addition to the adult material that can be downloaded from various sources. Where possible, mobile phones should be installed with filtering software – Vodacom, a South African cellular services

provider has implemented a system in which such blocking methods are employed on mobile phones. This block can only be lifted when an adult takes the affected mobile phone to a store to have it deactivated – proof of age is needed.

Parents should attempt to become au fait with all forms of technology that their children use. Also, without becoming intrusive, parents should know the people with whom their children are communicating and take an interest in their activities. It would be useful for them to learn the terminology that is used in computer communication especially that which was constructed to indicate that adults are in the vicinity and the users may not speak freely.

In cases where children have already been victimised, not only should they receive counselling, but so should their parents so as to be emotionally accessible to the victims. Good communication between parents and children and a relationship of support are essential in protecting children against vulnerability.

In terms of the **community**, there must be a way for the community to become involved once they have been made aware of the problem. There is no point in creating a society that is willing to tackle a problem when there is no way for them to do so. This would be dangerous in that, if they do not see justice being served, or do not have appropriate channels into which to channel their efforts, they could resort to taking the problem into their own hands, which could be fatal as the News of the World name-and-shame campaign was in the United Kingdom.

Schools should not install computers until teachers have been trained in the use of them and have technical knowledge that is comparable to that of the children. The same applies to public libraries and other places where children may have access to computers and the internet.

Policing

The main suggestion that emerged for the South Africa police services over the course of this study was that there is an undoubted need for specialised units to investigate any cases of child abuse and particular the form of abuse covered in

this study. If this is not done, secondary victimisation of children is probable and prosecutions are less likely to be successful as the case work required for these matters is specialised and substantial. This was corroborated by British colleagues who were interviewed for the study.

Police personnel in these units not only need to have expert knowledge of the subject (in terms of what visual material constitutes a crime), but also need to have technical skills and know how to search for hidden illicit material on computers and seal evidence so that it is not contaminated.

The training for these investigators needs to be ongoing because technology changes – they need to be able to keep up with the developments made and, if possible, even be ahead of the offenders in this regard.

In terms of victim interviews and suspect interrogations, police must be trained on how to handle these appropriately. Victims must not be re-victimised or re-traumatised by harsh questioning and by being made to feel as if they are at fault. Suspects should also be accorded respect, especially in the initial stages of investigation, where guilt has yet to be proven. It must also be acknowledged that suspects need counselling or debriefing.

A limited number of people should have access to pornographic material that has been seized from suspects and no one person should view this material alone. This will go some way to ensuring that the material does not fall into the wrong hands or is not removed from the police premises.

As much information on the crime as possible must be captured on case dockets so that the prosecutorial team has enough relevant information. In addition, this would help in building a database of offenders and accurate statistics so that we may judge the extent of the problem.

When the South African investigations reach the stage where credit card transactions are examined to determine whether illicit material was purchased, the problem of card compromise must be controlled for. Ample time must be allowed after the transaction before the investigation is initiated as it is possible that a suspect's card may have been utilised by a third party. The suspect must be allowed time to report a theft to the relevant authorities e.g. their financial

institution and the police. In this way, suspects who actually did make the purchases cannot defend themselves by claiming that their cards were stolen because, if they had been, they would have reported the matter.

The arrest process must be planned carefully in terms of how and where it is executed. Offenders must not be given the chance to conceal or dispose of evidence, which they will do if they are suspicious of being apprehended. If there are inconsistencies in the investigation or problems with the way in which evidence is handled (e.g. if a computer is tampered with when seized), this can be problematic throughout the investigation and during the prosecution – the defence can use investigative irregularities as loopholes to be acquitted. Again, this is matter of training and, where there are suspects who are known to have good technical skills or have evaded justice before, the more experienced investigators should be involved.

Remuneration packages for those police personnel equipped with these technical skills should be attractive and comparable to those working in the private sector. Police should not be trained by SAPS, only to defect to private companies.

It must be acknowledged that working in this area is stressful and cannot continue without proper training and counselling. At the very least, those who are exposed to the images and who must communicate regularly with suspects and offenders should be debriefed as regularly as possible. Police officers working with child abuse images and in these investigations require psychological support.

Finally, the Metropolitan Police and other forces in the UK have guidelines on how computers should be dealt with in investigations and prosecutions.

Our local colleagues require opportunities to become familiar with these methods.

UK colleagues consulted in the course of this investigation offered to explore opportunities for collaboration and training for the SAPS.

Justice / Prosecuting

Personnel in this sector also need to be specialised. They need ongoing training so that they are kept abreast of modern technological advances and so that they

are not out of their depth when prosecuting technically savvy offenders. They need information on how computers and the internet operate and how to handle evidence when preparing a case so that it is not compromised. As per informants at the National Prosecuting Authority, prosecutors currently shy away from child pornography cases because they feel ill-prepared to try cases of a technical nature.

In addition to needing technical skills, they should be given a step-by-step guide on *how* to prosecute cases, at least initially. For many prosecutors, it is not a "logical" step to turn to the Film and Publications Act to try a case. They need to know all the relevant legislation and to anticipate what defences may be put forward. A consolidated guideline would aid them to this end.

Prosecutors must know to ask for evidence to be sealed and then destroyed after the case has been concluded, as opposed to the usual evidence storage period of five years. It has been suggested that hard drives should be kept for a certain period of time, but under the strictest of security conditions, to allow for court appeals.

As with the police, prosecutors should be counselled or debriefed after viewing images or after a case has been concluded.

The move to separate child pornography case statistics from all sexual offence statistics must be followed through because not enough people are aware that a problem exists. Consolidated figures of all sexual offences do not give any indication of how widespread the problem is. Knowing how many cases have been processed would aid the NPA in deciding what proportion of resources should be directed at training prosecutors and investing in technological devices that will aid in prosecutions.

There are often "borderline" images in which it is difficult to tell how old the victim is e.g. some may think s/he is 16 while others are convinced that s/he is older than 18. These images should not be led as evidence in court as they will only introduce doubt to the whole case. It is very likely that there will be far more images that are unquestionably of young children, so there is no need for the disputable images to make an appearance.

Prosecutors should be brought on board as early as possible in the investigation process so that they are aware of all developments and so that they can prepare adequately for a trial. Ideally, this should be the case for all crimes, but it is especially important for child pornography cases, so that prosecutors can establish what research needs to be done and to secure the services of expert witnesses, if necessary.

Legislature

At the Round Table consultations with key informants and UK experts, there was a suggestion that the South African Victim Empowerment Strategy could incorporate a document somewhat like the United Kingdom's Victim Charter. This means that victims of the production and distribution of child sexual abuse images will be allowed to make an impact statement at the time of sentencing or parole hearings of offenders, which may inform a decision made by the court. Currently, there are two offender registers in South Africa that, for all intents and purposes, capture the same information. This is duplication of effort and resources and, in many cases, salient information e.g. the exact nature of the crime is not captured. These registers should be consolidated into one central list and all pertinent information must be reflected.

The legal ramifications of creating "orders" and "cautions" like those that exist in the United Kingdom should be investigated. These involve issuing warnings to suspected offenders who have not been tried or convicted, but who will be subject to monitoring by police for a certain period of time. For those who have been released from prison on parole, they will be subject to surveillance and, should they be found to be in breach of probation conditions, they will be re-incarcerated with almost immediate effect.

The child pornography legislation should possibly incorporate the COPINE (Combating Paedophile Information Networks in Europe) classification system of child sexual abuse images. The different categories are ranked according to "seriousness" and judges can refer to these classifications when sentencing. It emerged during key informant interviews and the round table discussion that judges appear to be "afraid" to sentence offenders harshly because of a lack of

familiarity with the subject matter and the crime itself – the guidelines already established by COPINE will circumvent this problem.

Non-Governmental / Child Protection

Child protection agencies can be used to supplement gaps that are found in the public services work force e.g. providing counselling for victims, offenders, policemen and women and prosecutors when the respective agencies concerned are unable to.

They can also be used to mobilise volunteers who are ready and willing to aid in the fight against the production and exchange of child sexual abuse images. They can create awareness and provide a community platform for communication and the generation of solutions.

Technology and ISPs

Service providers should be required to take more active responsibility in combating child sexual abuse images in cyberspace. As it stands, they are currently only obligated to report evidence of illicit activity *if* they happen to come across it, but there is no active obligation to search for it. There is disagreement as to whether service providers or end users (specifically, parents) should be responsible for filtering material that is available off the internet, but most informants feel that the service providers do need to play a more active role. The key point is that the protection of children, not the making of profit, should be the motivator.

It was suggested in our consultations that an internet monitoring system, similar to the Internet Watch Foundation in the United Kingdom, be established in South Africa. Such an organisation would work closely with service providers and, if illegal material is found, the host would have to remove it and suspend services to the customer. An agreement between the service provider and watchdog would be legally binding. Such a system may result in a loss of clientele for service providers but, at the end of the day, the goal is to protect children. When selling mobile phone contracts and internet services, service providers should disseminate information about the dangers involved for children. This

includes, but is not limited to, how child sexual offenders may make contact with children and how they may groom them over time.

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Appendix 1

Key Informant Interview Schedule

<u>Definition/Nature of the Problem</u>

1. In your experience, what proportion of people who use images involving children in sexual acts for sexual gratification, also actively abuse children?

    1b. How do you know this/on what evidence is your claim based?

2. In your experience, to what extent do offenders use child pornography and/or other pornography as a prelude to the sexual abuse of children (in other words are users who start off using child pornography likely to proceed to actual abuse of children?)

    2b. How do you know this/on what evidence is your claim based?

3. Which children/groups of children are the most vulnerable to adults who might involve them in participating in forming images that will be used for sexual gratification?

    3b. How do you know this/on what evidence is your claim based?

4. Are there specific areas in South Africa ('hotspots') where there are high numbers cases of children becoming involved in the production of pornographic images?

    4b. How do you know this/on what evidence is your claim based?

5. What about the issue of "soft" child pornography or "corporate paedophilia"? i.e. the use of children in provocative, sexual ways, e.g. for advertising purposes or in popular culture? What are your comments on this? (Is it prevalent in SA; in your opinion does it pose a risk of abuse to young children? Why? What mechanisms are in place – for example in the advertising industry - to ensure that children are not sexualised?). What mechanisms should be put in place?

    5b Please indicate the basis for your claims.

<u>Extent of the Problem</u>

6. Do you have any notion of the extent and form (i.e. electronic or print) of the availability of pornographic images featuring children in South Africa?

7b. How do you know this/on what evidence is your claim based?

7. Are you aware of child pornography being produced in South Africa? How much child pornography is produced in South Africa (as opposed to sourced from other countries)?

8. How are children lured into situations in which child pornography is produced in South Africa? Are particular groups of children vulnerable?

8b. Please indicate how you know this/on what evidence do you base this claim?

9. Are there particular persons or groups who are known to be responsible for drawing children into this practice so as to produce child pornography (e.g. criminal gangs, cartels; paedophile groups and so forth) involved in the production of pornographic images involving children in South Africa? Is it connected to the adult pornography industry?

9b. Please indicate how you know this/on what evidence are your claims based?

10. Is child pornography in South Africa produced for personal use by paedophiles or is there greater commercial distribution?

10b. Please indicate how you know this/on what evidence are your claims based?

11. What is the most common medium of distribution of child pornography?

11b. Please indicate how you know this/on what evidence are your claims based?

<u>Intervention</u>

12. What mechanisms are in place to limit/prevent the production of pornographic images involving children? How effective are these measures?

13. What are the difficulties in monitoring and preventing child pornography being produced and distributed in South Africa? Is this more or less of a problem in South Africa than in other countries?

14. What are the limitations in the legislation in terms of effective monitoring and prevention (including in the policing and criminal justice systems)?

15. How many child pornography websites have been dismantled since the enactment of the Film and Publications Amendment Act (1999)?

16. How many cases involving child pornography have not gone to trial since 1999 and for what reasons?

17. What legal technicalities prevent the effective prosecution of producers and/or consumers of child pornography?

18. In what area have the most child pornography cases been prosecuted?

Solutions

19. What opportunities/solutions are there for monitoring and child pornography being produced and distributed in South Africa?

20. What is needed to strengthen the policing and criminal justice systems so that no technicalities/loopholes can prevent arrests and/or effective prosecution?

21. What are the effective strategies to prevent the involvement of children in the production of pornographic images?

22. Are there further suggestions on how to prevent child pornography being brought into/downloaded in South Africa?

23. What services aim to rehabilitate child pornography offenders in South Africa?

24. Are these measures effective?

Any other comments or information you wish to provide?

Many thanks for your time.

Appendix 2

Child Pornography Round Table: 31 May – 1 June 2007

DAY 1

8.30: Welcome Prof Andy Dawes

8.45: Setting SA Scene 1: FPB perspective: Iyvar Chetty

9.15: Setting SA Scene 2: Justice & Policing – the National Prosecuting Authority: Adv Dawn Coleman & Adv Mark Kenny

9.45: Setting SA Scene 3: NGO Perspective: Ms Joan van Niekerk

10.15 TEA

10.45: Setting the UK Scene: Profiles and insights re abusers on the internet: UK Team (Prof Allyson M[ac] Vean; Detective Constable Andrew Richards (West Midlands Police; Detective Superintendent Nicholas Stephens (Metropolitan Police High Tech Unit).

13.00 LUNCH

14.00: Offenders, victims, arrest strategies and staff welfare: UK Team

15.30 TEA

16.00: The role of the media, sentencing and judiciary: UK Team

DAY 2

9.00: Covert policing: UK Team

11.00 TEA

11.30: Education programmes and what works: challenges for the future :UK Team

13.00 LUNCH

14.00: Implications for South Africa: key take homes for the South Africans: All

15.30: Closure