

**THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS EXPERIENCED BY COMPUTER FORENSIC
EXAMINERS WORKING WITH CHILD PORNOGRAPHY**

by

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DECLARATION

I, Juliette Whelpton, declare that this dissertation entitled *The psychological effects experienced by computer forensic examiners working with child pornography* is my own work and that all the resources that I have used and indicated have been acknowledged by means of complete references.

ABSTRACT

Convergence of technology has made access to the Internet faster, easier and cheaper. Criminals, including paedophiles, child abusers and pornography traders make use of this technology to commit criminal offences. Computer Forensic Examiners (CFEs) are members of the Cyber Crime Unit, a professional, specialised unit of the South African Police Service (SAPS) who are responsible for computer forensic examination including the investigation of child pornographic images. The aim of the study was to seek understanding on what psychological effects the CFEs experienced when working with the images and was conducted from within the social constructionism and the narrative frameworks. The images had a severe impact on the CFEs as was clearly uncovered in the stories of six CFEs who participated in this study. The participants' stories were recorded and transcribed after which the application of thematic content analysis found that the participants all suffered similar negative effects. These findings were integrated with the findings of a focus group as well as with the findings of a similar study that was conducted during the same time by the Crimes against Children Research Center at the University of New Hampshire and resulted in identifying symptoms of trauma and stress experienced by the CFEs. Based on these results recommendations regarding the support for the CFEs were made.

Key words: Child Pornography, Computer Forensic Examiner, Cyber Crime, South African Police Service, Paedophilia, Trauma, Stress, Burnout, Vicarious trauma, Compassion fatigue, Post-traumatic stress disorder

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ABBREVIATIONS

CCRC	Crimes against Children Research Center
CFE	Computer Forensic Examiner
COE	Council of Europe
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
FCS	Family Violence, Child Protection and Sexual Offences unit
G8	Group of Eight
ICAC	Internet Crimes against Children
ICMEC	International Centre for Missing & Exploited Children
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IT	Information Technology
SAPS	South African Police Service
UN	United Nations

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

“In the first ten years of my career in the Police I thought that I have seen everything. I was on crime scenes where people were killed with knives. I was at scenes where people died on the scene after being stabbed with a knife. I was at an accident scene where a man was hit by a vehicle. He literally lay in pieces. I attended a family murder scene where I had to walk over a dead body to get to a room where three children had to be comforted. I saw huge, experienced policemen cry at scenes where children were the victims. I cannot explain it to you. The police, like any other human, feels shocked to see an adult as a victim, but to see a child as a victim touches us all. I took a statement of a six year old girl that was molested. I will never forget it. In the next eight years of my career I saw things that I never thought possible. It is not only the photos of child pornography, or the abuse of children that we see. They make video's of it and distribute it over the Internet: children, not only being abused but also raped. I found that I was starting to sleep less. For the last few years, when I woke up, I can't remember of ever dreaming.”

Liezel Freitag, Captain, Computer Forensic Examiner, Cyber Crime Unit, South African Police.

Personal Statement

I am a functional member of the South African Police Service (SAPS) and have been working at the Cyber Crime Unit for ten years where I performed the duties of computer forensic examining. My own exposure to the horrible images and video clips of child pornography in the performance of my duties had awoken many negative feelings in myself. I needed answers to many questions on the influence that the investigation of child pornography related crimes had on a person. Did my colleagues who worked with the material on almost a daily basis experience the same emotional distress that I had? Did they find it difficult to sleep? Did they get flash backs of the images? Were they dealing with their emotions in a destructive way? Did they also look at all strangers with suspicion? Were they over protective with their own children? What was the influence on their intimate relationships? Did they feel like they were going mad? Was there anyone they could talk to or seek help from? Were they affected by the “cowboys don't

cry” police culture, wondering if they would be viewed as incompetent to do their work should they seek help? How did they feel about the psychological interventions that were offered to them?

During October 2008 I received written permission from the Divisional Commissioner, Crime Intelligence, Head Office, South African Police Service (SAPS), to conduct the research in the SAPS (Appendix B). The requesting letter explained that the focus of the study was to explore the psychological effects experienced by police officials who work as computer forensic examiners (CFEs) dealing directly with child pornography.

During this time the urgent need was identified by the members of the Cyber Crime Unit who worked as CFEs to participate in a debriefing session. I arranged for a three-day workshop that also served as a focus group for the topic under investigation. The workshop was held during November 2008 in Pretoria and was facilitated by a registered clinical and counseling psychologist. It was a national workshop that was attended by all the CFEs in the SAPS.

It was at this session that I realised that I was not alone. I was not crazy. My colleagues were also going through the same sufferings and despair as I was. And so began my journey, as the stories told by my colleagues unfold.

General Introduction

The Cyber Crime Unit is a professional, specialised unit of the South African Police Service (SAPS) and is responsible for computer forensic examination. For the purpose of this study the members of this unit will be referred to as Computer Forensic Examiners (CFEs). CFEs are responsible to provide services to the specialised units of the SAPS including the Family violence, Child Protection and Sexual offences (FCS) unit and the Organised Crime unit. Their task is to analyse electronic data in a forensic manner in order to provide objective evidence in court. Forensic methods involve procedures used by the unit that is set out according to international standards used by law enforcement agencies. Interpol created working parties on Information Technology (IT) crime to facilitate the development of procedures, standards, strategies, technologies and information on the latest IT crime methods. There are regional working parties for Africa, America, Asia and the South Pacific, Europe, the Middle East and North Africa.

Although CFEs provide a service to all the units in the SAPS, their largest workload is related to crimes against children when support is provided to the FCS unit. It is the duty of the CFEs to conduct computer forensic investigations for court purposes on computers of suspects believed to be in possession of, distributing, and/or manufacturing child pornography. All the members working at the Cyber Crime Unit underwent a security clearance and their work is treated as confidential.

Most people in society are not aware of what child pornography actually entails. For many the concept of child pornography is images of naked children, with a false belief that it is not serious. They do not realise that it can involve images of babies being violently raped in full-length movies, recording these and other sexual and violent assaults (Fantino, 2003). These images have a severe impact on the viewer as described by Malusi Gigaba, South Africa's Deputy Minister of Home Affairs during the launch of the Child Hotline Number (<http://www.afrol.com/articles/14965>) which was initiated for the reporting of Child Pornography. The Deputy Minister highlighted that: "For those of you who have never seen an image of child

pornography, be grateful that you have never and please keep it that way, for the image is too gruesome to the mind and never escapes your memory."

Convergence of technology has made access to the Internet faster, easier and cheaper. Criminals, including paedophiles, child abusers and pornography traders make use of this technology to commit criminal offences. Here, for example the distribution of pornography via mobile phones is a growing industry. Paedophiles and child predators take advantage of the unsupervised use of mobile phones by children to access the Internet and social network sites, including Facebook, Twitter and MXit. The mobile device is used as the medium of choice by the Paedophiles to access the Internet, not only for distribution of child pornography, but also for targeting child victims. The Internet provides a platform for creation, distribution and possession of child pornography. It also globalised the child pornography industry. Almost every case related to child pornography involves more than one country. This can be confirmed in reports on child pornography investigations, including the report of CNN Justice Producer, Terry Frieden on the arrest of more than 72 members of a child pornography ring (Frieden, 2011). The ring members engaged in what authorities describe as unspeakable crimes for sexually exploiting children ranging from infants to children up to twelve years of age. The ring reached across five continents and 14 countries.

During 2002, the International Centre for Missing & Exploited Children (ICMEC) hosted a Forum of the European Commission in Dublin addressing the issue of "Creating a Global Agenda to Combat Child Pornography" (Taylor, 2003). Along with members of the board of the ICMEC, the Forum gathered together many of the leading experts in this area, including representatives from the international police agencies (Interpol and Europol), individual police forces, statutory and voluntary agencies, as well as universities, to consider the development of an action plan to address the global context of child pornography. Arising out of the discussion several points were identified for further development and action. One of these points was the development of appropriate worker protection mechanisms for those involved in image and abuse management. Most contemporary police forces now recognise the need to either protect workers involved in distressing incidents, or to make available post hoc support after exposure to distressing events, although actual provision of adequate psychological support services may be

limited or insufficient. It was explained that police culture, which emphasises “macho, can do” attitudes, is a very problematic issue as it makes it difficult for individuals (especially men) experiencing emotional turmoil and stress to come forward and seek psychological support. Often the request for psychological support is seen as an admission of weakness rather than one emanating from maturity and self-awareness. Such a request for support might also have a negative impact on that individual’s future involvement with this work and promotion prospects. Furthermore, exposure to these distressing images and material invariably has long term consequences. The Forum recognised the need to develop parallel worker support structures along with more effective policy and operational initiatives (Taylor, 2003).

Research Aim

The aim of this study is to explore the psychological effects experienced by the South African Police Service’s Computer Forensic Examiners (CFEs) working with child pornography. The CFEs are exposed to images of children being abused often on a daily basis. The way in which the CFEs interpret these traumatic events can result in experiencing negative long-term changes in the way they view themselves, significant others and their world. The CFEs are considered to be secondary victims of the crimes in which the abused children are considered to be primary victims. They are not seen to be directly involved in the traumatic event, and therefore their distress often goes undetected.

Previous research or studies regarding the negative effects that child pornography has on law enforcement could not be found. The psychological effects experienced by the CFEs, however, are of great concern to themselves, their families, and for the organisation. The context within which they work therefore needs to be understood and support provided for them to continue in this highly stressful environment. The purpose of this study is to make the SAP aware of these psychological effects and to find a way to manage and support their skilled personnel. The research will examine current shortcomings in the support of CFEs in order to facilitate future planning of additional support.

During the onset of this research, a similar (but separate) project was conducted by the Crimes against Children Research Center (CCRC) at the University of New Hampshire. The project was funded by the U.S. Department of Justice, through the Internet Crimes against Children (ICAC) Training and Technical Assistance Program. 564 Participants responded to an online survey. The questionnaire was created based on information from a focus group that was conducted with local law enforcement agency and literature about police stress. The participants represented local, country, state, and federal law enforcement agencies from across the United States. The aims of the project was to compile a report, describing problems that participants had, support available to personnel, and how the agencies were handling this issue. The results of the US study were used as a source of information to obtain methodological triangulation in order to gain more information. A summary of the research is included in Appendix C.

Description of key terms

'Computer Forensic Examiner (CFE)':

The CFE is a member of the SAPS who performs duties at the Cyber Crime Unit. Responsible to provide support to the specialised units of the SAPS including Organised Crime Unit, Family Violence, Child Protection and Sexual Offences Unit (FCS), the Commercial Crime Unit and Crime Intelligence. Duties involve the examination of electronic data and providing expert evidence in court. Members have received specialised training in the field of information technology and computer forensics.

'Cyber Crime':

Cyber Crime is any crime that involves a computer, a network or storage media. The computer may have been used in the commission of a crime, or it may be the target. Examples of crimes include fraud, child pornography, child grooming, drug trafficking, copyright infringement and terrorism.

'Child Pornography':

Child pornography is a violation against children. It involves sexual abuse and exploitation of children and is often combined with prostitution, trafficking and sex tourism. Child pornography in the form of books, films and videos has been available for decades. Technology, especially the Internet enables child pornography to be sold, exchanged and transmitted digitally. It is this kind of material that is being dealt with by the CFEs. Digital child pornography is material that is stored on electronic devices. It includes photos, video clips and written descriptions. The material can be produced by using digitising and scanning equipment as well as digital cameras and camcorders. It is important to realize that these digital images are crime scene photos that serve as a permanent record of the children that were sexually abused in the production of the material. The lives of the children featured in these illegal images and videos are forever altered. Behind each of these pictures is a child's solitary nightmare. With regard to this a victim of child

pornography, Shy Keenan, who was abused for years in England and saw her abuse pictures widely circulated on the Internet before she became a leading children's rights activist as an adult, also highlighted that child pornography is crime scene photography. She describes it as crimes of humiliation and torture of the most vulnerable members of society: crimes committed not only by the one who took the pictures or the abuser who was under the covers, but also those behind the computer (Sher, 2007). Many investigators in this field prefer the phrase "child abuse images" or "child exploitation material" to be used rather than "child pornography".

Interpol, the largest international police organisation with 190 member countries, aim to facilitate co-operation between the different law enforcement agencies. Since 1999, the Interpol Standing Working Group on Offences against Minors, of which South Africa is a member, has used the following definition for child pornography:

Child pornography is the consequence of the exploitation or sexual abuse perpetrated against a child. It can be defined as any means of depicting or promoting sexual abuse of a child, including print and/or audio, centered on sex acts or the genital organs of children.

Child pornography is a transnational crime which must be considered when studying legislation. The following are definitions of what is considered child pornography in the following countries: (http://www.internationalresourcecentre.org/missingkids/servlet/PageServlet?LanguageCountry=en_X2&PageId=3428)

United States of America:

“child pornography” means any visual depiction, including any photograph, film, video, picture, or computer or computer-generated image or picture, whether made or produced by electronic, mechanical, or other means, of sexually explicit conduct, where—

(i) the production of such visual depiction involves the use of a minor engaging in sexually explicit conduct;

(ii) such visual depiction is a digital image, computer image, or computer-generated image that is, or is indistinguishable from, that of a minor engaging in sexually explicit conduct;
or

(iii) such visual depiction has been created, adapted, or modified to appear that an identifiable minor is engaging in sexually explicit conduct.” (Protection Act, 2003).

Thailand:

“Whoever:

(i) for the purpose of trade or by trade, for public distribution or exhibition, makes, produces, possesses, brings, or causes to be brought into the Kingdom, sends or causes to be sent out of the kingdom, takes away or causes to be taken away, or circulates by any means whatever, any document, drawing, print, painting, printed matter, picture, poster, symbol, photograph, cinematograph film, noise tape, picture tape or any other thing which is obscene;

(ii) carries on trade, or takes part or participates in the trade concerning the aforesaid obscene material or thing, or distributes or exhibits to the public, or hires out such material or thing;

(iii) assist in the circulation or trading of the aforesaid obscene material or thing, propagates or spreads the news by any means whatsoever if there is a person committing the act, which is an offence according to this section, or propagates or spreads the news that the aforesaid obscene material or thing may be obtained from a specific person or by whatever means, shall be punished with imprisonment not exceeding three years or payment of a fine not exceeding six thousand (6,000.00) baht (1,470.30 ZAR), or both.”
(Thailand Criminal Code, 1956)

Poland:

- (i) Publicly represents pornographic material in such manner that it is imposed upon a person who may not wish so.
- (ii) Present pornographic material to a minor under 15 years of age, or makes available to him/her items of this nature.
- (iii) Produce for the purpose of dissemination, records, imports, distributes or propagates pornographic material in which minors under the age of 15 participate, or pornographic material associated with the use of violence or the use of an animal.
- (iv) Subject to prosecution are persons, who: record, import, keep or possess pornographic material with the participation of a minor under the age of 15.
- (v) The court may decide upon forfeiture of the means or other items, which were intended to be used or were used to commit offences described in paragraphs 1-4, even if they were not owned by the perpetrator himself (Polish Penal Code 202, 1998).

South Africa:

Child pornography includes any image, however created, or any description of a person, real or simulated, who is, or who is depicted or described as being, under the age of 18 years:

- (i) engaged in sexual conduct;

- (ii) participating in, or assisting another person to participate in sexual conduct; or

- (iii) showing or describing the body, or parts of the body, of such a person in a manner or in circumstances which, within context, amounts to sexual exploitation, or in such a manner that it is capable of being used for the purpose of sexual exploitation. (Films and Publication Act, 1996)

Paedophile

A paedophile is a person who is sexually attracted and aroused by children. The DSM-IV-TR Criteria for paedophilia are as follow (American Psychiatric Association, 2000):

- a) Over a period of at least 6 months, recurrent, intense sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges or behaviors involving sexual activity with a pre-pubescent child or children (generally age 13 or younger).

- b) The fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviours cause clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning.

- c) The person is at least 16 years old and at least 5 years older than the child or children in Criterion a. Note: Do not include an individual in late adolescence involved in an ongoing sexual relationship with a 12- or 13-year-old.

The Constitution and International Treaties

The Constitution of South Africa as well as several International Treaties is applicable with the combat and investigation of child pornography on the Internet.

The Constitution

Children are entitled to all constitutional rights and freedoms contained in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), except those restricted to adults only. Section 28 (1) (d) provides that every child has the right to be protected from maltreatment, neglect, abuse or degradation.

Section 7 of the Children's Act, No 38 of 2005, sets out the factors that must be considered when applying the best interests of the child standard.

Subsection (1) (l) provides:

the need to protect the child from any physical or psychological harm that may be caused by-

- (i) subjecting the child to maltreatment, abuse, neglect, exploitation or degradation or exposing the child to violence or exploitation or other harmful behaviour; or
- (ii) exposing the child to maltreatment, abuse, degradation, ill-treatment, violence or harmful behaviour towards another person.

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

The United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (<http://www.unicef.org/crc/fulltext.htm>) is a human rights treaty setting out the civil, political, economic, social, health and cultural rights of children. The convention sets the standards which should be observed by all countries in relation to the care of children.

The provisions of the CRC which are of particular interest to the investigation of child pornography are summarised below:

Article 1 of the UN CRC defines a 'child' as a person below the age of 18, unless the laws of a particular country set the legal age for adulthood younger. The Committee on the Rights of the Child, the monitoring body for the Convention, has encouraged States to review the age of majority if it is set below 18 and to increase the level of protection for all children under 18.

Article 3 of the Convention states that in all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by the public or private social welfare institutions, court of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interest of the child shall be a primary consideration.

Article 3(1) requires the States' Parties to criminalise child pornography, whether committed domestically or transnationally, on an individual or organised basis. It furthermore requires the States' Parties to criminalise simple possession of child pornography material regardless of the intent to distribute.

An optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography has been adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution A/RES/54/263 of 25 May 2000 and entered into force on 18 January 2002.

It states in order to achieve the purposes of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the implementation of its provisions, the measures that the States' Parties should undertake should be extended in order to guarantee the protection of the child from the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography. It was agreed that:

Article 1

The States' Parties shall prohibit the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography as provided for by the present Protocol.

Article 2

For the purposes of the present Protocol:

- (a) Sale of children means any act or transaction whereby a child is transferred by any person or group of persons to another for remuneration or any other consideration;
- (b) Child prostitution means the use of a child in sexual activities for remuneration or any other form of consideration;
- (c) Child pornography means any representation, by whatever means, of a child engaged in real or simulated explicit sexual activities or any representation of the sexual parts of a child for primarily sexual purposes.

Article 3

1. Each State Party shall ensure that, as a minimum, the following acts and activities are fully covered under its criminal or penal law, whether such offences are committed domestically or transnationally or on an individual or organized basis:

(a) In the context of sale of children as defined in article 2:

(i) Offering, delivering or accepting, by whatever means, a child for the purpose of:

- a. Sexual exploitation of the child;
- b. Transfer of organs of the child for profit;
- c. Engagement of the child in forced labour;

(ii) Improperly inducing consent, as an intermediary, for the adoption of a child in violation of applicable international legal instruments on adoption;

(b) Offering, obtaining, procuring or providing a child for child prostitution, as defined in Article 2;

(c) Producing, distributing, disseminating, importing, exporting, offering, selling or possessing for the above purposes child pornography as defined in Article 2.

2. Subject to the provisions of the national law of a State Party, the same shall apply to an attempt to commit any of the said acts and to complicity or participation in any of the said acts.

3. Each State Party shall make such offences punishable by appropriate penalties that take into account their grave nature.

4. Subject to the provisions of its national law, each State Party shall take measures, where appropriate, to establish the liability of legal persons for offences established in paragraph 1 of the present article. Subject to the legal principles of the State Party, such liability of legal persons may be criminal, civil or administrative.

5. The States' Parties shall take all appropriate legal and administrative measures to ensure that all persons involved in the adoption of a child act in conformity with applicable international legal instruments.

International Labour Organisation Convention

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention 182 on Child Labour (Convention 182, <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipec>) focuses on child labour and include the addressing of child prostitution, pornography, drug trafficking and work under hazardous conditions.

The Cybercrime Convention

The Council of Europe (COE) and the Group of Eight (G8) both contributed to the combating of child exploitation. The COE (<http://www.coe.int>) comprises 40 countries that formed a committee of experts in Crime in Cyberspace to draft a multilateral Convention on Cybercrime. The Convention was opened for signature on 21 November 2001. 43 States signed the Convention. Four of those States (South Africa, Japan and the United States) are not members of the COE.

Article 9 of Title 3 deals with offences related to child pornography. Article 9(1) recommends that each State Party makes it a criminal offense to-

- a. produce child pornography for the purpose of its distribution through a computer system;
- b. offer or make available child pornography through a computer system;
- c. distribute or transmit child pornography through a computer system;
- d. procure child pornography through a computer system for one self or for another person;
- e. possess child pornography in a computer system or on a computer-data storage medium.

Group of Eight sub-group on high-tech crime

The G8 (or “Group of Eight”) is a multilateral group consisting of the world's major industrial democracies: Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. While the European Union is not a member of the G8, EU representatives attend G8 meetings as “observers”. The G8 address a wide range of international economic, political, and security issues. (http://www.justice.gov/criminal/cybercrime/g82004/g8_background.html)

In 1996 a group of experts (later known as the "Lyon Group") produced Forty Recommendations to combat transnational organised crime. The Heads of State from the G8 countries endorsed the

Forty Recommendations after which sub-groups were formed to address specific crime-related issues. Among the five Subgroups of the Lyon Group that were created to implement the Forty Recommendations adopted by G8 Heads of State in 1996 was the G8's Subgroup on High-Tech Crime. Over time, that mission has expanded to include work with third world countries and on such topics as combating terrorist, uses of the Internet, and protection of critical information infrastructures. Amongst the countries listed in the directory of the members of the G8 network include: Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Croatia, Denmark, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, Japan, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa and Sweden. Countries are represented in the Subgroup by multi-disciplinary delegations that include cybercrime investigators and prosecutors, and experts on legal systems, forensic analysis and international cooperation agreements.

Significant work of the Subgroup has included:

- creation of its Network for 24-Hour Points of Contact for High-Tech Crime, currently with 40 members, and an international Critical Information Infrastructure Protection Directory;
- various best practices documents, including guides for security of computer networks, international requests for assistance, legislative drafting, and tracing networked communications across borders;
- conferences for law enforcement and industry on improved cooperation and tracing criminal and terrorist communications, and for all stakeholders in protection of critical information infrastructures.

Chapter 2 of this dissertation provides a review of related literature and current theories to understand the response of the CFE to the traumatic effects they experience.

In Chapter 3 the theoretical framework and methodology are explained. The study was approached from the social constructionism framework which served as a grounding force throughout the research. A qualitative methodology was employed as the researcher did not start the data collection with hypotheses already in mind. Instead, the data defined how the research question was to be answered.

Chapter 4 deals with the findings. The first part of the chapter deals with the findings of the focus group and the quantitative study conducted by the CCRC. The remainder of the chapter deals with the findings of the data obtained from the interviews with the participants.

Chapter 5 is the concluding chapter where the results are discussed after the integration of the themes that arose from the interviews with the participants, the findings of the focus group, the results of the study conducted by the Crimes against Children Research Center and the literature review. It also includes recommendations regarding support for members as well as for future research.

Chapter Two

LITERATURE REVIEW

Cass and Kovera (2001) are of the opinion that collecting experimental data on the effects of child pornography is impossible because possession of child pornography is a violation against the law.

Because of ethical and legal reasons research on the effect of child pornography in general is limited, especially in a laboratory environment. However, as a member of the SA Police's Cyber Crime Unit, I was in a position to examine the effects of child pornography, by interviewing my colleagues, without contravening the law. It needs to be emphasised that this study will use of qualitative research design which aims to describe the structure of experience as it presents itself to consciousness, without recourse to theory or assumptions from other disciplines. However, in order to understand the possible effects of the material on the CFE, several factors identified in the literature and previous research were considered. These included the general effect of pornography, including child pornography. Although the purpose of the study was not to explore the motivations or profile of the offender it was necessary to explore the relationship between pornography and the molester in order to establish if child pornography was found to have lead to actions that include molestation. Theories related to trauma will therefore be discussed. These include theories on trauma, stress, compassion fatigue, vicarious trauma, secondary trauma, burnout, post traumatic stress disorder and depersonalization. As indicated by Regehr and Bober (2005), these theories are highly relevant to understand responses to stress and trauma. The response of the CFE to child pornography research could not have been understood and completed without considering the specific culture of the police.

Effects of child pornography

Young and Cooper's research (Schell, Martin, Hung, & Rueda, 2007) indicated that cyber sex is a form of psychopathology and a symptom of neurotic, compulsive behaviour that is a type of addiction. Besides being addictive, pornography seems to be progressive. As people become

more desensitised by the pornography they see, the more they tend to seek out shocking material. According to Gunter (2002) desensitisation occurs when, through a process of repeated exposure, one becomes habituated to a particular stimulus that initially evoked strong emotional or behavioural reactions. The idea of desensitisation is supported in research conducted by Paul and Linz (2008) where the harmful effects of exposure to child pornographic material was tested in a laboratory experiment. A lexical decision-making task (a commonly used method of testing whether a cognitive association between two or more nodes or schemas exists) which involves measuring the speed with which a person is capable of recognizing certain words and/or concepts were used. Participants exposed to sexually explicit depictions of females who appear to be minors (“barely legal” pornography) were faster to recognise sexual words after being primed with neutral depictions of girls compared to participants who were pre-exposed to adult pornography. The study found the exposure to the images did result in a cognitive effect. The viewers were more likely to associate sex and sexuality to subsequent non-sexual depictions of minors. Paul and Linz (2008) remark that it is important to recognize that the response latency findings may say little about the likelihood that exposed individuals will act on such cognitive associations. No evidence of a direct causal relationship between exposure to the barely legal pornography and the likelihood that adults will estimate greater prevalence of such content among others in the population were found. Paul and Linz (2008) suggested that desensitising might occur in subjects that were repeatedly exposed to such content.

The question arises whether pornographic material may cause someone to commit a sexual crime. In order to answer this question it is necessary to explore the perpetrators who were found in possession of child pornography. It was found that they do not resemble a one-size-fits-all characterisation. Several authors (Hansen, 2007; Petrovich & Templer, 1984) explain that these individuals have highly diverse occupations that include doctors, preachers, teachers, lawyers, musicians and businessmen. Most are white men in their thirties and forties. They often use child pornography as masturbation aids. Some often feel remorse (Hansen, 2007, Petrovich & Templer, 1984). They often trade with pictures to satisfy their collective fetish. They often admitted that they have molested young children. However, case studies of sex offenders have not shown clear links between pornography and the commission of sexual crimes, including molestation. Although several studies found that viewing child pornographic material was

regarded as inextricably linked to actual molestation (Jenkins, 1998; Healy, 2004; Marshall, 1988; Wyre, 1992; Carter, Prentky, Knight, Vanderveer, & Boucher, 1987) other authors indicated that perpetrators found in possession of child pornography have never molested a child (Hansen, 2007).

Effects of Sexually related Crimes on Law Enforcement Officials

Although no previous published research on the effect of child pornography on members of law enforcement agencies were found, several authors commented on the trauma experienced by investigators involved with the investigation of sexually related crimes. These include feelings of outrage, revulsion, cynicism, anxiety, depression, alienation and isolation (Hansen, 2007; Miller, 2006; Lanning & Hazelwood, 1988; Fishkin, 1988; Kirschman, 2007; Sher, 2007; Pistorius, 2000). Pistorius (2000) uses the following quote from Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* to explain the effect of working with serial killers who often commit sexually related crimes against children: "Whoever fights monsters should see to it that in the process he does not become a monster. And when you look into the abyss, the abyss also looks into you". She warns that when police officials allow the sexual crime offender's perverted fantasies to cloud their own psyche, it can cause mental damage which can become permanent. Fishkin (1988) shares this view. After interviewing several police officers he found that they become lost in the world around them. They became one with the misery they saw during their day-to-day work. They became hardened and angry, disillusioned by what they originally set out to do in life versus what they now feel.

Symptoms of trauma

In order to put this study into perspective, several theories related to trauma and stress are taken into consideration. These include theories on stress, compassion fatigue, vicarious trauma, secondary trauma, burnout, post traumatic stress disorder and depersonalisation.

Previous literature made it clear that there has been some professional confusion about how to use and distinguish between some of the above theories, since they are often used interchangeably. A review of existing explanations of the terms, as well their symptoms will be provided below.

Stress

According to Fishkin (1988) stress is the direct result of the way in which a person has learned to cope. It is a specific emotional and bodily response that is triggered by one's perception of signals in one's environment or in one's thinking. It is the reaction of the mind and body to anything that creates stress related responses to and any demand, pressure or tension experienced. However, not all stress is undesirable. Positive stress can be useful to motivate a person to achieve goals. Everyone experiences some level of stress. It is only when one's internal defense system begins to break down as a result of ineffective coping methods that stress becomes undesirable.

Symptoms associated with stress experienced by police officials include the following according to Fishkin (1988), Constant (1991), Davis (2006) and Goldfarb (2006):

- Excessive weight gain or loss in a short period of time;
- Combativeness, irritability, impulsiveness, hostility, restlessness, a short-temper and frustration;

- Excessive perspiration;
- Excessive lateness at work;
- Frequent use of alcohol or prescribed medications (Valium, Atarax etc);
- Marital and family disorders, such as extramarital affairs, divorce, physical abuse of spouse and/or children and serial monogamy;
- Sexual dysfunction including impotence, premature ejaculation, low or absent sexual desire;
- Inability to complete an assignment;
- Inappropriate display of emotions when a more rational approach is required;
- Exaggerated fears about personal health or potential job-related injury;
- Complaints of physical distress, including stomach problems, heart disease, hyperventilation, lower back pain, non-specific musculoskeletal pain and diabetes; headaches, backaches, fatigue;
- Complaints regarding personal financial conditions;
- Tremor of extremities, especially while at rest;
- Nail biting;
- Teeth Grinding;

- Verbalised feelings of isolation and alienation from others;
- Overcompensation and arrogant behaviour;
- Excessive crying;
- Impairment in one's ability to distinguish between subjective feelings and objective reality;
- Loss of interest in work, family, hobbies or people in general;
- Excessive use of tobacco or other stimulants like coffee and tea;
- Acute or chronic fatigue;
- Insomnia and other disturbances of sleep, including nightmares.

Several studies indicated that psychological stress may lead to the onset of disease. These include cancer (Burgess, 1987; Eysenck, 1988; Fox, 1995) and heart disease (Eli & Mostardi, 1986; Eysenck, Grossarth-Maticek & Everitt, 1991, Hendry, 1986). Studies have also shown that these disease states were high in police officials (Guralnick, 1963; McMichael, 1976; Milham, 1983; Paton & Violanti, 1996; Richard & Fell, 1976; Vena, Violanti, Marshall & Fiedler, 1986). Several authors indicated that the most commonly studied physiological systems that respond to stress are the hypothalamic pituitary adrenal (HPA) axis and the autonomic nervous system (Black, 1994; Chrousos & Gold, 1992; Haddy & Clover, 2001). Chrousos (1998) explains that the term stress is often used synonymously with activation of the HPA axis, which is a primary body system that responds to disturbances of homeostasis. Cortisol is released in a pulsatile (pulses versus continuous) fashion with the frequency and amplitude of these episodes declining over the course of the day resulting in a well-characterised diurnal pattern of cortisol secretion. Activation of this system by a stressor results in release of cortisol, the hormone that helps the

organism to maintain balance and stress-related homeostasis of the central nervous system, as well as cardiovascular, metabolic, and immune functions. Protracted and repeated challenges to this system are hypothesised to cause reduced resilience or less flexible functioning of this system. This reduced flexibility can result in inappropriate levels and control of the hormone cortisol and further dysfunction of the HPA axis. This can result in a major risk indicator for serious disease.

Trauma

According to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 4th Edition, Text Revision (DSM-IV-TR) a traumatic event requires that “the person experienced, witnessed, or was confronted with an event or events that involved actual or threatened death or serious injury or a threat to the physical integrity of self or others, and that the person's response involved intense fear, helplessness, or horror” (American Psychiatric Association, 2000, p. 467).

Vicarious traumatisation

The term vicarious traumatisation was first used by McCann and Pearlman (1990) to describe pervasive changes that occur within clinicians over time as a result of working with clients who have experienced sexual trauma. The term was applied to recognise that a therapist may vicariously experience aspects or effects of a victim's trauma as if it had happened to him or herself. These include changes in the clinician's sense of self, spirituality, world view, interpersonal relationships, and behaviour (Chrestman, 1999; Freeman-Longo, 1997; Kassam-Adams, 1999).

According to Booyesen (2005) vicarious traumatisation appears when an individual becomes traumatised by extended or intense exposure to the trauma of others. The CFEs are exposed to the images on a daily basis. In order to successfully examine data storage devices containing child pornography that was seized from the perpetrators, thorough and intense analyses must be performed by them. Jewkes and Andrews (2005) describe an example where a seized computer contained nearly 12,000 deleted images that had to be retrieved. Even though not actually

involved in the victim's trauma, the examiner can still vicariously experience it in his nervous system. The images of the children are crime scene photo's. The examiner is virtually placed at the crime scene. Rothschild (2006) elaborates on this by explaining that the result is similar to feeling vicarious excitement while watching someone on a roller-coaster ride on television, or hearing a breathless detailed description of a horseback ride. The observers and listeners have not actually been exposed to the event, though they can really feel it. Gaddy (2004) examined the effects of vicarious trauma exposure of police sexual assault investigators who work with sexual violence victims. The result of the study indicated that sexual assault investigators report more severe symptoms of psychological distress than general crime investigators. It was found that unique stressors exist for these investigators.

Secondary traumatization

The term first appeared in an article by Rosenheck and Nathan (1985) and was originally used to describe to effect of traumatic contagion where trauma symptoms can seemingly be caught like a cold, between family members (Benjamin & Benjamin, 1994; Solomon, Waysman, & Levy, 1992; Waysman, Mikulincer, & Solomon, 1993). In 1995, the term took on a new meaning when Stamm published *Secondary traumatic stress*, which dealt with self-care for clinicians (Stamm, 1995). For clarity Rothschild (2006) explained that secondary trauma involves therapists who are eyewitnesses to the incident they were meant to mediate. While not primary casualties of the event, they may become secondary victims by becoming overwhelmed by what they see and hear in person. Theirs is not a vicarious experience, but a direct experience of witnessing. Secondary traumatic stress disorder (STSD) occurs when a person is being indirectly victimised by trauma. In a study by Bride and Figley (2007), a survey with nearly 300 social workers found that they thought about their work with traumatised clients without intending to; reported feeling detached from others; felt emotionally numb; had a sense of a foreshortened future; reported irritability; and reported concentration difficulties. Bride and Figley (2007) explained that people enter helping professions because they want to make a difference. He warns that secondary traumatic stress has the potential to reduce the quality of care the employees provide and may ultimately drive them from the profession.

Compassion fatigue.

Figley (1999) suggested compassion fatigue as the most appropriate term to describe secondary traumatic effects. He suggested that clinicians who treat traumatised clients are particularly vulnerable to developing compassion fatigue as a result of empathic engagement with clients and exposure to their traumatic material.

The term is generally used to describe anyone who suffers as a result of serving in a helping capacity (Rothschild, 2006). It involves caring so much about community members who are hurt by criminals that the police officers develop, over time, a special kind of stress called “compassion fatigue”. The term was first used by a journalist and health reporter, Beverly Johnson (Johnson, 1992) who described the effects of trauma work on nurses. She described the problem as less a psychiatric disorder and more a type of burnout resulting in insensitive patient care (Figley, 1999).

Table 1 (Figley, 1999, p41) provides examples of symptoms associated with compassion fatigue found in police officials:

Table 1: Symptoms of compassion fatigue

<i>Cognitive</i>	<i>Emotional</i>	<i>Behavioural</i>	<i>Spiritual</i>	<i>Personal relations</i>	<i>Physical/Somatic</i>	<i>Work performance</i>
Lowered concentration	Powerlessness	Impatient	Questioning meaning of life	Withdrawal	Shock	Low morale
Decreased self-esteem	Anxiety	Irritable	Loss of purpose	Decreased interest in intimacy or sex	Sweating	Low motivation
Apathy	Guilt	Withdrawn	Lack of self-satisfaction	Mistrust	Rapid heartbeat	Avoiding tasks
Rigidity	Anger/Rage	Moody	Persuasive hopelessness	Isolation	Breathing difficulties	Obsession about details
Disorientation	Shutdown	Regression	Anger at God	Over protection as a parent	Aches and pains	Apathy
Perfectionism	Numbness	Sleep disturbance	Questioning of prior religious	Projection of anger or blame	Dizziness	Negativity
	Fear	Nightmares				

Minimisation	Helplessness	Appetite changes	beliefs	Intolerance	Increased number and intensity of medical maladies	Lack of appreciation
Preoccupation with trauma	Sadness	Hyper vigilance	Loss of faith in a higher power	Loneliness	Impaired immune system	Detachment
Thoughts of self-harm or harm to others	Depression	Elevated startle response	Greater scepticism about religion	Increased interpersonal conflicts		Staff conflicts
	Emotional roller coaster	Accident proneness				Absenteeism
	Depleted	Losing things				Exhaustion
	Overly sensitive					Irritability
					Withdrawal from colleagues	

Burnout

Freudenberger (1975) defined burnout as a physical, emotional and mental exhaustion as well as an absence of job involvement, dehumanisation and decreased sense of accomplishment. Burnout is a subtle process initiated by extremely intensive and long-term stress and tension in the working environment, in which somebody is gradually caught in a state of mental fatigue, completely empty and drained of all energy. Rather than being a generally accepted diagnosis, the condition of burnout is inferred from the internal state of the individual experiencing burnout, reflected through outward behaviours employed by the person in an attempt to maintain a sense of balance in life. Fishkin (1988) describes burnout as the interaction of a combination of the following:

- pre-existing personality factors;
- life experiences;
- psychological needs and expectations; and

- environmental conditions that result in the inability to function effectively in any aspect of one's life, psychological, emotional, social, physical, or occupational.

Burnout is the result of constant emotional pressures associated with an intense involvement with people over a period of time. This leads to physical, emotional and mental exhaustion (Alexander, 1999; Kirschman, 2007; Pistorius, 2000). Burnout is also referred to as cumulative stress (Kirschman, 2007). Alexander (1999, p55) explains that “Burnout is the expression of the painful realisation that they have failed to make the world a better place, to help those in need, or to have a real impact on the organization”. Rothschild (2006) is of the opinion that the term burnout should be reserved for extreme circumstances. It describes anyone whose health is suffering or whose outlook on life has turned negative because of the impact or overload of their work.

Table 2 summarises the symptoms of burnout amongst law enforcement officials as identified by Fishkin (1988)

Table 2: Symptoms of burnout

<i>Psychological & Emotional</i>	<i>Physical</i>	<i>Occupational</i>	<i>Family-related</i>
Mental fatigue	Exhaustion	Increased absenteeism	Feeling of physical exhaustion when coming home
Loss of motivation	Somatic complaints including gastrointestinal disorders, mitral valve prolapsed, tension headaches, neck and back pain, hearing impairment, high blood pressure, cardiac problems	Feeling loaded with frustration, anger, despair towards perpetrators	Feeling distant from partner and/or children
Frustration		Low level of morale, including feelings of isolation and aloneness at work.	Refusing to participate in family or social events
Helplessness	Muscular tension	Loss of efficiency	Verbal and sometimes physical abuse of family
Anxious anticipation of future	Physiological symptoms related to depression and anxiety		
Judgmental	Sleeping difficulties	Hangovers while at work	Lack of interest or desire for sexual sharing
Cynicism			

Increase in substance abuse			
Thoughts of death and suicide			
Irritability			
Aloofness			
Social withdrawal			
Isolation			
Loss of sense of orderliness			
Despair			
Disillusionment regarding life, career and world in general			
Loss of spiritual values			

Post-traumatic stress disorder

A study by Maia et al. (2007) found that repeatedly hearing the stories of trauma victims doubles the risk of social workers themselves experiencing post-traumatic stress disorder. Frequent exposure to traumatic situations put police officers under an increasing risk of developing post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Police officers with PTSD were more likely to be divorced compared to officers that do not have PTSD. They also felt that their physical health was poorer; they had more medical consultations within a 12 month period and reported lifetime suicidal ideation more often.

The DSM-IV-TR Criteria for Post-traumatic Stress Disorder are presented below (American Psychiatric Association, 2000, p. 467-468):

A. The person has been exposed to a traumatic event in which both of the following have been present:

(1) the person experienced, witnessed, or was confronted with an event or events that involved actual or threatened death or serious injury, or a threat to the physical integrity of self or others

(2) the person's response involved intense fear, helplessness, or horror. **Note:** In children, this may be expressed instead by disorganised or agitated behaviour.

B. The traumatic event is persistently re-experienced in one (or more) of the following ways:

(1) recurrent and intrusive distressing recollections of the event, including images, thoughts, or perceptions. **Note:** In young children, repetitive play may occur in which themes or aspects of the trauma are expressed.

(2) recurrent distressing dreams of the event. **Note:** In children, there may be frightening dreams without recognisable content.

(3) acting or feeling as if the traumatic event were recurring (includes a sense of reliving the experience, illusions, hallucinations, and dissociative flashback episodes, including those that occur upon awakening or when intoxicated). **Note:** In young children, trauma-specific re-enactment may occur.

(4) intense psychological distress at exposure to internal or external cues that symbolise or resemble an aspect of the traumatic event.

(5) physiological reactivity on exposure to internal or external cues that symbolise or resemble an aspect of the traumatic event.

C. Persistent avoidance of stimuli associated with the trauma and numbing of general responsiveness (not present before the trauma), as indicated by three (or more) of the following:

- (1) efforts to avoid thoughts, feelings, or conversations associated with the trauma
- (2) efforts to avoid activities, places, or people that arouse recollections of the trauma
- (3) inability to recall an important aspect of the trauma
- (4) markedly diminished interest or participation in significant activities
- (5) normal life span)

feeling of detachment or estrangement from others

- (6) restricted range of affect (e.g., unable to have loving feelings)
- (7) sense of a foreshortened future (e.g., does not expect to have a career, marriage, children, or a D. Persistent symptoms of increased arousal (not present before the trauma), as indicated by two (or more) of the following:

- (1) difficulty falling or staying asleep
- (2) irritability or outbursts of anger
- (3) difficulty concentrating
- (4) hypervigilance
- (5) exaggerated startle response

E. Duration of the disturbance (symptoms in Criteria B, C, and D) is more than one month.

F. The disturbance causes clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning.

Depersonalisation

Fishkin (1988), explains that depersonalisation is the process where a person splits himself / herself emotionally as a means of detaching his/her ego from his job. This adds to a sense of loss of self, sometimes leading to the feeling of being someone else. This often unconsciously forms a psychological defence that serves to protect law enforcement officials from reacting emotionally when performing their duties. This form of role playing is carried out after the shift is over and the officer is at home with the family. Depersonalisation also has the effect that law enforcement officials remain further detached from communicating downside emotions. The negative side of this process is the development of loss of self and increased levels of frustration since law enforcement officials believe there is no acceptable way to vent emotionally what they really feel or experience. Anger is often substituted for the expression of all other emotions.

POLICE CULTURE

Law enforcement officials do not share stressful information about their job with their families. (Pistorius, 2000; Violanti & Paton, 1999). They do not disclose their feelings even amongst themselves. Kirschman (2007) remarks that they rarely show sadness, fear, or uncertainty in front of each other, because they dread losing support and respect.

Police units, especially specialised units, are a closed entity who distrust outsiders and detest interference. The members are very reluctant to seek the help of psychologists. Their view is that unless a person has walked in their shoes, that person is not in the position to give advice (Fishkin, 1988; Pistorius, 2000). Fishkin (1988) elaborates that law enforcement officials showed a reluctance to openly admit that they experienced stress-related problems. The reasons for this are firstly that they fear losing their job, and secondly, because of the competitive nature of police work, they do not want to be seen as weak.

As previously mentioned the theories above will be considered in order to seek understanding regarding the CFE's response to the stress and trauma experienced when viewing the child pornography material. The next chapter will focus on theoretic framework and methodology.

Chapter Three

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

I decided to use the qualitative approach to investigate the psychological responses to trauma, because of the sensitive nature of this investigation, and due to considerable variability among individuals who experience such traumatic events (Paton & Violanti, 1996; Violanti, Paton & Dunning, 2000). The theoretical frameworks for investigating the psychological effects experienced by the CFE's working with child pornography will be approached from the social constructionism and the narrative frameworks and analysed by means of content analysis. All participants were SAPS members who at that time worked at the Cyber Crime Unit as CFEs. I gathered the information by making use of the in-depth open-ended and non-directive interviewing process which enabled the participants to express themselves in their own words. All in-depth interviews were first recorded with a tape recorder and later transcribed with the aid of a computer into the written word. The data which consisted of the participants storied interviews, were analysed by means of thematic content analysis, which consists of extracting themes that are relevant to the research question. This method is appropriate, as the researcher did not start the data collection with hypotheses already in mind. Instead, the data defined how the research question was to be answered.

Social Constructionism

Social constructionism arose as a reaction to the linear and relativistic theories that underlie the Modernist era. Social constructionists see the story as more real than any other given voice to that which had previously been silenced (Wick, 1996). Human systems are language generating systems and concurrently meaning generating systems who sees language as more than a reporting device for experience, but rather as a defining framework (Becvar & Becvar, 2006).

Constructionists focus on the freedom of human beings, on each individual's ability to language his attitudes, purpose, values and actions (Stevenson & Haberman, 1998), and from this perspective Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999) emphasise that the human life-world is

fundamentally constituted in language, and that the language itself should be the object of study. Language is created, maintained and discarded within social interaction, while the emphasis is not on the individual mind, but rather on the meaning that people create together as they construct descriptions and explanations in language. (Gergen & Gergen, 1991; Stevenson & Haberman, 1998). The languages in which the CFEs have chosen to tell their stories form an integral part of this study.

Constructionists hold that people live in a world of conversational narratives, where they will understand themselves and each other through changing narratives and self descriptions (Rapmund, 2005). The role, background, opinions and emotions of the researcher are important here, and the fact that the researcher knows the content and the culture of the participants will assist in creating a dialogical space between herself and the FCE participants.

According to constructionism, ideas, words and signs have meaning by virtue of standing in relationship to other signs. In this regard the stories of the CFE participants do not stand in isolation but represent a collective experience with a collective meaning. Social constructionism locates meaning within an understanding of how ideas and attitudes are acquired and developed over time within a social, community context (Becvar & Becvar, 2006; Wick, 1996). The self is thus not viewed as an isolated being, but rather takes form in relationship to others (Becvar & Becvar, 2006). The CFE participants are affected by the culture of the broader police as well as the community of which they are part and which they serve. The relationships the CFE participants have with their colleagues, family and their community, play a role in their personal experiences.

It makes sense then, in view of this study, to use constructionism as a framework where the language will not be treated as if it were neutral and transparent, but that it is rather used as a tool that aids in contracting reality (Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999). Whatever importance the CFE participants attach to the language of being a CFE, will serve two functions, namely the way others perceive them, and the way they perceive themselves (Jacobson, 1994).

Qualitative research was deemed appropriate for this project because it focuses on the meaning of lived experiences, and involves observation and data collection in natural settings, where the incorporation of context, complexity, and diversity are essential (Breakwell, Hammond, & Fife-Shaw, 1997; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Qualitative researchers interpret phenomena as interrelated wholes and aim to discover important categories and interrelationships through exploring open questions (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999).

Since I, as the researcher, had a personal interest in the topic under investigation, this qualitative research project facilitated an element of interactivity between me and the participants. In this regard Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999) state that the researcher is the instrument of observation, and the data is either collected by interviews or by observing and recording human behaviour in the context of interaction. These methods permit rich and detailed observation of a few cases and allow the researcher to create an understanding of the phenomena through observation as it emerges in context.

The experiences under investigation were of a personal nature and the impact thereof could not be gauged by way of simple yes or no responses. This links well with the use of thematic content analysis and social constructionism as it would not do justice to a text that represents an experience to only study messages in isolation (Krippendorf, 1980). Social constructionism and content analysis are employed where the researcher aims to be sensitive to the systems of knowledge and meaning to which she gains access. From this perspective the researcher seeks to understand data not as a collection of physical events but rather as symbolic phenomena and to approach the analysis of the data unobtrusively (Krippendorf, 1980).

Participants

The participants were selected via convenience sampling and consisted of six CFEs of the Cyber Crime Unit, representing three provinces. The members volunteered to participate on condition of absolute anonymity. All of the members had at least two years experience working with child pornography. Furthermore all the members took part in the national workshop (focus group). Four of the members also attended a debriefing session on the provincial level.

The sample size depended upon the point at which data saturation was reached. Data saturation is the point at which new data no longer shows new elements, but rather confirms what has already been found (Punch, 1998).

Data Collection

Narrative psychology was used as a framework when data was collected. Narrative psychology refers to a viewpoint within psychology which is interested in the storied nature of human conduct where people deal with experience by constructing stories and listening to the stories of others (Sarbin, 1986). I, as the researcher, was challenged by the notion that the CFE participants' activities and experiences are filled with meaning and that stories, rather than logical arguments or lawful formulations, are the vehicle by which that meaning is communicated. As suggested by Sarbin (1986) the stories became a root metaphor for the research to replace the mechanistic and organic metaphors which shaped so much theory and research in the discipline over the past century.

The narrative approach is in line with the social constructionist view that people create meaning for themselves by sharing their stories (Morgan, 2000). Through linking certain events together in a specific sequence over time, people create the stories they have about their lives and strive to find a way of explaining or making sense of them. Each CFE participant's story is unique and

relative as each of them is unique and cannot experience the same situation in exactly the same way.

I made use of non-experimental, qualitative, individual interviews because my aim was not to establish causation, but rather to establish meaning. The text generated via the one-on-one interviews spoke for itself, without imposing expectations of what themes would arise. The goal of the interview was here to deeply explore the CFE participant's point of view, feelings and perspectives and to focus on the experiential aspects of the CFE participants. In this sense, the in-depth interviews yield information.

The individual unstructured, audio-recorded interviews lasted between 60 to 90 minutes. These audio recordings had several advantages as explained by Lee (2004). Within qualitative research there is a sense in which the tape recorder has come to be seen less as a device for recording sound, and more as a mean of producing text. Transcriptions of interviews now routinely form the raw material for qualitative analysis. Tape recording, used in conjunction with transcripts, enables repeated listening, which allows subtle and unnoticed aspects of the interaction to come into view.

Sacks (1984, p.26) also described the advantage of tape-recorded devices:

“Such materials had a single virtue, that I could replay them. I could transcribe them somewhat and study them extendedly - however long it might take. The tape-recorded materials constituted a ‘good enough’ record of what had happened. Other things, to be sure, happened, but at least what was on the tape had happened.”

In this regard the availability of the transcribed recorded speech has also made it possible for me to commit myself to the processes of member check validation which involve the feeding back of transcripts to the participants to enter a view concerning the adequacy of my understanding (Lee, 2004).

Several disadvantages have also been identified regarding tape recording interactions. These include:

- ⤴ inhibition of the researcher's participation and limitation of rapport with participant observation (Judd, Smith & Kidder, 1991.)
- ⤴ causing anxiousness of respondents (Blaxter, Hughes & Tight, 1996).
- ⤴ changing of ordinary speakers' language to a formal style (Subbs, 1983).

These effects were largely eliminated due to the fact that the recordings as well as the transcriptions were to be treated as confidential and anonymity was guaranteed. Due to the personal nature of the experiences under investigation, the classified information regarding some work related activities as well as the explicit descriptions that were sometimes raised, only the analysed data was used in this final research report.

The interviews were conducted individually in the privacy of the participant's office. The interview was introduced by the researcher as follows:

“Tell me, like a story, your experience at the unit. In the beginning when you started working here, what influence did the child pornography have on you? Was the content, when you saw it for the first time what you expected? Did it have any effect on your life, yourself, your family?”

This formed the departure point from which the interviews developed. Thus, the interview was based on a minimal number of open-ended questions, which enabled the participants to choose their own direction in the story telling.

Hamilton-Smith and Hopkins (1998) warn that unstructured interviewing does not escape criticism, as it can leave the respondents to wallow around in their own conceptual frameworks with little stimuli from the researcher. As all the data display no objectively logical properties, the researcher is left to select from a surfeit of information data that is considered relevant, and interpret as they choose. In order to prevent this, I explained the aim of the research study and the contextual nature of the interview beforehand in the consent letter before the interview was conducted (Appendix A). This served as a manner of prevention for the respondents to not

wallow in irrelevant detail during the interviews as they fully understood the nature and the aim of the research and it created a 'sharedness of meaning' in which both myself as interviewer and the CFE participants understood the contextual nature of the interview (Punch, 1998).

The CFE participants were given the opportunity to reconstruct their experiences by telling their stories. When there was uncertainty during the conversation with the CFE participants, I made use of questions as proposed by Vandermause (2005) which included elaborating and clarifying questions, for example "can you elaborate?" and "I understand, so you are saying that?" The participants were able to expand on given answers spontaneously (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991). The interview was characterised as a back and forth hermeneutic conversation, unifying our life-worlds, constantly revealing and constructing new meaning (Rapport, 2005). However, although the interview was conversational, my role was primarily that of a listener. At times I also made use of self-disclosure as I found, according to Song and Parker (1995) and Eder and Fingerson (2003), that self-disclosure has prompted reciprocal talk on the part of the CFE participant, especially in relation to the sensitive matter that was being explored (Reinharz & Chase, 2003).

During the initial transcribing process I made use of a transcriber, but due to the sensitive nature of the content of the audio-recordings the transcriber withdrew. On arriving from work the transcriber's husband found her in tears due to the compassion she felt for the CFE participants after hearing their stories. As indicated by McCosker, Barnard and Gerber (2001) the participants are not the only ones affected by the research. The researcher, transcriber, supervisor and publisher may also be risk for becoming vicariously traumatised, which may be physical and/or psychological. After this happened to the transcriber, I decided to do transcriptions myself.

Ethics

The topic that was under investigation is sensitive in nature and therefore the participant's welfare was of utmost importance to me. The participants were briefed about the background, nature, and purpose of the study and were informed that they had the right to full disclosure regarding any aspect of the research process. Participants were also informed that they would not be harmed, that the interviews would be recorded, and that I would directly quote from their interviews. All participants signed an informed consent form before the interviews commenced. They were informed that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any time (Breakwell et al., 1997).

Due to the personal nature of the experiences under investigation as well as the confidentiality regarding the work, only the analysed data has been used in this final research report. The original written transcripts and audiotapes relating to the participants' experiences have been safely stored with only the author having access to them, and the participants being fully informed of this (Breakwell et al., 1997). With regard to sharing intimate topics like those shared by the CFE participants, Brannen (1988) explains that it differs from other research settings in several ways: Participants can easily be identified in written reports both by themselves and by others, and identification carries with it the risk of sanctions and stigma. I thus took the responsibility to protect the CFE participants with respect to the confidences disclosed, by substituting the names of the participants with a pseudonym in order to ensure further privacy and confidentiality.

Analysis

Krippendorff (2004, p.19) defines content analysis, as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use”. Content analysis is exploratory in nature and focuses on human subjectivity (Eagle, 1998; McBurney, 2001). It afforded me the opportunity to deal effectively with a large body of interview material,

since I, as the researcher, was involved in the analysis of the interview transcripts. My own emotions and understandings with regard to the participants' stories were of immense help for effectively analysing the data without adopting the stance of an expert, only trying to understand their emotions. In view of this methodology, it is important to examine both manifest and latent content. The former took place according to specified guided principles, while the latter was guided by what Eagle (1998) explains as the researcher's insight, intuition and imagination as a generally accepted process to draw inferences from covert content. The interview process as well as the data had to be approached as entities that on the one hand were representative of the my own experience, and that which would provide new insight on the other hand. The understanding gained drawn from the content analyses covered different subjects, such as the dispatcher of the communication, the message itself, and the receiver of the message (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak & Vetter, 2000; Weber, 1985).

The procedures suggested by Krippendorff (1980) on thematic content analysis were followed, since I found it to remain dynamic and the themes derived were based on the ideas, expressions and material that were experienced and emerged through the participants' stories.

Krippendorff (1980) explains that the data must be 'unitized' by breaking it down into sampling, recording, and context units.

- The sampling units were the interview transcripts obtained from the interaction between the interviewer and the participants.
- The recording units were the segment of content that was categorised by placing it in a given category.
- Context units need be neither independent nor separately describable. They may overlap and contain many recording units. Context units can be in the form of sentences, paragraphs or entire statements of purpose.

Based on these procedures the recorded interviews were transcribed and identifying information was removed from all transcriptions (Fielden, 2003). Each transcript was thoroughly read and

broad themes were identified that kept the context, the person in the situation, the intentions, and the meaning of the situation intact (Wilson & Hutchinson, 1991).

The categorisation of the data involved the following steps as delineated by Rapmund (2005):

✧ **Familiarisation and Immersion**

I, as researcher, immersed myself in the text generated via the interview process. The purpose was to make sense of the world of the CFE and to become familiar with the way in which they had language their experiences by working with one participant's story at a time and only later engaged in a comparative analysis.

✧ **Thematising**

After familiarisation I attempted to infer themes that underlay the research material.

✧ **Coding**

Similar instances were grouped together under the same theme, by coding sections of the interview that were applicable to the themes under consideration.

✧ **Elaboration**

While maintaining an inquiring stance, I engaged in a closer exploration of the generated themes.

✧ **Interpretation**

During the final stage the data gained was related with the original research question.

Credibility: triangulation, validity and reliability

With regard to reliability and validity, I support the arguments of Atkinson and Heath (1991). According to Atkinson and Heath (1991) reservations about qualitative research often centre on contentions that since qualitative methods are so subjective and uncontrolled, the results are not valid and reliable. Qualitative research does not purport to be objective and scientific. They argue that it is impossible for any observer to have privileged access to what really transpires in the social world by uniformly applying a specific method of observation. The observer does not stand in isolation but becomes part of what is observed and together with the participants co-creates a particular ecology of ideas.

Reliability is defined within quantitative research as the degree to which results are replicable. In contrast to this, qualitative research does not assume to investigate stable and unchanging reality and therefore does not expect to find the same results repeatedly (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999). I support the assumption that the quantitative concept of reliability should be replaced by the concept of dependability. Dependability refers to the degree to which the reader can be convinced that the findings occurred as the researcher said they did. My aim was to achieve this through rich and detailed descriptions that demonstrated how opinion and understanding were found within and developed out of the contextual interaction. The understanding was based on an in-depth analysis of the transcribed interviews which was placed within a relevant context. The understanding of the data was co-created through the collaboration of myself as researcher and the participants. Here the availability of the transcribed recorded speech has also made it possible for me to commit myself to the processes of member check validation which involved the feeding back of the transcripts to the participants to enter a view concerning the adequacy of my interpretations (Lee, 2004).

Regarding validation, it is important to recognise that a methodology is always employed in the service of a research question. As such, validation of the inferences made on the basis of data from one analytic approach demands the use of multiple sources of information. In qualitative research, validation takes the form of triangulation. Triangulation lends credibility to the findings

by incorporating multiple sources of data, methods, investigators, or theories (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993). It thus involves seeking information from multiple sources and perspectives. Methodological triangulation (Kelly, 1999) was applied in this study by using the individual, unstructured interviews, findings obtained from the focus group as well as the findings of the CCRC study in order to gain more information and richer descriptions.

Limitations of the study

I, as the researcher, am also a member of the Cyber Crime Unit. I also experienced the negative effects of working with child pornography and have a personal interest in the topic I explored. My personal interest could have impacted upon the way the interviews were conducted and the way I interpreted the data. However qualitative research does not view the researcher as an objective, value and bias free instrument, but as engaging in a co-construction of meaning with her participants. Therefore my impact on the context of the study and on the development of the interpretive account was taken into consideration as explained by Kelly (1999) where I, as researcher became part of the context of the research in such a way that I was able to relate with the participants sensitively, openly and emphatically. It was also clear that the participants found it easy to share their stories with me as they knew I was familiar with their experience.

The sample size might also be viewed as too small. Qualitative research is often criticised for attempting to draw conclusions from a small number of subjects. However, qualitative research is not subject to efforts of replication where results can be generalised to a larger population. It refers rather to the research's transferability in terms of its applicability in other contexts and a wider population. The research aims to seek support for other traumatised CFEs and their families. The study was not linear seeking cause-effect occurrences. It aimed to examine the relationship between exposure to child pornography and the associated effects and feelings that were experienced within the context of the family system, within its cultural and historical background.

In the next chapter (chapter four) the findings of the following will be discussed:

- ♣ the focus group (three day national workshop);
- ♣ the quantitative study conducted by the CCRC (Wolak & Mitchell, 2009);
- ♣ interviews held with the participants.

Chapter Four

FINDINGS

The first two parts of the chapter will focus on the findings of the focus group and the study of the CCRC. The last part will provide an outlay of the themes that were identified during the interviews with the participants.

Focus Group

Shortly after permission was received by the Divisional Commissioner, Crime Intelligence, Head Office, SAPS, to conduct the research in the SAPS, the urgent need was identified by the members of the Cyber Crime Unit who worked as CFEs to participate in a debriefing session. During this time I arranged for a three-day workshop that also served as a focus group for the topic under investigation. The workshop was held during November 2008 and was facilitated by a registered clinical and counseling psychologist. It was a national workshop that was attended by all the CFEs in the SAPS. During the workshop the following two aspects were identified as the main concerns:

- ♣ Personal problems that the members experience due to the exposure to child pornography in the unit:
 - They tend to become over-protective towards the members of their immediate family and friends;
 - Inhibition of sexual desire at times;
 - Lack of trust in others and partners;
 - Over-analysing events in their lives which leads to the tendency to sometimes develop wrong perceptions with regard to the behaviour of others;

- Problems with their temper at home because of underlying anger towards perpetrators which is projected onto others;
 - Sleeping disturbances;
 - Communication problems: due to the confidentiality of the work CFEs are often not able to share their stress, problems and experiences with their partners;
 - Unbalanced life style;
 - Lack of personal goals.
- △ Difficulties experienced within the unit:
- Need for a more participating management style;
 - Urgent need for recognition;
 - Need for better technology;
 - Involvement of spouses/partners;
 - Appropriate and high quality specialised training in technology.

Although these issues will be considered during the results of the study, the researcher did not focus on it during the interviews. The interviews were conducted with a “clear mind” without pre-existing assumptions. This was done within the framework of the social constructionism and the narrative approaches where the preferred focus was on the stories based on the person's lived experience rather than on expert knowledge (Rapmund, 2005).

Findings of the CCRC study

While the same time this research was being conducted, a similar (but separate) project was simultaneously conducted by the Crimes Against Children Research Center (CCRC) at the University of New Hampshire. The project was funded by the U.S. Department of Justice,

through the Internet Crimes against Children (ICAC) Training and Technical Assistance Program. 564 Participants responded to an online survey. The questionnaire was created based on information from a focus group that was conducted with local law enforcement personnel and literature about police stress. The participants represented local, country, state, and federal law enforcement personnel from across the United States. The aim of the project was to compile a report, describing the following:

- The extend of exposure to child pornography among sworn and civilian personnel;
- Problems those participants had experienced;
- How personnel were chosen and prepared to investigate child pornography cases;
- Supports available to personnel;
- How agencies were handling this issue.

The following concerns were highlighted by the participants in the final report that was presented in the bulletin “Work Exposure to Child Pornography in ICAC Task Forces and Affiliates” (Wolak & Mitchell, 2009).

- Personal, Family and Marital problems:
These included insomnia, stress, depression and weight gain;
Some mentioned that seeing explicit, disturbing sexual images affected sexual and marital relationships.
- Work related problems:
Participants experienced problems at work, such as anger, loss of objectivity and drops in productivity.

The responses from participants in this study made it clear that some personnel suffered considerable distress as a result of exposure to this material. Wolak and Mitchell (2009) also reported that concerns about work exposure to child pornography were not universal. Relatively few participants had seen or recognised problems in their agency. Some who had seen problems did not view them as uniquely associated with exposure to child pornography, but rather as part of the expected stresses of police work. Most participants found their work satisfying, but many felt there were some negative impacts on family life and some difficulties for those with young children. Wolak and Mitchell (2009) drew two main conclusions from the findings of this survey.

- ✧ It is important to be aware of and acknowledge that exposure to child pornography can cause problems for some personnel.

- ✧ Awareness is enhanced by education and training.

The bulletin of the findings of the CCRC is included in Appendix C. As with the aspects identified in the focus group, although these findings will be considered in the results chapter, the researcher did not focus thereon during the interviews.

Interview findings

Except for one, all the interviews were conducted in Afrikaans as the participants were Afrikaans speaking. The data was analysed in its original language and a number of quotes were selected to support the findings. The results of the findings from the interviews in combination with the findings of the focus group and the study from CCRC will be discussed in English in the next chapter.

The participants' attitudes during the interviews were characteristic by absolute openness and honesty. This would not have been possible without the guarantee of anonymity. For this reason the full transcripts of each individual interview can not be made available. Rather, extracts of the participants' conversations have been provided in order to describe the communal reoccurring themes that arose. The names of the participants have been replaced with pseudo names. All the participants were males and had children of their own. Everyone attended the workshop (focus group), and four of the members also attended a previous debriefing session held at their respective provinces. No other information can be shared in order to assure anonymity.

Table 3 provides details of the participants:

Table 3: Details of the participants

Participant: Pseudo name	Language	Years worked at CCU	Children	Attended Provincial intervention (debriefing session)	Attended National workshop. (focus group)
Simon	Afrikaans	9	Yes	Yes	Yes
Thomas	English	7	Yes	Yes	Yes
Peter	Afrikaans	9	Yes	Yes	Yes
Matthew	Afrikaans	2	Yes	No	Yes
Luke	Afrikaans	10	Yes	Yes	Yes
Andrew	Afrikaans	3	Yes	No	Yes

Each interview began with the researcher asking the following opening questions:

J: “Tell me, like in a story: your experience at the unit. From the beginning when you started working here, what influence did the child pornography have on you? Was the content, when you saw it for the first time what you expected? Did it have any effect on your life, yourself, your family?”

Each participant then told his story that was audio recorded and transcribed. The transcriptions served as the data and were analysed. Based on the procedures prescribed by Krippendorf (2004) and Rapmund (2005) the following themes were drawn from the data:

Unrealistic expectations:

- First encounter
- People do not understand what it is
- Self-comparison with other police units

Negative inter-personal and intra-personal effects:

- Distrust
- Over-protectiveness
- Marital problems
- Isolation
- Aggression and anger
- Anxiety
- Desensitising
- Desperation

Positive feelings:

- A calling
- Intervention
- Coping mechanisms

The remainder of the chapter provides the groupings of similar instances under the identified themes as extracted from the the transcribed interviews which served as context units. As described by Krippendorf (1980), these context units did overlap at times, and were in the form of sentences, paragraphs and entire statements made by the participants. Following hereby is the exact words of the participants that were included in the groupings under the identified themes.

Unrealistic Expectations:

First encounter

A tree with strong roots can withstand the most violent storm, but the tree can't grow roots just as the storm appears on the horizon - Dalai Lama (1998)

SIMON:

S) Die eerste saak wat ek kry was 'n child porn saak.

En dit was nogal 'n dokter. Daar was duisende fotos gewees. Mens verwag nooit wat jy daar gesien het nie. Dit was baie duidelik klein kinders gewees. As jy daarna gekyk het, dit was nie lekker om te kyk nie, daar was so baie. En daai tyd moes ek elke foto getel het. Daar was oor die 13 000 fotos wat ons getel het.

En hy het nog na my toe gekom, hy wou sy rekenaar terug gehad het. Toe het ek gesê hy kan nie sy rekenaar terug kry nie. En dit was my eerste saak. Dit was baie moeilik om na die goed te kyk, want jy moes na die foto's gekyk het en na die klein kinders wat geabuse was. En dit was local kinders en jy moes elke foto tel. Dis baie ongemaklik om na die fotos te kyk en dit het my baie lank gevat om my eerste saak te doen. Dit was die eerste ou wat ek ontmoet het en wat nog na my kantoor toe gekom het. En hy wou sy rekenaar terug gehad het. En toe het ek vir hom gese wat ek gekry het. En die volgende week het hy self onder 'n trok in gery. Toe is hy oorlede toe is my saak van die rol geskrap. Maar daai ou was n dokter gewees, en toe het ek begin dink, want my dogter was daai tyd twee jaar oud, ja, n kleintjie. Sy was net begin twee jaar oud, dan begin jy dink... En toe begin ek meer sake kry. Oortreders is mense wat werk by die crech, nou begin jy dink, hy, die dokter, kyk hoe is hy...”

Hier was 'n meisie wat hier begin werk het. Sy het gesit en huil toe sy die goeters kyk.

- J) Sy het begin huil? En toe?
- S) Toe voel ek so sleg dat ek haar aan die goed laat bloot stel. Maar toe sy later begin gewoon raak het dit nie meer vir haar so baie gepla nie.

Ek het baie sleg gevoel. Jy weet nie die mense se agtergrond, waar hulle vandaan kom nie. Jy weet nie dit is die eerste keer in hulle lewe wat hulle die goed sien nie.

Omdat jy die goed so baie sien aanvaar jy die mense het al gesien.

Met die interview het ons hulle gevra, en gesê wat ons doen. Een meisie het gesê sy sal nie daarna kan kyk nie. Maar dink nie hulle het geweet waarvoor hulle hulle in laat nie. Want ons het vir hulle gese wat ons doen en wat ons na kyk. Dit is baie vieslike goeters. En hulle het gesê hulle sal dit kan doen maar hulle kon nie.

Hulle het gesê in die begin skok dit jou maar later word jy gewoon daaraan. Dan begin dit nie meer jou pla nie. Dan begin jy 'n joke maak daarvan. Dan moet jy begin erg geworied raak. En dit het vir my beginne pla.

As ek iemand op lei moet ek vir hom sê, moenie alles vir jouself inhou nie. Dit gaan miskien ongemaklik voel. Jy moet hom verduidelik die goed gaan jou affekteer jy gaan dalk later gewoon raak.

Baie mense wil nie hê hulle moet dink hy is 'n sussie.

Ek dink wat miskien hier fout was in die begin, hier was niemand wat jou aan die hand vat en gesê het ek gaan jou stap vir stap leer nie.

Hier moet ons as hier iemand inkom leer wat hy kan verwag. Ons moet daardie persoon van die begin vat en vir om sê.

THOMAS:

I was interviewed by the commander. They told me what the work was about. They told me about the child porn, and I told them I am not a person that gets upset easy.

It was the first time that I saw images like that. It was obviously shocking at first. It was very shocking. I couldn't get it out of my head. Maybe two weeks later, the images, you remember it.

Two months later I saw images, I actually remember these images I saw ... these images were also in that previous case. You remember it. For some reason you remember it.

When I started there, there was a lot of other ladies also working there, some of them vomited, some of them, they couldn't take it... they all left. Some of them were very good with computers, but the child pornography was too much. So for me, I guess it was, I was just, how can I put it?

I kept it inside.

PETER:

My eerste ene was 'n gay porn saak gewees met 'n ou wat 'n groot aansien in die gemeenskap het as 'n staatwerker met kinders en wat hulle omgekoop het met lekkers om hulle by sy huis te kry en dan sy nodige dinge gedoen het en fotos gedownload het en dit was alles seuns gewees want hy was gay.

MATTHEW:

Ja nee ek het dit verwag. As jy by cyber crime werk, porn is die eerste ding . Kinderporn, my eerste saak was verlede jaar, ek werk nou twee jaar by die eenheid.

Die ou was convicted, hy het sy eie kinders... ja 'n ou voel sad, 'n ou begin meer op jou eie kinders, hoe sal jy sê, beskerm. Ek het begin meer aggressief raak, want soos die sake vorder raak dit erger.

LUKE:

Ek was, hoe sal ek sê? Ek was geskok. Want ek het pornografie al gesien, maar toe ek dit sien het ek besef hierdie is geweldsmisdaad, dit is nie seksuele ding nie. Ek was baie afgesit en ek het gewonder, wil ek nog hier wees?

ANDREW:

A) Wat vir my sleg is, van die begin af, is dit voel asof hulle uitdrukkingsloos is, die mense, en dit pla my. Daardie gesiggies bly agter.

- J) Daar is nie tekens van pyn of angs of lekkerkry?
- A) Niks. Daai uitdrukkingsloosheid van sit net daar want jy moet daar wees. Of dwang of wat ook al, n mens weet nie, en dit is wat 'n mens altyd laat wonder waardeur gaan die kinders.

“people do not understand what it is”

SIMON:

Ek dink baie mense dink dit is groot kinders. Dit is babas en kinders wat baie klein is. Wat hulle altyd op die tv sien, hulle sien wat uitgeblur is. Hulle sien wat 12, 13 is. Hulle sien nie die werklikheid nie. Hulle hoor dit. Hulle sien dit nooit nie.

LUKE:

Wat ek ook al baie ondervind het, wanneer jy praat met mense daaroor, hulle persepsie van kinderpornografie is dat dit teenagers is wat topless vir 'n foto posseer. Hulle besef nie wat dit is nie.

Self-Comparison with other police units

PETER:

Die ondersoekbeamptes word nie naastenby blootgestel aan wat ons doen. Om die eenvoudige rede, ons kry 5000 fotos waarvan 200 kiddie porn is, en ek wys van die foto's vir hom, en in my verklaring sal ek sê, ons het foto's gekry en dit is soortgelyk hieraan, maar ek wys nie vir hulle alles nie. As hy alles wil sien dan gee ek dit vir hom. Ons moet deur 5000 foto's werk en dan kry jy ouens wat van geweld hou en geweld seks hou en beastialiteit en so aan en jy kan nie hom vervolg daarop nie, maar ons moet daarna sit en kyk.

SIMON:

Want elke saak wat hulle ondersoek, kyk ons. Hulle sien een-tiende van die prentjie en ons sien duisende van die goed. Die aanklaer kyk drie sekondes.

LUKE:

Ek dink ons almal maak altyd 'n ophef oor kinderbeskermings eenheid oor wat hulle sien of ondersoek maar as jy gaan kyk wat ons aan blootgestel word, ek kyk na 10 000 foto's, en aan die einde van die dag gee ek vir hulle 200 fotos wat relevant is, maar ek word blootgestel aan al die ander fotos wat miskien nie n misdaad uit maak nie maar ek kyk na die ander gemors ook.

ANDREW:

Ek dink net nie hulle beleef wat ons beleef nie. Dit is na die tyd maar ons sien fisies die dade. Ons sien fisies die gesigte op daardie oomblik, en dit is sleg. So op die end van die dag is die enigste manier hoe mens dalk gaan beter voel, is as hul op 'n plek gaan toeslaan en so plek toemaak en jy was betrokke daarby want dan gaan jy voel jy het iets bereik. Dit gaan nie oor skuldig of onskuldig nie. Dit gaan hier oor die kind.

Negative Inter-personal and Intra-personal effects:

Distrust

*Whatever goes upon two legs is an enemy - The
first Commandment* – George Orwell, *Animal Farm*

SIMON:

Nou begin jy dink, hy, die dokter kyk hoe is hy... Daai tyd, ek praat baie met my kleintjie... Dan was daar 'n saak van 'n onderwyser, of mense by die crech wat agter die kinders kyk, en ek kan onthou, daardie skok om daarna te kyk man, en dit was baie erg vir my gewees, want dit is baie ongemaklik om te sit en kyk daarna.

THOMAS:

My children are all over me, they love me. And I always think about that, because what would the paedophiles do? They will take advantage. The children are so innocent but they will turn it around to their advantage. You understand?

'Cause I could see what the girls are like. My children are lovely children. If we go to functions, to friends, they will greet everybody. They will kiss and hug everybody. That is just how they are. All the aunties, all the uncles they will kiss them. They will hug everybody, because that is the way they are.

Now you will get other people who will look at this differently. I am always worried. The cases that we did are all the prominent members in the community, the faces of priests, of school teachers, and of principles, even a paediatrician. In other words we had all of them already. So it just shows you that you can't trust. And all of those people, the community doesn't know them like that. You understand?

So in other words. You can't trust anyone. You can't trust anyone. My children, they can go to their granny's place but not anywhere else.

PETER:

P: Die ding is net dit skok jou want dit raak al hoe jonger. My jongste slagoffer skat ek nie ouer as 18 maande nie. En ja, ons het 'n coping meganisme daarmee. Ons probeer cope daarmee deur, uhm, grappende gewys om daarna te kyk want as jy dit ernstig gaan opneem gaan jy dit nie maak nie.

Ja, dit het 'n baie groot effek gehad op my persoonlike lewe, want dit gaan daarvoor ek het minder vertrou in ander mense omdat die mense wat ons ondersoek is mense wat in 'n gesagsposisie is of waarna kinders opkyk of iets van daai aard soos onderwysers, dominees, uhm kersvader, daai tipe van goed.

J: Het jy al kersvaders gehad?

P: Ja en hy het 'n dogter op sy tafel vasgemaak met toue en haar met 'n skroewedraaier verkrag. Hy het, soos ek gesê het, dis 'n ou wat by die rooikruis gewerk het as 'n kersvader. So met ander woorde, al die goed wat ons sien is almal ouens of vrouens wat almal hoë posisies in die samelewing het. Hulle is onderwysers, hulle is wat ook al. Die kinders kyk op na hulle. Die kinders vertrou. Ek het 'n saak waar die ou uit sy pad uit gegaan het om vir die meisiekinders 'n veilige hawe te gee en intussen het hy hulle net na sy plek toe gelok om hulle te misbruik, hy't hulle heeltemal gebrainwash. Al die kinders. Syne was die grootste selfgenerated kinderporn wat ek gekry ek het. Seker so 100 000 fotos daarvan afgelaai.

J: Selfvervaardig?

P: Selfvervaardige goed.

J: 100 000?

P: Ek skat daar rond ja. Hy het fisies die meisies se um, hoe kan ek nou sê, voor die tyd begin stimuleer en dan het hy dit afgeneem. Hy het hulle geslagsdele afgeneem oor hoe,

dit was nou sy verduideliking gewees hoekom hy dit nou het, dat hy neem dit af om te kyk hoe die liggaam voorberei vir die daad wat gaan plaasvind, dat hy dit regdeur afneem totdat hy klaar is en totdat hulle klaar is en dan het hy na die tyd nog steeds, ag man ek praat van sekondes uit mekaar uit fotos geneem.

LUKE:

Een van die goed wat ek ervaar watter effek dit op my het, ek vertrou nie. Ek kyk altyd na mense uit 'n ander oog uit, veral as daar 'n kind in die prentjie is of involved is of in die omgewing is. Dan wonder ek wat is hierdie ou se motiewe met hierdie kind wat hy nou optel? Of op sy skoot sit? Of op sy voet laat ry? Watse bymotiewe het hy?

Om vir jou 'n voorbeeld te gee, kinders wat op die strand loop, wat half geklee is of kaal, selfs party ouers wat toelaat, laat jou baie ongemaklik voel want eerste ding wat jy doen is kyk rond wie kyk, waar is ons pedofiel nou op die strand of by die swembad of waar dit ookal is.

My seun is geskei. Was getroud met n vrou wat ek geglo het haar pa het met haar gelol. Miskien is ek verkeerd maar jy focus daarop. Sy het byvoorbeeld niks vriende toegelaat nie. Was baie teruggetrokke en op haar eie. Ek was bekommerd oor die klein kinders. As dit so is, of daardie twee kinders nie ook gemollesteer word deur die oupa nie.

ANDREW:

Ek vertou niemand nie. Jy vertou niemand by jou kinders nie. As jy nie jou kinders sien nie dan loop soek jy hulle. So dit raak net vir my erger. Maar omdat jy weet wat alles aangaan, is jy ingestel daarop.

Dit pla my erg. Ek dink jy is oorbeskermend. Wanneer ek die goed sit en kyk, dan dink jy aan jou kinders. En op die stadium soos wat dit in ons land gaan, ek meen as hul 'n kind nou vat is hy weg. En dit kan net sowel my kind wees. Dit is iemand se kind.

Distrust against members

THOMAS:

Who knows that maybe you employ somebody and maybe he sees this, and he likes what he sees, and all of these images is coming to him for free.

ANDREW:

Jy weet nie hoe die ander mense wat saam met jou werk se siening is oor porn. Mens weet nie, dit kan net so wel iemand wees wat genot daaruit put.

Hulle het nooit vir ons gesê ons moet vir hierdie sielkundige toetse gaan, om dit te bepaal nie. So as jy wil child porn kyk en jy begin by ons werk dan is jy in die sewende hemel. So jy weet nie eitlik wie is die ou wat langs jou sit nie.

Over-protectiveness

PETER:

P) Nee. Dit is nie lekker om te sien hoe 'n 8 jarige verkrag word nie. Ons maak grappe: “Peuter met n kleuter”. Maar dit is net woorde wat jy gebruik want jy kan nie heeltyd met 'n ernstige gesig loop nie. Jy sal my in 'n gestig optel.

Jy leer jou eie coping meganismes aan. Ek het meer beskermd geword, wat dalk n goeie ding is, omdat ek met die realiteite werk, het ek meer beskermd geword teenoor my vrou en my kinders. My dogter gaan speel nie by maatjies as ek nie die ouers ontmoet het nie, weet waar hulle bly en hulle kinders nie eers by ons was nie. Anders is dit taboe, sy moet maar vrede maak daarmee.

J) Hoe oud is jou dogter?

- P) Sy word nou 7. Jy word oorbeskermend. As ek in die huis is en die kinders speel agter in die erf en ek hoor dit is vir vyf minute stil, dan gaan kyk ek waar hulle is en as ek hulle nie kan sien dan sê ek, kom nader kom speel hierso. Jy wil altyd hierdie wakende oog oor hulle hê wat ek ook nie dink altyd baie goed is vir 'n kind se ontwikkeling nie.

LUKE:

Ek ervaar dieselfde as iemand na hulle kyk of optel of as hulle in die bad is dan wonder jy wat is die persoon se motief, hoekom wil hy nou is die badkamer gaan kyk of optel en 'n drukkie gee. So dink jy hy het bybedoelings.

ANDREW:

- A) Jy word oorbeskermend. Jy begin goed wat nie regtig, of wat is die regte woord, jy dink jy sien goed, waar daar nie eintlik goed is sal jy goed sien. Simpel goedjies, klein goedjies.
- J Jy is wantrouerig?
- A: Ja ek dink dit is omdat jy sien net die ergste, en sonder dat jy agterkom, verwag jy die slegste. As 'n ou met die goed werk dan is jy maar iesegrimmig en jy is by die huis kort van draad. So ja dit is sleg.

Marital Problems:

THOMAS:

- T: At home me and my wife never fight. We never ever ever fight. Seriously, look our children know this. So when I come home, the wife knows, she can see, she can see. And

then she tells me, ok. She usually lets the children go play somewhere else. She says leave daddy alone, he is tired.

J: In the beginning did you speak with her about the child pornography?

T: No

J: At work?

T: Nobody. At work was just the commander.

J: You could speak with him.

T: Yes, Yes. We speak about it. We try to get away occasionally, to a braai, to get away from the office. But I speak to my wife and she listens.

J: But in the beginning you didn't? Why not?

T: Basically because our work is classified information. So for me, I guess it was, I was just, how can I put it? I kept it inside.

J: But that keeping it in, what did it do to you?

T: It obviously built up. It made me very over protective of my children. As when you go to the beach, my baby is like two years old, and my wife dressed her, which was fine, it is like normal, but it wasn't normal any more for me.

I would say, no don't expose the children. I would always tell my children that people can see you. So somehow, it made things change. It made things change in life. One time we took them to the park. There was a guy who came, he took photos of the children, played with the children, played in the park. Because I know what I have seen on some of the films. They don't just take naked children, just normal, just normal children, even playing in the park with normal children at school, and he wanted to take pictures of my children also. And I told him no. And he said he bought a new camera and he wanted to test it. He wanted to become a photographer. I told him no go test it on something else, and I didn't want to make it too obvious for my wife when the guy had left I actually wanted to see his registration number, you know what I mean? I needed to check him out. But, on the other hand, maybe you do get photographers that are just normal. You understand.

But obviously for us, they are not, they are all the same.

J: And then at a certain stage you started to talk with your wife about it?

T: Ja

J: And that was better?

T: Ja it was better. It also made her aware of what I am looking at .

J: But was she ok?

T: She was ok with it. She... I told her that I will never ever let her see it. Because it was bad to look at. So she asked, what are you going to do about it? What can you do about it? But there is nothing we can do about it. I try to forget about it, to concentrate on something else.

J: So she is very supportive?

T: Yes she is, she is, and it helps a lot. It helps a lot. We are really close.

We are married now for ten years. We are like a couple who just got married. That is how we are.

SIMON:

S: Ek het een fout gemaak, moes werk huis toe neem, my vrou het gesien. Gesê die goed is dan disgusting. Van dan het ek dit nooit huis toe gevat nie.

J: En jy kan nie regtig openhartig voel as jy huis toe kom om te sê, jy weet, ek voel so disgusted, omdat ek vandag weer hierdie werk gedoen het.

S: Sy weet wat ek ondersoek het, ek het haar gesê, en sy weet watter goed ons ondersoek, sy weet nie wie die suspect is nie, maar sy haat dit ook, sy hou nie daarvan. Maar ek kan met haar gesels daaroor.

PETER:

Dit is maar moeilik, ek praat met my vrou, ek sal nie vir haar sê wat ek gesien het nie, maar sy sal agter kom ek werk weer aan ietsie.

LUKE:

L: Ja ek het in die verlede dit partykeer op my vrou uitgehaal en jy kon dit nie met haar bespreek het nie. Dan is jy ongeskik en kan nie verduidelik wat die probleem is nie, maar ek en sy kon dit uitgesorteer gekry het. Sy verstaan nou. As ek huis toe gaan en ek het na die goed gekyk dan sal ek gras gaan sny, ek sal met my hond gaan speel, ek sal nie met haar of met die gesin by die huis kommunikeer nie tot ek my gemoed 'n bietjie verander het en ek kan hierdie kak uit my kop uitkry.

Persoonlike verhoudinge het 'n invloed. Dit het n invloed op jou persoonlike verhoudinge. Seks byvoorbeeld, as jy slaapkamer toe gaan, ek meen ons is almal groot mense, dan dink jy oor die goed en jy dink, is alle vroue soos die wat ek daar gesien het?

Isolation

Nobody truly knows me

Silently screaming

Nobody hears

Falling down my cheeks

Are unseen tears

I need your help

Nobody cares

This silent suffering

Is getting to be more than I can bear

Please help me now

Get rid of my fears

Please help me now

Sort through this despair

I may as well give it up

I've got nowhere to turn from here

I'm empty inside

And nobody knows or cares

Just go away now

Whether you'r here doesn't matter

This silent suffering has come again

And will remain here forever

SIMON:

Maar daai tyd praat jy met niemand nie, dan moet jy maar net sit en die goed maar so verwerk en met niemand gepraat het nie.

MATTHEW:

J: Kan jy met iemand oor hierdie goed praat?

M: Nie by die huis nie.

J: By die werk?

M: Nee.

J: So dit bou op en bou op?

M: Ja. My babatjie, ek kan nie eers die doeke ruil nie.

J: Dis amper asof jy nie 'n normale pa kan wees nie want jy het die heelyd hierdie memories?

M: ja, jy wil nie nader kom nie want jy is bang, ek doen iets verkeerd.

As die ouer dogtertjie gaan aantrek dan sê ek maak toe, mens raak maar, ek weet nie hoe om dit te verduidelik nie.

Met wie kan ek praat? Ek kan nie met my vrou daarvoor praat nie. Dit is ons persoonlike goed by die werk. Ek wil nie hê sy moet weet wat ek by die werk doen. O.K., sy het 'n idee wat ek doen. Sy gaan nie daarvan hou nie. Miskien my kollega by FCS, want hy doen dit elke dag, maar ook nie veel nie.

J: En die ander ouens van die Cyber Crime Unit?

M: Nee. Ons praat nie daarvoor nie. Dokter het vir my pille gegee. So ek is happy. Dit help. Anders kan niemand by die huis dit uithou met my nie. Ek raak moeilik. Nee dis bad.

J: Sal jy nog lank hiermee kan werk?

M: Jy sal moet ontlading doen.

J: Want hoe moet jy dit hanteer?

M: Ja jy sal maar moet probeer afsluit. maar jy kan nie.

Jy kry terugflitse.

LUKE:

J: Maar vroer was dit nie so maklik nie?

L: Nee. Veral toe ek nie daaroor kon of WOU praat nie.

J: Nou kan jy by die huis kom en sê ek het vandag met hierdie goed gewerk?

L: Nee jy kan nie, maar ek kan dit nou al met hulle bespreek, hulle weet nou al: hoor hierso het jy weer vandag hiermee gewerk? Want ek reageer anderster as ek met die goed gewerk het.

ANDREW:

A: Ja ek dink in 'n mate wat my help wat ander nie help nie is ek kan met my vrou praat daaroor. Ander mense kan nie.

J: Julle ouens hier onder mekaar, wat saam werk kan julle met mekaar praat ?

A: Ek weet nie ek voel nie ek kan met hulle praat nie.

J: Jy voel nie?

A: Nee

J: Dis nie 'n comfortable onderwerp?

A: Nee, ek weet nie vir my gaan dit daar oor, jis jy wil met iemand praat wat jou verstaan. Wat weet waarvan af jy kom. Dit help nie jy gaan praat met iemand en dink die ou kyk dalk by sy huis ook porn, en dan dink hy jy is dalk belaglik nie. Jy wil die ou die volgende dag in die oog kan kyk, jy kannie met iemand intieme goed wil gaan praat.

J: En dalk in 'n groep situasie?

A: Nee. 'n Ou moet dit uit kry. Die goed het groot uitwerking op mens se gesinslewe.

Aggression and anger

For anger can destroy the brain as well as any disease, for it is itself a disease of the mind.

Edgar Cayce in Reilly & Brod (1975)

SIMON:

Ja jy voel baie anger. Jy wil die persoon gaan aanrand. Beter om nooit kontak te hê nie, want jy sou seker jou frustrasie op hom uitgehaal.

Ek meen ek het hulle gesien op een video hoe die pa die dogter so seksueel aangerand het. En hy het videos gemaak, met sy eie kinders hoe hy haar bed toe vat dan ..., lang videos wat jy nou moet sit en uitkyk en dat mens net bly is jy kom nooit in kontak met hulle nie, want daar is baie woede en anger wat jy met jou het en jy weet nie wat om daarmee te maak nie. Maar baie keer het ek net gaan stap.

THOMAS:

I wanted to shoot him. I felt like this guy needed to go to jail but he didn't. He actually got away with it.

PETER:

P: Ek het 'n saak ondersoek waar 'n man, ek skat hom so in sy 50, met, dit het gelyk soos Filipynse kinders waarmee hy doenig was. En ek het in die hof gaan sit en ek het vir die

aanklaer, want sy het nog nooit sulke goed gesien nie, sy het nie geweet waarom die saak gaan nie, gewys. Hulle was nie voorbereid daarop nie, en toe ek deur my goed gaan om net weer my gedagtes reg te kry omdat ek die saak twee, drie jaar tevore gedoen het.

J: ja

P: Toe vra ek vir haar het jy al kinderpornografie gesien, weet jy waarom ons hierdie ou vervolg. Toe sê sy nee. Toe sê ek vir haar, laat ek vir jou wys. Toe wys ek vir haar die foto's waarom ons hom vervolg. Toe sê sy vir my waar is die oortreding? Die kinders gee hulle samewerking.

Dit maak my kwaad. En sy kon nie die oortreding sien nie want sy meen die kinders het hulle samewerking gegee want hy't gesit en lag teen die muur. So daar is nie 'n oortreding nie. Daar het nie 'n misdad plaasgevind nie.

J: Hoe het jy gevoel?

P: Ek was die bliksem in! En ons het die saak verloor agv 'n landros wat nie rekenaargeletterd is nie.

J: En daardie oortreder?

P: Het weggeloop, met dit en met moord, want hy't met 'n kind gelol wat op die ou ende selfmoord gepleeg het. En toe kom hy nog los daarop ook.

J: En daardie magteloosheid en daai frustrasie wat 'n mens ervaar, jy het al die werk gedoen en vir wat? Hoe hanteer 'n mens dit?

P: Jy laat dit gaan. Wat anderster? Jy kan dit nie opkrop nie. Ek laat dit gaan, maar ek vergeet nie daarvan nie.

J: Want jy dink nog aan die kinders?

P: Ja, ja. En die ou wat nog steeds vry rondloop, asof niks fout was. Die polisie was verkeerd.

En dit maak 'n mens kwaad. Ek wil amper sê, aggressief.

Want jy voel as jy buitekant kom gaan jy hierdie ou aan sy strot draai. Dit is asof 'n vervolgingswaansin by my inskop. Nou gaan ek jou roer want wat jy doen is verkeerd. En ek was nie so nie.

J: Was jy nie so nie?

P: Nou raak dit erger. As ek 'n rekenaar kry, as ek kiddie porn kry, wil ek hom gaan opneuk.

En dan is die ding dan kom jy in die hof, dan gooi hulle dit uit. Hulle is onbevoeg.

Ons het 'n kindersielkundige gehad wat 10 000 foto's gehad het. Wat 'n boete gekry het van R10 000. En dit maak n mens kwaad, want jy sit hierdie werk in, jy weet daar is kinders wat in gevaar is. Jy weet hy werk met kinders. Dan stap hy uit met n R10 000 boete.

MATTHEW:

J: Maak dit jou aggressief?

M: Ja, ek is op kalmeer pille. Jy raak aggresief en elke geringste dingetjie begin jy: pas die kinders op, kyk jy raak bang, dit affekteer jou.

J: Dink jy die aggressie, daar is seker baie goed wat daartoe kan lei, maar dink jy die child porn is 'n groot bron van daardie aggressie?

M: ja in teendeel, dit affekteer jou op n groot manier. Jy wil daai ou wat daai ding doen wil jy bykom, ja.

En dan ook, daardie aggressie vat jy saam met jou huis toe. Jy weet nie van dit nie, maar as jy by die huis kom dan begin jy met die vrou. Dit is rof, en nou ook, daar is sake wat ek nie eers aan wil vat nie. Om 'n groot ou te sien wat n minderjarige kind seksueel molesteer.

Dit is die ergste, om die kind naak te sien, dit is nie so bad nie, want jy sien dit tog alledaags met jou eie kinders, maar waar hy beginne vroetel. Ek het nou 'n saak waar 'n kind seksueel aktief is met 'n adult. Dit maak 'n ou aggressief, ja dit werk 'n ou hoor.

LUKE:

L: Ek wens ek kan by daardie ou wees. By die suspect. Sodat ek sy wange vir hom kan warm maak. Ek het al verwronge idees gehad. Ons het al 'n paar gehad wat los gekom het, met die howe en so, dan voel dit vir my ek wil in daardie area gaan beweeg, en pamflette uitgooi, in 'n koevert om die gemeenskap te laat waarsku, sommer 'n foto van hom, baie keer kry jy 'n foto van hom op die rekenaar of wat ook al, en om dit te versprei in die omgewing. Ek weet dit is onwettig maar ek het dit al baie keer oorweeg. En as 'n ou skuldig bevind is in die hof en hy kry 'n opgeskorte vonnis het ek ook al daaroor gedink. Want jou gemeenskap weet nie van hom nie.

Dan het ek 'n ander tape gekry, ek het een dvd wat ek baie gereeld kyk. Wat vir my abnormal is. Ek gaan eers vir jou die geskiedenis vertel hoe dit gebeur het. Nou en dan gaan neem my vrou 'n dvd uit. Sy kom met die dvd, oor 'n naweek, sy sit dit in en ons begin te kyk, dit is n meisiekind, sy is seker so 14 / 15 wat voor die rekenaar sit en sy kommunikeer, jy weet mos hoe gebeur dit, met die pedofiel daar buite, en hulle meet mekaar, hulle reël nou hierdie afspraak, hulle wil mekaar nou ontmoet, en hy vat haar kafee toe. En toe sê ek nee. Ek gaan nie na hierdie goed kyk nie.

J: Hoekom nie?

L: Want ek kyk dit elke dag hierso, en ek weet waarnatoe dit nou oppad is. Toe sê my vrou ek het dit al gesien en ek weet waarheen dit gaan, sy gaan dit kyk. Ek is toe uit. Ek het dit toe nie verder gekyk nie want ek was toe befok oor hierdie ding wat sy uitneem wat sy in my huis wil kom kyk.

Toe roep sy my later en sê ek moet kom kyk sy dink ek gaan dit geniet. Toe is dit, om 'n lang storie kort te maak, toe is dit die dogtertjie met wie hy gepraat het, se vriendin, is doodgemaak deur hierdie pedofiel. Sy het hom toe opgeline, en hulle is toe kafee toe en hy het haar toe na die huis geneem. Toe spike hierdie dogtertjie hierdie man se drank.

Hy is toe uitgepass en toe hy wakker word is hy vasgemaak. Toe lê hy op 'n tafel vasgemaak. Sy sê toe vir hom wie sy is en dit is haar vriendin wat hy doodgemaak het. Hy ontken dit toe en sy krap toe in n laai en sy kry foto's wat hy geneem het van die

vriendin wat hy doodgemaak het. Sy het toe later sy testikels afgesny en in n foodmixer gegooi en bietjie opgekap.

Toe geniet ek die prent baie en ek kyk dit nou gereeld.

J: [LAG] agge nee, regtig, kyk jy dit baie?

L: Nee ek oordryf nou, maar ek het dit 2 /3 keer gekyk, wat seker abnormal is. Maar dit was vir my lekker om te kyk hoe kak hy nou.

Anxiety

THOMAS:

T: Because that guy that does fraud and steals money, that is fine, I mean nobody gets affected, but that child? For the rest of her life. That is why, like this teacher who took photos, we need to stop him before the time. If he does rape a girl, or he does abuse a girl in two years time, it is going to be our fault.

J: And how does that make you feel?

T: That makes me feel sick inside.

LUKE:

J: Jy hanteer dit nou beter as wat jy dit hanteer het vroeër?

L: Ek is 'n beter mens by my familie maar as jy slaapkamer toe gaan vannaand dan dink jy maar weer. Of as jy jou kleinkind sien, soos ek sê hy sit in die bad en iemand kom in die bad en sê vir hom hallo, of self ek gaan in sê se vir hom hallo, dan wonder jy nou wat dink die mense nou, hoekom is ek nou by die waskamer by die kind. Wat dink ek nou so van hulle? Hulle dink seker so van my ook?

Ek werk heel dag met die goed, ek is ook dalk al bietjie sweef. Dis wat jy dink die mense gaan dalk dink. Baie mense wat hoor wat jy doen, dink, haai hoe kan jy dit doen? Geniet jy dit, hou jy daarvan?

Desensitising

*At the end of your life one of three things will
happen to your heart:
it will grow hard, it will be broken, or it will be
tender.*

Nobody escapes.

*Your heart will become coarse and desensitized,
be crushed under the weight of disappointment,
or be made tender by that which makes the
heart of God tender as well.*

Ravi Zacharias "The Grand Weaver" (2007)

SIMON:

S: Hoe ek eerste gevoel het toe ek eerste die foto gesien het, dit begin my nie meer so te pla nie.

J: Maar hoe het jy gevoel daai eerste keer toe jy dit gesien het?

S: Dit was baie moeilik om na die goed te kyk man, jy voel ongemaklik as jy na die goed kyk. Dit was vir my walglik. Mense met klein kinders? Jy kan nie kyk nie. Dis ongemaklik, disgusting. Dan dink jy weer hoe die kinders in pyn is. Mens kyk eers in die begin baie na die sexual, dis baie moeilik gewees om na goed te kyk in die begin.

J: En toe later aan nie meer so baie?

S: Nee. Jy raak gewoonnd daaraan. Die mense het begin jokes maak in die kantoor. Dan begin jy te praat oor 'n saak wat jy gekry het. En, ek het nie so baie child porn sake gekry, ek het baie ander misdade gekry, maar ek het gesien ek raak gewoonnd daaraan. En dan begin die goed jou nie meer affekteer nie. Hoe jy eerste gevoel het, hoe jy uncomfortable gevoel het, hoe jy so ongemaklik voel om na die goed te kyk. Jy kon amper nie na die goed kyk.

Toe begin ek besef as jy begin gewoonnd raak daaraan, is amper soos iemand wat baie moord tonele gesien het en dit afekteer nie meer vir hulle nie.

En toe het ek met bevelvoerder gepraat en gesê dat ons moet hulp kry. Dis waar ons met 'n sielkundige begin praat het. En daar het ons geleer hoe om die goed te hanteer en daar het baie gevoelens uit gekom. Jy besef nie hoe daai goed jou familie affekteer nie, hoe besitlik jy oor jou kinders raak. Ek los haar nie by mense nie. Ek wil weet wat sy doen, ek wil weet waarheen sy gaan, en ek is baie agterdogtig oor mense. Jy kyk nie te lank na my kind of so iets nie.

THOMAS:

Ja look, after these couple of years, we don't get shoked any more, we have seen everything, we have seen small babies, 13 months, and the weirdest fetishes, we have seen everything.

I think of the method that I am going to use. Look, the images are o.k. I know it is a wrong thing to say that. I can handle it... but sometimes you see the images and you go to court and you meet this girl, it is like, how can the father have done this to this child. You understand?

PETER:

Weet jy ek dink, ek weet nie of 'n mens daarmee kan cope nie, want hulle sê vir ons tydens ontlonting sessie by hoofkantoor stel vir jouself bakens op. Ek ry nou werk toe. Hierdie stopstraat is my baken. As ek hier verby ry sit ek my brein aan vir werk. As ek vanmiddag terug ry sit ek hom af. As ek by die huis kom, gaan sit buite vir tien minute, vat jou me time, drink 'n koppie koffie en verwyder jou van die werk af. Maar ons werk nie so nie, want more oggend drie uur vlieg ek uit die bed uit met n gejuig en besef ek het nog nie daarna gekyk nie. Dan dink my brein nog steeds daaraan. Hei, jy het nog nie dit probeer nie. Party keer spring ek in die kar en ry kantoor toe want ek het nou hierdie bevlieging gekry om die saak op te los.

LUKE:

L: Soos ek sê die eerste keer wat ek dit gesien het was dit 'n baie groot skok. Dit is nog steeds, dit het nog nie nicer of beter geraak nie.

J: Jy hanteer dit nou beter as wat jy dit hanteer het vroeër?

L: Ek is 'n beter mens by my familie maar as jy slaapkamer toe gaan vannaand dan dink jy maar weer.

ANDREW:

Dit bly maar vir my sleg. Hoe meer jy van dit sien en hoe meer sake jy doen, hoe meer besef jy hoe vollop dit is en hoeveel kinders. So dit is sleg.

Na werk gaan jy huis toe en sien uit om almal te sien. En as jy na 5 minute rustig geraak het dan begin jy weer daaraan dink. Solank jy besig bly is dit oraaait, maar sodra jy moet ontspan dan dink jy aan die goed.

Desperation

*“Who knows where inspiration comes from?
Perhaps it arises from desperation.
Perhaps it comes from the flukes of the
universe, the kindness of the muses.”*

Amy Tan (<http://www.goodreads.com/quotes/show/119891>)

ANDREW:

Jy voel magteloos, want jy weet nie waar hulle is nie. Jy kan maak wat jy wil maar jy kom nie by die kinders uit nie. Jy kan nie die kinders uit die situasie uit kry nie. Jy kan een ou vang maar die fotos bly. So dis frustrerend.

Ek dink as ek deur al hierdie goeters een kind uit die huis kan gaan haal dan sal dit die moeite werd wees. Maar op die stadium is dit nie die moeite werd nie. Jy bereik niks nie.

Jy help niemand hier nie. Dit laat jou magteloos voel.

LUKE:

Is ek heeltemal fucktup of voel die ander ook soos ek, het die ander ook die selfde problem?

POSITIVE FEELINGS:

A Calling

SIMON;

Ja, ek voel daar is nie baie mense wat ons werk kan doen nie. Ons kry baie sukses.

THOMAS:

I don't know if the promotions are going to come or what, financially I need to get promoted. If I have to go to another place, what is going to happen here? I know they all are capable, but I am just so afraid that these people will get away. I feel almost that I have an obligation to stay here and to investigate these people.

Because we have come to a point, it is like scary, because you are viewing things, from a paedophile's point of view. All the images that we see that he have visited in the last seven years, you view it now in a week or something. You get into his state of "you know already what he likes and what he doesn't like." In other words, we know already what his character is all about. It is almost like you are the paedophile, because you are stuck in this computer. It is scary, it is scary. And I always think, look I am now on the same rank for the last six years, and I had the opportunity like three years ago, a promotion post. I did not take it, because I don't want to do that, I want to do this.

LUKE:

Maar nou ja, ons is almal 'n polisieman, jy is daar om te probeer om n verskil te maak.

Dis waarom ek besluit het ek sal bly en ek sal dit doen.

Maar om te kom nou by hoekom gaan ons aan, hoekom gaan kry ek nie vir my 'n ander job en sluit dronkies toe, ek voel ek maak 'n verskil. Ek het al van hierdie mense uit die gemeenskap verwyder, alhoewel van hul weer terug is oor n jaar of twee, of vyf. Ek het n verskil gemaak oor

daardie vyf jaar wat ek hom agter tralies gesit het. Verder kan ek ook vir jou se my persepsie van hierdie mense, is hulle nie rehabiliteerbaar nie.

ANDREW:

Ek weet nie dit raak vir my omtrent 'n misie om hierdie ouens flippen weg te sit vir lewenslank in die tronk. Maar op die einde van die dag, dit gaan daaroor, dit is net so goed dit is jou kind, en jy sal fight tot aan die einde van die dag om die blady helsim skuldig of in die hof te kry.

PETER:

Ek hou daarvan om hulle rekenaars te sien, want ek weet hulle hou nie daarvan nie, want ek beweeg in sy persoonlike ruimte in. Ek hou daarvan om voor die rekenaar te gaan sit en dadelik te gaan kyk waarna gesoek is op die Internet en wat het hy gedoen om 'n profiel te probeer saamstel om te dink hoe het hierdie ou geredineer. Ek probeer so veel as moontlik inligting kry van die ondersoek beamptes. Weereens want ek wil weet met wie en wat het ek te doen. So dis vir my altyd, ek weet dis seker nosy, maar ek wil weet waarmee het ek te doen.

Intervention

Anyone whose goal is 'something higher' must expect someday to suffer vertigo. What is vertigo? Fear of falling? No, Vertigo is something other than fear of falling. It is the voice of the emptiness below us which tempts and lures us, it is the desire to fall, against which, terrified, we defend ourselves.

Milan Kundera, *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* (1984)

“A man's gotta know his limitations.”

Dirty Harry in the movie Magnum Force

SIMON:

J: Hoe het jy die ontlonting sessie by die provinsie ervaar?

S: Vir my het dit baie gehelp, want, die vrou het ons geleer hoe om die image wat jy saamdrae te blok, nie heeltyd in jou mind te sit nie, en as jy van die werk af gaan, kry vir

jouself tyd in die middag om iets anders te doen, voor jy by die huis kom. En moenie die werk saam huis toe vat nie. Kry iets anders om te doen, moenie sit en tob oor die werk nie. Dit gaan jou klaar maak. Vat daai goed wat jy sien en blok uit jou brein, soos n televisieskerm wat jy afsit. Amper soos 'n meditation waar jy op n plek kan sit en vergeet, dit het my baie gehelp. Ek sit nie meer en dink oor die werk.

J: Het julle haar meer as een keer gesien?

S: Ons het elke keer verskillende mense gesien. Daar is nooit 'n kontinuiteit nie, elkeen het begin met 'n sessie dan het hul opgehou.

J: En dan gaan julle weer na 'n ander persoon?

S: Ja. Hele dag lank sessie. Het net begin verhoudings opbou, toe kom daar weer iemand anders.

J: Gaan julle nog?

S: Ons het baie lanklaas gehad, alles het begin stop nou.

J: En die werkswinkel wat julle in Pretoria gehad het?

S: Dit was baie anderster, dit was 'n workshop, dit is nie soos ons gehad het. Ons het gegaan vir drie dae sessies by die provinsie. Eerste gaan die hele groep saam. En dan die tweede dag is die sielkundige waar jy die hele dag kan praat, in 'n groep, en dan die derde dag is afsluiting. So die hele tweede dag is basies 'n gesprek waar die hele groep mekaar ontmoet en gedagtes uitgeruil het.

Die werkswinkel in Pretoria was anders, was amper soos 'n lecture gegee, dit was meer oor die oortreder en die hele sexual history, dit was nie n kontak sessie soos ons gehad het. Ons doen dit nie by die werk nie, ons het weggegaan na 'n plek toe en die drie dae daar gehou.

J: Wat dink jy is die beste intervensie?

S: Om weg te kom uit die gebou uit. Die lecture was ook interessant gewees in Pretoria. Ek het baie geleer by haar.

Ons wil as 'n groep bymekaar kom, om met mekaar te gesels en gedagtes uit te ruil hoe ons almal voel oor die werk. Dit mag miskien gaan oor die huislike goed maar dit het

meestal gegaan oor werk probleme. Hoe affekteer dit die werk en die familie. Elkeen het 'n bydrae gelewer van hoe hy voel, want baie keer het dit nie gegaan oor die child porn nie. Dit gaan oor die werk, hoe ons oorlaai was. Ek het op n stadium gevoel dit is nie oor child porn nie maar oor werk, ek het gevoel dat ek uitgebrand was. En dan laai hulle goed op jou, en jy voel jy is klaar uitgebrand, jy kan nie meer nie. Maar hulle wil nog meer hê. Praat as 'n groep saam. Daar is baie goed wat mens nie wil deel, so daardie oop een is nodig. En nie net oor die child pornography nie, maar ook die probleme van die werk.

J: As jy sê groep bedoel jy net julle groep hier op provinsie of nationaal?

S: Nationaal gaan 'n kla sessie wees. Face to face is belangrik. Baie is bang dat dit weer gaan terug kom by management.

THOMAS:

T: The one in Pretoria was, it was more like a course, child pornography, what it is about. The other times we had was not so affective in the effect that they sent us a guy from the SAPS and then we had a session and we had to tell him obviously why we needed it and we had to tell him what it is all about, because he didn't know. We had to tell him all the things and then when the next session comes they sent us somebody else. He also did not know what it was about and we had to explain again. The next session was two days. It was also new people.

J: It was more like a team building thing?

T: Ja, in the night we had a braai, and that is very nice. Every body knows what the next person is feeling. We talked about what we feel. We talked about everything. If we wanted to talk about personal stuff we talked about personal stuff. We all really, we trust each other.

PETER:

J: Die debriefing sessies, het julle baat daarby gevind?

P: Ja. By almal. Al gaan dit nie daarvoor dat ons die probleem kan oplos nie, het dit nog steeds vir ons gehelp om te hoor die ander voel dieselfde as ek. Hulle het ook ewe skielik meer beskermend opgetree teenoor hulle kinders. Hulle laat ook nie meer hulle kinders voor in die straat speel nie.

Ek is nie alleen nie. Dit is nie net ek wat so voel nie.

En toe gaan die sielkundige met wie ons gewerk het weg. Toe word ons oorgeplaas na 'n ander sielkundige toe en toe het alles uitmekaar geval. Hulle daag nie op nie. Dan moet ons ons hele geskiedenis weer van voor af vertel want hulle weet nie waarvoor ons werk gaan nie. Hulle stuur ander mense. Die laaste keer het hulle nie eers opgedaag nie.

Ons het baie coping goed geleer in Pretoria. Ek voel daar was te min spandeer aan die problem wat ons het en te veel rondom hoe om 'n profile saam te stel. Nou ek verstaan haar proses dat sy ons later in kleiner groepies ingedeel het. Ek het daarvan gehou, ek dink tog as jy once in a blue moon net by iemand kan afpak, dan help dit ook.

MATTHEW:

M: Ek het in Pretoria goed geleer wat ek nooit geweet het nie. Die verskillende pedofiele wat jy kry. Dit was interresant, maar ek sal sê die werksessie wat sy ons bymekaar gehad het in groepies, en die persoonlike goed, ek het nie daarvan gehou nie.

Dit moet 'n one on one ding wees. Ek het al gedink om 'n twee of drie dae sessie weg te gaan en almal gaan saam en praat oor dit, 'n spanbou tipe ding, net die provinsie alleen gaan, nie almal gemeng nie.

J: Net die mense saam met wie jy werk?

M: Ek kan nie met ander meedeel oor wat ek dink nie. Nou nou dink hy ek is 'n pedofiel. Maar ouens wat jy saam werk en saam goed mee experience, kan jy mee praat.

LUKE:

L: Om in n groep een maal 'n week te sit, net vir 'n half uur of 'n uur, te praat oor die werk en wat het julle gister gedoen. Goeters wat jy gesien het dalk, nie te kom wys vir my nie, maar te praat daaroor en te sê hoe jy voel.

En tweedens om uit hierdie kantoor environment gereeld te kom, dalk te gaan braai, want ek het agter gekom dan praat hulle daaroor, soos een ou het hier 'n hele gay ding ondersoek en dit was erg, mense was vasgemaak en daar was lyke en sulke goed. En te praat daaroor, as 'n uitlaatklep. Dan besef ek wat ek gesien het is nie so erg as wat hy gesien het nie.

Klein groep was beter. Dit hoef nie by 'n fancy plek te wees nie, solank jy met mekaar praat.

Ek dink daar is nie 'n gebrek by bestuur oor hoe mens voel oor die goed, maar wel 'n gebrek aan wat dit behels.

ANDREW:

A: Die werkswinkel in Pretoria was goed. Jy het insae in hoe die ouens se koppe werk. Maar ek dink nie dit wat ons in groep verband gedoen het nie is genoeg. As jy nie een tot een gaan, gaan jy nie praat nie want almal sit maar en kyk vir mekaar.

Wat vir my die slegste is dat die goed in my kop bly. Ek het gedog daar is fout met my tot ek in Pretoria was.

J: Wat dus goed aan die groep situasie was, was dat jy gesien het dat jy nie alleen is nie?

A: Ek het gedog ek is besig om mal te word. Toe sien ek nee baie mense ervaar dit so. So dan voel jy weer bietjie mens.

Anders voel jy jy gaan slaap in die aand en jy voel skuldig want dit bly in jou kop. Jy voel skuldig jy is bang jy begin soos die ouens word want jy kry dit nie uit jou kop uit nie.

Coping Mechanisms

Every day you may make progress. Every step may be fruitful. Yet there will stretch out before you an ever-lengthening, ever-ascending, ever-improving path. You know you will never get to the end of the journey. But this, so far from discouraging, only adds to the joy and glory of the climb. - Sir Winston Churchill (<http://www.quotationspage.com/quote/2755.html>)

SIMON:

Want daar is baie woede en anger wat jy met jou het en jy weet nie wat om daarmee te maak nie, maar baie keer het ek net gaan stap. Ek het gaan stap en gelukkig het ons 'n gym hier gehad, want jy sit met klomp anger en depression en goed en dan gaan ek maar eerder gym toe.

THOMAS:

I always play with my children. Then it takes my mind off things.

I like fishing, usually my family and I. Fishing is basically relaxing, and just spending time with my family. It doesn't matter if I catch fish.

I also like to take my family away for the holidays.

MATTHEW:

Ek doen my stokpertjie. Dit neem my aandag af van die werk.

LUKE:

Pretoria werkswinkel het my iets geleer wat ek begin toepas het en dit is daardie me time, waar ek by my eie is. Ek gaan speel met die hond of sny die gras, om jou af te sny van wat hier by die werk gebeur het.

Moenie by die huis kom en probeer normal wees as jy hier binne in kook nie. Dan gaan jy uithak en ongeskik wees. Dit was in die verlede my uitlaat klep: om ongeskik te wees.

Sny af deur gras te sny of hond te speel of hond te gan stap. Maar jy sny nooit regtig af nie. Jou aandag moet, hoe kan ek sê, ek probeer my volle aandag toespits op iets soos die gras sny. Iets wat fisies is.

The result of the findings from above interviews will be integrated with the findings from the focus group, and the findings of the study conducted by the CCRC in chapter 5.

Chapter Five

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Analysis of the data obtained from the interviews clearly showed that all participants were psychologically deeply affected by the constant exposure to child pornography. Based on the themes that were extracted from the conversations that were held with the participants it was clear that none of the participants were prepared for their first encounter with the material. All participants elaborated on the emotions of horror and disgust that they experienced, and some also shared advice on how a new member should be introduced into the unit.

All participants showed negative intra-personal and inter-personal effects. In line with the social constructionism framework, the self is not viewed as an isolated being, but rather takes form in relationship to others (Becvar & Becvar, 2006). The CFEs were found to be affected by the culture of the broader Police as well as by the community they serve and are a part of. The relationship the CFE has with his colleagues, family and the community was found to play a role in their experience. The CFEs were deeply affected by the images, and they experienced feelings of distrust toward others that lead to over-protectiveness of their children. They also experienced feelings of isolation, where they did not have anyone to share their feelings with. They felt aggressive, angry, frustrated and desperate, and although most of the participants have been working as CFEs for a long time, they do not seem to become desensitised towards the material they are exposed to.

All participants felt that they had a calling to do the work. They showed a passion for caring for and protecting the innocent and to remove the perpetrators from society. All participants showed an almost desperate need for intervention and debriefing and shared coping skills that they learnt in the process.

The findings from the interviews with the participants, the findings from the focus group, and the findings from the study conducted by the Crimes against Children Research Center (CCRC) were found to overlap in many ways. By integrating these findings several symptoms related to traumatic events in general, emerged from the three sets of findings. These symptoms include the following:

- Desensitising
- Trauma and stress
- Vicarious traumatisation
- Compassion fatigue
- Burnout
- Post-traumatic stress disorder

The integrated result of the three sets of findings will now be discussed.

Desensitising

In contradiction with Gunter's (2002) explanation of desensitising, which occurs when, through a process of repeated exposure, one becomes habituated to a particular stimulus that initially evoked strong emotional or behavioural reactions, it was found during the interviews that the participants were still affected by the images, even after years of exposure. During the interviews with the participants Simon explained that although it started to "get better", he will always distrust people. Peter felt that after years of working with the images, he almost became obsessed with solving the case and often woke up at 3h00 during the night wanting to go to work. Luke said that it was a shock to see the images at first, and that it still was. He explained that it stays shocking and that the more cases one deals with, the more one realises how huge the problem is and how many innocent children are affected.

The focus group agreed that even after working with the material for a long period they still think of it after working hours and often suffer from sleeping disturbances.

Trauma and Stress

Although no previous published research on the effects of child pornography on examiners was found several authors commented on the trauma experienced by investigators involved with the investigation of sexually related crimes. These include feelings of outrage, revulsion, cynicism, anger, anxiety, depression, alienation and isolation (Fishkin, 1988; Hansen, 2007; Kirschman, 2007; Lanning & Hazelwood, 1988; Miller, 2006; Pistorius, 2000; Sher, 2007). All of these feelings were also associated with the participants who were interviewed, by those of the focus group as well as by those from the CCRC. The findings indicated that the CFEs were also suffering from the following symptoms of traumatic stress:

- Irritability, hostility and frustration;
- Use of prescribed medication;
- Verbalised feelings of isolation and alienation from others;
- Insomnia and other sleep disturbances.

Vicarious traumatisation

This research supports the result of the research by Gaddy (2004) who examined the effects of vicarious trauma exposure of police sexual assault investigators who work with sexual violence victims. The result of the study by Gaddy (2004) indicated that sexual assault investigators report more severe symptoms of psychological distress than general crime investigators. It was found that unique stressors exist for these investigators. This was also highlighted in the interviews with the participants.

Simon explained that he found the images revolting. He kept on thinking of the pain the children were experiencing.

Thomas also told that the children are affected "for the rest of their lives". He explained that he felt responsible to stop the peadophile and worried that if he did not succeed, should a child be exploited, it would be his fault.

Andrew mentioned that what he found disturbing was the blank expression on the faces of the children. "Those little faces will always stay with me".

Compassion fatigue

The following symptoms associated with compassion fatigue were found in this study and relate to those identified by Figley (1999) who provided examples of symptoms found in police officials.

- Cognitive symptoms:
 - Perfectionism;
 - Preoccupation with trauma;
 - Thoughts of harm to others.

- Emotional symptoms:
 - Powerlessness;
 - Anxiety;
 - Guilt;
 - Anger

Anger was a major symptom experienced in all the findings. The focus group indicated that they experienced problems with their temper because of underlying anger towards the perpetrators, which was then projected onto others. Wolak & Mitchell (2009) also highlighted this effect.

All the participants also expressed their anger during the interviews as for example:

Simon shared that he wanted to assault the perpetrators, and that it would be better for him never to have any contact with them.

Thomas felt like shooting a molester who was found innocent on a technical matter.

- Fear;
 - Helplessness;
 - Sadness;
 - Depression.
- Behavioural symptoms:
 - Irritable;
 - Sleep disturbance. This was also highlighted by the focus group, especially when they felt anxious during an examination and experienced underlying emotions such as anger. The same results were found in the study by Wolak and Mitchell (2009).
 - Personal relationships: withdrawal;
 - Decreased interest in intimacy or sex. This was also found by the focus group where members indicated that they experienced inhibition of sexual desire at

times during their intimate relationships with their partners. Results by Wolak and Mitchell (2009) also support this finding.

- Mistrust. The focus group explained that they experienced lack of trust in others due to their exposure to the images and the perpetrators.
- Isolation. Members from the focus group indicated that due to the confidentiality of their work they are often not able to share their stress and problems experienced during an operation with their partners.
- Over protection as a parent;
- Projection of anger or blame;
- Intolerance;
- Loneliness. The following quotes of the participants from this study reflect this:
 - “I need to talk to someone who understands. I can not speak to my colleagues, as they might think I am ridiculous”.
 - “I can speak to no one. Not at my house or at my work”.
- Increased interpersonal conflicts.
- Physical / Somatic symptoms:
 - Shock.
- Work performance
 - Obsession about details;
 - Irritability.

Burnout

The following symptoms associated with compassion fatigue were found in the findings and relates to those identified by Figley (1999) who provided examples of symptoms found in police officials:

- Emotional symptoms:
 - Frustration;
 - Irritability;
 - Isolation;
 - Despair.

- Physical symptoms:
 - Sleeping difficulties.

- Occupational:
 - Frustration, anger and despair towards perpetrators;
 - Isolation.

- Family-related
 - Distant from partner and/or children;
 - Verbal abuse;
 - Lack of interest or desire for sexual sharing.

Post-traumatic stress disorder

The following Post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms were identified in the findings:

- recurrent and intrusive distressing recollections of the event, including images, thoughts or perceptions. This can be illustrated by the following quotes from the participants:

“Early in the morning I rush up, my brain still thinking of the images”.

“I am starting to get better around my family, but when I go to bed in the night, I start to remember”.

“When you are busy, it is fine, but when you want to relax, you remember”.

- Other symptoms include anger and exaggerated response.

CONCLUSION

The results support the opinion that police officers do not share stressful information about their job with their family (Pistorius, 2000; Violanti & Paton, 1999). The results concur with Kirschman’s (2007) statement that working with these kinds of crimes furthermore affects the families of the members in the sense that the officers often become overprotective.

However, in contrast with Fishkin (1988), Pistorius (2000) and Taylor (2003) who explained that members are very reluctant to seek the help of psychologists, the CFE participants showed a desire for receiving psychological interventions and support.

RECOMMENDATION REGARDING SUPPORT FOR MEMBERS:

Member support sessions:

The CFE participants showed an urgent need for support sessions. These sessions should be facilitated on a continuous basis at regular intervals by the same appointed psychologist. It is recommended that the sessions should not be at a national level, but preferably at a provincial level. The debriefing sessions should be held every three months for at least one day. However, at least one of the debriefings per year should be in Pretoria for all members to enhance bonding of the members of the unit. The sessions should be held away from the member's offices.

Here the focus should be to address problems related to over-protectiveness to ensure a balance between normality and over-emphasising deviant and criminal behaviour. The feeling of distrust in others should also be addressed by learning to distinguish between normal human failures and conscious deception. Members should learn to distinguish between behaviour at work from behaviour in normal social situations. Techniques of dissociation should be used as skills. Anger management can also be done during these sessions. With regard to the sleeping disturbances, stress management should be presented. Self-hypnosis techniques can be introduced to enable the members to alleviate stress.

Individual one-on-one sessions:

Each member of the unit should have an individual session with the psychologist once every two months for debriefing with regard to personal matters that cannot be discussed in a group. Problems related to inhibition of sexual desires due to anger and the unconscious association of sex with something deviant can be resolved in these sessions, by working through the unconscious emotions and enhancing the principle of normal human sexual behaviour.

Education and training

It is important that supervisors and managers should be made aware of the negative reactions to viewing child pornography have on the members. All personnel involved in these investigations should be included in the training. Managers should be made aware of the need for "time out" and should also have awareness of the signs of work-related stress in this area.

As suggested by Wolak and Mitchell (2009) this topic should be included in the technical training classes of the SAPS and material that would also be made available to the spouses should be created.

Members who experience sexual distress should be provided with resources and encouraged to seek help. Developing written materials on this topic will be helpful as some members might be reluctant to seek help for sexual problems. Wolak and Mitchell (2009) explain that the materials should be prepared with the input of experienced counselors and created to be shared with family members in case members need help in explaining issues and gaining understanding from their partners.

Involvement of spouses/partners

During the interviews as well as the focus group, CFEs explained that because of the confidentiality of the duties they perform, their spouses have very little involvement and understanding of their work. A yearly training session should be held to which the partners are invited. During this training session the Commander can highlight some material related to the problems the CFEs experience.

Physical activities

During the interviews the participants shared their coping mechanisms. Most of these included some form of physical activities. Opportunity should be provided to the members as a group for physical activities in order to relieve stress and for general health. The group activities will also lead to cohesiveness and trust amongst each other which were found to be lacked in the findings of this study.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Child pornography is illegal and as long as it is available on the Internet, it must be investigated by law enforcement member's working as CFEs. As long as the CFE's are exposed to these images they will be psychologically negatively affected. Research should focus on ways to to eliminate the availability of child pornography on the Internet and should be done by a multi disciplinary effort, including legislative research, social awareness compains, and technological development.

Examples include further investigating the legality of the availability of a sexual offender website.

Technological development should include search engines such as Google, Yahoo and Teoma to search the Internet for child pornography sites and provide a facility to the Internet Service Providers, server hosting providers and the government agencies to block them.

However, the bottom line is, as remarked by an Internet user on a block discussing means on stopping child pornography (http://www.linkedin.com/answers/government-non-profit/government-policy/GOV_GPO/583071-8116650) :

“you can never prevent people from developing a sick mind, and the paradigm of laws and regulations only prevents things to develop into the mainstream of acceptance...”.

The Internet, also known as the virtual world, is only a reflection of society. Therefore research should also include the proactive prevention of child pornography by focusing on those who have a psychological deviant need to view and possess these illegal images.

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<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipecc>

http://www.linkedin.com/answers/government-non-profit/government-policy/GOV_GPO/583071-8116650

<http://www.goodreads.com/quotes/show/119891>

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<http://www.poemhunter.com/poem/nobody-really-knows-me/>

<http://www.quotationpage.com/quote/2755.html>

<http://www.unicef.org/crc/fulltext.htm>

Appendix A

CONSENT FORM

Invitation to members of Cyber Crime Support, Crime Intelligence to participate in research project.

Introduction

During 2002, the International Centre for Missing & Exploited Children (ICMEC) hosted a Forum of the European Commission in Dublin addressing the issue of “Creating a Global Agenda to Combat Child Pornography”. Along with members of the board of the ICMEC, the Forum gathered together many of the leading experts in this area, including representatives from the international police agencies (Interpol and Europol), individual police forces, statutory and voluntary agencies, as well as universities, to consider the development of an action plan to address the global context of child pornography. Arising out of the discussion several points were identified for further development and action. One of these points was the development of appropriate worker protection mechanisms for those involved in image and abuse management. Most contemporary police forces now recognise the need to either protect workers involved in distressing incidents, or to make available post hoc support after exposure to distressing events, although actual provision of adequate psychological support services may be limited or weak. For individuals working in this area, exposure to distressing material is invariably long-term. The Forum recognised the need to develop parallel worker support structures along with more effective policy and operational initiatives.

Aim of the study

The aim of this study is to investigate the psychological effects experienced by the South African Police Service’s Computer Forensic Examiners (CFEs) working with child pornography. The CFEs are exposed to images of children being abused. The way in which the CFEs interpret such traumatic events can result in them experiencing negative long-term changes in the way they view themselves, others and their world. Secondary victims, like the CFEs, are not directly

involved in the traumatic event, and therefore their distress often goes undetected. The psychological effects experienced by the CFEs, however, are of great concern and need to be understood in the context of their work environment. The purpose of this study is to make the SAP aware of these psychological effects. It will also examine whether there are shortcomings in the support of CFE members in the clinical field in order to facilitate future planning of additional support.

The research is being done by Juliette Whelpton, a member attached to Cyber Crime Support, SAPS and who is also a registered Master of Arts student in Psychology at UNISA. She will interview members attached to Cyber Crime Support to serve as research material that will be used in her dissertation. The result of the study will also serve as a feedback mechanism to management regarding the facilitation of future planning and additional support. Permission was granted to conduct the study by the Divisional Commissioner, Crime Intelligence, during September 2008.

Participants and method

The participants in the study are the Cyber Crime Support members of the SAPS who are working with child pornography.

Information will be gathered by making use of the in-depth open-ended and non-directive interviewing process. Participants will be given the opportunity to express themselves in their own words. Only one participant will be interviewed at a time in for the purpose of anonymity. It is estimated that the duration of the interview will be one to one and a half hour. During the interview the researcher will make notes of the conversation. In-depth interviews will be recorded with a tape recorder. After each interview the researcher will type up the information. The typed document will be handed back to the participant in order to verify that the researcher had interpreted the interview correctly. Where necessary the participant can clarify unclear statements and the document will subsequently be edited. Although the results of the study will be made available for management and for publication purposes, the identity of the participants will not be made available. The audiotapes will only be used by the researcher and a reputable

and discreet transcriber. All names and identifying particulars of the participants will be erased before being submitted for transcription. The audiotapes and consent forms will be kept in a safety deposit box. Pseudonyms will be substituted in the transcripts for all names of persons and cities.

Due to the sensitivity of the topic of study, the process of the interviews could cause discomfort at times. The researcher will work to minimize such occasions. Arrangements will be made for debriefing, if necessary, after the interview.

Right of participant:

Participation in research is completely voluntary.

Participants have the right to drop out of the study at any time.

Participants have the right to keep their identities confidential.

Interviewer: _____ Participant: _____

Appendix B

G.P.-S. 002-0222

SAP 21

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIEDIENS



SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE

Privaatsak/Private Bag **X302**
 Posbus/Post Office Box

Verwysing Reference	0432116-2
Navrae Enquiries	Capt J Whelpton
Telefoon Telephone	{ 012 } 810 3700
Faksnommer Fax number	{ 012 } 803 7963


**THE COMMANDER
 CYBER CRIME UNIT
 CRIME INTELLIGENCE
 HEAD OFFICE
 PRETORIA
 0001**

2008-10-23

The Divisional Commissioner
 Crime Intelligence
 Head Office
 South African Police Service

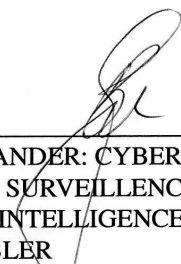
REQUESTING PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE

- [1] I am currently a Masters in Arts, Research (MA(RC)) student at the University of South Africa, Department of Psychology. My research study focuses on the **influence of child pornography on the computer forensic examiners**. My request is to conduct a research at the SAPS. The focus will be on the psychological effects experienced by police officials who work as computer forensic examiners, dealing directly with child pornography.
- [2] Interviews will be conducted with the participants with prior arrangement with the supervisor. Participants will be interviewed individually. Arrangements will be made for debriefing, if necessary, after the interview. The result of the research will be made available to you before any information is published.
- [3] The study has the following potential contribution to the SAPS:
 - [3.1] The material that the members are dealing with is severe in nature and has a psychologically negative affected on them. It may decrease efficacy within the department. The study will investigate if the members experience similar effects as described by the literature regarding the exposure to the traumatic events.
 - [3.2] The police force may use the research to implement certain programmes or intervention as a measure to conserve the psychological health of the worker corps.


 _____ CAPTAIN
 CYBER CRIME SUPPORT
 LEGAL, SURVEILLANCE AND CYBER CRIME SUPPORT
 CRIME INTELLIGENCE: HEAD OFFICE
 J WHELPTON

REQUESTING PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE


Recommended / ~~Not Recommended~~



SENIOR SUPERINTENDENT
COMMANDER: CYBER CRIME SUPPORT
LEGAL, SURVEILLANCE AND CYBER CRIME SUPPORT
CRIME INTELLIGENCE: HEAD OFFICE
B GROBLER

Recommended / ~~Not Recommended~~

*I am of the opinion that the
Division and members will
benefit from this research
project.*

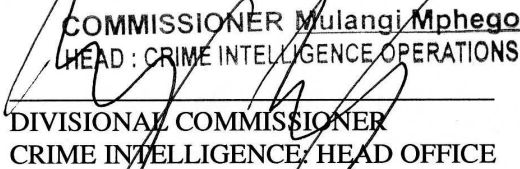

2008/11/06

COMMISSIONER
HEAD: LEGAL, SURVEILLANCE AND CYBER CRIME SUPPORT
CRIME INTELLIGENCE: HEAD OFFICE
A ROOS

ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER
LEGAL, SURVEILLANCE AND CYBER CRIME SUPPORT
A ROOS

**REQUESTING PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN
POLICE SERVICE**

Approved / Not Approved


COMMISSIONER Mulangi Mphogo
HEAD : CRIME INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS

DIVISIONAL COMMISSIONER
CRIME INTELLIGENCE, HEAD OFFICE

Appendix C



Work Exposure to Child Pornography in ICAC Task Forces and Affiliates

Janis Wolak

Kimberly J. Mitchell

November 2009

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Internet Crimes Against Children (ICAC) Task Force commanders and liaisons to ICAC affiliates responded to an online survey. Participants represented local, county, state, and federal law enforcement from across the United States.

- ◆ Sworn personnel in 511 agencies had been exposed to child pornography during investigations of crimes involving child sexual exploitation.
- ◆ Prosecutors and other civilian employees were also exposed to child pornography in many agencies.
- ◆ About half of the survey participants were concerned about the psychological impacts of work exposure to child pornography.
 - Concern was highest among ICAC Task Forces and those who had attended presentations about possible problems related to child pornography exposure.
- ◆ 35% of ICAC Task Force participants and 10% of those from affiliates had seen problems arising from work exposure to child pornography.
- ◆ Close to 40% of participants thought more mental health services were needed in their agencies.
- ◆ Few agencies gave information about possible related stresses to personnel who viewed child pornography.
- ◆ Some participants said their work was not supported and respected within their agencies.
- ◆ Lack of forensic capacity, obsolete equipment, and training were concerns for some agencies.
- ◆ Many participants supported mandatory introductory programs for personnel starting child pornography investigations, but few supported other mandates.
- ◆ Most participants found their work satisfying, but with some reservations.

Funded by the U.S. Department of Justice, OJJDP through the ICAC Training and Technical Assistance Program

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommended responses include:

- ◆ Creating training programs and written materials about work exposure to child pornography
- ◆ Openly discussing adverse sexual reactions
- ◆ Recognizing needs of small agencies and units, prosecutors and civilian employees
- ◆ Encouraging communication between personnel and supervisors
- ◆ Conducting research so that evidence-based policies to protect the well-being of personnel can be created

WORK EXPOSURE TO CHILD PORNOGRAPHY

*"I have only been doing this for a couple months. What I saw made me sick to my stomach and affected me outside of work." **

"Exposure to child pornography does cause some stress, but the main stress is caused by the large number of cases to investigate and a small number of investigators to do the work."

"I feel a sworn officer learns to deal with all sorts of negativity in their work, thereby allowing them to disconnect. I see the importance of what I do and it doesn't affect me because I don't allow it to."

"It's not only child porn. It's the talking to sex offenders almost every week and then trying to lead a normal and healthy sexual experience in marriage."

Increasing numbers of law enforcement personnel are being exposed to graphic images of child sexual abuse as they investigate cases involving child pornography on the Internet. These include sworn personnel, prosecutors, civilian forensic analysts, and other civilians.

* All quotes are the words of participants, with minor corrections of grammar and spelling.

This type of work exposure to disturbing images of children being sexually victimized is a new phenomenon. Questions have been raised about whether it is causing stress to law enforcement personnel and what agency policies and practices will best safeguard those conducting these important investigations.

Because of such questions, the ICAC Task Force Training & Technical Assistance Program sponsored an online survey of ICAC Task Forces and affiliates. This report describes the experiences and opinions of 511 ICAC commanders and affiliate contact persons who responded to the survey.

The goals of the survey were to:

- ◆ Find out the extent of exposure to child pornography among sworn and civilian personnel
- ◆ Describe problems that participants had seen
- ◆ Understand how personnel were chosen and prepared to investigate child pornography cases
- ◆ Identify supports available to personnel
- ◆ Find out how agencies were handling this issue

This report focuses on the experiences and opinions of sworn personnel. The survey included questions about prosecutors, civilian forensic analysts and other civilians. However, most of the participants were sworn personnel who were not sure how to answer questions about civilian employees. Because of this, we could not include much information about civilian employees in this report, although many of the conclusions and recommendations apply to all employees who view child pornography in the course of their work in the criminal justice system.

WHO RESPONDED TO THE SURVEY?

The ICAC Task Force program was created to help state and local law enforcement agencies enhance investigative responses to offenders who use the Internet and related technologies to sexually exploit children. The program includes regional ICAC Task Forces in every state and affiliates, which are partner agencies that have agreed in writing to adhere to ICAC Operational and Investigative Standards. The ICAC program is funded by the US Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

This survey was conducted by the Crimes against Children Research Center at the University of New Hampshire. It was distributed by e-mail in Spring 2008 to all of the ICAC Task Forces

Responding agencies included local, county, state, and federal law enforcement agencies.

- ◆ 22% served small jurisdictions (populations of 25,000 or less).
- ◆ 32% served medium-sized jurisdictions (populations between 25,001 and 100,000).
- ◆ The rest, 45%, served jurisdictions of over 100,000. About half of these larger agencies served more than 500,000 people.
- ◆ Most agencies—63%—conducted at least some computer forensic examinations.
- ◆ Most of the ICAC Task Forces were established prior to 2005 and had extensive experience investigating child pornography cases.
- ◆ The ICAC Task Force program began forming formal affiliations with other law enforcement agencies in 2005. Some affiliates had a lot of experience investigating child pornography cases while others had no or very little experience.

The individuals who responded to the survey were ICAC Task Force commanders and ICAC contact persons for affiliates. 83% were men and 17% were women. Participants had a wide range of experience with the ICAC program and with child pornography investigations in general.

- ◆ While only 10% had worked in an ICAC program for 5 or more years, many more – 41% – had been working child pornography cases for 5 or more years.
- ◆ 39% had worked child pornography cases for between 2 and 4 years, while 19% had worked on such cases for 1 year or less.
- ◆ 37% had attended presentations or trainings that discussed psychological reactions to child pornography.

In many agencies, exposure to child pornography was not limited to sworn personnel

- ◆ Prosecutors viewed child pornography in 52% of agencies.
- ◆ Civilian forensic analysts were exposed in 15% of agencies.
- ◆ Other civilians were exposed in 9% of agencies.

Altogether, in 61% of agencies where sworn personnel were exposed to child pornography, civilian employees also viewed it.

In many agencies the number of employees exposed to child pornography was small

Work Exposure to Child Pornography

Page 3

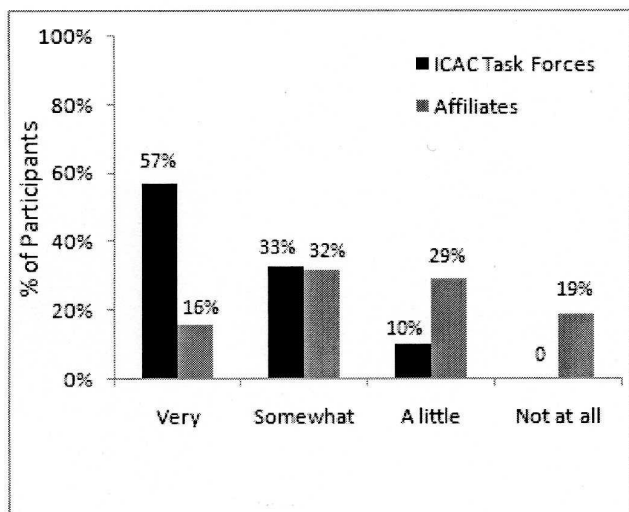
The amount of time sworn employees spent on child pornography cases varied.

Some individuals worked full time on child sexual exploitation crimes but others worked only 1 or 2 cases a year.

HOW CONCERNED WERE PARTICIPANTS ABOUT WORK EXPOSURE TO CHILD PORNOGRAPHY?

18% of participants were not at all concerned about work exposure to child pornography, but none of the ICAC Task Forces were in this group. 90% of ICAC Task Forces were somewhat or very concerned, as were 48% of affiliates (See Figure 1).

Figure 1. How concerned were participants about the psychological impacts of CP exposure?



HOW MANY PARTICIPANTS HAD SEEN PROBLEMS?

Only 10% of survey participants had seen problems in their agencies among investigators who viewed child pornography. However, 35% of ICAC Task Force members answered yes to this question compared to only 8% of affiliates.

We asked participants who had seen problems to describe the most serious problem they had personally seen.

Personal, family, and marital problems

A number of participants mentioned insomnia, stress, depression, and weight gain that seemed related to exposure to child

"A wife called after her husband viewed child pornography related to a case, and said. 'He came home ... very upset and wouldn't hug either of his two daughters and was very distant.'"

"Employee was crying uncontrollably after viewing multiple images of cp the day he found out his wife was pregnant with their first child."

Some mentioned that seeing explicit, disturbing sexual images affected sexual and marital relationships. They experienced...

"Sexual side effects – avoidance, intrusive images"

"Intrusive thoughts during intimate times with my wife all but discontinued that part of our relationship for a long period of time. Going to a therapist on my own helped put it in context."

"Marital stress, personal distancing, overall increased agitation and distress"

Work-related problems

People also described problems at work, such as anger, loss of objectivity and drops in productivity.

"In general, everyone seems to be shocked and disgusted at what they have to view. This usually turns into anger at the suspect."

"The officer took an initial report of possible child pornography possession and was disgusted and disturbed by the few images he saw. The officer indicated he never wanted to take a report on this type of material again."

"One [employee] was transferred out of the unit after investigating a production case. Her work progress stalled, she became personally lethargic, did not want to come to work, could not write reports."

Two participants mentioned inappropriate behavior by investigators, "one-upmanship in shock value competitions" and "profuse profanity at work." Another described an employee who seemed to have trouble gauging what reactions were appropriate.

"Employee being hypersensitive to reporting every small exposure to nudity in their life and worrying about whether they had looked at some images... for an inap-

Some participants described problems with how child pornography cases were handled. They described problems like...

"Child porn/molestation cases usually require an enormous amount of paperwork."

"[I was] going numb from viewing hundreds of pictures and videos in a single session. Learned to spread it out over a period of time"

"Improper handling of evidence related to children's images. Untimely delays in getting the investigation started..."

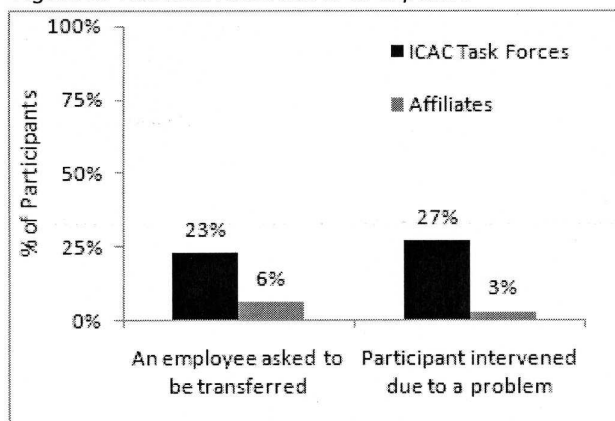
"Inability of prosecutors in [this] county to take cases to trial"

"Not having enough time in the day to properly do the job."

Intervening with personnel because of problems and requests for transfers

- ◆ 5% of participants had intervened with personnel because of problems with work exposure to child pornography, but this included 23% of ICAC Task Forces and only 3% of affiliates (See Figure 2).
- ◆ 8% of participants said someone in their unit had asked to be transferred. This included 23% of ICAC Task Forces and 6% of affiliates.

Figure 2. Had intervened due to CP exposure



We asked participants who had intervened with personnel to describe what happened.

"The employee was having problems at work and personally. EAP was offered and rejected. Temp assignments were offered and rejected. Progress plans were created.

Other interventions were also used,

"Ensured that this employee did not have 100% of their duties assigned as viewing child pornography"

"Provided peer counseling"

"Offered to have the case transferred to another agency for examination (Offer was turned down.)"

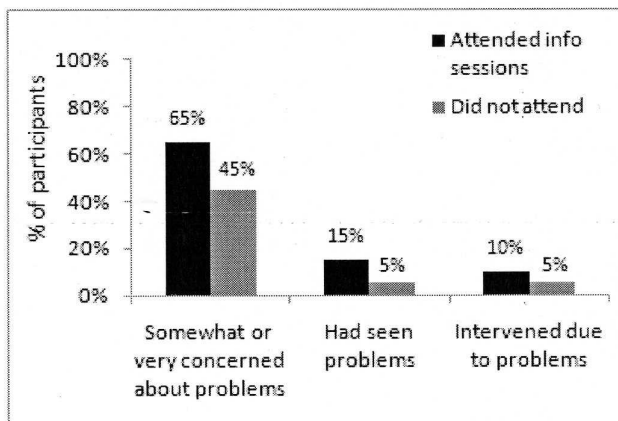
"Seeing the employee being short with others and appearing to be angry and disruptive; talked with employee and gave them time off to pursue hobbies such as fishing for a couple of days."

However, 82% of participants had not seen any problems related to exposure to child pornography. This included 57% of Task Forces and over 84% of affiliates.

These results could mean that few personnel have problems – but they could also mean that problems are going unrecognized. There is some evidence for the latter (See Figure 3) because participants who had attended presentations about problems related to work exposure to child pornography were more likely to say they...

- ◆ Were somewhat or very concerned about such problems
- ◆ Had seen such problems
- ◆ Had intervened because of a problem

Figure 3. Awareness of problems related to CP exposure according to information session attendance



HOW WERE PERSONNEL CHOSEN TO WORK CASES THAT INVOLVED EXPOSURE TO CHILD PORNOGRAPHY?
Assignment to ICAC programs

We asked survey participants how much the following statement applied to their agency: "People have been assigned to

Overall, 19% of agencies assigned unwilling personnel to child pornography cases at least occasionally. However, it was unclear how often personnel were given real opportunities to turn down assignments as opposed to simply making no objections. In small- and medium-sized agencies, personnel that work in, for example, juvenile family services divisions, may find that viewing child pornography “comes with the territory.” In larger departments with high tech crime units, personnel who want careers in cyber crime may have to join an ICAC unit to gain experience, or they may work in a cyber crime unit that requires them to handle child pornography cases periodically.

Some participants provided more detail about how they were assigned to investigate child pornography cases. Many noted their own interest, but some described situations where employees had no choice about taking child pornography cases.

“Sheriff discussed the program with me and asked if I would be interested and able to do it.”

“Small agencies don’t see that many cases per year. Officers get assigned to handle the call, and then it’s usually turned over to the detective...whichever officer is on duty is expected to handle or start the investigation.”

“You just get assigned.”

Flexible assignments

We asked participants to rate the helpfulness of “having flexibility at work (transfer easily, pursue other interests, etc.)” in terms of “helping people stay healthy and productive in work that involves exposure to child pornography.” 74% said such flexibility was very or extremely helpful.

60% of participants said their agencies had flexible assignments. One participant stated,

“As a supervisor over my unit, I try to ensure that each person has a break between each child pornography case. We have ... other cases such as credit card fraud... that also need ... forensic examination.”

But in 34% of agencies, this was not the case. One person noted,

“I have requested to work other cases due to burn-out on CAC cases, but was informed no one else has the experience to work these cases in our small office.”

Some personnel, even in small offices, have more control over their work load however. One noted,

“I do not have to work these cases if I do not want to. If I choose, I can stop taking a proactive approach ... and take a break from these cases.”

Another strategy that offers flexibility is “exit tickets” that allow personnel to transfer at any time, no questions asked. 29% of all agencies used exit tickets, with the proportion being higher among ICAC Task Forces—43%—than among affiliates—29%.

Preparation for potential psychological reactions

Only 21% of agencies gave sworn personnel any preparation before they were first exposed to child pornography. Among ICAC Task Forces, the number was higher—45%—while only 19% of affiliates provided some preparation.

Most preparation took the form of interviews and one-on-one discussions. For example, one ICAC Task Force member stated,

“During the selection process, the unit supervisor discusses in detail the kinds of material ICAC detectives have to deal with. Prospective detectives are given the opportunity to ask questions, raise objections, etc.”

Members of ICAC affiliates said,

“The potential assignee is interviewed and made aware of what kind of material he or she will be exposed to. If there are any reservations then the person is not selected.”

“Prior to the selection process the examiners are told about some of the past cases investigated involving ... child porn.”

Some agencies have more elaborate preparation. One ICAC Task Force member stated,

“Agents are briefed on potential impacts, assist on cases to determine initial reactions, attend training, take compassion fatigue self exams.”

Participants from agencies that provided initial preparation also mentioned:

- ◆ Exposure to child pornography content in controlled environments
- ◆ On-the-job training with peers
- ◆ Training courses that discussed child pornography exposure, ICAC courses in particular
- ◆ Meetings with forensic investigators
- ◆ Tours of computer forensics facilities
- ◆ Psychological evaluations
- ◆ Specific discussions with employees who were parents about possible reactions
- ◆ Discussions about the availability of psychological services and contact information for such services

Screening for histories of child sexual abuse or close contact with young children

Few agencies screened personnel who worked child pornography cases beyond the normal evaluation and screening processes used for new officers.

- ◆ Only 8% of agencies asked personnel about having histories of, or personal experiences with, child sexual abuse; 20% of ICAC Task Forces asked this question compared to 7% of affiliates.
- ◆ 13% asked personnel whether they were currently parenting or in close contact with children, including 35% of ICAC Task Forces and 11% of affiliates.

WHAT TYPES OF SUPPORTS WERE PROVIDED TO PERSONNEL WHO WORKED CHILD PORNOGRAPHY CASES?

Most agencies provided mental health resources to sworn personnel.

- ◆ 82% had Employee Assistance Programs (EAP).
- ◆ 67% had chaplains.
- ◆ 51% provided other internal psychological services.
- ◆ 36% had peer counseling programs.
- ◆ 53% had access to external mental healthcare providers.

Only 4% of agencies provided no psychological resources. 61% provided at least 3 of the 5 resources listed above.

Another concern is whether psychologists are knowledgeable or comfortable talking about exposure to child pornography.

- ◆ Participants in only 13% of agencies with Employee Assistance Programs said EAP staff were knowledgeable about work exposure to child pornography.
- ◆ Only 19% had EAP staff that were comfortable talking about child pornography.

One participant did not find a welcoming atmosphere from the agency EAP staff:

"I have gone to our agency sponsored EAP on my own, not with any problem, just to try to start a rapport with them and maybe set up a schedule for them to evaluate us. They basically told me that if I didn't have any real problem they couldn't help."

But others had confidence in their departments' resources:

"[Our department] employs two Ph.D-level psychologists. They have considerable experience dealing with stress,

Need for more psychological resources

39% of participants said their agencies needed more psychological resources for personnel exposed to child pornography.

Attitudes about seeking help for psychological difficulties

We asked whether the attitudes in agencies supported help-seeking by personnel with difficulties related to child pornography exposure.

- ◆ 49% of all participants said it was very or mostly acceptable to seek help for problems. 78% of Task Force members said this, compared to about 47% of affiliate members.

But some participants noted significant resistance to acknowledging problems.

- ◆ 6% said help-seeking was not at all acceptable in their agencies, and 31% said it was only somewhat acceptable. One participant said,

"In a small agency you keep your comments and problems to yourself otherwise you are ridiculed about not being able to do your job."

Periodic meetings with psychologists or psychological assessments

13% of ICAC Task Forces and 5% of affiliates had mandatory mental health requirements for sworn personnel who viewed child pornography, mostly annual or semi-annual visits to psychologists.

Also, some participants noted that supervisors could order personnel to seek counseling if they appeared to be under stress, whether job-related or not.

Information about signs of stress

Few agencies had, in the past year, held any staff meetings or training sessions that included discussions of:

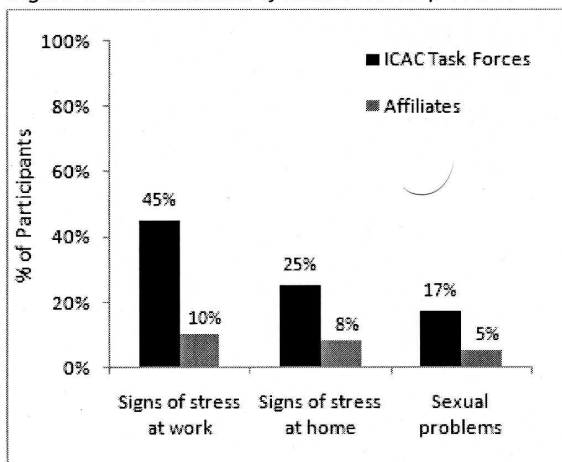
- ◆ Signs of stress at work related to exposure to child pornography, such as anger and depression – 12% of agencies
- ◆ Signs of stress at home, such as withdrawal, sleep problems, hyper-vigilance around children – 10% of agencies
- ◆ Sexual problems, such as lack of interest, intrusive images – 6% of agencies

ICAC Task Forces were more likely to address these issues than were affiliates (See Figure 4).

Discussing feelings about child pornography

82% of participants said they were comfortable discussing their feelings about child pornography with their supervisors.

Figure 4. Had discussions of stress or sexual problems



However, 37% of participants said they had brought this topic up with personnel in the past year, including 90% of ICAC Task Force members and 32% of affiliates.

Some agencies created opportunities for discussions.

- ◆ 25% held staff meetings where reactions to child pornography were discussed.
- ◆ 25% had individual case reviews where such matters were discussed.
- ◆ 5% had group sessions led by a psychologist.

Some agencies relied on more informal processes. One participant noted, "small agency, close working relationships."

And some participants emphasized the importance of discussions with peers. One participant said,

"Having other investigators you can talk to about the cases you work and being able to express the effects it has on you without judgment because they too face the same and understand better than those outside of law enforcement."

In addition, the sensitivity of supervisors to this issue may be a factor in opportunities for discussion. One survey participant noted, "I check on my people constantly to ensure that they are okay and not in need of relief or counseling."

Informal gatherings of personnel such as lunches, sporting events, and after work get-togethers forge bonds that encourage discussion. However, only 30% of participants said their agencies had informal gatherings.

Physical exercise is another way of relieving stress. 63% of

Information to spouses and significant others

Only 3% of agencies gave information to spouses or significant others about the nature of child pornography or possible problems related to viewing it. Some members of agencies that did said,

"[Our] office has an open door policy to families related to ICAC officers. They are informed of the terrible nature of child pornography and the impact that it can have on some people."

"Information regarding behavioral changes that may appear as investigator deals with his or her anger regarding the abuse of children, and a clear picture of the type of investigations their spouses are working. We encourage them to talk about their feelings..."

"Annual briefings are given to spouses concerning the nature of investigative operations and possible warning signs."

Agency support and respect

- ◆ 46% of participants felt their agencies gave a lot of respect to personnel who investigated child sex crimes.
- ◆ When asked about the backing of prosecutors and judges, 41% said "conflicts or frustrations with the way prosecutors handle cases" were "no problem at all," and 28% said conflicts or frustrations with judges were "no problem at all."
- ◆ These numbers were similar for Task Forces and affiliates.

On the other hand, many agencies did not feel fully supported, and some had significant problems.

- ◆ 11% said that no or very little respect was given to child sex crime investigators.
- ◆ 23% said the culture of their agency was a problem.

Participants noted,

"Most of the employees believe that it is not a problem in our area and don't understand that child pornography is mentally draining and can affect you on the job and at home."

"Comments have been made by other co-workers that do not work these cases [that] all 'we' do is work in the office and don't get out and do anything."

In addition, 29% said conflicts or frustrations with prosecutors were problems and 32% said there were problems with judges.

Forensic capacity and training

- ◆ 40% of participants said lack of forensic capacity was a problem.

ICAC Task Forces were more likely than affiliates to say they lacked forensic capacity, possibly because of the high volume of cases many Task Forces handle. On the other hand, Task Forces were less likely to report difficulties with obsolete equipment; only 15% said this was a problem.

In some cases, agencies were conducting child pornography investigations with little financial support or other backing. Comments included,

"My work in this area is totally voluntary. If I did not seek out training, I would have none."

"Unfortunately, the [county] does not see child sexual exploitation as a serious problem so they do not fund any formal units. Ours is a self-made unit."

"There are far more cases happening than we have capacity to investigate, prosecute and either incarcerate or manage in the community."

Overall, 42% of agencies had good resources in that they rated all of the questions about forensic capacity, equipment, and training as "no problem at all" or only "somewhat" of a problem.

VIEWES ABOUT HOW TO MINIMIZE NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF EXPOSURE TO CHILD PORNOGRAPHY

Support for mandatory requirements

The majority of participants did not support mandatory requirements for personnel exposed to child pornography, such as mandatory screening, psychological assessments or rotations. But there was one exception.

- ◆ 75% of participants supported mandatory introductory programs that described the nature of child pornography and possible reactions to it.

While most did not want mandatory screening or psychological assessments, 43% of participants supported these suggestions. Supporters said,

"I do believe that psychological 'check-ups' of personnel involved in child exploitation cases should be mandatory everywhere, no matter the size or volume of the agency."

"Optional may lead to less participation and fear of being labeled for seeking help."

Those against such requirements said,

"I think mandatory screening and assessments would be intrusive and would provide no assistance of value for an individual."

Almost all participants, 90%, disagreed with the idea of mandatory rotations. Several noted the degree of training that is required and the difficulties faced by smaller agencies. For example,

"With the training expense of computer forensics, it is not practical for a small agency to rotate examiners. Most agencies this size don't even have one. If I don't do it no one else will."

"Due to agency size, it is very difficult to rotate people out and find suitable personnel who are willing to work these types of cases. Most officers and investigators in our department do not want to work child abuse/sexual abuse/child pornography cases."

Participants also noted that mandatory screenings, assessments, or rotations were not practical in many circumstances or would violate agency working agreements. For example,

"I think making these things mandatory would not work and we would lose affiliates."

"Many of these mandates would not be attainable by small agencies."

"Union contracts play a large part in what an agency can or cannot do with employees in this area."

Other participants simply didn't like the idea of mandates. As one said, *"I don't care for mandatory anything."*

We also asked participants to rate the helpfulness of other resources for dealing with problems that might arise as a result of work-related exposure to child pornography.

The list below shows how many thought the following options would be "very or extremely helpful."

- ◆ Making sure small agencies have access to programs and services, 72%
- ◆ Making sure prosecutors are not left out of programs and services, 69%
- ◆ Introductory programs that alert personnel to the nature of child pornography and the possible effects of exposure, 66%
- ◆ Training psychologists in Employee Assistance Programs about child pornography, 58%
- ◆ Screening requirements before transfer into an ICAC program, 47%
- ◆ Including discussion about the possible effects of exposure to child pornography in technical training programs, 55%

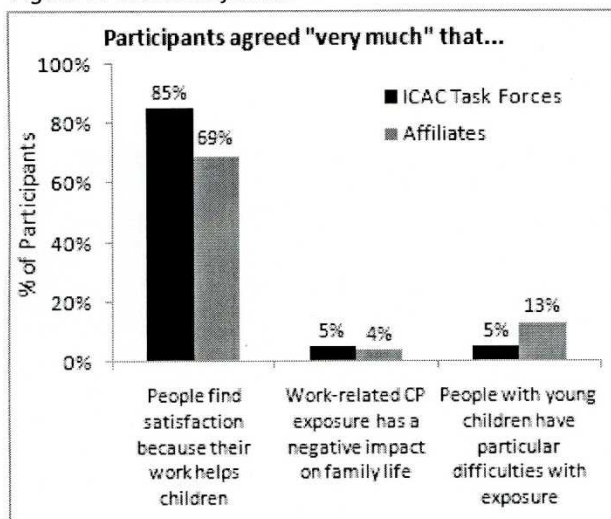
Work satisfaction

71% of participants agreed that, "People find great satisfaction in their work because investigating child pornography helps children." They said this statement "applies very much."

Only 4% participants believed that viewing child pornography had strong adverse effects on the family lives of personnel; another 27% felt there was some negative impact. 55% felt there was no negative impact. (The rest were not sure.)

44% believed that parents of young children had particular difficulties, while 42% said this was not the case. (The rest were not sure.)

Figure 5. Work satisfaction



Qualities that help personnel stay healthy and productive

When we asked about what qualities help people stay healthy and productive in work that involves exposure to child pornography, most participants agreed with the following:

- ◆ Having successful outcomes in investigations, 91%
- ◆ Having a strong family, 83%
- ◆ Having friends and interests outside law enforcement, 83%
- ◆ Having flexibility at work, 74%
- ◆ Getting a lot of exercise, 63%
- ◆ Longevity in law enforcement, 60%

CONCLUSIONS

Exposure to child pornography may be a source of stress distinct from other police work because of the vivid depictions of harm done to children and sexual content of the images. The responses from participants in this study make it clear that some personnel have suffered considerable distress as a result of exposure to this material.

Many survey participants were concerned about possible negative effects of exposure to child pornography. Some described witnessing or experiencing personal and family problems, sexual difficulties, and work-related issues such as lowered productivity and requests for transfers.

Concerns about work exposure to child pornography were not universal. However, relatively few participants had actually seen or recognized problems in their agencies. Also, some who had seen problems did not view them as uniquely associated with exposure to child pornography, but rather as part of the expected stresses of police work. Most participants found their work satisfying, but many felt there were some negative impacts on family life and some difficulties for those with young children. We drew two main conclusions from the findings of this survey.

First, it is important to be aware of and acknowledge that exposure to child pornography can cause problems for some personnel. If there is little awareness of the potential for problems, problems may not be recognized and addressed when they arise. Some participants in this survey even noted that they had never thought of these issues before. One said, "You've opened my eyes to a ton of things I have not been giving a second thought to." Awareness among supervisors may be particularly important.

Second, awareness is enhanced by education and training. About 35% of survey participants had attended presentations or educational sessions that addressed potential problems related to viewing child pornography; they were more likely to be concerned about the well-being of personnel and to have noted problems among some employees.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Education and training about possible negative reactions to viewing child pornography should be provided to all involved personnel. All supervisory personnel in ICAC Task Force programs, including those who work in affiliate agencies should receive such training. Prosecutors, civilian forensic analysts, and other civilians involved in these investigations should also be included in education and train-

example, "Those that engage in undercover chat operations or those that work cases involving communication between adults and children are exposed to material that I believe can be just as harmful ..." Problems related to such investigations should be addressed with education and training.

2. The possibility of adverse sexual reactions should be openly discussed. Only 5% of participants said their programs had, in the past year, held staff meetings or training sessions that included discussions of possible sexual problems related to viewing child pornography. Yet it appears from survey comments that some participants were plagued with reactions such as intrusive images and thoughts that impaired their ability to engage in healthy sexual relationships – and, for some individuals, counseling helped them to overcome such problems.

Personnel experiencing sexual distress should be provided with resources and encouraged to seek help. Developing written materials on this topic would also be helpful because some people may be reluctant to seek help for sexual problems. Materials should be prepared with the input of experienced counselors and created to be shared with family members and romantic partners, in case personnel need help in explaining issues and gaining understanding from their partners.

3. Employees should be clearly informed about the nature of child sexual exploitation investigations and given the opportunity to turn down assignments. While many agencies allowed personnel to choose whether to work child pornography cases, not all did. For many employees, who are confronted with all types of crimes and expect to handle whatever they are faced with, this may not be a problem. But such work may be particularly difficult for some personnel – for example, some with histories of child sexual abuse and some who are parents. Making sure that personnel are clearly informed about the nature of the work and allowed to opt in or out will help to avoid placing personnel who may be particularly prone to negative reactions in positions where they may not be able to function well or remain.

There was strong support for introductory programs for personnel beginning assignments that require exposure to child pornography, but few agencies had such programs in place. These would be an ideal place to alert personnel to possible problems and explain available supports.

4. Address isolation among personnel by recognizing the needs of small agencies and units, prosecutors,

arise in their jurisdictions would help to alleviate feelings of isolation in these agencies.

5. Acknowledge the frustrations of trying to conduct investigations with insufficient resources. Lack of technical and training resources were problems for many agencies. Several participants remarked that the efforts of their agencies were hindered by administrators that did not view child sexual exploitation investigations as priorities or understand the resources required. Another noted, "The task force is growing and affiliates are being added, but infrastructure is not keeping pace."

While there is often no easy solution to a lack of funds, there may be ways to ease the problem. Examples include educating commanders in larger agencies, reaching out to those responsible for funding, setting priorities for smaller police departments, and fostering support by the public. One participant said, "Most people do not realize how critical a problem child pornography is. We conduct seminars and are working on a weekly information section for the newspaper." Even if the groups in charge of budgeting for law enforcement services lack financial resources, public support and recognizing the value of law enforcement work in this area may reduce stress by assuring personnel that their work is valued.

6. Training should encourage bonds among employees, communication by supervisors, and physical exercise. Rick Anderson, ICAC Program Training Coordinator, and Elizabeth Griffin, Internet behavior consultant, have noted that no or low cost interventions such as communication and exercise can make a big difference in mitigating negative effects of exposure to child pornography. Informal gatherings such as meals and holiday parties can foster a sense of community. Informal check-ins by supervisors can help staff acknowledge and discuss distress when it occurs. Opportunities for discussions can be provided at staff meetings and during case reviews. Physical activities can be fun and relieve stress. Many survey participants noted the value of exercise.

7. Basic law enforcement academy training should include information about child pornography cases. Because the Internet has facilitated the spread of this problem worldwide, these crimes touch law enforcement at every level. Providing basic training about how to approach child pornography cases will promote awareness and assure that personnel have some grounding to respond to cases wherever they emerge.

police work. Research should be aimed at 1) identifying which problems are distinctly related to exposure to child pornography, 2) examining what characteristics or circumstances place some individuals at risk for adverse reactions, and 3) establishing which agency policies and practices best alleviate negative impacts.

SUMMARY

This report is only a first step to answering critical questions about the impact of viewing child pornography on law enforcement investigators. The findings suggest that some law enforcement personnel suffer ill effects, while others cope well.

The findings also make clear that some agencies are alert to possible problems and provide employees with information and supports, while others are unaware of potential problems or ill-equipped to deal with them if they happen.

The well-being of personnel who investigate child pornography cases is a matter of concern, not just for compassionate reasons, but also because unrelieved stress can reduce productivity and retention of the specialized and highly trained staff who investigate these crimes. We hope that, in the near future, research will systematically examine what characteristics or circumstances place some individuals at risk for adverse reactions and what agency policies and practices best alleviate negative impacts for those doing this important work.

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