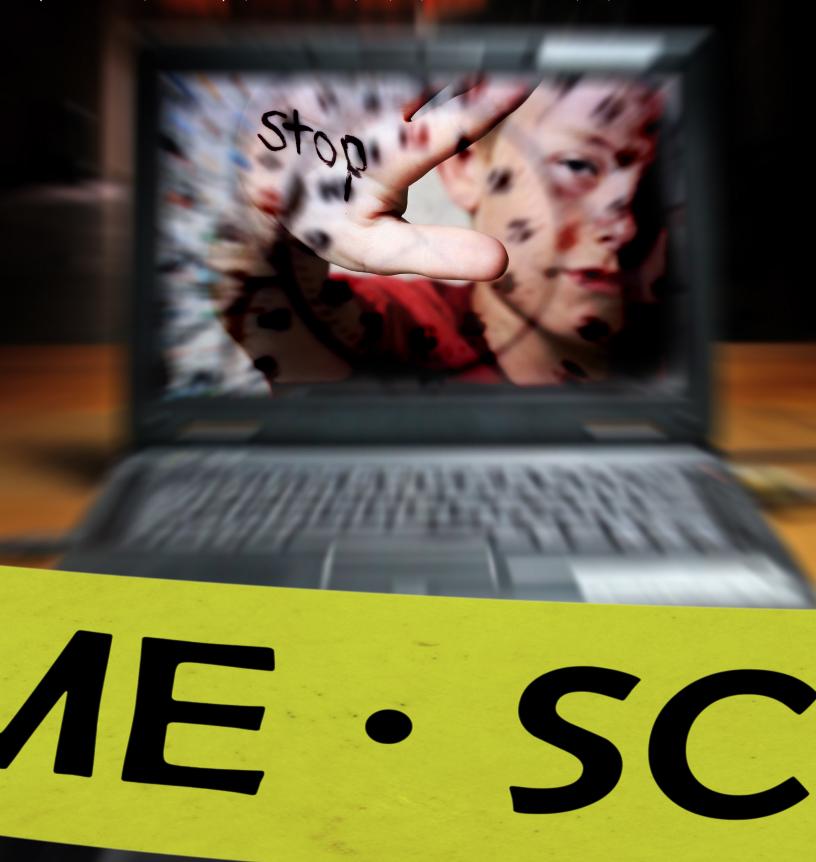# THE CHILD ABUSE MATERIAL INSTRUMENT (CAMI):

COLLECTING AND UTILIZING FORENSIC DATA IN CHILD PORNOGRAPHY CASES

by Richmond Parsons, Nicholas Honyara, David L. Delmonico, Ph.D., M.A., LMFT and Elizabeth J. Griffin, M.A., LMFT

Since the early 2000s a concerted effort has been made by law enforcement agencies to target individuals who view, possess, receive, distribute and produce child sexual abuse material (also referred to as child pornography). In the federal criminal system, an estimated 1,713 offenders were arrested for crimes related to child pornography possession or distribution in 2000 (Wolak, Finkelhor, Mitchell, 2005), and by 2006 there was an estimated 3,672 arrests for similar crimes (Wolak, Finkelhor, Mitchell, 2011). As a result, probation officers nationwide have witnessed a significant and steady increase in the number of child pornography offenders on their caseload.

Due to the increased number of child pornography offenders, probation officers often need to prioritize cases in order to appropriately allocate resources. Acquiring as much data as possible assists probation officers in making informed decisions regarding the allocation of resources in these cases. Glasgow (2010) introduced the concept of using digital forensic evidence to assist in determining risk level and subsequent resource allocation. Typically digital evidence has only been used in the prosecution of cases and probation officers have rarely received or reviewed the digital evidence.

The purpose of this article is to introduce the Child Abuse Material Instrument (CAMI) as an efficient, systematic and objective method for gathering and using digital forensic data in the probation setting.

CHILD ABUSE MATERIAL INSTRUMENT (CAMI)

The Child Abuse Material Instrument (CAMI) was developed to assist probation officers in the assessment, supervision and management of sexual offenders who were arrested on charges related to possession, receipt and/or distribution of child pornography on the Internet (referred to as child pornography offenders throughout the article). Determining the type and number of resources a client needs is often a difficult task. Allocating too many unnecessary resources is a waste of time, money and energy; however, not allocating enough resources can have significant consequences. Delmonico and Griffin (2014) introduced the concept of Resource Demand Level (RDL) which refers to the level of management resources needed by a child pornography offender. The CAMI was designed as an easy and efficient instrument to be completed by forensic examiners. It provides objective, evidence-based data which can assist in determining the RDL for child pornography offenders, as well as facilitate communication between community supervision, treatment providers, polygraphers and any other members of the containment team.

The initial version of CAMI was piloted with a forensic examiner and a primary treatment provider in a jurisdiction in Eastern Pennsylvania. Following feedback from

these individuals, edits were made to the instrument and it was further piloted among a broader group of professionals. During the first two years, the CAMI was used with a large number of child pornography cases in the jurisdiction. Feedback from both probation officers and treatment providers indicated the data provided by the CAMI was beneficial to the assessment, supervision, management and treatment processes for child pornography offenders. In 2012, the authors began a systematic effort to enhance the effectiveness of the CAMI and to promote a more widespread use of the instrument. The CAMI questions were reviewed and modified based on the latest research regarding child pornography offenders. These modifications included expanding the number of questions related to the forensic data and refining possible responses to improve accuracy of reported data.

Based on information gathered during the evaluation phase of the CAMI's development, the current version, single page, 20-item instrument was created (See Appendix A). While the CAMI continues to be developed, it is believed the current version will be useful in the supervision of child pornography offenders.

USING THE CAMI DATA

As stated above, the CAMI can be useful to probation officers by assisting in the determination of a client's Resource Demand Level (RDL). In considering the RDL, it is important that CAMI data be combined with other historical client data. When data from the CAMI is combined with information such as criminal history, substance abuse issues, antisocial/anti-authority indicators, etc., an appropriate RDL can be established.

Data from the CAMI can be broadly categorized by using the U.S. Sentencing Commission Report (2013). The report focused on dangerousness to community when sentencing child pornography offenders and identified three main areas for consideration. These same considerations are accounted for in the CAMI, and can be useful in determining the RDL in online child pornography cases. The following sections discuss these considerations and provide sample CAMI items that are relevant when addressing these issues.

CONTENT AND NATURE OF THE PORNOGRAPHY COLLECTION AND OFFENDER BEHAVIOR

Much of the research regarding online child pornography offenders and risk to community comments on the content and nature of the pornography collection (Eke & Seto, 2012; Glasgow, 2012). The U.S. Sentencing Commission Report (2013) identified the following concerns related to the content of a child pornography offender's pornography collection: the volume of the collection (CAMI Question #9); the types of sexual conduct in the images (CAMI Questions #8 and #10) and the age of victims depicted in the images (CAMI Question #12). While the commission focused specifically on

child pornography, Seto (2013) also suggested that the ratio of child to adult images (CAMI Questions #7 and #9) is an additional relevant consideration since pornography collections containing material primarily focused on prepubescent children may be more concerning.

Further, the Report indicates the relevance of the nature of a child pornography offender's collecting behavior. Specifically, the report refers to the "extent to which a child pornography offender has organized, maintained and protected his collection over time, including the use of sophisticated technologies" (p. xvii). CAMI Questions 14, 15, and 16 assist in addressing these issues.

DEGREE OF INVOLVEMENT WITH OTHER ONLINE OFFENDERS

The degree to which a child pornography offender is involved with and/or communicates with other online offenders is included in the U.S. Sentencing Commission Report (2013) and in other research (e.g., Seto 2013). Communicating with other online offenders may be an increased indicator of risk and/or dangerousness and should be taken into account when assessing an individual's Resource Demand Level (RDL). CAMI Question number 20 specifically looks for evidence to suggest communication with online child pornography offenders.

HISTORY OF SEXUALLY ABUSIVE, EXPLOITIVE OR PREDATORY CONDUCT

The U.S. Sentencing Commission Report also expressed concern regarding individuals with a history of sexually abusive, exploitive and/or predatory conduct. This conduct may include a previous contact offense, but could also include non-contact exploitive or predatory sexual behaviors with children either online or offline. The CAMI addresses these issues through Question number17, 18, and 19. These three questions may be considered "critical items" when reviewing the CAMI since an answer of affirmative on any one of these questions would significantly raise the Resource Demand Level. Eke and Seto (2012) reported that child pornography offenders with a prior or concurrent violent or contact sexual offense, were significantly more likely to be subsequently reported for a sexual re-offense" (p. 156).

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

In addition to the three areas covered by the U.S. Sentencing Report, there are several other important considerations when reviewing CAMI data and assessing an individual's Resource Demand Level (RDL). These considerations include (a) accidental acquisition of child pornography, (b) compulsivity level and (c) risk for recidivism.

Accidental Acquisition of Child Pornography

The professional literature acknowledges that it is possible for individuals to acquire child pornography

accidentally. Although this is a somewhat unlikely and rare occurrence, it is possible. A technically savvy or experienced probation officer can utilize questions from the CAMI to assist in determining the intent of child pornography sex offenders who claim to have accidentally acquired child pornography. Specific items that may be useful in determining intent include CAMI Questions number three, four, five and six.

Compulsivity Level

Another important consideration in determining a child pornography offender's RDL is the level of compulsivity surrounding their online sexual behavior. Compulsive pornography use is often evidenced by a progression in the quantity and types of images collected. High volume collections, as well as a lifelong pattern of problematic pornography use (online and offline) are often indicators of compulsivity. Some experts have described the progression as "sensation seeking" or an increase in the risk taking behavior associated with viewing the pornography. The behavior may begin as soft core pornography and progress to hard core porn, fetish porn, sadistic/masochistic porn, Lolita/barely legal, bestiality and potentially leading to the viewing of child pornography.

There has also been increased attention to the "digital hoarder." A digital hoarder may collect hundreds of thousands of images of all types (sexual and non-sexual) and never delete any of them. Such hoarding behavior can be a

sign of compulsivity. The more compulsive an individual appears online, the higher their RDL based on literature that suggests compulsive Internet use may be related to other issues such as poor impulse control, emotional problems, lack of social/emotional outlets and deviant sexual interests (U.S. Sentencing Commission, 2013). Individuals who are compulsive online with their sexual behavior also frequently escalate their online behaviors and therefore may require closer supervision. The CAMI includes several questions useful in determining the presence of online compulsivity. These include Questions number seven, eight, and number 13.

Risk for Recidivism

There is always a concern related to risk of recidivism for all sex offenders, and child pornography offenders are not an exception. In general, research suggests child pornography offenders are lower risk and more likely to follow the rules of community supervision as compared to offenders who have a history of a contact offense (Webb, Craissati, & Keen, 2007). Even with this promising research, child pornography offenders must still be assessed for risk of recidivism. It should be noted that the CAMI is not a risk assessment, and while the data from the CAMI may be useful, it should be combined with other historical and assessment data before ascertaining a risk level.

RESOURCE DEMAND LEVEL CASE EXAMPLES

Once the Resource Demand Level (RDL) is determined, intervention and management strategies can be planned accordingly. The following case examples discuss two extremes of the RDL and suggest how differences in these cases may alter types and frequency of the interventions used.

CASE #1

James is a 22 year old male caught with child pornography on his computer. The CAMI revealed the following information. Child pornography was found only on the computer and not on other devices (e.g., cell phone, digital cameras, etc.), and the primary venue for downloading pornography was peer-to-peer networking. There were a total of about 1,000 pornography images/videos, of which about ten percent (100) could be considered child pornography. The primary age group represented in the illegal images was 13 – 17 years old and 95 percent of the images were of females. The majority of the illegal images were of females exposing their genitals alone, often while masturbating. The adult pornography collection began several years ago and the child pornography was limited to the past 18 months. Search terms that were used included "teens," "puberty," and "young girls." All pornography was stored in a folder called "lookatmelater." There was no evidence that there had been any communication with others about the child pornography, nor was there any forensic evidence suggesting a contact offense (or attempted contact offense) – i.e., no chat conversations, email, etc. James's history and other assessment data were combined with data gathered on the CAMI. Based on the CAMI data as well as no evidence of a criminal history or a criminal mindset, James was determined to be a Low RDL offender.

CASE #2

Sam is a 44 year old male caught with child pornography on his computer. The CAMI provided the following information. Child pornography (images and videos) was found both on his physical computer, and there was evidence that cloud storage and portable devices may have also been used, but this could not be confirmed. An estimated 3,000 – 5,000 images/videos were discovered, of which an estimated 50 percent were likely to be child pornography. The child pornography was primarily males and represented all age groups (infant through adolescence). The majority of the images were "explicit erotic posing;" however, there were a significant number of videos that included young males performing sex acts on adult males and vice versa – including some video of what appeared to include forced bondage. The child pornography content was stored by age and then further subdivided by a particular series name (e.g., Thomas1.jpg through Thomas40.jpg). There was no evidence that the child pornography offender communicated with any underage individuals or arranged for a contact offense; however, there were some chat conversations discovered where child pornography was exchanged with other adults. It appeared that the child pornography offender searched and downloaded images on a daily basis for three to five hours per day and then spent additional time each day editing, morphing and creating collages from the images found online. Common search terms included "PTHC," "young boys," and "twinks." A review of his history indicated a non-sexual criminal history and substance abuse problems. This information combined with information gathered on the CAMI led to the conclusion that Sam was a High RDL child pornography offender.

Research indicates there are two factors that significantly increase the likelihood of a future sexual offense (online or offline). These include the presence of deviant sexual arousal to prepubescent children, especially males AND a history of criminal behavior and/or criminal mindset (Seto, 2008, 2013). Questions on the CAMI that may assist in making this determination (when combined with other client background information) include questions two, 11, 14, 17, 18, 19, and number 20.

The cases on the previous page were written to illustrate the extremes often seen in the legal system. Of course, rarely are cases as clear as the ones written above. Combining CAMI data with other case information can be helpful in determining the RDL for all cases – including those that are not as clear as the ones described above. It should be noted that while data from the CAMI is unlikely to change, the RDL may change either through the discovery of additional information, due to the fact that the client may not be managing their current RDL appropriately or due to the fact that the child pornography offender has made progress in treatment.

INTERVENTION AND MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES

Information gathered from the CAMI can also aid in the development of a targeted supervision and technology plan for the online child pornography offender. Probation and parole departments often manage this population at the two

extremes, either developing an extensive resource draining supervision plan or approaching the child pornography offender with a zero tolerance policy. Most departments do not have the adequate staff and technological resources to develop an extensive supervision plan and zero-tolerance policies are often unrealistic, counterproductive and sometimes illegal. History seems to indicate that "broad brush" approaches to managing any population usually proves to be ineffective and inefficient. In order to create a more objective approach to addressing intervention and management of child pornography offenders, the CAMI data can be combined with other historical and assessment data and used to determine a child pornography offender's Resource Demand Level (RDL). Once the level is determined (Low, Moderate, High), subsequent management plans can be created with the confidence that evidence-based, objective data was used to establish the plan.

RESTRICTIONS ON TECHNOLOGY USE

While preventing all technology use for a child pornography offender may be appealing, such an approach prevents the child pornography offender from developing healthy and appropriate use of technology and creates a predisposition for misuse of technology following the termination of community supervision. Technology access does not need to be an "all or nothing" concept for child pornography offenders. The Resource Demand Level (RDL) which is established in part by using CAMI data, can aid

probation departments in determining the level of access to the Internet that should be permitted. Low RDL offenders should be given the opportunity and freedom to develop healthy use of technology; and therefore, should be given relatively open access to the Internet within reason. Conversely, a High RDL offender typically needs tighter technology and Internet use restrictions. Supervision goals for the High RDL child pornography offender may include more technology and Internet access as the child pornography offender moves through their community supervision. A Moderate RDL offender may be given some access, which can be slowly increased as they demonstrate healthy and responsible Internet use. It is important to remember that access to the Internet can occur on a variety of portable devices (e.g., computer, cell phones, tablets, gaming systems, etc.) and each should be considered based on the RDL.

Case Examples

In the case of James, it was determined he had a Low RDL and did not use his cell phone to access child pornography; therefore, allowing him the use of a cell phone during his community supervision time would be an acceptable starting point. In the case of Sam (Case #2), the fact that he used a variety of venues to access child pornography and was assessed to be a High RDL supports limited access to a cell phone (perhaps not a Smartphone) which would be searched and monitored regularly.

Other examples of possible restrictions depending on the RDL include the time of day (e.g., no Internet use after 9:00pm) or length of time online (e.g., no more than three hours per day). Obviously, higher levels of RDL may get more restrictions. In our case examples, James (Low RDL) may have greater latitude than Sam (high RDL) with regard to when and how long the Internet use may occur.

SEARCHING, FILTERING, AND MONITORING

The determination of how often the child pornography offender's technology will be searched, how strict the filtering will be programmed and the extent of monitoring, should all be based on the Resource Demand Level (RDL) (CAMI data plus other assessment information).

Conducting a search of an Internet capable device requires the use of specialized software (e.g., Field Search, etc.) or a manual scroll analysis (e.g., reviewing individual text messages, emails, webpage history, etc.). In either method, searching through technology takes a significant amount of time and resources. Therefore, high frequency of searching (e.g., bi-weekly) should be reserved for those with a High RDL, while those with a Low RDL may only require searching once per quarter. Again, it is important to remember that portable devices should also be searched at random and periodic intervals.

The second level of electronic supervision is the use of blocking/filtering software. Regardless of the software package used, there are a variety of sensitivity settings that should be carefully

considered when installing the program. For example, it may be determined that YouTube should be completely shut off for a High RDL offender, while a Low RDL offender may be offered access. Probation officers should become familiar with the nuances of blocking/filtering software used in their jurisdiction and determine what settings should be used for a Low versus High RDL. Other risky ports to certain areas of the Internet may be best to shut off completely regardless of the RDL of the child pornography offender (e.g., peer-to-peer file sharing). The RDL which was established in part with CAMI data should be considered as part of the filtering management plan.

The final electronic management tool is monitoring. Electronic monitoring records the activities that occur on a single device. The activity log must then be periodically reviewed for any inappropriate or illegal online behaviors. Since logs must be reviewed, electronic monitoring is one of the most resource intensive electronic management methods.

Using CAMI data and the RDL, it may be appropriate to only select those child pornography offenders who have a High RDL for electronic monitoring. If electronic monitoring is court-ordered, the settings on the electronic monitoring can be adjusted according to the RDL, as well as the frequency of reviewing the recorded logs.

NON-ELECTRONIC MANAGEMENT

The aforementioned sections address the use of the Resource Demand Level (RDL) and CAMI data for electronic related intervention and management; however, the RDL and CAMI can also be used to establish guidelines for non-electronic management strategies. For example, such information can help determine how frequently the child pornography offender may require face to face visits and/or unannounced visits from the probation officer. A Low RDL child pornography offender may require less contact than a Moderate or High level RDL. While there is a preestablished number of face to face visits for a given RDL, each jurisdiction/probation officer can use the RDL to set some general guidelines about the frequency of visitation, etc.

Sharing CAMI data with containment team members is an excellent way to not only facilitate communication between team members, but to also provide one another with valuable information related to the risk and danger to the community from the online child pornography offender. Determining how often communication should occur between containment team members can be informed by the RDL. High RDL child pornography offenders may require more frequent phone calls or emails between team members than their Low/Moderate RDL counterparts.

It is often helpful for probation officers and/or staff to administer the CAMI as a self-report instrument to the child pornography offender. Responses from the child pornography offender can be compared to known forensic data (if available) or other assessment data (e.g.,

pre-sentence report, clinical interview, statement to the police, etc.) to help determine the level of honesty, denial or minimization on the part of the child pornography offender. The consistency of all assessment information, including the self-report on the CAMI, can also help determine if a polygraph is necessary and if so, data from the CAMI can assist in developing possible polygraph questions. Using the CAMI in this way is helpful since polygraph examinations are often expensive and time consuming.

LIMITATIONS

Several limitations exist in the implementation of the CAMI. The first is obtaining the cooperation of the forensic examiners. Although the instrument is brief and easy to complete, forensic examiners are already significantly overtasked. The second limitation relates to the accuracy of data reported on the CAMI. Several factors may affect the accuracy in CAMI data including the fact that forensic examiners may be rushing to complete the tool, or completing the CAMI months after finishing the forensic examination. The third limitation is related to the fact that probation officers and staff may not understand how best to evaluate and utilize the data provided on the CAMI from the forensic examiner. The CAMI is most useful when probation officers and staff are familiar with the professional literature surrounding child pornography offenders.

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this article was to introduce the Child Abuse Material Instrument (CAMI) as an efficient, systematic and objective method for gathering and using digital forensic data in the probation setting. Establishing a Resource Demand Level (RDL) for child pornography offenders by using CAMI data and other historical and assessment data is the primary goal. Based on the RDL, probation officers and staff can design an appropriate management plan that will be based on objective, evidence-based information. Through the use of the CAMI, it is hoped that resources will be more efficiently assigned and probation officers will be more confident in making decisions regarding resource allocation.

There is no indication that the number of online child pornography offenders will be decreasing in the future. The continued rise in the number of child pornography offenders on caseloads requires innovative methods in determining how best to allocate already limited resources. It is the authors' hope that the CAMI provides important data to make evidence based decisions in the practice of supervising online child pornography offenders. ▷▷▲

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Child Abuse Material Instrument (CAMI)

Directions: Read each item and check all that apply.

1. **What type of device was used to store, trade, or view child sexual abuse material? (Circle the most frequent)**

   □ Computer □ Cell phone □ Portable Devices □ Gaming Systems
   □ External Memory □ Cloud Storage □ Other (explain):_____

2. **What was the format of the child sexual abuse material? (Circle the most frequent)**

   □ Images □ Video □ Audio □ Written Material
   □ Non-digital Media □ Other: _____

3. **What were the primary venues used to obtain the child sexual abuse material? (Circle the most frequent)**

   □ E-mail □ Chat/IM □ P2P □ Websites
   □ Text Messaging □ Other: _____

4. **What is the estimated percent of child sexual abuse materials that were:**

   Cached: _____ Saved: _____ Deleted: _____

5. **What were the common search terms used to find child sexual abuse material?** _____

6. **Please list common screen names, usernames, passwords, and/or other online identifiers?**
   _____

7. **What is the estimated TOTAL number of pornographic images and/or videos (both adult and child)?**

   □ <50 □ 51-500 □ 501-1,000 □ 1,001- 3,000
   □ 3,001-10,000 □ 10,000 – 15,000 □ 15,000+

8. **In the total collection (child and adult), what types of pornography was present? (Circle the most frequent)**

   □ BDSM □ Rape □ Bestiality □ Voyeurism □ Self-Pics
   □ Soft Core □ Hard Core □ Anime/ Cartoon □ Barely 18 □ Incest
   □ Other: _____

9. **What percent of the overall pornography collection was child sexual abuse material?**

   □ <10% □ 11-25% □ 26-50% □ 51-75% □ 76-100%

10. **What types of child sexual abuse images were stored (COPINE Scale) (Circle the most frequent):**

    □ Indicative □ Nudist □ Erotica □ Posing

☐ Erotic Posing   ☐ Explicit Erotic Posing   ☐ Explicit Sexual Activity   ☐ Assault
☐ Gross Assault   ☐ Sadistic/ Bestiality

11. **What was the gender of the victims in the child sexual abuse material?**

☐ All male   ☐ Majority Male   ☐ Equal   ☐ Majority Female   ☐ All Female

12. **What age groups were represented in the child sexual abuse material? (Circle the most frequent)**

☐ <2 years   ☐ 2-9 years   ☐ 10-12 years   ☐ 13-17 years

13. **Answer the following questions to help set the time frame around the offense behavior:**

    a. Estimated date of the oldest adult pornography materials: ___/____/____
    b. Estimated date of the oldest child sexual abuse material: ___/____/____
    c. Estimated date of the most recently viewed adult pornography material: ___/___/____
    d. Estimated date of the most recently viewed child sexual abuse material: ____/____/____
    e. Typical time of day pornography was viewed: ____:____ AM / PM
    f. Average length of time spent per week seeking/viewing child sexual abuse material: _____ hours

14. **Were the child sexual abuse materials highly organized/categorized?**

☐ No   ☐ Yes, please explain: _____

15. **Was any of the child sexual abuse material morphed, edited or otherwise modified?**

☐ No   ☐ Yes, please explain: _____

16. **Was there an attempt to hide child sexual abuse materials either physically (e.g., USB drives, etc.) or electronically (e.g., encryption, cloud storage, window washing, etc.)?**

☐ No   ☐ Yes, please explain: _____

17. **Do you have any suspicions and/or evidence that there was an offline contact sexual offense?**

☐ No   ☐ Yes, please explain: _____

18. **Was there any evidence that child sexual abuse material was being produced?**

☐ No   ☐ Yes, please explain: _____

19. **Was there any indication of online communication with minors?**

☐ No   ☐ Yes, please explain (include grooming behavior):_____

20. **Was there any indication of online communication with other adults to obtain child sexual abuse material?**
☐ No   ☐ Yes, please explain: _____