INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

SACRED REALMS AND ICONS OF THE DAMNED

THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF AN INTERNET-BASED CHILD PORNOGRAPHY RING

by

IAN FERGUSON

A thesis submitted to

the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Masters of Arts

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

May 1998

Copyright © 1998 Ian Ferguson

National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-36818-1

The undersigned recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
and Research Acceptance of the thesis

SACRED REALMS AND ICONS OF THE DAMNED

THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF AN INTERNET-BASED CHILD PORNOGRAPHY RING

submitted by Ian Ferguson, B.A.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

John Cove, Thesis Supervisor

Chair, Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University
May 1, 1998

ABSTRACT

Over the past five years, there has been increasing attention paid to child pornography trafficking via the Internet. One area where research has been remiss, however, concerns how online communities involved in child pornography trafficking are established and sustained on the Internet, in particular those whose members maintain no contact outside their cyberspace environments. This thesis presents an ethnographic account of the exchange relations of one Internet-based child pornography ring operating via an Internet Relay Chat (IRC) channel, and the factors that influence and disrupt these relations. In doing so, the author presents a case study of human adaptation to a particular environmental domain in cyberspace through an examination of the dynamics of this virtual community and the nature of the criminal threat that it poses.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The process of writing this thesis has been a deeply disturbing experience, and has been taxing both physically and psychologically. The nature of this type of research forced me to witness firsthand some of the most abhorrent misdeeds capable of humankind. Consequently, I am indebted to several people for their generous assistance, support and encouragement during the course of this project.

I owe a great deal to my advisors John Cove and Scott Clark. For the past five years, John and Scott have inspired and guided me both academically and professionally. Their generosity and encouragement has led me to challenge what it means to be an anthropologist, to take risks, and to apply my knowledge to the criminal justice arena. Additional thanks are given to Scott for allowing me the opportunity to work as a consultant with the Department of Justice Canada.

This project brought me into close contact with several members of the law enforcement community. I am grateful to Sergeant Keith Daniels, Sexual Assault and Child Abuse Section, of the Ottawa Carleton Regional Police Service. Keith went beyond the call of duty to provide me with on-going assistance and information, and was always a telephone call away in the event of trouble. I cannot thank him enough. The detectives of the Ontario Provincial Police Pornography Crime Unit (Project P) are thanked for their generous support and for taking the time to discuss this project. Several important avenues of research were also discussed with Marilyn Young of Revenue Canada's Intelligence Services Division. Additional thanks are extended to David Sunahara of the Canadian Police College in Ottawa; Special Agent Caroline Thrasher of

the FBI; Doug Skoog of the University of Winnipeg; and Mark Irving of the Canadian Center for Justice Statistics at Statistics Canada.

I am fortunate to have a network of colleagues who have played instrumental roles in my academic, professional and personal lives. Marc Tyrrell has been a driving force throughout my undergraduate and graduate careers. His vast knowledge, insights and motivation have guided my research and led me to recognize the necessity for anthropology in the contemporary world. Tony Maltby served as a research assistant both off and online. Tony's knowledge of computers and IRC facilitated this project. I also thank him for the countless hours spent assisting in observations, analyzing field logs, sitting in cars waiting for informants, and conducting interviews. Additional gratitude is extended to Paul Thibaudeau and Professor Brian Given for their insights into cyber-archeology and cyber-anthropology.

I would also like to thank my friend Janet Lee at the Ontario Ministry of the Attorney General. Janet's charm, expertise and humor were instrumental to the success of this thesis. I am grateful.

For clearing up any potential snags with the title, I would like to thank Jane Jensen of Sierra Online.

Special gratitude is extended to several friends for their support, encouragement and assistance during the course of this research. My best friend Steve Clifford has always been there for me during the best and worst of times, and is responsible for developing my interests in computers and the online world. Steve Clifford, Andrea Stevens and Danita DeSouza are thanked for the accommodations during my offline fieldwork in Toronto. Cara McNulty, my research partner at Justice and friend has

continued to believe in my research. I am also grateful to my good friend Jason Throop for his knowledge, sarcasm and of course, the continued use of his laptop during this project.

Lastly, I would like to thank Mary Vincent and my parents who have continued to stand by me and have given me support and courage throughout my academic and professional careers. I thank them for their patience during this project, which has robbed so much time away from them.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	i
Acknowledgments	ii
Table of Contents	v
List of Tables	ix
List of Figures	x
Introduction	1
Organization	3
Note on Language	4
Methodology & Ethics	5
Investigative Ethnography	6
Background Investigation	7
Sources	7
Background Interviews	8
Approaching the Field	10
Technological Considerations	10
Establishing Contact	13
Participant Observation	17
Ethical and Legal Implications of the Research	20
Historical Overview and Literature Review	25
The Internet Pornography Debate: Regulation & Perceptions of Safety	26
Content Regulation	27
“Stranger Danger” and Technological Uncertainty	31
Issues of Availability and Accessibility	34
Definitions	37

Child Sexual Victimization	38
Child Molesters, Pedophiles and Infantophiles	38
Child Pornography Rings	40
Illegal Pornography	41
Child Pornography	42
Technical Child Pornography	44
Simulated Child Pornography	44
Digitally Simulated Child Pornography	44
Summary: Towards the Virtualization of the Child Pornography Ring	46
Virtualizing the Child Pornography Ring	48
Environmental Domains in Cyberspace	49
Virtual Settlements and Virtual Communities	50
Virtual Communities	52
Virtual Settlements	53
#100%preteenpixmap: A Virtual Child Pornography Ring	56
Social Interaction in Internet Relay Chat	57
A Community Threat Assessment Model	60
Stage One: Classification of Action	61
Stage Two: Rationalization for Action	64
Applying the Model	65
Threat Assessment	65
Summary	67
The Channel	70
The Channel Name: #100%preteenpixmap	72
Inside #100%preteenpixmap	73
The Channel Window	74
Language	78
Channel Users	79
User Profile	81
Reasons for Involvement	84
Collectors	84

Suppliers	88
Times of Use	90
Internal Trade Technologies	91
File Servers	91
Private Trading	96
Query Window	96
Direct Client-to-Client	98
External Trade Technologies	100
File Transfer Protocol Sites	100
Usenet Newsgroups	100
Web Sites	101
The Materials	102
Media	103
Titles	106
Age, Gender and Ethnicity	107
Environment	108
Degrees of Explicitness and “Legality”	109
Specialized and Fetish Files	111
The “Value” of the Material	113
Trade Ratios	114
The Credit System	115
Determination of “Value”	116
Comments	120
Law Enforcement Agents and Anti-Child Pornography Crusaders	120
Channel Security	123
Epilogue and Conclusions	125
Appendix A: Key Informant Interview Schedules	130
A1 - Law Enforcement Officers and Intelligence Officers	130
A2 - Online Informants	136
Appendix B: Statement of Ethics	141

Appendix C: Some high profile Canadian Internet child pornography cases	146
Appendix D: File Names	149
Endnotes	152
Glossary	164
References	170

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. IRC Modes

80

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. A digitally simulated pornographic image	45
Figure 2. Environmental Domains in Cyberspace	50
Figure 3. Settlement Taxonomy	54
Figure 4. Classification of Action	62
Figure 5. Rationalization for Action	64
Figure 6. Action Assessment for #100%preteenpixxx Community	65
Figure 7. The title bar	72
Figure 8. Main mIRC screen	75
Figure 9. DCC Chat Request	92
Figure 10. Receiving a File using DCC	99
Figure 11. Explicitness and Legality of Materials	109

All it takes for evil to prevail is for good men to do nothing.

- Ethical Hackers Against Pedophilia

Smut, give me smut and nothing but.

A dirty novel I can't shut, if it's uncut and unsubtle

For the graphic pictures I adore

Indecent magazines galore

I love them more if they're hardcore

Smut – Tom Lehrer

INTRODUCTION

The rapid increase in the mainstream popularity of the Internet over the past decade has led to a variety of real-world criminals taking advantage of this technology to facilitate their actions. In many cases, Internet technology has allowed them to stay ahead of the law. The media, law enforcement agencies, government and non-government organizations, as well as personal experience regarding encounters with illegal activity in cyberspace often reflect this concern.

At present, one of the most prevalent issues surrounding criminal activity on the Internet is the availability of child pornography. Child pornography in itself is hardly a new phenomenon. However, many have identified the electronic dissemination of this material via the Internet as an urgent social problem. Since 1996, there have been over twenty high profile cases in Canada alone of arrests for producing, disseminating and possessing child pornography via the Internet.¹ There is also a growing body of research done on the issue identifying Internet child pornography as a “threat”. There have also been attempts to legislate against it. Although there have been few accusations holding the Internet directly responsible for child pornography, there is a common consensus it does facilitate dissemination across vast geographic areas that might have otherwise been difficult or impossible (Icove et al., 1995).

One area where research has been remiss, however, concerns how virtual communities involved in child pornography dissemination are established and sustained on the Internet, in particular those whose members maintain no contact outside their

cyberspace environments. To address this issue, one must approach Internet child pornography trading on its own ground. This thesis presents an ethnographic account of the exchange relations of an Internet-based child pornography ring, and the factors that influence and disrupt these relations.² Ethnographic data was collected from a single virtual community, an Internet Relay Chat (IRC) channel entitled “#100%preteenpixmap” (the pseudonym given to protect the anonymity of the channel).

This thesis is an exploratory effort intended to describe some features of the Internet child pornography phenomenon within the context of the #100%preteenpixmap community. Some fundamental questions addressed in this thesis include:

- What does an IRC child pornography trading channel “look like”? How is it structured, and how does IRC technology benefit trading?
- What types of pornographic files are traded in this channel? What are the formats of these files, and what do they portray?
- What types of people belong to such a community? What are the demographics of these users and their patterns of use?
- What are the customs of such a community? How does one become a member? How do members behave once accepted?
- What measures are taken by the community to protect it from intrusive outside influences such as law enforcement and anti-child pornography groups?

The purpose of these questions is not to offer definitive explanations for the causes for involvement in child pornography, or the effects of such material on either those portrayed or its consumers. Furthermore, these questions are not intended to

psychoanalyze the individuals involved in these practices. Rather, this thesis presents a case study of human adaptation to a particular environmental domain in cyberspace. In doing so, it examines the formation of a virtual community and its patterns of settlement within IRC as well as assesses the nature and dynamics of criminal threats within this community.

The majority of the pornographic materials trafficked through #100%preteenpixmap are “illegal”. As the legal definition of pornography can change from one jurisdiction to the next, some analytic base point is required to deal with this issue in the broad context of cyberspace. This presentation will employ Canada’s laws on child pornography, which are similar to those of the United States, Great Britain, Europe, Australia and New Zealand. This is an appropriate analytical base as the majority of the #100%preteenpixmap users reside in these countries.

Organization

This thesis consists of eight chapters including this introduction, five appendices, a glossary, and a bibliography of the literature. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the methodologies employed in this research, along with a discussion of the ethical and legal considerations. Chapter 3 and 4 provide a historical overview of the commonly held attitudes relating to child pornography on the Internet, as well as core definitions employed in this paper. Chapter 5 proposes a set of theoretical and analytical tools used in the examination of #100%preteenpixmap. Chapters 6 and 7 provide an ethnographic description and analysis of the 100%preteenpixmap community, in particular its users, the materials they trade, and their customs and norms. Chapter 8 is an epilogue, providing both reflections on the research and a summary of the main points of this study. The

glossary provides definitions for technological and legal terminology employed throughout the course of this thesis.

Note on Language

In order to portray significant events logged by mIRC, this thesis presents segments of my online communications with informants. The contents of these recorded communications are unedited and are presented in their entirety. This includes typographic and grammatical errors as well as profanity. However, it should be noted that each citation is presented as a segment extracted from a much longer series of communications. Accordingly, every effort will be made to provide an accurate summary of its context.

*Chapter 2***METHODOLOGY & ETHICS**

The primary role of the cultural anthropologist is to attempt to communicate a better understanding of the human condition. Spradley (1980) demonstrates that one of the ways in which this is done is through ethnographic study, of which one purpose is to interpret and communicate different ways of life from the perspective of a participant. I believe that culturally defined “criminal activity” should be no exception to ethnographic investigation. Such investigation allows for the collection of intelligence to better understand individuals and/or groups who commit acts that are in some way meaningful to them, yet are prohibited within the broader socio-cultural context. While some may argue that this is traditionally the role of other social sciences, the use of anthropological inquiry in the area of criminal justice and intelligence is well documented.³ This argument will also be applied with reference to the anthropology of cyberspace.

One objective of “cyber-anthropology” is the study of human relations that transcend the physical boundaries of time and space, the so-called “virtual” communities brought about by computer-mediated communication (CMC) (Escobar, 1994). Howard Rheingold (1993: 5) is quite clear on this point: “Virtual communities are social aggregations that emerge from the Net when enough people carry on those public discussions long enough, with sufficient human feeling, to form webs of personal relationships in cyberspace”. Rheingold’s definition points to a wide range of domains worthy of anthropological investigation, some of which have begun to be addressed. For example, Jones (1994: 1) illustrates the need to understand “new kinds of interaction,

communication, and collaboration made possible by advanced information technologies”. Similarly, Smith’s (1994: 4) ethnographic examination of one of the first virtual communities, The WELL, argues the need to examine how virtual communities “change the kind of communication that can be exchanged between individuals and alter the economies of communication and organization”.

Investigative Ethnography

I use the term “investigative ethnography” (IE) to define the combined application of anthropological field methods with traditional and computer investigative techniques.⁴ As such, IE draws from a variety of sources (Bernard, 1988; Boone & Wood, 1992; Spradley, 1980; Icove et al., 1995; Davis & Hutchinson 1997; Hawkins & Konstan, 1996). This research is both exploratory and qualitative in its approach. Its focus concerns the *quality* of personal experiences regarding Internet Relay Chat child pornography trading as opposed to *quantity*.⁵ Bernard (1988:22) describes this as the attempt to “sense reality and to describe it in words, rather than numbers – words that reflect consciousness and perception”. It is not the intent of this thesis to present definitive findings on IRC child pornography trading. Any such attempt, although ambitious, would be both naïve and implausible given that #100%preteenpixxx is not the only channel of its type, and is not necessarily representative of all others in existence. Furthermore, #100%preteenpixxx is not a static community and, for the most part, has a transient population. However, it is reasonable to assume that many of the findings presented here could be applied to other IRC channels of similar intent.

I have employed a form of methodological triangulation – the use of multiple data collection and analysis techniques to address common fields of inquiry. Such an

approach was best suited to this investigation as neither background analysis, informant interviewing or participant observation in isolation would have provided enough in-depth insight into the techno-cultural dynamics of this virtual community. The process of investigation was divided into three principal stages: background analysis, field entry and participant observation. Each stage employed combinations of methodologies to complement their individual research agenda. The roles of each methodology is outlined and discussed below.

Background Investigation

The initial stage of this investigation was to conduct a comprehensive background analysis of the electronic dissemination of child pornography. This stage served to determine the nature and scope of the socio-cultural, legal and political conditions concerning child pornography on the Internet, and how they could potentially influence the structure of #100%preteenpixxx. The background analysis involved a comprehensive review of open source literature and multiple background interviews. The findings of this analysis are detailed in Chapter 3.

Sources

The literature cited in this thesis was compiled from a variety of sources. Initially this involved computerized searches of a number of databases, including the Carleton University library (CUBE), the University of Ottawa library (ORBIS), Psychlit, Canadian Research Index and Sociofile. Search criteria included sources dealing with Internet crime, child pornography, child sexual victimization, pedophiles, child molesters, Internet safety, and Internet censorship. A similar search was conducted on the World Wide Web

using Lycos, Web Crawler, Infoseek, Déja News, Excite, Electric Library, and Yahoo search engines. Results showed a large body of work examining online communities, cyber-sex and cyber-porn (Smith 1994; Rheingold 1993; Rosenberg 1992; Hamman, 1997; Mehta & Plaza, 1997; Odzer 1997).

An extensive examination of Canadian legal and media coverage of child pornography cases involving electronic bulletin board systems (BBS) or the Internet was also performed using QuickLaw, Canadian News Disc and Canadian Periodical Index databases. Supplementary information was made available through the Department of Justice Canada, Solicitor General Canada, the Canadian Police College Research Center, the Ontario Ministry of the Attorney General, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the United States.

One glaring discrepancy that appeared in these searches concerned the social science literature. The majority of the social science literature dealing with cyberspace and CMC failed to provide in-depth examinations of illegal pornography and criminal organizations. Although a few works touched on the topic (e.g. Mehta & Plaza, 1997; Cavazos & Morin, 1995; Gattiker & Kelley, 1997), there was no evidence of anything written from an anthropological perspective.

Background Interviews

Background interviews were conducted to obtain additional information concerning the development of computer use in the production and dissemination of child pornography. Interviews were conducted according to the interview schedule developed for criminal justice and law enforcement professionals (Appendix A). In addition to

numerous informal consultations,⁶ five enforcement and intelligence officers from three agencies were formally interviewed. These were Sergeant Keith Daniels of the Ottawa Carleton Regional Police's Sexual Assault Child Abuse Section, Marilyn Young of Revenue Canada's Intelligence Services Division, and an anonymous Detective Constable from the Ontario Provincial Police Pornography Crime Unit (Project P).

The interviews ranged in length from one hour to three hours.⁷ Although certain questions were constant (e.g., what does your agency view as the major concerns of the ability to traffic child pornography via the Internet?), the interview questions functioned primarily as a guide. Allowing the respondent to continue talking freely even after a specific question was answered resulted in the collection of a great deal of additional information. This approach provided invaluable insight into what the officers viewed as the significant and problematic elements of child pornography on the Internet based on their experiences dealing with its producers, disseminators, and victims. In some instances, I was able to develop a better sense for these operations as I was given permission to examine seized child pornography, as well as to observe online undercover transactions under the supervision of an officer.⁸

The interviews also presented the officers with the opportunity to ask their own questions and voice concerns over the nature of the research. Much of this discussion centered on the ethical and legal implications of the research, however very little negotiation was required. There were initial concerns of how I was going to conduct myself online – specifically whether I would be presenting myself as a researcher or falsifying an identity as a trader. Because undercover operations are often conducted in child pornography trading channels, researching under an assumed identity could both

jeopardize the officer's investigations and incur severe legal implications on my part. With the assurance that the research would not involve any false pretense, the officers requested that for my own protection they are kept informed of my whereabouts online. This point was clearly emphasized by the Project P detective who refused to be interviewed on tape for legal reasons. Overall, they expressed satisfaction with the intent of the research and were eager to view the results once published.

Approaching the Field

Entering the field is perhaps the most difficult stage facing the anthropologist conducting ethnographic research (Bernard 1988, Spradley 1980). What follows is a chronological account of my own field entry experiences as they occurred. Although this section concentrates on the methodological procedures relevant to this stage of the investigation, a more specific discussion of their ethical and legal implications is presented later in this chapter.

Technological Considerations

Unlike traditional ethnographies, the field presented here is "virtual": a technological construct that has no specific location in "real-space" (Jones, 1997). Such an investigation presented unique challenges as it not only took into consideration the interpersonal and cultural mechanisms of the field, but also the technological. #100%preteenpixxx is configured by a user's IRC software program that allows them to connect to a server (in this instance EFNET) via the Internet IRC network. This interconnectivity permits synchronous broadcasting and reception of messages and data between users of the channel over vast geographic areas. The emergent effect of this is to

produce a sensory experience that disregards traditional social constructs of time and space, as this “virtual” environment may be experienced regardless of the user’s geographical location in “real-space”.⁹

The IRC program reads in the commands and text that the user supplies to it, filters them, and performs the appropriate actions by passing them on to the IRC server. The server, in turn, processes this information and routes it to its destined recipient. Users of #100%preteenpixxx also employ several other back channels of communication including file transfer protocol (FTP) sites, file servers (fserve), the World Wide Web, and to a lesser degree Use-Net newsgroups and e-mail.

Before entering the field, research was conducted to determine which technological tools were best suited for this investigation. To meet the requirements of the field, I operated a Pentium 100 PC with 80 megabytes of RAM running the Windows 95 operating system. Logging into #100%preteenpixxx using a 33.3-baud x2 modem enabled me to collect field data. My software kit consisted of the following:

mIRC (Mardam-Bey, 1997) provided the interface to connect with #100%preteenpixxx. Arguably the most popular IRC program, it is recognized for its ease of use and its attunement to individual control.¹⁰ mIRC enabled me to observe and engage in both public and private communications with other members of the child pornography ring, as well as access fserve solicited in the channel. The program was configured to transcribe and time-stamp all IRC communications and transfer them to the hard drive for examination and analysis.

Sam Spade (Atkins, 1997) was employed to resolve or “trace” Internet protocols from an informant’s service provider account by performing three functions: *Finger*,

WHOIS and *TraceRoute*. These functions enabled me to position an informant geographically by determining the location of their service provider. *Finger* retrieves information about a user or a machine on a specific host (the provider) including their last login time, whether the user is currently logged on and on which terminal, among others. *WHOIS* performs functions similar to *Finger* via NIC (Network Information Center) servers. NIC servers provide large databases of users and hosts from all around the world by providing information about registered hosts and users. Lastly, *TraceRoute* allows you to view the route a connection takes between two users. As connections generally pass through several different hosts before it arrives at its destination, *TraceRoute* resolves all hosts between users.¹¹

Netscape Communicator (Netscape Communications Corporation, 1997) provided the interface to the World Wide Web in instances where URLs were solicited in the channel. Similarly, **WS_FTP** (Junod, 1997) was employed to access and record the contents of File Transfer Protocol sites solicited in the channel. Upon establishing a connection between the PC and a remote system, this program would display the directories and files for the remote system. The log function of the program would then document the contents of the FTP site, as well as any additional communications between WS_FTP and the FTP server.

Investigator's Toolbox (Espinosa, 1997), although originally designed for private investigators, is a fieldwork tool incorporating an informant management database, a field note database and several other useful functions.

Establishing Contact

The decision to choose #100%preteenpixxx as the field of study was the result of a lengthy process of elimination. The first stage of the selection process involved determining which of the 13,000 plus channels available via the EFNET server were pornographic or adult oriented. Using the “/list” command, EFNET generated 200 active pornography channels, 19 of which involved child or underage sex.¹² The channel list displays the name of the channel, followed by the number of users present in the channel at the time of the search and, if applicable, a brief description of its content. A portion of this search is illustrated below:

#100%adultsexcpics	4	Best Pix on the Net, fserver always welcome!
#100%all-hardcore	4	
#100%allsexcpics	44	
#100%cheerleadersexcpics	24	
#100%collegegirlfuckpics	4	FREE sex pix! Over 2 gigs!
#100%CyberSeX	3	
#100%highschoolsexcpics	42	NO ONJOINS PUBLIC TIMER IS 3 MINS
#100%ladypics	20	
#100%pornonline	16	"hang out" with us
#100%preg_sex_pics	3	
#100%preteenfuckpics	157	
#100%preteenpixxx	34	FTPs/Fserver Welcome

Following some preliminary observations, I was able to isolate 10 of the underage and child sex channels that claimed to be dedicated entirely to child pornography trading. However, following a preliminary review, several of these channels were deemed unsuitable for this investigation. Despite being advertised as exchange forums, four

appeared to focus entirely on fantasy discussions of adult / child sex. Second, three of the channels were not static as they had few or no return members. In many instances, the entire user base would constantly migrate between different channels or servers, thus rendering the target channel inactive. A third factor was the overall manageability of a channel for conducting research. Whereas some trading channels had only one or two users at any given time (which would yield very little information), one had upwards of 200. Such a high volume of users would have compromised the quality of the research, as they could not be handled effectively by a single investigator.

By this stage, the list of potential sites had been reduced to three dedicated trading channels. Membership in the first two channels ranged between 15 and 30 users, at least half of who were static. A constant level of file server (fserve), file transfer protocol (FTP) site and inter-personal trading further suggested channel stability. However the third channel, #100%preteenp1xxx, was unique for any attempt at access was met with a reply reading:

```
*** slowdive sets mode: +i  
/join #100%preteenp1xxx  
#100%preteenp1xxx can't join channel (it's invite only)
```

As I had no contacts established in this channel, I was forced to concentrate on those with unrestricted access.

The final process of elimination became the first formal procedure in establishing a presence as a researcher in the channel. With the lack of an apparent alternative, I sent notices to the channel operators outlining my desire to research their channel. The

request was non-authoritarian, aimed at alleviating suspicions while at the same time communicating the impartiality of the research. It stressed that I was in no way associated with the police, the government or the media, and that the research was not meant to exploit or harm the members of the channel. The posting generated an immediately response in one channel:

Slowdive - My name is Ian and I am a graduate student at Carleton University in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. I am doing my thesis on how pre/teen pornography is shared between people in IRC channels. I am NOT affiliated with the police, the government or the media. I am not trying to collect information to get anyone in trouble. I would like your assistance in helping me learn a little bit about what goes on here by asking you a few questions. Msg me.

Dad4u - fuck off

*** slowdive was kicked by dad4u

/join #100%preteenfuckpics

#100%preteenfuckpics can't join channel (you're banned!)

Whether the posting produced any internal response in the remaining channels remains unclear. For the most part, this initial attempt at establishing contact appeared to have been ignored.

The process of messaging operators in the remaining channels was repeated over the course of a week, but was marked by a continual lack of response. Apprehension that the investigation might not proceed soon warranted a more direct approach, and the focus shifted towards messaging non-status members in the channels. Initially, this did very little to advance the research process until one user expressed an interest and consented to an interview. "Kox" presented himself as a 17-year-old male from Florida who had once

run his own trading channel and FTP site on EFNET. This ceased after an undercover police officer monitoring his channel arrested him for possession of child pornography the previous year. During the course of our conversation, Kox offered a list of channels that he felt were commendable due to their high trading volume of quality and specialized child pornography. Included in the list was #100%preteenpixmap. A portion of our conversation reads:

Kox - there are a few really good ones. let me look ok.

Slowdive - Thanks

Kox - np. humm.. there's not a lot of channels tonite, but
i'm looking. sorry. there are a lot... -)

Slowdive - ok

Kox - i still looking

Slowdive - i'm still waiting

Kox - #100%%preteenpixmap 100%preteenboysexpics
#100%teensexpics #gayboysex #gayboysexpics.
really good ones. good pics and hard to find stuff.
series and shit like that.

Slowdive - #100%%preteenpixmap has been invite only all
week. been trying to get into it

Kox - happens sometimes to keep it between real traders.
your not a trader lol

Slowdive - lol...

Kox - i know some traders and some ops that use it so i can
see if i can get you in

Slowdive - kewl. would you mind?

Kox - nah... what exactly is this for again

Slowdive - My thesis for University.

Kox - duh!

* Kox mind slips sometimes

Slowdive - thanks a lot for your help. It took a lot of guts
to talk to a stranger about this stuff.

Kox - yeah, but i didn't say/do anything that would
incriminate me 1 bit... lets see what I can do

Slowdive - I'll be in touch if I need any more info, OK?

Kox - ok... just lemme know if i can help

Slowdive - Thanks

Although it remains unclear if the restricted access was dropped arbitrarily or because of Kox's contacts, I was able to enter #100%preteenpixxx for the first time two hours later.

Participant Observation

Participant observation was the primary method used during the online research as it allowed a broad exposure to the events within #100%preteenpixxx. The time spent observing and interacting with its members enabled me to identify the underlying and less obvious aspects of daily life in the channel¹³.

#100%preteenpixxx operates 24 hours a day, seven days a week, as long as there is at least one active user in the channel. The online component of the investigation was conducted over the course of six months, from September 1997 through March 1998. In total, 800 hours were spent online – alternating sets of six-hour shifts from 10:00 PM to 4 AM and 11:00 AM to 5 PM were undertaken five days a week. Occasional 24-hour shifts were also undertaken to observe around-the-clock activity in the channel and determine demographic shifts in the users. During this time, I operated under the constant alias “slowdive” in order to establish a presence in the channel.

An initial online period of three weeks was spent observing and recording natural events in the channel without instigating any interaction with other users. This allowed me not only to examine how the other members of the channel interacted with one

another, but also how they chose to interact with me. The most common occurrence would come as a trade request:

INCOMING DCC

Session Start: Mon. Nov 03 23:41:53 1997

Ra - want to trade?

Slowdive - What are you trading?

Ra - a few preteen pics most sex of 12 and 13 and 11 years old

Eventually, I undertook a more participatory approach in the channel. One way in which this was done was by accessing the Fserve and FTP sites solicited in the channel. Although I was ethically and legally bound not to download images from these systems of exchange, I could freely navigate through them and record their structure and contents.¹⁴

In addition, as a means of checking the reliability of my observations, I began to conduct consultations and interviews with the channel's users. The interviews were a series of predetermined questions designed to solicit information on specific subject matter (see interview schedule in Appendix A). The consultations took the form of informal conversations structured by the informant based on what he/she felt were important points of consideration. Much to my surprise, the majority of the users found this dialogue quite interesting and had little or no objections to being asked to contribute information on their activities. It was evident that some participated in the interview out of arrogance or as an opportunity to brag about their collections and exploits:

Bigshot - If in fact you were FBI and u wanted to jump on me... There is really little or nothing you could do. You think cause I trade I'm vulnerable. You can't do anything. Everything you do is in real time. How many hours can you really invest in trying to nail me? I trust the numbers more than precautions. That's why I talked to you.

However, the majority of the informants used it as an opportunity to validate their behavior:

Chrism - its like I said, to be honest I think pretty much all guys enjoy looking at young girls, some of them chose to act on it and some are harmless such as myself and would never do anything preteen is probably the most popular one out of all of them, i can't explain it. ...sick pervets are using the internet to trade and sell child porn, I really wish there was something that could be done, I suppose thou that even preteen should be stopped too, the internet alows anyone to put whatever they want on it and give it easy acces this is one down fall of the internet i think. But I'm not like that not sick I mean.

In total, 15 formal interviews and 60 informal consultations were conducted via private direct client-to-client (DCC) chat within the channel.¹⁵ Although these sessions were similar in structure as the background interviews conducted with the enforcement and intelligence officers, they were considerably longer. The shortest session was 2.5 hours; the longest was 5 hours. Despite the in depth nature of these meetings, their length was also affected by external circumstances. Although I was copying my questions from a word processor into mIRC, it took some time for the informants to type their responses.

In addition, high volumes of users during EFNET's peak access periods caused considerable delays in the transmission of data.

Ethical and Legal Implications of the Research

Ethnographic research involving participant observation permits intimate contacts with data not normally present in quantitative analysis (Whyte, 1993; Spradley, 1980). As a result, one must be aware of the ethical considerations relating to the research agenda. Since this study involved interaction within social situations dictated by criminal conduct, several concerns needed to be addressed prior to entering the field. What obligations does a researcher have when constantly witnessing and documenting criminal activity? How much information could be collected on an informant while ensuring their anonymity? Should face-to-face meetings with channel members be encouraged or pursued? What considerations should be made for members of the channel who were unaware of the purpose of my participation in the channel? Due to the problematic nature of these questions, I was compelled to resolve a balance between the ethical, legal and moral obligations of this research. These obligations are set forth in the *Statement of Ethics* drafted with the aid of my advisory committee, addressing the unique needs of this investigation (Appendix B).

An initial area of concern addressed in the Statement concerned the distinction between public and private communication; specifically what degree of privacy (if any) can the users of an IRC channel expect? Following Jones (1994), one can argue that an IRC channel is a public space. For the most part, anyone can access a channel and openly participate in events displayed in its public channel. Thus, observing thoughts and actions communicated in the public IRC channel window can not be accounted as a

violation of an expected right to privacy or as an interception of private communication. Only upon establishing a private query or DCC connection with another user is there an assumed right to privacy. Private messaging establishes a private communication between two users over the IRC network. DCC allows two users to connect directly, bypassing the IRC Network, to DCC Send and DCC Get files, and to DCC chat privately over a more secure connection.

Second, because the information collected during this investigation could be legally harmful to the channel members, assuring the anonymity and informed consent of each informant was of paramount importance. This involved joint action on behalf of the informants and the researcher. As a researcher, I had to recognize two potentially detrimental biases. First, I am a strong advocate of Internet technology. Second concerns the fact that my values and opinions of child pornography were at odds with the individuals I had proposed to study. This last bias in particular would ultimately test my ability to organize methodologies pertinent to the investigation but not injurious to the informants. This included asking relevant questions, knowing the limitations of covert data collection (for example running a trace on an informant's Internet service provider (ISP) using Sam Spade), and not becoming involved with informants outside the context of the research. Furthermore, research could not be conducted using false pretense. This included posing as a minor or a pedophile for the purpose of collecting information. Lastly, under no circumstances was data to be collected as intelligence for a law enforcement or government agency.

Each informant was given an overview of the research and methodology before commencing any in-depth personal communication. This included a summary of how

anonymity would be upheld throughout the investigation, which parties had access to the data, and the nature and probability of risks to the informant. In each instance it was stressed that under no circumstances could I receive child pornography or other incriminating material. Furthermore, the protection of research subjects did not absolve me of my responsibility to report any form of abuse. Each informant was warned that confidentiality would be retracted if they led me to believe that their actions were placing someone in immediate danger of being victimized. Failure to comply with either of these requests could result in legal action.

Only once did a situation arise that warranted handing field notes over to the police. This instance involved “Sally”, a self-proclaimed 13-year-old female trader who indicated during an interview that the images depicted her and her father having sex. A portion of our conversation reads:

Sally - daddy makes sex to me.. and it makes me horny

Slowdive - really? Is that what is in the pictures you have -
you and daddy making sex?

Sally - yes

Slowdive - who took the pictures Sally?

Sally - daddy's friend

Slowdive - and how did you get the pictures?

Sally - he gave them to me

Slowdive - who's idea was it to take the pictures?

Sally - daddy's

Slowdive - OK

Slowdive - maybe you could tell me when and where the
pictures were taken. What were you and daddy
doing in the pictures?

Sally - we where fucking in various positions

Slowdive - is this the first time that you and daddy made sex?

Sally - no. we have started about 2 years ago

Although there was no way to substantiate the validity of this occurrence, the circumstances were anomalous. Throughout the entirety of this investigation, this was the only instance in which someone attested to being sexually victimized. With this in consideration, it was deemed best to err on the side of caution and report the incident to the police¹⁶.

Bringing these ethical considerations to light up front allowed for negotiation in the event that a informant felt threatened or believed they had nothing to gain by divulging their activities to an outsider. This negotiation allowed the informant to make an educated decision to continue or withdraw from the investigation, while providing me with a record of their consent in the mIRC log:

Slowdive - Before we begin, I want to ensure your anonymity. Again, I stress that I am NOT affiliated with the police, the government or the media, and I assure you that none of the information you share with me today will be used to harm you. You may decline to answer any questions you wish, and you may cancel the interview at any time if you so desire. Also, I will use pseudonyms for you and your IRC channel so that you will be able to identify your own words but that nobody else will. I want to ensure your privacy and I do not want to exploit you. This is important to me.

Slowdive - Does this sound OK with you?

Jon43 - That doesn't ensure the privacy of us as a collective, but I'll agree to the questionnaire for now.

Slowdive - OK, lets talk a bit about your concerns...

To a certain extent, “anonymity” is arbitrary within IRC as users traditionally adopt aliases and constructed identities while online. For this research, an additional degree of caution was exercised as many IRC users have exhibited false perceptions regarding the totality of their anonymity while online. The same holds true concerning legal immunity. The majority of the members of #100%preteenpixxx reside in countries in which the distribution, publication and possession of child pornography are legally prohibited. Regardless many felt that they were unaccountable for their actions, as they perceived to pursue their interests in child pornography within an unregulated environment. Almost all failed to recognize that their actions were being committed in a physical space, even if they occurred in cyberspace. To compensate for this, I employ unique pseudonyms for the channel as well as for the existing aliases used by the informants. These issues are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

Chapter 3

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The advent of computer mediated communication during the past decade has stimulated numerous debates concerning “deviant” and “illegal” activity in cyberspace. Many of these debates have focused on the availability of pornography. A brief synopsis of some of these issues will be provided here to determine their impact on the technological dynamics of the Internet.¹⁷

Since William Gibson first coined the term *cyberspace* in 1981, the issue of the dissemination of offensive and illegal materials by way of electronic bulletin board systems, the Internet and Intranets has been considered an urgent social problem (Wiley, 1997). In Canada, as in many other Western countries, such debates have commonly addressed hate materials, cracking and pirating, cyber-terrorism, how-to sites on drug and bomb production, and criminal pornography (Levy, 1984; Collin 1996; Icove, Seger & VonStorch, 1995).

In October 1993, a 20-year-old Mississauga Ontario man, Joseph Pecciarich (a.k.a. Recent Zephyr), became the first person in Canada arrested on charges of producing and disseminating child pornography via a computer bulletin board (*R. v. Pecciarich*, 1995). Between 1996 and the time of this study, the media had reported on over a dozen Canadians arrested on child pornography related charges, the majority of cases occurring in Ontario (Appendix C). There have also been instances where the operators of adult BBSs have been charged for providing child pornography and obscene materials to their subscribers (*R. v. Hurtubise*, 1995; *R. v. Clark*, 1996).

The perceived increase in BBS and Internet related cases have led several Canadian enforcement agencies to establish some form of online investigative unit (Daniels, 1997; Young, 1997). Most notably, the Ontario Provincial Police's Project P currently devotes almost all of its resources to investigating online child pornography cases (Project P. 1997).

The Internet Pornography Debate: Regulation & Perceptions of Safety

The debates surrounding pornography have long and complex histories (Kipnis, 1996; Kaite, 1995; Stan, eds. 1995). It is not the intent of this thesis to rehash these debates or to determine whether or not pornography is "offensive" or "non-offensive", or if its production and use is "normal" or "abnormal". What is of interest here is a particular form of pornography that is in violation of Canadian law. However, it is imperative to acknowledge how recent advances in computer communication technology, which allow for the free exchange of information across vast geographical areas, have brought the pornography debate into a new light. Now, unlike ever before, anyone with the proper equipment and technical knowledge can produce and disseminate pornographic data to a global public. In some instances, this has lead to allegations that the availability of all forms of pornography is on the rise.

It has been argued that pornography is the single most popular constituent of the Internet (Capitanchik & Whine 1996:3). New Internet users often conduct searches for pornographic material not only because it is widely accessible, but also because they have heard so much about it (Wollocombe, 1996; Daniels, 1997). On the World Wide Web, a search engine query comprised of vulgar or sexually explicit terms will pull up countless adult Web sites. Imputing just three letters can make an even simpler search engine

query: S, E, and X. However, it is apparent that certain claims suggesting that pornographic materials dominate the Internet appear to be unfounded. Although widely available, most conservative estimates suggests pornography makes up 1% and 10% of the Internet's overall content. For example, Akdeniz (1997) illustrates that of the 14,000 Usenet newsgroups available worldwide, only 200 are sex related. Of the overall amount of sex related materials on the Internet, an even smaller percentage is material legally prohibited in most Western countries including Canada (Racicot et. al., 1997; Cavazos & Morin 1995; Chidley 1995).

Content Regulation

By April 1998, it was estimated that there were approximately 112.75 million Internet users worldwide. By September 1997, there were 8.9 million Internet users in Canada (NUA Internet Surveys. April 1998). Statistics Canada reported that, by 1997, 1.5 million households had access to the Internet, with the highest concentrations in British Columbia, Ontario and Alberta (Statistics Canada, 1997).¹⁸

The very fact that Internet usage is on the rise has generated concern that certain users (most notably children) are at high risk of being subjected to material that may be both offensive and illegal. Consequently, numerous projects and initiatives have been undertaken in North America, Europe, Japan, and Australia, to address the issue of Internet regulation, copyright and law.¹⁹ In Canada, the Information Highway Advisory Council (IHAC) was formed through Industry Canada to determine, among other things, whether amendments to the *Criminal Code* were required to address new information technologies. IHAC adopted several recommendations in its 1995 final report *Connection, Community, Content – The Challenge of the Information Highway*. Included

are the development of safety and education programs and universal ethical codes for service providers. The report also discusses the issues of service provider liability and jurisdictional problems in the control of illegal communication on global networks (Industry Canada, 1995). A more comprehensive legal analysis is presented in the 1997 report *The Cyberspace is not a "No Law Land": A study of the issues of liability for content circulating on the Internet* (Industry Canada, 1997).

In some instances, government regulation initiatives have sparked fierce debates with respect to free speech and censorship (Sopinka, 1997).²⁰ Arguably the most prominent of these debates was in the United States with the amendments to the Communications Decency Act (CDA) (Sobel, 1996). The amendments prohibited any use of "indecent" images, files, or speech on the Internet, with fines up to \$100,000 and/or a prison term not exceeding two years for offenders. At the time of its proposal, the amendment to the CDA came under fire at several levels. First, it was suggested that the CDA equated to government regulated censorship, and was a clear violation of the guaranteed right to free speech in the First Amendment. Second, it was argued that the bill was unnecessary, as much of the "indecent" content that it addressed was already illegal in the United States. Furthermore, several Internet service providers and software companies had already begun to offer 'lock out' software such as Cyber Patrol, Net Nanny, among others (Hermelin, 1996). Such software allowed users to filter what they viewed as objectionable content on the Internet, as well as monitor and limit on-line access. Lastly, many believe that the onus of regulating the Internet should be personal; determined by the ability of adults to make individual, educated choices concerning what

they care to see and download. In the case of children, the responsibility should rest with both parents and teachers (Sobel, 1996; Metz, 1996; Matzkin, 1996).

Despite these objections, the US Congress voted 414 to 16 in approval of the Telecommunications Bill, incorporating the amended Communications Decency Act (CDA), on February 1, 1996. These amended provisions prohibited both the knowing transmission of indecent messages and the knowing display of offensive materials to any recipient under the age of 18. The first provision allows for a fine or two-year imprisonment for the “indecent transmission” of:

Any comment, request, suggestion, proposal, image, or other communication which is obscene or indecent, knowing that the recipient of the communication is under 18 years of age, regardless of the whether the maker of such communication placed the call or initiated the communication... (47 U.S.C.A. §223(a)(Supp. 1997)).

The second provision allows for a fine or two-year jail term for the use of:

Any interactive computer service to display in a manner available to a person under 18 years of age, any comment, request, suggestion, proposal, image, or other communication that, in context, depicts or describes, in terms patently offensive as measured by contemporary community standards, sexual or excretory activities or organs, regardless of whether the user of such service placed the call or initiated the communication... (47 U.S.C.A. §223(d)(Supp. 1997)).

On June 26, 1997, the US Supreme Court struck down the amended Communications Decency Act on the grounds that it was unconstitutional. It was held that the above-noted “indecent transmission” and “patently offensive display” provisions infringed on the right to freedom of speech protected by the First Amendment. During the delivery of the opinion of the Court, Justice Stevens concluded:

We are persuaded that the CDA lacks the precision that the First Amendment requires when a statute regulates the content of speech. In order to deny minors access to potentially harmful speech, the CDA effectively suppresses a large amount of speech that adults have a constitutional right to receive and to address to one another. The burden on adult speech is unacceptable if less restrictive alternatives would be at least as effective in achieving the legitimate purpose that the statute was enacted to serve...

...We agree that the District Court's conclusion that the CDA places an unacceptably heavy burden on protected speech, and that the defenses do not constitute the sort of "narrow tailoring" that will save an otherwise patently invalid unconstitutional provision... The CDA, casting a far darker shadow over free speech, threatens to torch a large segment of the Internet community (*Reno, Attorney General of the United States, et al. v American Civil Liberties Union, et al.* section VII).

Individual service providers have also encountered difficulties regarding content regulation. In early January 1996, the Amsterdam ISP Xs4all was forced to shut off a subscriber's on-line access after the user uploaded hundreds of images depicting child pornography onto their network (*The Vancouver Sun*, January 2, 1996). One week previous, Ohio-based CompuServe was confronted by German State prosecutors investigating child pornography who declared that material available through 200 of its Usenet newsgroups violated German law.²¹ The ISP complied by restricting access to the newsgroups in question. At the time, CompuServe operated a centralized server network without a newsgroup filtering system. Consequently, the newsgroups were temporarily restricted to all CompuServe subscribers worldwide, not just in Germany. The general reaction to the temporary ban was negative. Many held that the values and laws of one country (in this case Germany) should not be forced upon the rest of the world; especially if the material was not illegal outside of that country (*Reuters*, April 16, 1997). An example is seen in a joint press release issued by the Global Internet Liberty Campaign (GILC) and Electronic Frontier Canada (EFC), which stated:

The charges against CompuServe will establish a harmful precedent, and may encourage other governments to censor speech, limit political debate, control artistic expression, and otherwise deny the opportunity for individuals to be fully informed (GILC & ELC, April 23, 1997).

The Canadian Internet service provider i-STAR Internet Inc. also met negative public reactions when it chose to restrict access to a series of “offensive” Usenet newsgroups hosted on their network in July 1996. During a previous investigation conducted for the Department of Justice Canada, I interviewed a member of i-STAR’s legal counsel who explained that this was done based on a “customer-driven complaint system” (Ferguson 1996b). If i-STAR begins to receive multiple complaints regarding a specific newsgroup, it becomes subject to an internal review. If the overall content of the newsgroup is deemed by consensus to be offensive or is clearly in violation of Canadian criminal law, it is then removed from their server. Conversely, action would not be taken against a newsgroup containing a small number of offensive and/or illegal postings that were not reflective of the overall content of the newsgroup (Hermelin, 1996).

This process appears to be similar among other Canadian ISPs. In October 1996, a group of Canadian service providers meeting under the name CAIP (Canadian Association of Internet Providers) issued a press release outlining a voluntary “code of conduct”. The code addressed a variety of issues concerning criminal and civil liability for content hosted on or carried across their services.²²

“Stranger Danger” and Technological Uncertainty

A second issue surrounding Internet child pornography is that of stranger victimization, in which on-line pedophiles and child molesters coerce children to meet in real life to sexually victimize them. Although the concept of “stranger danger” first

emerged during the 1950s, it remains a prevalent concern to this day (Johnston 1995; Finkelhor 1984; Lanning 1992a, 1992b). Media reports describing how a stranger can lure a child out of a mall or park remain commonplace. The same types of concerns have now become evident with Internet Relay Chat, CUSEE ME, Usenet newsgroups, and e-mail. This marks a shift from the discourse of "street-proofing" children to "Net-proofing" (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1997). While such reports have made many individuals aware of the very real concern of child sexual victimization, the media's approach could serve to generate more fear than accurate information regarding the safe and beneficial use of the Internet. For example, recent media titles have read:

- Exploiting Children: Images on the Internet (*The Windsor Star*, September 4, 1996)
- Pedophiles Lurking on the Net are 90's Challenge to Parents (*The Ottawa Citizen*, October 10 1996)
- Unplugging: There's a place where child pornography, bestiality and violent Sex are easy to find, where adults and children can watch anonymously. It's the Internet (*The Province*, October 13, 1996)
- Danger on the Internet (*20/20*, October 31, 1997)
- Cyber-Sex Cop (*Investigative Reports*, April 11, 1998)

Historically, the social construction of "stranger danger" has led to the development of commonly identifiable perpetrators. Classic North American stereotypes since the 1950s have included the dirty old man in the trench-coat, the stranger in the white van, and Satanic cults (Best, 1995; Richardson et al., 1991; Lanning, 1992a, 1992b). In today's version of stranger danger, it is the predator with the computer and modem trafficking in child pornography and preying on child victims. Because cyberspace connotes an environment that transcends time and space, the notion that

someone could use that environment to effortlessly victimize or infringe illegal material on another person, regardless of the physical distance between them, is quite common. Such cases of online stranger victimization can and have happened. My law enforcement contacts explained that there has been an increase in sexual predators travelling great distances for the purpose of victimizing or exploiting children whom they have observed online (Young, 1997; Daniels, 1997). Yet for many it is the technology, not the victimizer, that has become the identifiable evil; as Jeffrey Alexander puts it “the computer has become the Antichrist” (Alexander 1992: 313). This added component sets the Cyber predator apart from previous stranger danger scares as the inclusion of a powerful and sinister technological component “strengthens” the power of the offender.

One explanation for the fear of online stranger danger may simply be technological uncertainty; that is “how does the Internet work?” and “what can the Internet allow people to do?” Holding technology responsible for anti-social and criminal behavior is not a new phenomenon, and has been seen with the printing press, books, the telephone, motion pictures, and television. Because the Internet has only achieved widespread popularity during the past decade, many individuals are (naturally) not entirely familiar with its operational scope. This is most apparent with the common referral to the Internet as one static entity. As outlined in Chapter 5, the Internet is an umbrella for several converging communication technologies. In response to claims that these technologies are directly responsible for child pornography and child sexual victimization, I would have to disagree. However, it is my belief that these technologies do facilitate availability and accessibility in these areas. These conditions are outlined below.

Issues of Availability and Accessibility

The techno-cultural structure of the Internet allows information to be made available to its users based on the choices and decisions they make with respect to obtaining that information. For example, to locate information on the World Wide Web, human to machine interfaces such as search engines can be employed which allow for data retrieval based on user defined queries. Similarly, information can be shared between people through human to human interfaces such as Internet Relay Chat, Usenet, and e-mail. Legal pornography on the Internet is easily accessible if one knows where to look for it and makes the conscious decision to seek it out and obtain it. Conversely, the process of obtaining illegal pornography is considerably more difficult as it appears that the risk of exposing one's criminal conduct would exceed any perceived benefits procured by openly publishing the material (i.e. on a Web page).²³ Even historically, illegal pornography collectors have been discrete in their actions. Many have limited distribution among organized sets of individuals through mailing lists, vaguely worded advertisements in magazines, among other methods (Young, 1997; Moyer, 1992; Lanning, 1992; Kinsella, 1995).²⁴

Nonetheless, one cannot ignore the fact that the techno-cultural structure of the Internet has drastically facilitated the trading of illegal pornography. Whereas many of the traditional methods of child pornography trafficking are viewed as highly problematic, the use of e-mail or IRC allows for rapid, trans-national dissemination with a low risk of detection. Has this increased the possibility for offensive and illegal material being made available to unsuspecting users? There have been instances where sexually explicit images depicting teenagers have been posted in non-pornographic

Usenet newsgroups dedicated to teenage lifestyles (Wollocombe, 1996). Another example can be seen with the following unsolicited e-mail I received in October 1996:

Hi! I sent you this letter because your email address was on a list that fit this category. I am a fan of child pornography and for the past 4 years, I have been able to gather quite a collection of it. I have pictures, VHS tapes, posters, audio recordings, and games based on child pornography. I am now selling my products (or trading for other child pornography). I have a complete color catalog of all my products now available. You can purchase pictures, both normal kodak, and computer GIF or JPG's. You can purchase posters, the VHS tapes, and Audio recordings. If you send your picture, I can morph your face into one of the action shots to make it appear that you are the one having anal sex with a young boy. There are many preferences you can choose from. Hair color, weight, age, height. Age of the young boys range from 7 yrs to 17. Young girls, age 4 to 19. For \$2.99 we can send you a personalized audio cassette of a little boy moaning and groaning your name. There are many other products and services.

If you were not supposed to receive this letter, please delete it immediately. I send out these advertisements to this mailing list once a week. If you you want to get off this mailing list, please send a letter to my address below. Do not write to this email address because I will delete it after I mail these letters. The only way to get off this mailing list is to write to my address below.

Here are some prices:

Complete Color Catalog (160 pages) - \$5.00; 100 Pictures young boys age 7-12 - \$9.95; 120 Pictures young boys age 13-17 - \$11.95; VHS tape, young boys "Bath Time" - \$49.95; VHS tape, young boys "Happy B-day, Timmy" - \$49.95; VHS tape, young boys "Bobby and His Friends" - \$49.95; VHS tape, young boys "Kid Loves Candy" - \$39.95; VHS tape, "Mister's Sin (Tale of an Alter Boy)" - \$39.95; Personalized Audio tape - \$2.99; Personalized morphed action pic - \$14.95 (include your picture)

If you have any child pornography yourself, preferably young boys ages 7-9, I will trade or buy them from you. If they are action shots, of an adult with the young boy having sex, I am willing to trade big, or pay a lot. Please write to me for more details. Thanks.

The message, which originated from two America Online accounts in the United States, was received by thousands of unsuspecting Internet users across North America and Europe. However, following an investigation by the FBI, the advertisement was

deemed a hoax (*Vancouver Sun*, October 23, 1996). An occurrence such as this, involving a perceived case of deliberate circulation of illegal propaganda may simply be feeding off society's apprehension of the overall availability of such material in Cyberspace – a case of life imitating fiction. Therefore, the possibility exists for further cases involving individuals acting out what is presented to them via the media, government and non-government propaganda, and fictional representations of criminal pornography, thus perpetrating copycat crimes for which media fiction was the model.

Chapter 4

DEFINITIONS

Throughout the previous chapters, I employed several terms in order to provide a basic overview of the problematic issues surrounding the production, dissemination and collection of child pornography. These terms however are problematic and are subject to multiple, and sometimes conflicting, definitions.

Since 1995, I have been involved in both academic and professional research in the area of child sexual victimization (Ferguson, 1995a; 1995b; 1996b; 1997). I have argued that criminal justice and child-care professionals, the media, and the socio-legal literature use many common terms in this field interchangeably. While the terms are the same, the connotations are different. For instance, it is not uncommon to hear the term *child sexual victimization* used to imply *child sexual abuse*, or the term *pedophile* used to connote a *child molester*, and so on. In a like manner, there has been considerable debate surrounding the “appropriate” definition of *child pornography*; in particular its nature, scope and effects. Misconceptions in the terminology may also attribute to discrepancies in the purported frequency of certain incidents (Lanning, 1992a, 1992b).

The socio-legal, political, cultural and moral values and perspectives that account for these discrepancies are multi-fold, and an in-depth analysis into this area is clearly beyond the scope of this thesis.²⁵ However, it is imperative that the existence of such discrepancies be recognized and properly addressed in any critical analysis of child pornography and child sexual exploitation. The purpose of this chapter is to outline my definitions of specific terms as they relate to this investigation. It is not my intent to

suggest that these definitions are the best definitions, nor that they should be adapted as universal standards. What follows is simply my attempt to create a standard for this thesis.

Child Sexual Victimization

This thesis will employ the general term “child sexual victimization” to mean *any conceivable act defined by law as involving the assault or abuse of a minor in a sexual or sexually exploitative manner*.²⁶ Within this paper, the term will be subcategorized into (1) actors: child molesters, pedophiles, infantophiles, and child pornography rings; (2) artifact: child pornography; and (3) action: production, distribution and virtualization of child pornography.

Child Molesters, Pedophiles and Infantophiles

Discussions examining child pornography commonly refer to the involvement of child molesters, pedophiles, and/or infantophiles. I make some general distinctions for these terms here.²⁷

First, not all child molesters are pedophiles or infantophiles, and not all pedophiles and infantophiles are child molesters. Second, while the concept of adult / child sexuality is viewed as taboo in Canadian society, being a pedophile or an infantophile is not necessarily a criminal offense. This is largely because “pedophile” and “infantophile” are psychological terms and have no formal meaning in Canadian criminal law (DSM-IV, 1994). At present, one of the most commonly applied definitions of the terms pedophile / infantophile is found in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*:

...Recurrent, intense sexual urges and sexually arousing fantasies, of at least six month's duration, involving sexual activity with a prepubescent child. The person has acted on those urges, or is markedly distressed by them. The age of the child is usually 13 or younger. The age of the person is arbitrarily set at age 16 or older and at least 5 years older than the child (1994: s.302.20).

There is further evidence in the psychological literature that infantophiles tend to prefer victims under the age of 5 years, while pedophiles tend to prefer victims aged 6-12 years (Greenberg et al., 1995). However, from a criminal justice perspective, cases involving child pornography tend to address pedophiles as having preferences for all individuals under the age of 18 years (Daniels, 1997; Project P, 1997).

A fundamental difference between child molesters and pedophiles / infantophiles is that the latter harbour sexual or emotional attractions to minors. A *preference* to engage in sexual activity with a minor over an adult generally marks this attraction (Finkelhor, 1984: 48-51; Okami et. al., 1992; Horley et. al., 1997). This attraction to minors only becomes a criminal offense if an individual acts upon it. The reasons for a pedophile or an infantophile engaging in sexual relations with a minor can range from experimentation to having a strong emotional tie (such as love), which may or may not be reciprocated, with the minor.²⁸

Conversely, many child molesters do not wish for an emotional relationship with a minor. In such cases, the sexual activity serves as a mechanism to inflict psychological or physical harm on the minor. This marks the distinction between ego gratification through a perceived "positive" emotional relationship and ego gratification through an abusive relationship.

Child Pornography Rings

I define a traditional child pornography ring as *one or more individuals simultaneously involved in the production, collection or dissemination of child pornography*.²⁹ The motivations governing the ring may include trading, collecting, fueling sexual fantasies, behavioral validation, exchanging “tips” or “advice”, bragging about past, present or perceived future exploits, etc. Depending on their individual structure, child pornography rings may operate regionally or over vast geographical areas (nationally or trans-nationally). Internal communication may involve face-to-face meetings, use of the postal system or courier, and more recently CMC (Young, 1997; Daniels, 1997, Project P., 1997).

Being a member of child pornography ring does not necessarily mean that one is engaged in child sex. Although this does occur, the offender does not necessarily have to be sexually interacting with a child for victimization to occur. For example, an offender may choose to write fantasy stories depicting sex with a child known to him/her (*R. v. Ritchie*, 1997). An offender may also choose to splice normal photographic images of children (e.g. school photographs) with images from an adult pornographic magazine in order to create desired sexual scenarios (*R. v. Pecciarich*, 1995).

Furthermore, the mere act of reproducing or disseminating existing child pornography (even if the source of the material is unrelated to the ring) constitutes the sexual victimization of the child portrayed in the material. This is especially true with pornography disseminated across bulletin board systems and the Internet. While an image, video or audio file may “exist” digitally in cyberspace, each time the file is

downloaded to a computer the file is reproduced. The 1997 Ontario judgment *R. v. J.*

Ritchie illustrates this point. In his closing remarks, Justice Masse states:

...It is not right to say that the abuse of that child has stopped once that child has reached adulthood and is no longer attractive to paedophile and collectors of child pornography. Because every time somebody downloads an image or takes a photograph and distributes it or prints up other photographs from a negative, a permanent record has been made of that child's victimization is created and that adult continues therefore to be abused and victimized by the knowledge that out there in the world there may exist hundreds, perhaps even thousands of images of him or her when that child was very young and abused, and they carry that with them just to satisfy somebody's perverse sexual appetite.

Illegal Pornography

There is no legal definition for the term *pornography* in Canadian law. The *Criminal Code* addresses pornographic material in the context of "obscene" matter. Under subsections 163 (1a) and 163 (2a), it is an offense to produce any material "a dominant characteristic of which is undue exploitation of sex, or of sex and any one or more of the following subject matter, namely, crime, horror, cruelty and violence".

However, the general term "obscene" has been subject to debate. As suggested in the 1985 *Report of the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution*, not every possible pornographic scenario that one might consider "obscene", "offensive" or "disgusting" is illegal.³⁰ It is my belief that the legal application of such terms can be problematic due to vast cross-personal and cross-cultural perceptions regarding what is "obscene". For example, some might consider partially nude images as obscene and pornographic, although such imagery is commonplace in the Western fashion advertising industry.³¹ Similarly, overall public perceptions of pornography can and do differ

drastically between communities based on its overall availability (for example, adult video stores, peep shows, etc.) (Wollocombe, 1996).

Furthermore, what constitutes the “undue exploitation of sex”? Are periodicals such as *Playboy*, *Hustler*, *Penthouse*, among others, promoting images that are “obscene” or “undue”? Some have argued “yes”, claiming that they are exploitative, discriminating, or immoral (Dworkin, 1981; 1988). However, such publications are legal in Canada and are available to clients over the age of 18 years at most corner stores, magazine shops, and adult boutiques.

Pornographic materials become of interest to law enforcement and the criminal justice system when they are clear violations of the law. However, what constitutes a “clear violation of the law” is often in the eye of the beholder, and most attempts at establishing specifics often produce vague rules of thumb. In some instances, this interest may result from a perceived risk to the personal safety and well being of those depicted in the material. Other situations may result from established laws prohibiting the production, distribution and/or possession of such materials. In Canada, the *Criminal Code* provisions of importance to this study are the child pornography laws detailed below.

Child Pornography

Exactly what constitutes the definition of child pornography (or “kiddie porn”, as it is most commonly known) remains an area of considerable socio-cultural, legal, political and moral debate. Likewise, factors associated with the production, use and

scope of child pornography are equally complex (Tate 1991; Campagna & Poffenberger 1988; O'Brien 1983).

One common discrepancy exists between what constitutes child pornography and child erotica. Child erotica is as any material relating to children that serves a sexually or emotionally stimulating purpose for the beholder, but is not necessarily in violation of the law. Illegal child erotica may depict simulations of children engaged in sexual activity. Legal child erotica, on the other hand, may include drawings, school photographs, books, pictures from a catalogue, among others. The defining characteristic of legal child erotica is that it does not depict children being sexually victimized or exploited (Burgess, 1988; Tate, 1991). However, it does represent an antagonism between transmission intent and reception intent. For example, whereas a children's underwear advertisement in a store catalogue is transmitted to promote a product, it may be received and interpreted as sexually stimulating to a pedophile / infantophile.

Behaviorally, child pornography constitutes any sexually explicit image, video, text or audio of a minor. Legally, subsection 163.1 of the *Criminal Code* defines the term child pornography:

...a photographic, film, video or other visual representation, whether or not it was made by electronic or mechanical means that shows a person who is depicted as being under the age of eighteen years and is engaged in or is depicted as engaged in explicit sexual activity or the dominant characteristic of which is the depiction, for a sexual purpose, of a sexual organ or the anal region of a person under the age of eighteen years...

Taking this definition as a starting point, we can further subdivide it into three additional categories: (1) *Technical Child Pornography*, (2) *Simulated Child Pornography*, and (3) *Digitally Simulated Child Pornography*.

Technical Child Pornography

Not all child pornography necessarily depicts children or infants. Canadian law states that pornography depicting teenagers under the age of 18 is still child pornography.³² In many instances, the intent of pornography involving teenagers is to resemble adult pornography, and is solicited as such. Thus, such material is *technical child pornography* by legal definition. However, since such materials do not portray these teenagers in a way that clearly emphasizes their child-like characteristics, these types of materials are often of no interest to pedophiles, infantophiles or child molesters.

Simulated Child Pornography

Simulated child pornography depicts individuals 18 and over that are made to look young, or are “youthful” or underdeveloped in their physical appearance. Common examples include pornography depicting ‘infants’ (women dressed in children’s clothing, diapers or using soothers or baby bottles), ‘school girls’ (women dressed in private school uniforms or popular high school fashions) or ‘cheerleaders’ (women dressed in high-school cheerleader outfits). Although such material is not in violation of the law, the intent of the production or the nature of the depiction may appeal to child molesters, pedophiles and infantophiles.

Digitally Simulated Child Pornography

In a previous paper, I examined a series a World Wide Web site that solicited “bizarre and ultimate perversion” adult pornography (Ferguson 1996b). The site featured a series of digitized image files depicting an adult male lying face down on a concrete slab. Five nude humanoids with red skin and skull faces, horns extruding from the top of

their heads, and claws protruding from their hands and feet surrounded the individual. The five demonic figures appear to be preparing to sodomize the individual (Figure 1).³³

Figure 1. A digitally simulated pornographic image

In this instance, I could reasonably conclude that this was a digitally modified image intended to create a distinct desired pornographic scenario.³⁴ Such an image illustrates the potential for digitally compiled child pornography that does not involve human subjects. I am aware of two such cases where this was evident. Prior to his arrest in 1993, Joseph Pecciarich produced child pornography by digitally editing images of children to ‘remove’ their clothing, ‘add’ genitalia, and render them in sexually provocative scenarios (*R. v. Pecciarich*, 1995). In another case, a British schoolteacher had scanned pictures of his female students and spliced their faces onto pornographic images scanned from adult magazines (Daniels, 1997).

These cases illustrate that by using any number of popular graphics software packages one can easily splice or render an image of what appears to be a child engaged any form of sexual scenario. In such cases, it could be difficult to prove that the digitized image is indeed child pornography. Exemptions under section 163.1 of the *Criminal*

Code include “works with artistic merit or an educational, scientific or medical purpose. But the law puts the burden of proof on the accused.” An example of this involved the Canadian artist Eli Langer, who was acquitted in 1994 of charges related the production of child pornography (*Ontario (Attorney General) v. Langer*, 1995). Langer had displayed a series of 5 paintings and 35 drawings at the Mercer Union Gallery in Toronto depicting children and adults engaged in acts of sodomy, fellatio, and masturbation. However, the production of these works did not involve the use of human models, Langer was acquitted because his work held artistic merit and was not pornography.³⁵

Summary: Towards the Virtualization of the Child Pornography Ring

Examining a child pornography ring within the context of cyberspace compounds many of the socio-cultural, political, and legal factors discussed thus far in this thesis. Most importantly it is necessary to determine exactly *what* constitutes an Internet-based child pornography ring. Is a transient body of individuals trading child pornography in an Internet Relay Chat channel a child pornography ring? On the other hand, is the ring actually the dedicated IRC channel whose techno-cultural environment manipulates the trading of child pornography?

Second, where does an Internet-based child pornography ring exist? Does the ring come into being when its members meet in a virtual environment such as an IRC channel? Issues surrounding this virtualization also affect the “legality” of the materials being traded. If a sexually explicit image depicting a 17-year-old originates from Canada, what is its legal status if transmitted to a country where the age for child pornography is 16? Conversely, if a country’s legal age for child pornography is 18, does that render a 16-year-old downloading sexually explicit images of individuals

his/her age a pedophile? Is that same 16-year-old sexually victimizing those individuals despite the fact that they can legally consent to having sex? My examination of these questions begins in the following chapter.

Chapter 5

VIRTUALIZING THE CHILD PORNOGRAPHY RING

This thesis employs several theories and analytical models to understand the dynamics of #100%preteenpixxx. These address environmental domains in cyberspace, virtual communities and settlement patterns, as well as the nature and dynamics of criminal threats within these environments.³⁶

A fundamental characteristic of cyberspace research is the examination of how the technological and cultural characteristics of online communities manipulate human action (Escobar, 1994; Smith, 1992; Jones, 1997). However, much of this research has failed to examine two important characteristics. First, the full techno-cultural spectrum of these communities continues to receive little attention; in particular “contingent” communities.³⁷ Second, there have been few attempts to demonstrate the relationship of these communities within the context of broader social and technological systems. Although only applied to one example, this chapter will attempt to demonstrate this using the taxonomy employed during my investigation of #100%preteenpixxx. Where appropriate, this taxonomy draws on other non-cyberspace examples to show how similar forms of social organization and conduct arise.

Analytical taxonomies of cultural domains (or “types”) have a long history in anthropology.³⁸ Each of these domains is comprised of core patterns of information, conduct, artifacts, and technologies. In many instances, additional patterns may be present. These patterns often influence the ways in which individuals are able to function within their culture and environment.

Environmental Domains in Cyberspace

Multiple arenas of social interaction exist within cyberspace. This interaction involves the construction of networks of relationships; information and data exchanged through computer mediated communication. At present, these networks are limited to the technological capabilities of the Internet, corporate Intranets and autonomous bulletin board systems. Assessing the nature of the actors (human or electronic) and the time delay of their actions (synchronous or asynchronous) classify each arena. This presents four possible environmental domains:

1. *Human-to-human synchronous* enable two or more individuals to communicate in real-time.
2. *Human-to-human asynchronous* permit two or more individuals to communicate while deferring the timing of their communication.
3. *Human / electronic synchronous* allow for real-time interaction with an electronic constituent of the Internet.
4. *Human / electronic asynchronous* enable an individual to interact with an electronic constituent of the Internet, however the timing of the interaction is deferred.

Figure 2 presents these domains as a matrix and provides examples of different interfaces in each cell (Tyrrell & Ferguson, 1998).

Action by Interface		
Actors	Synchronous Interfaces	Asynchronous Interfaces
Human/Human	Internet Relay Chat Web conferencing Video conferencing	E-mail Newsgroups List-Serves
Human/Electronic	WWW pages FTP sites Fservices Search Engines Applets Bots and agents	Applets Bots and agents Notification systems Automated lists Automated searches

Figure 2. Environmental Domains in Cyberspace

Virtual Settlements and Virtual Communities

The term “virtual community” has become synonymous with all forms of group CMC. Rheingold (1993:5) offers one of the founding definitions of “virtual community” in his book *The Virtual Community: Homesteading on the Electronic Frontier*:

Virtual communities are social aggregations that emerge from the Net when enough people carry on (those) public discussions long enough, with sufficient human feeling, to form webs of personal relationships in cyberspace.

Smith (1994) expands this definition by arguing that virtual communities are “intentional” based around common topics of interest and the production of collective goods. He describes the intentionality of these communities as allowing:

...people of like interests to come together with little cost, help them exchange ideas and coordinate their activities, and provide the kind of identification and membership found in face-to-face interaction (Smith 1994: 5).

One point of agreement in this debate is that our current socially constructed ways of perceiving what constitutes a community is inadequate for this new environment. Most research on communities assumes that the community is alike both culturally and geographically. This is clearly not the situation in Cyberspace where “geography” is socially constructed. As noted by Jones (1997), “the difficulties associated with the term virtual community demonstrates the need to distinguish between a virtual community's cyber-place and the virtual community itself”. This failure to recognize and account for the socially constructed nature of Cyberspace geography has led to a similar failure to recognize the larger social structuring of virtual communities. Given this problem, it only makes sense to examine both the social construction of virtual communities and the environments in which they operate. This insight led Jones to argue that we should examine both virtual “communities” (the web of social interaction) and virtual “settlements” (the “physical” constructs of environmental domains).

Like their real-world counterparts, the application of basic archaeological principles can facilitate the investigation of online communities and settlements. Settlement systems are the “physical” constructs used by members of a community. Real-world examples include temples, markets, and subdivisions. Examples for cyberspace include Web sites, IRC channels, e-mail lists, and newsgroups. Communities consist of the individuals and the social relations within the settlement system (Rathje & Schiffer, 1980: 46). These conditions form the basis of a model for mapping virtual communities and settlements.³⁹

Virtual Communities

The vast majority of virtual communities are “intentional communities”. By this, I mean that this bases community membership upon the desire or intention of an individual to join the community⁴⁰. Given the intentional nature of these communities, community entrance and subsequent status maintenance depend heavily upon opportunity (Smith, 1994; Tyrrell 1996; Ferguson & Tyrrell, 1997; Tyrrell & Ferguson, 1998).

The intentionality of involvement in a virtual community is variable. Such variables include common topics of interest or “collective goods”. They may also include contingent needs, and “opportunities” or role obligations. This leads to the identification of three types of community: *general communities*, *communities of practice*, and *communities of enterprise*.

General communities are broadly inclusive and structure their membership requirements around a series of clearly defined “proximity factors”. For example, geographic borders are proximity factors that typically define real-world communities. Online communities, by contrast, are bound by proximity factors such as access (e.g. owning a computer with a modem, having an account with an Internet service provider), technical expertise, and time and financial investment.

Communities of practice are extensions of general communities. Specific interest components, and in certain cases particular membership requirements, define their operational structure. An example of this would be professional groups (e.g. American Medical Association, LEAnalyst, etc.).

Membership requirements are most notable in *communities of enterprise*. Communities of enterprise limit membership to corporately sponsored groups that are

engaged in a common enterprise. In particular, these communities relate to the production, development, distribution and or provision of a particular product or service. Examples range anywhere from major corporate and governmental sites to individual work groups. The fundamental differences between a community of enterprise and a community of practice are (a) a question of who benefits from membership (the individual or the corporate group), and (b) the level of membership obligation.⁴¹

Virtual Settlements

Jones (1997) offers a preliminary set of conditions to distinguish communities from settlements in cyberspace. These are “(1) a minimum level of interactivity; (2) a variety of communicators; (3) a minimum level of sustained membership; and (4) a virtual common-public-space where a significant portion of interactive group-CMCs occur”. Using Jones’ model as a starting point, Tyrrell and Ferguson (1998) propose the following taxonomy to map virtual settlements. The taxonomy measures both settlement complexity (the degree to which multiple technologies are integrated) and connectivity (the degree to which multiple settlements are connected). I will demonstrate this taxonomy using #100%preteenpixxx as the model (Figure 3).

VSAE	VSAA	V-Set	VN	V-Site
IRC	IRC Servers			
	EFNET	19 channels devoted to child sex and/or child pornography		
		Educational channels (2)		
		Cyber-sex channels (4)		
		Trading channels (13)	4 channels run by child pornography ring	
			#preteensexpics	
			#100%preteengirlsexpics	
			#100%preteensexpics	
			#100%preteenpixxx	Target channel
				#100%preteenpixxx

Figure 3. Settlement Taxonomy

The first level is the *Virtual Settlement Assemblage Environment* (VSAE). The VSAE is the technological environment where a collection of artifacts and actions exist. The VSAE is a subset of the Internet environmental domain (see Figure 2). Examples include Internet Relay Chat, the World Wide Web, Usenet, among others.

The *Virtual Settlement Assemblage Area* (VSAA) is a sub-environment operating within the VSAE. Individual IRC servers constitute a VSAA. The object of this investigation, #100%preteenpixxx, is located on the Public EFNET (Eris Free Net) server. EFNET is presently one of the largest IRC servers accessible via the Internet. At the time of this study, a constant average of 15,000 users worldwide were accessing its 13,000 plus channels.

The third level is the *Virtual Settlement* (V-Set). The V-Set consists of individual sites bound by common topics of interest or collective goods. There are nineteen channels available on EFNET of which the fundamental characteristics are child-sex and child pornography.

Each channel in the V-Set is a separate content-oriented site. Two of the sites, *#100%boysex* and *#100%gayboysex*, promote themselves as issue-oriented or “educational”. Both channels are pedophile support communities populated by, among others, members of the boy-love subculture. Four additional sites concern themselves with fantasy role-playing and cyber-sex, and are primarily discussion oriented. The channels *#dad&daughtersex*, *#mom&sonsex*, *#littlegirlsex* and *#highschoolsex* focus on specific age ranges, inter-generational and inter-familial sex.⁴²

Although public solicitation of child pornography in these channels is rare, some members do exchange child pornography during private communication. In such cases, pornography trading serves as a “networking” tactic or as a show of “good faith”, and is subsidiary to the fantasy discussion.⁴³ Conversely, the remaining 13 sites, including *#100%preteenpixmap*, are non-discussion oriented and attempt to devote themselves entirely to child pornography trading.⁴⁴

A *Virtual Neighbourhood* (VN) is a cluster of sites maintained or “owned” by a defined social unit or strongly interconnected along an identifiable dimension. Four of the channels within the target V-SET – *#100%preteenpixmap*, *#100%preteensexpics*, *#100%preteengirlsexpics*, and *#preteensexpics* – are maintained by a single child pornography ring. The target channel, *#100%preteenpixmap*, constitutes a *Virtual Site* (V-Site). A V-Site is a single virtual space made up of individuals who regularly attend and

participate in common events. Each V-Site consists of one or more social units tasked with performing different functions.

#100%preteenpixxx: A Virtual Child Pornography Ring

I return to my earlier definition of a child pornography ring from Chapter 4: “one or more offenders simultaneously involved in the production, collection or dissemination of child pornography”. This definition applies to #100%preteenpixxx and its affiliated channels in the VN. Assessing the dynamics of the ring involves positioning its members within two separate task-groups, *contingency rings* and *product rings*.

A *contingency ring* constitutes a group of individuals whose collective maintenance of an operation result in the creation of an opportunity site.⁴⁵ Within #100%preteenpixxx, this ring is comprised of up to 15 channel operators who mediate the public solicitation of child pornography. The same ring also maintains the three other channels within the VN.⁴⁶ Although these individuals have each identified a demand for a desired commodity, their meeting as heads of the operation is incidental. Members of the contingency ring may or may not have any previous contact with one another, either on or off-line. Furthermore, their alliance perpetuates as long as there is a perceived need for their services, or until the advent of some other circumstance such as boredom or new opportunity.

The suppliers of materials within the VN constitute the “product ring”. This task group is responsible for ensuring the availability of the material, as well as its dissemination and regeneration within the VN. The product ring carries out this out

under the rules established by the contingency ring (for more on this see Chapters 6 and 7).

Social Interaction in Internet Relay Chat

IRC is a text based communication interface limited to the 256 characters of the ASCII character set. Unlike face to face interaction, textual interaction in IRC is controlled equally by the communication event and the media in which the event takes place (Goffman, 1959). Consequently, the ways in which one experiences an IRC channel is limited to the style and content of the textual communication. The presentation of textual information serves to construct “representations” or “identities” without having to rely on graphical or audio cues present in other form of Internet media (e.g. Web pages). These representations become the personification of the “actor” in many situations. In part, this reflects the user’s technical ability to manipulate or conceal their “true” (i.e. day-to-day, “real”) self in order to perpetuate new online identities (McCorduck, 1996).⁴⁷ This identity construction occurs at two levels, which I have labeled *presentation identity* and *operational identity*.

Presentation identity in IRC involves presenting “oneself” in relation to both the themes of the channel and other users. This is probably the most significant factor in producing an online image. A user’s choice of which channels he/she connects to can be indicative of their personal interests. Likewise, a user’s conduct while participating in a channel can be indicative of their knowledge and skills as pertaining to that environment. Since the social and content structure of IRC channels are not static, the ability to conduct oneself “appropriately” can be indicative of the current investment of the user in their

online image. This includes having an “legitimate” profile, exhibiting “acceptable” behavior, among others.

Presentation identity also involves the adoption of an alias. Aliases serve multiple functions. First, it creates a “physical” presence for the user by allowing other users to “see” them in the channel. Second, it serves as a personal identifier by becoming one’s online “name”. Lastly, it functions as a communication identifier by preceding each message posted to the channel or sent between two individuals.

Aliases reflect specific information that the individual wishes to convey about their online identity. This may involve the inclusion of physical or social attributions such as age, sex, physical appearance, marital status, sexual orientation, and financial status, among others (e.g. *Dave34*, *Sexy Sarah*, etc.). Often the ability to create false identities manipulates these attributions. For example:

Slowdive - are you male or female?

John-34 - male

Slowdive - how old are you?

John-34 - 17.

John-34 - my nick ends in 34 ($17 \times 2 = 34$) that way people think I’m older. He he.

Operational identity is dependent upon technical ability and active participation. Technical ability is indicative of one’s ability to manipulate the technological environment of IRC beyond a basic operational knowledge of commands and software. Foremost is textual manipulation. Often times, the “humanization” of online identities reflects one’s ability to communicate while applying textually simulated emotional responses and visual cues. Byrne (1994), McCorduck (1996), Smith (1994), Sanderson,

(1993) and others have demonstrated three ways in which this is done. The first involves the use of iconographic images (e.g. emoticons, smileys) to convey emotions and facial expressions. Basic emoticons include standardized icons for a smile “:-)”, a wink “;-)”, a frown “:-(”, and anger “>:”.

The second involves the use of action commands. A common example of this is *LOL* to indicate laughing-out-loud. The third is the application of textual markers. One method is through a deliberate change in spelling (e.g. “kewl” instead of cool), or the use of underlining, bold, italics, and colour shifts to accentuate specific parts of the text or create pseudo-graphics.⁴⁸

One’s degree of technical expertise also affects presentation of self. This is achieved through the use and arrangement of technical knowledge (e.g. software and environmental expertise) and material goods (e.g. images, sound and video clips). Technical knowledge may “belong” to the user, or may have been created, purchased or “scavenged” in the form of pre-made software, published materials, or through the assistance of other users or specialists.

A technological consideration specific to IRC is a specialized programming language known as remote scripting. Remote scripting allows users to create bots and agents that react to IRC Server events, such as when a user joins a channel:⁴⁹

Free - Welcome to #100%%preteenpixxx, If you want...
 free hardcore Sex check out *http://URL omitted/* l/p
 = fuckme

Depending on the circumstance, bots and agents function as assistants to their creator, or substitute their online presence entirely. Programming the bot to “recognize”

specific events or commands permits the automation of specific actions. Common examples that I observed included automating private messages and file transfers, restricting access to the channel, and ensuring continuous solicitation of a trade site in the channel.

Deterring incoming communication from other channel users is another common application for bots. These bots appear to act “human” by exhibiting “personalities” and “emotions”. One example involved a bot that “explained” that it was not a person, stating “hey slowdive don’t talk to me silly I’m just a bot”. Several suppliers have tried to incorporate personalities into their bots to make solicitations appear more desirable. On two occasions, I encountered “seductive” “female” bots:

Jenny17 - hi SLOW-DIVE, I really missed you. Why don’t
you cum check me out at [http://URL omitted](#)

Telsa19 - HEY! slowdive, CUM IN HERE TO SEE SOME
OF MY PERSONAL NUDE PICTURES: [http://
URL omitted](#)

Do Crimes occur in #100%preteenpixxx? A Community Threat Assessment Model

As discussed in Chapter 3, there have been numerous debates surrounding “threats” on the Internet. Much of this debate surrounds the physical and perceptual occurrence of crime facilitated by CMC, as well as potential perpetrators and victims. This ethnographic investigation mirrors some of these concerns, in particular those involving the production and dissemination of an “illegal” commodity. However, how does one establish the existence, nature and dynamics of a criminal threat in a CMC environment?

Identifying a “threat” goes beyond determining who the perpetrator of the threat is as well as who is being threatened. One must consider several other questions. What circumstances have led up to the identification of the threat and the targeting of a perpetrator? Does the suspect recognize that their ideologies and actions constitute a threat? Does the cultural system of the suspect prescribe, permit, or proscribe their actions? Is the suspect looking to circumvent established laws in order to carry out their actions? What are the repercussions of their actions?

The following threat-analysis model considers these questions in order to assess suspected of criminal activity within online communities.⁵⁰ The model employs a set of analytical matrices to classify community action and identify action rationalization.

Stage One: Classification of Action

The first stage in establishing the nature of a threat is determining the relationship between community actions and community cultural systems. The classification of action requires an assessment of two sets of criteria. First, determine whether the community cultural system prescribes, permits or proscribes the action. Second, determine whether the laws of the environment where community members are physically resident prohibit the action. Contrast these findings against the perceptions of the dominant culture to establish a threat (Figure 4).

		Cultural Perception of Act		
		Prescribed	Permitted	Proscribed
Act is Prohibited by Law	Yes			
	No			

Figure 4. Classification of Action

This matrix presents six possible scenarios. The first involves *culturally prescribed acts permitted by law*. This includes any action or event that serves to fulfill a requirement of a social, cultural or spiritual system and is permissible in the location where it occurs. A common example involves any mandatory recitation during a social, religious, or cultural ritual, ceremony or event. This occurs in both off-line and online systems.⁵¹

The second scenario involves *culturally prescribed acts prohibited by law*. This occurs in cases where a social, cultural or spiritual event conflicts with the laws of the area in which the event occurs. Acts of terrorism carried out in the name of a cultural belief system fall into this category. Another example involves rites of passage rituals involving “female genital mutilation” common in several African, Middle-Eastern, and

Asian cultures. Often times, such rituals mark a social transition from one individual and/or community status level to another in order to obtain communal recognition (Ferguson 1995(b): 11). Although such acts are often socially and legally acceptable in their cultures of origin, most Western countries view female genital mutilation as an assault, and prohibit the act by law. IRC channels such as #100%preteenpixxx demonstrate an example of communities that culturally prescribe acts prohibited by law. Although channel users are encouraged to disseminate child pornography, most countries where these users reside legally prohibit such materials.

Most common day-to-day activities such as talking on the telephone or sending e-mail to an acquaintance constitute *culturally permitted lawful acts*. By contrast, *culturally permitted illegal acts* occur when day-to-day activities violate the law where they occur. An example of this is the duplication of videos, audiocassettes and CDs. Although this is technically a violation of copyright laws, the manufacture of audio-video equipment to facilitate reproduction suggests cultural acceptance of this act. Similar activities occur on the Internet with the unauthorized reproduction and distribution of literary materials, as well as pirated audio and video files.

The fifth category involves *culturally proscribed acts permitted by law*. Certain cultures or religions (e.g. Mormons, Muslims, etc.) that do not allow for the consumption of alcohol, even after the age of majority, is an example of this. An online example involves public discussion in a moderated IRC channel.

The final category concerns *culturally proscribed acts prohibited by law*. An example of this involves the solicitation of child prostitution services, either online or in the real world.

Stage Two: Rationalization for Action

The second stage in the model involves the types of defense or rationalization the community establishes for the action. By establishing the legality of the act in Stage 1, we can determine whether the justification for the act is greater than, or equal to, the community's perception of the law. Again, this operates on the principle that community members are legally accountable for their actions in their physical place of residence, regardless if the community "exists" in Cyberspace. This allows for the identification of several classifications for how the community rationalizes committing the act (Figure 5).

		Rationalization in Relation to Perception of the Law		
		Greater	Equal	Less
Act is Prohibited by Law	Yes			
	No			

Figure 5. Rationalization for Action

1. The community believes its actions are justified and that the laws prohibiting their actions are "unjust". A common example of this is the current debate surrounding the use of marijuana.
2. Community members commit the act, unaware that laws exist prohibiting the act.

3. The community uses cultural justification to commit the act, and/or to distract attention away from the act.
4. Community members commit the act with no adherence to the laws that prohibit the act.
5. The community provides unsubstantiated and legally unjustifiable explanations for committing the act.

Applying the Model

The following applies the above model to the data collected during my investigation of #100%preteenp1xxx (Figure 6).

Community Action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Child pornography collection and dissemination.
Classification for Action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Culturally prescribed act prohibited by law.
Rationalization for Action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community members collect and disseminate child pornography with no adherence to the law.

Figure 6. Action Assessment for #100%preteenp1xxx Community

Threat Assessment

Conceptually, #100%preteenp1xxx is not in violation of the law. It is legal to establish an IRC channel that incorporates the concept of “child pornography” in its title. Moreover, it is legal to discuss child pornography-related issues. A violation of the law only occurs with the active dissemination of child pornography within the channel. Therefore, the prescription of this action within the #100%preteenp1xxx community that constitutes a criminal threat.

The presumed threat from sexual predators is not as pronounced as with other sites in the V-Set. Although several personal encounters with sexual predators did occur in #100%preteenp1xxx, direct predatory action towards minors is not a community custom. In short, the #100%preteenp1xxx community does not prescribe child sexual victimization as a condition of membership. Based on my observations, evaluating which members are, or could become, sexual victimizers requires case-by-case analysis. Consequently, adults seeking cyber-sex or real life sexual encounters with minors tend to restrict their involvement to discussion-oriented channels. I provide discussion of these encounters in Chapter 6.

The limited existence of legal jurisdictions in cyberspace has created the perception among many community members that they are immune from legal persecution while online. Some view this as legal immunity through anonymity. Others feel that they can use the channel (and other Internet technologies) to evade “real-world” child pornography laws. This constitutes a threat to established legal definitions through selective ignorance. Many community members believe that they can use Internet technology to obtain materials from countries with lesser or no established child pornography laws.

The limited existence of legal jurisdictions in cyberspace has also created confusion regarding access and possession of child pornography. This is especially true of acts or materials not prohibited at their point of origin. Although the performance of the act “occurs” in cyberspace, the consequence of the action occurs in physical reality. For example, child pornography disseminated in an IRC channel are patterns of information that become materialized once an individual makes the conscious decision to

download it (Davis & Hutchinson, 1997; Icové et al, 1995; Cavazos & Morin, 1995).⁵² Child pornography suppliers recognize and exploit this fact. Many operate on the perception that they are merely disseminating binary data that someone else will acquire and convert into an illegal commodity. This perception, in turn, perpetuates the dissemination process. As illustrated in this quote from “Midnight”:

“No, the only thing I have is binary code which when arranged in certain ways can resemble things like bestiality and kiddie porn. Hey, don’t take it up with me, talk to the US Supreme Court”.

Illegal material stored on a hard-drive, an auxiliary drive (e.g., 3 ½ floppy disk, cartridge tape, zip disk, CD-ROM, among others), or in printed form, constitutes possession. Even in situations where an individual is viewing but not manually downloading the material, they may still in possession of that material as it becomes stored in the computer’s cache.⁵³ Therefore, *any* data that is accessed on-line remains stored in the cache for an indeterminate period, even after the termination of the online session.

Summary

The exploratory nature of this investigation resulted in the collection of a vast amount of information that surpassed the use for any one paper. The task of analyzing and making sense of this information was formidable in both time and labor.⁵⁴ The application of social interaction, settlement pattern, and threat assessment models facilitated meeting the objectives of this investigation.

The conceptual split between “settlement” and “community” helps us to answer several important problems in studying cyberspace. Like their real-world correlates,

virtual settlement systems are the “physical” constructs used by members of a community. Virtual communities consist of the individuals and the webs of social relations that occur within the settlement system.

There are numerous challenges facing anthropologists conducting investigative ethnography within virtual communities. I have already discussed some of the methodological problems in Chapter 2. In this chapter, I have concentrated on the theoretical problems in studying communities in cyberspace. Studying communities considered “threatening” because of their “deviant”, “criminal” or “militant” character exacerbates these problems.

I have already highlighted several of these problems. Individuals can operate within, or shift between, multiple virtual sites with relative ease. Consequently, users often alter their online identities when operating within different communities. In some cases, such manipulations are radical. This poses challenges to the investigator when attempting to determine a) the intent of a user, b) who an individual user is in contact with, and c) if one’s real-world persona reflects that of their online identities.

The availability of “free” resources within the human/electronic component of cyberspace (i.e. WWW, ftp and fserve, etc.) manipulates the actions of target virtual communities. Both Netscape Communications and Microsoft offer their web browsers at no cost. Other web-based organizations including shareware.com, ZD-Net, and download.com, among others, offer extensive libraries of internet-related shareware and freeware. This allows an individual to establish interfaces into online communities with little time or resources invested.

Finally, access to the resources available within a virtual community is frequently dependent upon status within the group, which in turn is dependent upon reciprocity (Smith, 1994; Tyrrell & Ferguson, 1998, Webb, 1996).⁵⁵ The use of entrepreneurial rhetoric serves to mask the use of these environments as status generators. A more detailed discussion of this follows in the ensuing chapters.

Chapter 6

THE CHANNEL

In January 1998, CTV's CanadaAM aired an interview with Michael Mehta, the primary author of a recently published Canadian Internet pornography study. Much of the interview focused on the "dramatic increase" of child pornography sites on the Internet, with particular reference to the World Wide Web. However, much of this interview contradicted the statements of the enforcement officers I had interviewed during my background investigation.⁵⁶ Sergeant Keith Daniels of the Ottawa Carleton Regional Police had been aware of only one web site that displayed child pornography. Marilyn Young at Revenue Canada's Intelligence Service was not aware of any. My contacts at Project P had only investigated two in recent years; both were web interfaces to file transfer protocol sites. What then was accounting for this discrepancy?

There is a tendency in the media to refer to child pornography "sites" on the Internet without distinguishing between different mediums. For example, there are several notable differences between Internet Relay Chat pornography trading channels and pornography download sites on the World Wide Web. First, there are higher concentrations of illegal pornography in IRC channels and Usenet newsgroups than on the Web. While there are numerous adult Web sites offering simulated "teen" pornography, overt sexual depictions of preteens or infants are rare (Daniels 1997, Project P, 1997). Web sites incorporating titles such as *Daddy's Little Girl* and *Teen XXX Porn: The Ultimate in Teen Sex Fantasies* do suggest sexual scenarios involving

minors, however, the individuals depicted on these sites are generally above the age of majority.⁵⁷

Second. IRC pornography channels such as #100%preteenp1xxx are not commercial operations. Unlike most pornography download sites on the World Wide Web, members of the channel are not required to pay a user registration fee, input a credit card number or dial a 1-900 number for age verification purposes. At no time during my investigation did anyone in #100%preteenp1xxx solicit files for economic gain.

Third, the technological differences between IRC channels and Web sites drastically affect the ways in which both mediums are experienced. Web sites frequently combine features not available in IRC such as multimedia (e.g. images, video feeds), hyperlinks (e.g. URLs, e-mail, download) and other enhanced features (e.g. Java, VRML, ActiveX). As detailed in Chapter 5, IRC channels compensate for these features by employing substitute visual cues including bold, italicized and colored text, and pseudographics. Whereas adult pornography Web sites make extensive use of multimedia features for promotional purposes (e.g. sample images, banner ads, cross-listings), #100%preteenp1xxx relies almost entirely on the suggestive nature of its name to attract new users. Not once did I observe the channel name cross-listed in any of the other trading channels.⁵⁸ Similarly, although the solicitation of pornographic Web sites was common in the channel, there was never any indication of return solicitation. Furthermore, while most of these sites incorporated sample images, videos or sounds to incite users, current IRC technology is incapable of such representations. Mandatory interaction with other users or interfaces in the channel is required to download and view the pornography.

The Channel Name: #100%preteenpixxx

The name of the channel presents an initial indicator to the nature of the materials available within. The title bar serves to assure that all users, including those accessing #100%preteenpixxx for the first time, would have at least a general idea of the nature of the channel. Like most other pornography trading channels on EFNET, the structure of the name circumscribes the contents of the channel (Figure 7).⁵⁹

Figure 7. The title bar

The choice and arrangement of terms in the name directs the user towards the fulfillment of a particular sexual fantasy. The key word in the title is “preteen”. This term, accompanied by the symbol “+tn” (an indicator for “teenager”), implies specific age ranges portrayed in the pornography. Immediately, the user becomes aware that the focus of the channel is not adult sexuality, but rather infant, child and adolescent sexuality. The term “preteen” is employed in the channel to signify all individuals under the age of 13 years (Santrok, 1993)⁶⁰. Although more commonly identifiable terms, “child pornography” and “kiddie porn” are never incorporated into the title or channel dialogue. While none of my informants could provide a definitive explanation for this distinction, many felt that “kiddie porn” and “child porn” are defamatory terms that make

them look “perverted” or “sick”. One such incident involved “Chrism”, an 18-year-old collector from Calgary, and a regular in the channel. When questioned about what he felt was the distinction between “kiddie porn” and “preteen porn”, he replied:

Chrism - well kiddie porn is disgusting, however I will admit that there are a lot of people that enjoy looking at preteen 13-16 including myself I like the preteen sex and the poses

The use of the term “pixxx” (a modification of the abbreviation “pics”) serves a dual purpose. First, it establishes the principal material commodity available in the channel – image files. The identification of a “material” commodity in the name sets #100%preteenpixxx apart from other preteen channels that emphasize a “dialogical” commodity (e.g. cyber-sex, fantasy chat, etc.). The term also implies images of a precise sexual nature. The modification of the term to include “xxx” implies the explicitness of the material as “graphic”, “hard-core” and “dirty”.⁶¹ Precluding the entire title with “100%” symbolically promotes the exclusiveness of both the content and the activities of the channel.

Inside #100%preteenpixxx

The #100%preteenpixxx channel is composed of three distinct technological settings: the channel window, the private query window, and the DCC window. Although this thesis addresses the channel as one bounded environment, it is important to consider each of these settings individually. Each environment in isolation determines the nature of communication between users, as well as the methodology of trading and the limits to available privacy.

The degree of privacy provided in each of these technological environments affects the methods in which one solicits and trades. I begin my discussion of the public and private domains of #100%preteenp1xxx below with an examination of the public conference window.

The Channel Window

Access to #100%preteenp1xxx requires performing a *join channel* command. Upon inputting “/join #100%preteenp1xxx” in the status window or using the “join channel” button, one logs into the main channel window.

The channel window is the initial environment encountered upon logging into #100%preteenp1xxx, and serves as its communal domain. As illustrated in Figure 8, it occupies three quarters of the left side of the mIRC screen and displays each new posting in sequence, preceded by the user’s alias. The text bar located across the bottom of the conference window serves as the interface to type messages for public display or private discussion.

Figure 8. Main mIRC screen

Postings to the channel window are viewable by all members of #100%preteenpixxx. However, there are several unique conditions imposed on how the channel window may be used. The first time I logged into #100%preteenpixxx, an automated welcome message appeared in the channel window that read:

WELCOME --= NO ONJOINS, CHAT, MASS MSG OR ANY OF THAT SHIT ==--

The purpose of such a message is to familiarize the users with community rules. First, the #100%preteenpixxx operators do not approve of continued use, or "onjoins".

Prohibiting onjoins means that users can not remain in the channel for extended periods, thus forcing them to be transient. Second, whereas it is customary to speak publicly in most IRC channels, #100%preteenp1xxx operators reserve the channel window exclusively for the solicitation of file servers, FTP sites and Web pages. For example:

Buzz - Welcome, you may enter my file server by typing:
!buzz Ratio: 1:3

Wizard - [v2.2a] Fserve Trigger: !wizard Ratio: 1:3 Start
Credit: 4000 Offering: UNLIMITED TEENS: Sex,
Oral, Lez, Tits, Pose, Group, AND MUCH MORE [
3 of 7 slots in use]

Dope-Hat - FTP is up at dope-hat.dynip.com or
207.252.3.78 l/p sex/sex ratio 1:4...I'm not at home
and finish your upload

Drunk - !wizard

Ayah - [v2.01] Fserve Trigger: !Ayah 1,0 Ratio: 1:3 Start
Credit: 35000 Offering: Preteens, Young Asians,
Movies, Stories and a whole lot more!!! GET
LEECH FOR GOOD PRETEEN MOVIES! [4 of 5
spots in use]

When questioned, my key-informants claimed that the onjoin rule was never enforced, and that some people hung around the channel for hours or days on end. My own observations substantiated this, and my extended presence was never a problem. However, my informants did offer two explanations for the restriction of public discussion. Foremost, it allows the channel window to function exclusively as a central advertising point. It also serves to avert law enforcement agents and anti-child pornography groups from viewing open requests for child pornography or other publicly divulged "criminal" activities. Although I understood the intent of this latter "rule", in many respects it was paradoxical. Granted, individual requests for child pornography in

the channel window were limited, however fserve and FTP solicitations were commonplace. Moreover, because requests for fserve access occur through the channel window, one could easily monitor which members were actively using them.

Despite this paradox, I observed the “no chat” rule enforced on several occasions. Likely targets of this enforcement were first-time users who were not aware of the customs of the community. The most common occurrence involved first-time users typing trade requests. The following example involving “Allan” demonstrates this:

```
*** Alan (IP address omitted) has joined
100%preteenpixon
Mona - !lickme
Alan - anyone trading?
Kinky-Dad - !ayah
Chase - !lick
Huge-One - me wanna trade!
Alan - I'm looking for kinky young sex pics
Alan - I'm looking for kinky young sex pics
*** Alan (IP address omitted) has left #100%preteenpixon
```

A second type of occurrence involved individuals looking to participate in cyber-sex or fantasy role-plays. Consider this example involving “Young”:

```
*** Young (IP address omitted) has joined
100%preteenpixon
KC - !tattoo
Young - any ftp's up?
Young - any little girls wanna chat to a l8male
*** Amber (IP address omitted) has joined
100%preteenpixon
Amber - hello
```

Young - hi

*** Amber (*IP address omitted*) has left
#100%preteenpixmap

Young - any girls wanna chat

Young - any girls from Vancouver BC Canada msg me...

Young - any FTP?

Young - any little girls wanna chat with a 18male

*** Young (*IP address omitted*) has left
#100%preteenpixmap

Operators and regular users generally ignored such attempts at public chat, prompting the user to leave the channel on their own accord. Occasionally, the operators did crack down on attempts at initiating discussion in the channel window. Such instances saw the non-obedient user banned from the channel:

*** Kyle16 (*IP address omitted*) has joined
#100%%preteenpixmap

Kyle16 - Anyone wanna trade?

*** accident sets mode: +b !*@204.422.69.68.*

*** Kyle16 was kicked by accident (banned: request)

Language

Despite the range of countries represented in #100%preteenpixmap, English is the predominant language employed in the majority of communications. However on one occasion, a supplier from Brazil named "Tattoo" promoted his fserve in Portuguese.

Tattoo - está servindo kids, pre-teens, teens, preg, video-kids. Eu tenho uma taxa de Download/Upload de 3/1 bytes. Digite !Tattoo para ganhar acesso. (\/
12@A\$ta §©®|pt File Server \/)

On a few occasions, language did become a barrier during interviews and consultations. Several users from Sweden, Denmark and Germany expressed interest in my study yet felt they were unable to articulate themselves well enough in English to respond to my questions. As #100%preteenp1xxx is not a discussion-oriented channel, these users limited their trading to fserve and FTP sites, of which they had an operational knowledge.

Channel Users

The listbox to the right of the channel window lists all the users of #100%preteenp1xxx hierarchically by status, and alphabetically by alias. There are three levels of channel status in #100%preteenp1xxx: (1) operator status, (2) voice status, and (3) user status. At the top of the user hierarchy is operator status, or “ops”, identified by the symbol “@” preceding an alias. As mentioned above, #100%preteenp1xxx has up to fifteen operators responsible for governing the community and enforcing its rules. A specialized set of IRC commands known as “modes” enable channel ops to perform these tasks. There are two types of mode commands: (1) channel modes, which affect the overall activity of the channel, and (2) user modes, which affect individual users. Table 1 shows the mode commands that #100%preteenp1xxx operators employed during my observations.⁶²

Channel Modes	
Mode	Effect on Channel
Topic	Sets the topic of the channel.
Ban	Bans a user for not abiding by the rules of the channel.
Invite-only	Renders the channel invite-only.
User Modes	
Mode	Effect on individual user
Operator status (@)	Grants channel operator status.
Voice status (+)	Grants voice status. Used in #100%preteenpixxx to designate preferential solicitors.

Table 1. IRC Modes

The symbol “+” preceding an alias indicates a user with voice status. In moderated discussion-oriented IRC channels, “voice” grants a user permission to speak publicly. Although 100%preteenpixxx is not a moderated channel per se, the mode does serve a similar function. Users receive voice status if an operator deems they are offering a service or a product that is of particular interest to the channel. However, voice status is not a requisite to solicit fservices, FTP sites or URLs; a function performed by many of the general users. The general user pool constitutes the majority of the #100%preteenpixxx population.

One’s position and degree of influence in an exchange relationship connotes symbolic status. I differentiate between the levels of exchange status as *suppliers* and *collectors*. Suppliers assume two roles in the channel. As the dominant party in the

exchange relationship, they are responsible for making materials available to the other members of the community. In doing so, they impose a series of conditions dictating how the material can be acquired. A collector is the subordinate party who acquires material by meeting the imposed conditions of the supplier. Depending on the nature of the exchange relationship, a supplier might also play the role of collector, or vice versa. For instance, two fserve operators may log into each other's servers to swap files. A similar example involves collectors who exchange files during the course of a private communication.

User Profile

Because of the involvement of many of my informants in criminal activity, I limited my requests for personal information in order to protect their real-world identities. The only questions asked pertained to age, sex and occupation. However, I recognize that the validity of these findings is speculative. In some instances, informants may have chosen to lie or provide me with information they thought I wanted to hear. Others may have answered questions to reflect their constructed online identities. To account for this, this thesis reflects only how individual informants presented themselves during interviews and consultations. Overall, my informants were consistent in their presentation of self. Because #100%preteenpixxx is not a fantasy-oriented channel, it was rare for an informant to claim to be a 14-year-old female high school student during one consultation, then change to a 35-year-old male school teacher during the next.

The average presentation age in the channel was 21. The youngest user I communicated with was 13 while the oldest was 54. The majority of the informants claimed they were still in high school, college or university. Almost all those employed

allegedly held computer-related occupations, in particular with Internet service providers. One informant alleged that he worked in administration at a university.

The overwhelming majority of users claimed to be male. In several cases, male users had programmed “female” bots, or had adopted female aliases themselves, stating that they believed a female name would increase their success at trading. In addition to my consultation with “Ann” detailed in Chapter 2, I only spoke with three individuals who insisted they were female. Interestingly, all three were Canadian. In each instance, the informants claimed to be teenagers.

“Amy”, a 17-year-old from Montreal, had come to the channel to see if she could trade a series of images depicting her fondling balloons in the nude:

Slowdive - What made you decide to get on this channel?

Amy - well, actually i have a fetish for balloons, and i took pictures of myself to see if i could trade some with other people

Slowdive - hmmm.

Amy - hehe

Slowdive - maybe you can describe the photos and why you decided to take them

Amy - you wanna see them?

Slowdive - I can't accept them, part of the deal remember?

Amy - oops, sorry

Slowdive - but describe them for me, that is fine

Amy - well, i have many pictures, mostly of me fondling and humping on balloons, big ones, and small ones

Slowdive - who took the photos?

Amy - one of my girlfriends

Slowdive - so what made you two decide to do this project?

Amy - well, i had a fantasy to do it, that's it

The second instance involved “Jess17”, a 17-year-old from Ottawa. This individual stated that she was interested in acquiring images of people her age having sex:

Slowdive - What is your primary involvement in preteen / teen porn?

Jess17 - i just look at girls 17 with guys 17ish and look at them and delete them

Slowdive - What drives this interest? (By this I mean, what do you get out of this kind of pornography?)

Jess17 - turns me on -) gets me excited.. you know -)

Slowdive - What do you do with the porn you collect?

Jess17 - look at it and delete it

Slowdive - Would you or have you acted upon anything you've seen in preteen / teen porn?

Jess17 - umm not really, just masturbated

The third case involved another trader using the alias “Amy”, who claimed to be a 16-year-old from Canada. When questioned, Amy alleged to collecting pose images of preteen girls.

Slowdive - What types of preteen are you interested in? By this I am referring to content, age of participants, scenarios shown, etc.

Amy - well, just usually young girls under 12 posing

Amy - looking beautiful

Slowdive - k

Slowdive - anything else?

Amy - well, i have sent some "Action" pics as theyre called, but i dont collect them, only posing ones

Slowdive - why do you like pose pics?

Amy - they just seem more normal, more beautiful, action pics are degrading

Reasons for Involvement

Both the high volume of users and the organized structure of #100%preteenp1xxx confirmed the demand for preteen and teen pornography. However, specialization in a particular commodity is not the sole defining characteristic of this community. Rather, the channel serves as a safe-haven or sanctuary for community members. Furthermore, the broader cultural and legal taboos associated with child pornography formulate the beliefs, symbols and rituals of the community. This renders #100%preteenp1xxx analogous to a “sacred realm” (Rappaport, 1971).

The questions “why are these people involved in this?” and “are these people involved in this because of the Internet?” were central to determining reasons for involvement in #100%preteenp1xxx. Such questions are (and remain) difficult to answer as there is no single reason for involvement in such a channel. Each user interacted with was involved for reasons unique to them. Individual responses ranged from insecurity to boredom and from rebellion to substitution for other forms of pornography. Broad trends exhibited include sexual gratification and curiosity. Some informants could offer no reason for their involvement whatsoever.

Collectors

Several informants who were collectors attested that a friend or relative had referred them to IRC. The subsequent use of channels such as #100%preteenp1xxx, particularly with the younger informants, resulted from “curiosity”. “Lust” is an 18-year-old collector from Oklahoma:

Lust - I came involved cause of friends....my involvement is similar to their cause we both trade but different cause we like different kinds

Chrism offered a similar statement:

Chrism - my grandfather bought a computer, my cousin who knows everything about computers showed me how to download mirc and how to get pics and stuff, and going into preteen channels for preteen pics was more for just curiosity

Sexual and emotional gratification are the primary motivations behind continued use of 100% preteenpics. Although few of my informants indicated that they used the pornography to introduce or perpetuate the actual sexual victimization of a minor, it did serve as a stimulant. As stated by Lust:

Lust - well for some it is that is what they want...that is their preference on the age of female they would like to go to bed with ...for others it is the forbidden fruit thing.... wanting what they can't have.....and that is what it is for me

"Grant54m", a 54-year-old university administrator from the East Coast of the United States, offered a similar analogy:

Slowdive - What is your primary involvement in preteen? I understand that this is a sensitive question. You may answer it to the extent that you feel comfortable.

Grant54m - hmm. I would save more difficult than sensitive. Production is not and would never be involved.

Grant54m - I collect because I enjoy looking at most of them. I do not collect sex or rape...

Grant54m - I would say that the major change has been from using fservers to using private trade... probably 95% of the time.

Slowdive - Is there a particular form of preteen that you like most?

Grant54m - I would say that age or action is less important than whether the participants seem to be enjoying themselves

Masturbation also plays an important role in the trading scene. For many, pornographic files collected via the channel serve to facilitate masturbation. This typically involves using the material as a visual catalyst or model for a desired sexual scenario. Both my male and female informants expressed this:

Slowdive - why do you download these types of files?

HQ - to put it honestly it makes me horny as crap

HQ - so you are pretty much asking me if i masterbate or anything else when i look at them

Slowdive - sure

HQ - yes i do masterbate while looking at them and rub myself so pretty much to put in teenage terms i bet off while looking at them

HQ - sorry if offend you by saying that

Slowdive - Do you trade / collect preteen porno pics?

Jess17 - i erase them when I am done

Jess17 - I just look at them, masturbate, and erase them

Jess17 - turns me on -) gets me excited. you know -)

As demonstrated in both "HQ's" and Jess17's statements, the use of files as a sexual stimulant did not always involve a "dirty old man" looking at images of young

children. HQ is a 16-year-old collector from Kentucky. He, as with several other informants, sought pornography depicting people their own age.

Slowdive - do you like porn with preteens or kids?

HQ - nope 15 maybe but i am 16 so that is differnt

Slowdive - what age do you like?

HQ - i like 15 on up to about 25

Chrism furthered this assertion:

Chrism - I just have what I have got from mirc, all mine are just poses the teens are not involved in any sexual act, those that have been sent to me I have erased any that have, I have pics of girls from 13 and up...

...its nothing to be proud of wanting to look at young girls naked I admit that, almost anyone on the mirc wants preteen, and you never now who you are talking to, some one you says they are a 18 year old woman could really be a 45 year old pervert, so that is something you can't be accurate about.

These scenarios present an intriguing dilemma. For Chrism, a Canadian citizen, much of his collection consists of "child pornography" as defined by Canadian law. However, Canadian law also states that he may legally have sex with anyone over 14; the age range depicted in his collection. Thus, although he can legally have sex with an individual in this age group, it is illegal for him to possess pornographic materials of them. When I brought this up during the course of our conversation, he became deeply trouble with the realization that he was doing something "wrong":

Chrism - ...there are so many people that are here for curiosity like myself we are not there to get numbers or addresses to go and meet a preteen and stuff, there are some that do, I wish there was a way the internet could somehow stop the things that are on it

Slowdive - OK that's the end of the interview. This has been excellent, thanks for your time. Did you have any problems with the questions I asked you?

Chrism - nope, but you did kinda sound like a cop

Slowdive - lol

Chrism - well I hope there is something you can do

Slowdive - What do you mean "I hope there is something you can do"?

Chrism - are you trying to stop the things on the net

Chrism - are you trying to stop me

Slowdive - I'm not here to get anyone in trouble

Slowdive - Is there anything more that you would like to tell me about yourself or your experiences, or that you would like to ask me?

Chrism - i really wish you could stop me

Session Close - Mon Nov 17 01 -40 -22 1997

Suppliers

Unlike collectors, the majority of the channel suppliers detached themselves from the content of their products and exhibited little interest in deriving sexual gratification from them. Rather, suppliers sought ego gratification by providing a service and receiving recognition for it:

John-34 - Um, I rather enjoy dishing out the porn (serving) than collecting it by hand like the majority.

“Wolf”, an 18-year-old supplier from Chicago, personified this. Like many of the other suppliers in #100%preteenpixmap, Wolf views himself as an entrepreneur. His involvement in supplying preteen pornography stems from his ability to recognize a demand for a given commodity in an online community.

Wolf was the only supplier who elaborated on how one becomes involved in disseminating preteen pornography. Over the course of the interview, Wolf shared an interesting story regarding his involvement in preteen pornography trading:

Slowdive - so what kind of stuff do you have in your fserve

Wolf - i serve in porn, just because its always in demand

Wolf - i really dont care for it myself

Slowdive - so you just supply to the people

Wolf - yep

Slowdive - preteen? or all sorts? or just adult?

Wolf - all sorts

Wolf - but if i had a faster connection, it would be warez instead

Wolf explained that his Internet connection was not fast enough to transfer large warez files to collectors effectively. Despite this setback, Wolf began to realize that several warez collectors were also using pornography trading channels, in particular preteen channels. Recognizing this demand, Wolf began amassing a collection of adult pornography, then moved into preteen, which he continues trading to this day:

Wolf - i started by using the web

Slowdive - you were getting preteen off the web?

Wolf - no. when i had a good amount [of adult porn], i started an fserve. now, the people, my customers, supply me

Slowdive - so what did you start with, just adult? and then let other people supply you with preteen etc.?

Wolf - yes

Slowdive - that interesting.

Wolf - then i upped that to other peoples fserve and got from them too. we build off each other

Times of Use

There was rarely a shortage of traders in #100%preteenp1xxx. By setting mIRC to log user aliases and IP addresses over extended periods, I was able to identify the number of individuals entering and leaving the channel during each shift. Taking this data as a starting point, I then ran their IP addresses through Sam Spade to determine locations of the ISPs they employed. Use of these features proved beneficial as any attempt to collect this information by strict observation would have been difficult at best.⁶³

Based on these observations, I was able to determine that #100%preteenp1xxx has an average of nine operators and thirteen users at any given time from 18 countries. There is little differentiation in the rate of usage between weekdays and weekends. Instead, observable fluctuations in usage relate to specific times of the day. Typically, there was one peak period of use during each of my online shifts. During a day shift, the peak occurred between 3PM and 6PM (EST), with approximately 16 members (excluding operators) present in the channel. The night shift peak occurred between 1AM and 2AM (EST), with approximately 22 members (excluding operators) in attendance.

The majority of my informants are moderate to heavy Internet users. This is especially true of the self-identified younger informants. For them, the amount of time spent online per week is as high as 161 hours.⁶⁴ Self-identified older informants typically use the Internet on a more casual to moderate basis, up to 30 hours per week. All informants claimed that at least half of the time they spent online is devoted to collecting and trading files in #100%preteenpixxx or other channels of similar intent.

Most suppliers and collectors, regardless of the time of day, access the channel from ISPs based in the United States and Canada. During my day shifts online, additional ISPs would also trace to Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Israel, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, Singapore, South Africa, Sweden, Ireland and Britain. During my night shifts, additional ISPs based in Brazil, Ecuador, and Mexico were present.⁶⁵

Internal Trade Technologies

File Servers

The file server is the most common trading medium operating in #100%preteenpixxx. Unlike FTP sites that require a separate software client to access, fserve are scripts that function through mIRC. Fserve function as a combination of direct client-to-client and file transfer protocol, allowing collectors to access a certain directory tree on the hard drive of a supplier to upload and download files. Accessing a fserve requires inputting a special password called a "trigger" that the supplier includes in their channel solicitation. Trigger commands are identified by a term preceded by an exclamation mark.

Rentme - [v2.2a] Fserve Trigger: !shite Ratio: 1:3 Start
 Credit: 20000 Offering: 12,0 TONS OF PRETEEN
 MOVIES AND PIC'S. UPLOAD SAME OR BE
 BANNED. UPLOAD RARE PICS OR 2 MEG OR
 BIGGER MIOVIE FOR LEECH [1 of 5 slots in
 use]

Slowdive - !shite

Access denial occurs when the site has reached its maximum capacity. If there are slots open, the supplier will send a DCC chat request (Figure 9).

Figure 9. DCC Chat Request

Choosing to ignore the request cancels the fserve session. Accepting the request logs the collector into the supplier's fserve. The main fserve window is a menu page detailing several commands that dictate navigation through the server:

<<<PaNzEr>>> Fileserver <<<PaNzEr>>>

Credit Shows Your Current Credit

Stat Shows Stats About You And This Fserve

Top10 Shows 10 Most Downloaded Files

URL Shows URL to download sites of PaNzEr

Rules Displays The Rules Of This Fserve

Remember To Read The RULES First!

Fservices incorporating a "Rules" command require the collector to familiarize themselves with the terms and conditions of the server before commencing trading.

Failure to read the rules upon logging into the fserve results in a warning message:

```
RENT: ** NB! ** THIS FSERVE HAS A POLICY THAT
      USERS MUST READ THE RULES BEFORE
      FURTHER ACCESS IS ALLOWED. PLZ TYPE:
      RULES ** NB! **
```

Rules reflect any trading conditions imposed by the supplier:

Slowdive - rules

Rent - upload only preteen hard-core movies and pics

Rent - very interested in finding video tape of this subject,
let me know and we can talk

Rent - upload big movies or movies with sound for leech

Rent - upload rare pics for leech, or ultra hard pics.

Rent - msg me for any help or problems

Rent - i will ban you on first offence if you send me crap
pic's, or pic's that aren't preteen, that means no
pubes!!!!

Rent - i will give you leech if you can provide me with
password to good uncensored news server, service.

Rent - enjoy yourself

Rules typically address the content of the pornography, file format and size, as well as any personal requests the supplier might have for specific files or series. Most suppliers emphasize that the rules of their server are enforced. However, such claims led to a certain degree of debate among informants. Some stressed that most suppliers neglect to monitor their servers, or have bots manage them. In such instances, collectors can easily cheat the system by uploading files that do not match the server's criteria.

Even my police informants referred to cases where they uploaded unrelated or corrupted files to fserve during online operations.

Others claimed that suppliers monitor and log activity on their servers, and frequently kick collectors who fail to abide by their rules. During one of my own online observations, a supplier banned me from his fserve after he discovered that I had logged on for twenty minutes without uploading a single file.

The second menu command is Fileserver Stats. This function provides the collector with an overview of the server's content and technical specifications. Basic server information includes the number of users served, the number that are currently accessing the server, and the number of available files. "Your Stats" and "Server Stats" detail the trading specifications between the collector and the supplier, including the total number of uploads and downloads, as well as the size of the files:

```

<<<PaNzEr>>>      Fileserver      <<<PaNzEr>>>

Your Stat:
File(s) Uploaded: 0   Bytes: 0       Top Cps: N/A
File(s) Dwloaded: 0   Bytes: 0       Top Cps: N/A
Server Stats:
File Gets: 1540       Bytes: 71.34 MB   Top Cps: 2458

Files Sent: 3007       Bytes: 146.7 MB   Top Cps: 3279

Users Served: 882     Currently Online: 5
Files On Server: 874     Last Checked: 09/03/98

```

Most collectors use the "Top 10" list as a starting point for determining which files to download. This list provides the collector with an overview of the ten most

downloaded files from the fserve, arranged by the number of downloads, file names, and file size:

10 MOST DOWNLOADED FILES

Nr.	Dwnlds	Filename	Size
1	52	rapem6.jpg	
2	40	taste-them-young.jpg	
3	32	y12cunt&blow.jpg	15044
4	30	young-fuck-004.jpg	6492
5	27	tanja-06.jpg	24240
6	25	incest2.jpg	17252
7	23	tanja-17.jpg	19804
8	22	yngsx31.jpg	12353
9	22	8yrbufuk.jpg	27006
10	20	~l0vibtr.jpg	

Type: GET <NR> to download a Top10 file

Although the format of the Top 10 list shown here is typical, one supplier using the alias “Midnight” enhanced his using a personal Web site. By including the URL in his in-channel solicitation, collectors could go to the site and preview the ten most requested files using their Web browser without first having to download the files from the fserve.

Following these initial stages, the collector can then access the designated root directory on the supplier’s hard drive. The organization of the server will determine ease of use for the collector, for both navigating through the directory structure and locating files of interest. Out of the 20 fservees that I examined during this investigation, only two were completely unstructured with hundreds of files located off the root directory. As most filenames offer little indication of their content, collectors using unstructured

fserve must spend long periods downloading files at random in search of desired scenarios. In response to this, most suppliers' structure their fserve into multiple subdirectories categorized by age range, sex, nationality, and type of sex act depicted.

Private Trading

In addition to the files solicited publicly in #100%preteenpixxx, an entire sub-set of materials is privately trafficked through the channel. The use of back channels of communication such as the query window and DCC results in the exclusion of certain materials from the general user pool. The reasons for choosing to trade in private differ from one individual to next, ranging from a desire for intimate contact to a general detest for file systems such as fserve and FTP sites.

Query Window

Due to the ban on public discussion in the channel window, collectors employ the query window to discuss potential interests or negotiate trade relationships. Grant54 described this process as a "dance... sometimes long, sometimes short, wherein one may be reluctant to send a pic before the other sends first". By selecting an alias in the listbox, a collector would typically open the query window and send a simple message outlining their intent to trade. As I was an active participant in the channel, I was often the target of private messages from new traders unaware that I was a researcher:

Rae - want to trade?

Slowdive - I'm with someone else at the moment. What are you trading?

Rae - a few preteen pics most sex of 12 and 13 and 11 years old

On several occasions, I became involved in discussions with collectors curious about my preferences to specific sexual acts. With each occasion, these inquiries addressed incest:

Mine - hi, into incest?

Cowboy - got a daughter?

Slowdive - Nope. You?

Cowboy - no

Slowdive - What channel you in?

Cowboy - not in one

Slowdive - How'd you hear about me?

Cowboy - preteenpixxx

Slowdive - Ah.....

Cowboy - m or f?

Slowdive - m

Slowdive - you?

Cowboy - m

Cowboy - what are you into?

Slowdive - What do you mean?

Cowboy - i like to fuck young girls

Cowboy - i like seeing them helpless

On another occasion, I received a message from a 22-year-old male named "Dwayne" from Winnipeg looking to meet a preteen for the purposes of engaging in phone-sex:

Dwayne - are you horny?

Dwayne - just tonight

Slowdive - am I horny?

Dwayne - im just curious

Slowdive - What makes you think I'm horny?

Dwayne - you are in this channel

Slowdive - As are you. Why'd you pick this one?

Dwayne - i want to be a preteen again

Dwayne - are you?

Dwayne - because im horny

Slowdive - What are you looking to get here? I'm curious.

Dwayne - whatever

Dwayne - whatever they want

When Dwayne became aware of my age and my purpose in the channel, he nonetheless proceeded to ask me if I would be interested in having phone-sex with him:

Dwayne - fonesex is cool with me

Slowdive - Any luck?

Dwayne - i just started

Dwayne - u want?

Dwayne - can u call

Slowdive - I try to keep off the phones

Dwayne - what u mean, u cant?

Slowdive - I like this [IRC] better

Dwayne - boring for me

Direct Client-to-Client

For private communication, DCC provides a faster and more secure connection between users as it bypasses the IRC Server. By using the IRC server to initiate the chat session, it establishes a direct connection to the IRC client of the other user. Performing a DCC Chat command on the alias of the recipient user initiates the session. The client software sends the information to the recipient informing them that another user is

requesting a DCC Chat. The recipient may then accept the chat request, at which point both users may communicate in real-time just as within a private query window.

DCC also permits file transfer between collectors. By designating the alias of recipient and the designated file, mIRC notifies the collector of an incoming file. At this time, the DCC Get dialog pops up and asks the recipient if they want to accept the file. The collector must accept the send request to initiate the transfer (Figure 10):

Figure 10. Receiving a File using DCC

External Trade Technologies

File Transfer Protocol Sites

A few #100%preteenpixmap suppliers run file transfer protocol sites in conjunction with their fserve. Unlike fserve scripts that run through an IRC client program, FTP access requires a stand-alone client program. However, both systems provide an interface into a host computer that offers files for public access. The content and organization of the FTP sites I accessed during this investigation were identical to the fserve; arranged in multiple subdirectories categorized by type of sex act depicted, age, sex, and nationality. The FTP sites solicited through #100%preteenpixmap are password protected. A collector can only access these FTP sites by entering a valid user ID and password provided by the supplier.

Usenet Newsgroups

It is unclear the extent to which members of #100%preteenpixmap make use of Usenet newsgroups for trading purposes. However during my time online, two informants did mention that they posted to newsgroups in addition to using the channel. The first case involved Grant54m who explained that he first heard about IRC trading through an undisclosed newsgroup:

Grant54m - I came across [preteen trading] originally on a newsgroup and enjoy looking at them. I have talked to numerous others... and actually, most of them are under 20. Some use the photos as a sexual aid. I would say my interest is probable less intense than most.

The second instance involved a trader named “tomboy” who supplemented trading in #100%preteenpixxx by posting to the newsgroup alt.support.boylovers. After running tomboy’s IP address through the Déja News search engine,⁶⁶ I discovered the following message posted to the newsgroup:

I posted a request for new friends in some picture groups a while back but somehow I missed this one. I am in the *city name omitted* Florida area and I am looking for trading partners. I don’t need Email from slow witted cops or people out to save my soul, but if you are interested in “safe” swapping please Email me at *email address omitted*.

Web Sites

The World Wide Web played a moderate role in file trading in #100%preteenpixxx, but not in an obvious manner. With the exception of Midnight’s Top-10 site, the web pages solicited through #100%preteenpixxx contained exclusively adult pornography and simulated “teen” pornography. Although these sites incorporated names such as *Teen XXX* and *Chicks Can Be Young*, their target audience was not preteen pornography traders.

Unlike the in-channel solicitations for fserve and FTP sites, URL solicitation involved private messages sent by bots programmed to recognize new users entering the channel. However, these bots were not a direct output of the ring governing #100%preteenpixxx. Every URL resolved to link pages soliciting a single series of adult web sites: XXX Sex Roulette, the A.S.S. (Adult Sex Site) Awards, and The Sex Museum.⁶⁷ Performing WHOIS commands on the bots confirmed that they not only operated in this VN, but also transcended the entire 19 channel V-Set as well as other adult pornography V-Sets.

*Chapter 7***THE MATERIALS**

As illustrated during the previous chapter, computer files depicting preteen and teenage pornography are the primary commodities governing exchange relations within #100%preteenpixxx. This chapter explores the nature, prevalence and content of these files. Because of the legal and ethical conditions restricting me from downloading these materials to my computer, this examination draws on three alternate sets of observations. First, information collected during informant consultations provided insight into the types of materials sought by individual collectors. I was able to substantiate this information by examining the file structure and contents of the file servers and file transfer protocol sites solicited in the channel. As no one ever forced me to upload to these systems as a condition of use, I was free to record the names of files, file extensions, and their solicited subject type. On several occasions, informants volunteered transaction logs detailing exchanges between collectors and suppliers. Lastly, I was able to cross-reference my online findings with my observations of the seized child pornography made available to me by the police during my background investigation.

The nature and format of the pornography available in #100%preteenpixxx appear typical of those available in the other dedicated preteen trading channels on the EFNET server. Consequently, many of the findings presented here are applicable to other channels of like intent.

Media

There are three types of media traded in #100%preteensexpics: image files, video files, and text files. Although I have witnessed the trading of pornographic audio files elsewhere on the Internet, they do not appear to be a desired commodity in this channel (Ferguson 1996b).⁶⁸

The most rudimentary type of media traded in the channel are text files. Although not a commonly sought commodity, some suppliers offer sexually explicit “stories” formatted as DOC (Microsoft Word), RTF (Rich Text Format) or TXT (Text) files. Stories such as *01stcum*, *13gngbng*, *bathtime*, and *kidcest* typically recount actual or fictitious incidents involving minors engaged in provocative or sexual acts. However, by nature of their format, the reader must develop a mental interpretation of the scenarios described. Because of this, many collectors overlook these files. The only informants that expressed any consistent interest in downloading text files were those who presented themselves as older men.

The most commonly sought commodity in the channel is visual depictions of preteens. Like the stories, “sex-starved” and “lustful” preteens are the dominant subject matter of visual depictions. Lanning (1995), Tate (1991), Campagna & Poffenberger (1988) and O’Brien (1983) offer two explanations for this demand. First, visual depictions capture a permanent record of a specific event. Second, images leave less to the imagination than a written account as they permit both vicarious and voyeuristic “participation” in the event. Because the majority of the collectors in the channel hold specific age and sexual preferences, visual depictions provide a means of preserving both a particular sexual scene and the participant as an infant, a child or an adolescent. The

visual preservation of age was most apparent in the continued demand for older materials. On several occasions, I observed members trading images scanned from back issues of “classic” pedophile publications. Examples such as *Lolita*, *The NAMBLA Bulletin*, *Nymph Lover* and *LolliPops* date back as far as 10 to 20 years. This illustrates that many of the collectors cherished the visual record regardless if the individuals portrayed had outgrown the desired age range.

The most popular visual format traded in #100%preteenpixxx are digitized image files, more commonly referred to by channel members as “pics”. There are two primary modes of production for computer image files. The first involves pre-produced images that are scanned and converted to computer image files. The second involves images produced by digital camera. Invariably, these images are of children and teenagers in provocative poses or engaged in sexual acts. A third mode of production involves digitally simulated image files. Although I observed cases involving spliced and retouched photographs, the majority of these files involved modified illustrations and animations. Common modifications include “removing” clothes, placing characters in sexual acts, or accentuating anatomical features such as adding giant breasts and penises. On several occasions, suppliers solicited sexual images involving characters from *Disney* and *The Simpsons*. Japanese animation characters were also popular choices for digital simulations. Popular female characters such as *Sailor Moon* were often depicted nude, in provocative poses, or engaged in sexual acts.

Members of #100%preteenpixxx also trade an assortment of video files. Although their content reflects that of the digital images, video files offer the added elements of fluent motion and sound. The majority of these files consist of short live

action sequences produced with a video camera or transferred from an existing videocassette or film.⁶⁹ The average lengths of these videos range from 5 to 20 seconds, and are looped to create the illusion of a continuous sexual act.

Image files traded in the channel are produced exclusively in JPEG or GIF format, while video files consist of MPEG, AVI and MOV. Each of these formats offer high rates of compression which preserve the physical dimensions of the file while reducing the amount of space require to store it. Several suppliers promoted this feature, emphasizing that it decreased the amount of time needed to transfer files across the Internet Relay Chat network:

Chris13 - My ftp server is online at: "*address omitted*" L/P-pics/pics (It only has pics of people under age 14! Lots of videos too, on a fast connection!) [1:3 Ratio] Note: Do not upload pics of over age 13 or kick-ban!!!! Same thing with repeat files!!! I am watching!

Other suppliers preferred file "quality" to speed of transfer:

Riken - Welcome SLOW-DIVE! Looking for quality, complete downloads? Well then FTP to "*address omitted*" right now! NO pic is moved from uploads that is b&w or incomplete so you can be assured of THOUSANDS of quality sorted pics! Username/password = "pix"! Come in now!

On some occasions, suppliers with fast modem connections promoted both features:

Young - [v2.2] Fserve Trigger: !young Ratio: 1:3 Start Credit: 5000 Offering: thousands of quality preteen pix on a T1 connection... if you upload 20 STORIES you will get leech!!!!!!!!!!!! [5 of 7 slots in use]

Two technical factors influence whether a supplier chooses file quality over speed of transfer. The first concerns the overall picture quality permitted by each file format. For example, GIF files are generally smaller, however their image quality is limited to line art (monochrome), grayscale or 256-color (8-bit). JPEG files allow true color (24-bit) image quality, however the files are often much larger. The second concerns the overall rate of compression for the file. Image and video file compression is achieved through a reduction in the number of bits in the image by eliminating repetitive image data or image data that is hard to see. For video files incorporating sound, audio compression involves converting stereo sound to mono in addition to reducing its overall frequency level. However, higher compression ratios result in further degradation of both image and audio quality, hence reducing the sensory effects of the material.

Titles

Much like the name of the channel, traders generally rely on the suggestive nature of file titles when making a decision to download. However, cryptic titles assigned to files (e.g. *0045*, *ga0901*) often impede download selection for collectors. I noted that to account for this, some suppliers employed titles such as *boybath1* or *2boysuck* that, while still abbreviated, were somewhat more revealing as to their content. Others employed phonetic titles such as *boygrl* (boy / girl) and *vyfkl* (very young fuck 1). Although most current operating systems (e.g. Windows 95) permit 255 ASCII character filenames, the overall majority of files I observed employed the eight-character limit of older operating systems (e.g. Windows 3.1).

Abbreviated and phonetic filenames also combine several indicators to facilitate content identification. A number was often included at the beginning of the title to

indicate the “age” of the featured individual or the total participants involved. The textual component of the title identified a particular sexual act or the “name” of the featured participant. Lastly, as many files constitute a part of a larger series, a corresponding number succeeds the file name. An example of a title employing all three indicators is *12stacy9*; the ninth image in a series depicting a twelve-year-old girl named “Stacy”.

Many files employ non-clinical or “dirty” terms to identify specific areas of the body or sexual acts. For example, “sexual intercourse”, “fellatio”, “lesbian” and “breasts” are displayed as “fucking”, “oral”, “lez”, and “tits”. Sexual acts depicted in the pornography included oral sex (*10eatme*, *05sucky*, *10likcun*) vaginal intercourse (*12bang*, *09fuck2*, *yngrider*), anal intercourse (*11yranal*, *10butfk*), or group sex (*08fuksuk*, *09gang-bang*, *3some090*). Much of these materials consist of close-up images of individual body parts that are the focus of the sexual act. Common examples include the vagina (*06pussy*, *10yrpuss*) and the anus (*!!rear*, *6yngass*).⁷⁰ To account for the ambiguous nature of many of these titles, I provide clarification for those employed as examples in Appendix D.

Age, Gender and Ethnicity

In addition to sexual and anatomical classifications, filenames reflect three socio-cultural attributions: gender, age, and ethnicity. Suppliers in #100%preteenpixxx place particular emphasis on materials portraying preteen girls “instigating” or engaged in sexual acts with adult males. Teen hard-core was much the same, although some members exhibited an interest for teenage boys and girls in the same scene. I noted few files that depicted preteen boys sexually involved with adult females. Files classified as

“preteen” typically depict children under the age of thirteen, further categorized into age ranges. For example, one fserve categorized preteen files as 0-2, 2-4, 4-6, 6-8, 8-10, and 10-12. “Teen” files generally depict individuals between the age of thirteen and eighteen.⁷¹

The majority of the files traded in #100%preteenpixxx depicted Caucasians. However, I did note a demand for filenames reflecting children of different ethno-cultural backgrounds. Most popular are files depicting young Asians, in particular Japanese and Thai girls. File titles such as *japan-6* and *tn-thai3* suggests a demand for Oriental girls as fantasy sex objects. Many fserve and FTP sites have entire subdirectories devoted to “Asian” pornography. To a lesser degree, files such as *bombay04*, *india901* indicate depictions of girls of East Indian origin. Two variables may account for this demand. First, pornography has long portrayed Asian females as sexual by virtue of their ethnicity (Stein 1990). Second, the Far East has long been associated with child prostitution and child sex tourism, two industries that many have suggested contribute to the production of child pornography (Cobban, 1996; Bedy, 1992). However, establishing a direct correlation between these conditions and the Asian and East Indian files traded in #100%preteenpixxx is mere speculation at best.

Environment

Both visual and textual pornography incorporate very little variation in the environment in which sexual scenarios occurred. As with many other forms of pornography, the bedroom served as the focal environment for these scenarios. Some material depicts sexual encounters occurring in a bathroom, a living room, or in a kitchen. With the exception of some pose images, I did not observe any instances

depicting sex taking place outdoors. These findings suggest that although a wider audience would eventually view the act of sex, the intent of the producer was to portray the participants engaged in a “private” act.

Degrees of Explicitness and “Legality”

The materials offered in #100%preteenpixxx range both in their degree of sexual explicitness and in legality. Figure 11 organizes these materials based on the explicitness of their content, and whether or not they are prohibited under section 163 of the *Criminal Code*.

Content of Materials				
Legality of Material	Legal	Depiction of a child playing in a park	Adult in sexually suggestive pose Simulated adult + adult sex	Explicit adult + adult sex not incorporating cruelty, violence, horror or crime
	Illegal	Close-up depiction of a child defecating	Minor in sexually suggestive pose Simulated adult + child sex Simulated child + child sex	Explicit adult + child sex Explicit child + child sex Sex involving cruelty, violence, horror or crime Bestiality
		Non-Sexually Explicit	Erotica	Hardcore
Level of Sexual Explicitness				

Figure 11. Explicitness and Legality of Materials

The first classification of material available in #100%preteenpixxx is “pose” images. Non-explicit poses can range from modeling shots to candid images of preteens and teenagers engaged in “day-to-day” activities. Common examples I observed

included children taking baths or playing on a beach. Others consist primarily of preteen and teenage female nudes, depicted in sexually suggestive positions or situations. Often times the model would be lying on a bed or seated, legs spread in order to expose the vagina or anus. Although pose images do not depict penetration, some show the minor's hand covering or touching their genitals. The pose files most commonly traded in #100%preteenpixmap are of girls. Lesbian activity is another prevalent feature in the erotica. These typically consist of two or more girls kissing or touching each other's genitals. While poses serve to imply acts of "seduction", lesbian titles such as *yngfun* and *fun-lez* suggest "play" and "amusement" for the participants. Despite the popularity of the lesbian material, I never observed any requests for material depicting male homosexual activity.

Hard-core files, by contrast, were highly explicit. These files focus on oral sex, vaginal and anal intercourse. A wide body of these files portrays group sex involving combinations of sex acts. Titles such as *blosex51* and *08fukasuk* exemplify scenarios involving one individual engaging in intercourse with a second while performing oral sex on a third. In certain instances, hard-core files depict autoerotic activities such as masturbation and penetration of the vagina or anus with objects. Files such as *~10vibtr* and *04dil* focus on the use of vibrators and "dildos". Other titles such as *12bnna* and *carrot02* depict penetration with vegetables and other foreign objects.

Another common characteristic of the hard-core files is incest. This material portrays or simulates scenarios involving a "parent" engaged in a sexual act with one or more "children". Although I observed "father / daughter" sex as the most common scenario, there were instances depicting incestuous relations between "mothers" and

“sons” or involving a relative such as an “uncle”, “aunt”, or “cousin”. Some cases feature group family sex. Titles referring to incestuous relations include *08famfun*, *daddy2*, *my-sister*, *momson6*, and *07anal-uncle2*.

In all hard-core files, the full body of infants, children and teenagers are portrayed, while adult participants are rarely pictured above the chest, unless from the rear. Visual depictions often show various stages of sexual activity, with particular emphasis placed on the younger participant bringing an adult to orgasm. While video files present a continual visual sequence of these events, multiple image files arranged as a series portray adults reaching sexual climax. Although multiple images depicting the same participants is most commonly referred to as a “series”, I did document one instance where the supplier referred to it as a “show”:

Lust - a show is a serys of pics...the same girl/boy or couple
in several pics.... in a sequire of sort...like if you
had one girl and a ful roll of film and you shot the
hole row on her that would be a show...

A pornographic series often concludes with a depiction of male orgasm. This typically involves an adult male ejaculating on the torso, buttocks, or in the mouth of the minor. In cases portraying adult females, facial expressions and sound typically symbolize orgasm.

Specialized and Fetish Files

Another common commodity in the channel is “specialized” or “fetish” files. These files do not generally exhibit sexual intercourse, but rather emphasize bondage, “scat-play”, and bestiality. I also observed isolated requests for files depicting

overweight and handicapped children, and forceful sexual acts including “fisting” and rape.

Bondage materials portray acts of restraint, suspension, enslavement, and mummification.⁷² Examples such as *bondk04*, *pretied* and *ybondage* involve preteen boys and girls bound with ropes, chains, leather restraints, body harnesses, handcuffs or stocks. The participants are portrayed wearing school uniforms or in various stages of undress, but are rarely fully nude. I witnessed one such example involving a young boy in his underwear restrained to a kitchen table by elaborately tied ropes. Other images portrayed the individual gagged, blindfolded, or with a hood or plastic bag over their head. Scenarios that are more elaborate involve full restraint in canvas or latex bags. A popular commodity traded in the channel are images of young Asian girls bound and suspended with intricately tied jute rope.

There are files solicited in the channel that featured sexual activity involving urine and feces (coprolangia or “scat-play”). These files depict one or more children and/or adults urinating on each other. Examples include *llp-dad*, *ll-uron-12*, and *yng-pee*. I viewed one such file that showed two adult males, a preteen boy and a preteen girl urinating on another boy. There are also instances of files depicting bestiality. Images of young girls receiving or performing oral sex on an animal, usually a dog, appear to be the most commonly traded files. I inspected one such file that showed a dog licking the genitals of a preteen girl. I came across another image published on a Web site solicited in the channel that portrayed a German Shepherd ejaculating into the mouth of a teenage girl.

Although not typical of the specialized files, I witnessed two instances where such materials incorporated overt physical violence. The first instance involved an FTP site operator named “Pharos” who solicited several files allegedly depicting preteen rape. A subsequent search of his site revealed two files entitled *fl1rape* and *forced3*. The same fserve offered one file (*whpl_pl4*) depicting a child being whipped, and another (*pusclamp*) in which a pinching device was attached to a girl’s vagina.

The second incident occurred during a night shift when a Fserve operator named “Unseen” entered the channel and began soliciting files portraying preteen sadism and torture. Upon logging into his Fserve, I encountered the following message:

```
*** UNSEEN ***
*DO* upload torture/extreme pain
*DO* upload preteen
*DO NOT* upload gay/boys
*DO NOT* upload regular porno
*EXTRA* searching the "ldac-series" piss/shit
```

Although his fserve consisted largely of hard-core preteen pornography, there were three subdirectories named *SM_RAPE*, *TRAPE* (which may have indicated teen-rape or torture-rape), and *SM_PISS*.

The “Value” of the Material

The files traded in #100%preteenpixxx have no monetary value. Not once did I observe files solicited or traded for financial gain. However, that is not to say that there is no perception of “worth” associated with the files. Like many trading channels, #100%preteenpixxx operates on a reciprocity system marked by a characteristic currency.

As indicated by Grant54m, files serve as “the coin of the realm”. Hence, suppliers impose several systematic conditions on the exchange of files. I will refer to these conditions as “file value”.

Two mechanisms of exchange negotiate file value: *trade ratio systems* and *file credit*. Trade ratio systems regulate the number of files exchanged between the supplier and the collector via the server. File credit assigns an exchange value to each file, thus regulating the collector’s ability to continue the transaction. Most fserve and FTP solicitations posted to channel window reflect these systems of exchange:

Lord-Porn - [v2.2] **Fserve Trigger: !Serv Ratio: 1:3 Start
Credit: 25000 Offering: XXX Stories! XXX Pics!
XXX Movies! All the files that got me BANNED
are all in here! [3 of 4 slots in use]**⁷³

Trade Ratios

Trade ratio systems function as bartering agreements between the supplier and the collector. There are two types of trade ratio systems employed in #100%preteenpixxx. The most rudimental is the file ratio system, which permits a collector to download a set number of files for each one that he or she uploads. For instance, a 1:3 file ratio enables a collector to download three files for every one uploaded to the server. However, defrauding this system requires little effort, as it does not take into consideration file size. Several suppliers explained that the most common method involves downloading three large files after uploading one small file.

To counteract file piracy, most suppliers employ a byte ratio system on their servers. Byte ratio systems moderate the exchange of files based on their size. For example, a 1:3 ratio states that for every 300,000 bytes (or 300k) downloaded from the

server, the collector must upload 100,000 bytes (or 100k). With each system, compliance to the ratio earns the collector virtual credit.

The Credit System

Compliance to the trading ratio imposed by a supplier earns trading credit for a collector. Trading credit functions as virtual “money”, allowing a collector to “purchase” (download) files based on the trade ratio imposed in the server. Conversely, a collector earns additional credit by “selling” (uploading) files from their own collection to the server. The supplier assigns a base credit limit to each collector logging into his or her server:

<<<PaNzEr>>> Fileserver <<<PaNzEr>>>

Version 2.2

Current Credit: 50000 Ratio is: 1:3

As a basic example, let us suppose that the above-noted fserve employs a 1:3 file ratio, with each file on the server worth 1,000 credits. The collector receives a starting limit of 5,000 credits towards their first download. Upon uploading one file, the collector receives 1,000 credits, bringing their limit to 6,000. Of those credits, 3,000 go towards downloading three files. This process continues until the collector depletes his or her credit, at which time they may re-access the server and repeat the trading process.

To compensate for my inability to engage in a trade scenario, an informant named “Zima” supplied me with a log from his fserve that detailed a transaction with a collector

named “Ogre”. Zima’s fserve employs a 1:1 byte ratio with an allocated base of 5,000 credits, allowing the collector to continue the transaction indefinitely. Note how the credit status fluctuates based on the size of the file traded:

```
[E -\smut\pix\series\classy\teen]
Ogre - dir
Zima - Credit status: 378064
Zima - Type Help for Commands
Ogre - get plbd10a.jpg
Zima - Sending [plbd10a.jpg] Credits remaining: 342866
Zima - Upload of sas012.jpg complete: Credit(s) earned:
      163545 Total Credits: 506411 credit(s)
Ogre - get plbd10b.jpg
```

Determination of “Value”

Child pornography suppliers on IRC compare to vendors at a flea market or a bazaar. Each solicits specific products and services within a dedicated mercantilist environment. To achieve success within that environment, a continual modification of services is required to meet the needs of “clients” while ensuring a competitive edge over other suppliers; a process described by my informant Wolf as “cooperative competition”. In order to obtain these objectives, suppliers conduct a form of competitive intelligence (CI) within the channel to increase productivity and determine file “value”.⁷⁴ For suppliers, the motivating factor behind CI is the knowledge that the more collectors are apt to take advantage of their service, the faster their server will grow by virtue of uploads. This in turn results in a larger and more competitive site, inevitably increasing the number of collectors who access it.

Value assigned to a file represents a balance between *personal value* and *collective value*. The supplier of pornography assigns personal value to his or her collection. Such appraisals typically reflect the degree of attachment to the collection. Although some suppliers may base this on a sexual or emotional attachment, file *quality* and *quantity* are the most common influences. File quality takes into consideration image and video resolution, “hard-to-find” files, completed series, sexual explicitness, and the eccentricity of the pornography. File quantity as a measure of value typically reflects a perception of success for their trading operation.

Conversely, collective value reflects the overall demand for specific materials within the community, as well as the level of competition between suppliers. Multiple suppliers offering comparable or identical files are present in the channel at any given time. Consequently, suppliers attempt to outdo one another by manipulating the collective value of the material. I observed several tactics employed by suppliers in an attempt to maintain a competitive edge. This typically involves the manipulation of trading ratios and credit limits in such a way that is mutually beneficial to both the collector and the supplier. For instance, a supplier might opt to increase the trade ratio of their server to attract more collectors while diverting attention away from a competitor. A similar tactic involves offering a higher base trading credit. Once this balance is established, the supplier must work to solicit this information abruptly and repeatedly in the channel window.

Competitive intelligence also involves surveying the service structure of a competitor’s server. Examining basic demographic information, such as server organization and availability of files, identifies trends that can be adapted to improve

one's own trading productivity. For example, Top 10 lists detail the most frequently downloaded files from a site. If a supplier recognizes that these files are not available on their own server, he or she will obtain the files and solicit them at a more competitive rate.

Another method used to acquire missing files is to buy off collectors or employ them to obtain files from other suppliers for reward. This typically involves offering a special promotional arrangement known as a "leech". When questioned, Wolf and Zima explained that a leech gives a collector uninterrupted file download by (1) awarding an infinite level of credit and (2) bypassing the trade ratio system of a site. Transferring requested goods to the supplier is one way a collector can earn leech access:

Somehow - [v2.2a] Fserve Trigger: !somehow Ratio: 1:3
 Start Credit: 30000 Offering: preteen/teen... good
 preteen series gets leech [3 of 4 slots in use]

Senseless - [v2.2] Fserve Trigger: !Sense Ratio: 1:3 Start
 Credit: 30000 Offering: Over 1430 Movies and
 Pictures! Upload preteen movies receive *LEECH*
 account. [0 of 3 slots in use]

During my observations, I noted that some suppliers misrepresent the demand for their services in order to attract collectors. One method often employed by suppliers is the inclusion of false usage statistics in their solicitation, such as "4 of 5 slots in use". These statistics usually provide an accurate reflection of the degree of server use. However, several instances recorded in my field logs indicated suppliers manipulating usage statistics to create the illusion of a "busy" site. Tracing back through these solicitations, I noticed that no one had yet accessed the site.⁷⁵ However to a collector,

displaying a higher number of “occupied” slots could reinforce their perception of the popularity of the site.

On one occasion, a supplier named “Cheer” employed an additional tactic to attract collectors to his fserve. Although his solicitation messages indicated a competitive trading ratio and fast download time, he was not receiving any hits because of two other suppliers soliciting free adult pornography Web sites. To compensate for this lack of hits, he began creating the illusion of physical site use by triggering his own fserve. Three collectors immediately mimicked this action:

* quartz Neato FREE PORN go to [http://URL omitted](#)

Cheer - [v2.2a] Fserve Trigger: !cheer Ratio: 1:4 Start
Credit: 50000 Offering: Cheerleaders, teens, and
MUCH more. Fast!! [8 of 10 slots in use]

* Seethe has a totally free home page all her pics are free
no spam shit!!!! [http://URL omitted](#)

* quartz Neato FREE PORN go to [http -//URL omitted](#)

* Seethe has a totally free home page all her pics are free
no spam shit!!!! [http://URL omitted](#)

Cheer - !cheer

Pimp - !cheer

Snoop - !cheer

Sniper - !cheer

Out of all the suppliers I consulted with, Wolf employed the most innovative strategy to improve the success of his trading operation. Wolf was in essence concerned about ensuring the satisfaction of his clients. To address this, he modified his fserve script to incorporate an ongoing user response survey. Upon logging into the fserve, collectors encountered a series of questions concerning their alias, their sex, their age, and any comments concerning improvements to the server to suit their needs. Taking

these findings as a starting point, Wolf modifies his fserve in accordance to user demands. Wolf was keen on sharing the findings of his survey with me. a sample of which reads:

Nick	Sex	Age	Comments
Daze	male	16	i need sex
Sr2	M	40	Nice Fserve
Alex18	m	18	i like nude pictures of women having fun touching their naked bodies and feeling their naked pussies and licking their naked lips
DRF	Male	17	There should be more pics of young fucking
Nikki	Female	16	Really good one! Lots of lez pics... :)
Suck-Me-Off	male	17	I like the 12-15 year old girls.
Viper	m	24	Love Pre-pussy, and very small tits
Jaundice	Male	18	More youngens
death	(M)	17	(start off with some credits so i can at least get a preview of what you have)
Pap-Smear	m	23	Nice to see free credit. thanks. :)
Smart	MALE	26	Cool page and uses lots of GOOD material.
Aileen	m	14	Like the site

Law Enforcement Agents and Anti-Child Pornography Crusaders

Much to my surprise, I observed little direct action taken against the channel or any of its members by law enforcement agents or by anti-child pornography or anti-obscenity groups⁷⁶. During my six months in #100%preteenpixmap, I witnessed only two incidents that resulted in the shutdown of the channel. The first incident was perpetuated by an anti-child pornography group entitled Ethical Hackers Against Pedophilia (EHAP). EHAP is a small Internet-based group of hackers who actively seek out and attempt to

stop the online dissemination of child pornography and child sexual victimization. The EHAP web site outlines the group's mission statement:

Most of the members of EHAP are from the hacker community and believe technology can be used for wrongful purposes and that the children are not aware of the ramifications of the their photographs. EHAP decided to do something about it. We have the computer skills to do it and rather than being blamed for something we do not do, why not use our skills to help others. So that is what we do now, we find these sites, groups, and lists and stop them from using the technology for wrongful purposes (EHAP, 1997).

The group concentrates primarily on IRC channels, mailing lists, and Usenet newsgroups. Approximately two months into my online research, several members of EHAP conducted a sweep of the EFNET server targeting all the preteen pornography channels and systematically shutting them down. On this occasion, a member of EHAP managed to infiltrate #100%preteenpixxx, secured operator status, and then proceeded to shut down the channel.

A second "attack" on the channel occurred a month later by a hacker group calling itself The Dead Soul Society of the Soul-less Cyberspace (DSSC). This attack involved a DSSC member named "none" who also managed to secure operator status in #100%preteenpixxx and kicked all users (myself included) out of the channel:

[1:33] *** fez was kicked by none (preteen sex pics are against the law)

[1:33] *** hex was kicked by none (preteen sex pics are against the law)

[1:33] *** Jackie_ was kicked by none (preteen sex pics are against the law)

[1:33] *** Raul was kicked by none (preteen sex pics are against the law)

[1:33] *** Sexy-Sarah was kicked by none (preteen sex pics are against the law)

[1:33] *** You were kicked by none (preteen sex pics are against the law)

*** Attempting to rejoin...

The EHAP and DSSC attacks on #100%preteenpixmap each managed to disrupt trading in the channel for close to 24 hours. However, both attacks were isolated incidents, and I observed no repeat occurrences during the remainder of my time online. The only other attempt at a “moral crusade” against the channel occurred when a lone user accessed the channel and proceeded to post the message “Jesus loves you”.

During my first three weeks in #100%preteenpixmap, two members from an organization entitled No More Child Pornography (NMCP) had infiltrated the channel and managed to obtain operator status. Unlike the militant approach taken by EHAP and DSSC against the channel, NMCP assumed a covert role unbeknownst to the other members of the channel. After I had identified myself to one of NMCP’s members, they explained that they were “informers” to the Federal Bureau of Investigation monitoring trading in the channel. After requesting that I elaborate on the intent of my research, the group assured me that they would not compromise my presence in the channel.⁷⁷

NMCP did not assume a proactive approach in the channel. Instead, the group would spend their time collecting information on suppliers and collectors, tracing their Internet service providers, and watching the types of materials traded in the channel. Once compiled, the group forwarded the material to their “contact” in the FBI. The group offered me an example of one of their reports:

Contact first observed on the morning of November 3, 1997. Observation continued until Saturday November 8, 1997. It appears that the FTP Site and Fserve are the same. Based on the IP Address resolution, both appear to be stored on the contact's personal computer, not a permanently connected server...

NMCP did not return to the channel following this initial encounter, and I have observed no direct consequences of their actions.

Channel Security

Despite such action taken against #100%preteenpixon, they appeared to have no lasting effect on the overall trading process. Although such occurrences do disrupt reciprocity, overall, members of the #100%preteenpixon community do not view a need for either personal or site security. As an "outsider", this struck me as unusual. Throughout the entirety of my investigation, I often felt that everything about the channel – the obvious nature of its name, the relative ease of becoming part of its trading community – was too easy and too accessible. I voiced this concern with Lust:

Slowdive - This channel seems too out in the open. Too
"easy"

Lust - nah

Lust - you are paranoid

Most of my informants viewed trading on IRC as secure due to the common perception of online "anonymity". Most felt they can "hide" behind their aliases. As an additional safety precaution, some alternated between a series of aliases, or would construct new ones each time they went online:

Slowdive - Many people like yourself take precautions to protect themselves and their interests in preteen. What measures do you take to protect yourself (both on-line and off-line)?

John-34 - Online, just the use of anonymous accounts. Offline, I take no precautions.

An additional security measure undertaken by some of the more computer literate users involved a complex procedure known as "spoofing". In simple terms, spoofing is the act of forging one's IP address. I observed to outcomes of this function. Some users spoofed their IP address to create the illusion that they were another computer or present on a completely different network. Others used it to have their IP address appear bogus. In both instances, spoofing makes it difficult or impossible for another user to trace the location of their home service provider (Icove et al, 1995: 49-50).

Lastly, the very fact that #100%preteenpixmap is a contingent community is in itself a security measure. The transitory nature of its population makes it difficult to track its members over extended periods. Community membership exists only as long as there is a perceived need to remain a member, or until a different or better opportunity presents itself. Consequently, both suppliers and collectors may choose to transfer to different sites either within the VN or within the VSET. In some cases, the change will involve moving to an entirely different settlement on EFNET, or possibly even another IRC server altogether.

Chapter 8

EPILOGUE AND CONCLUSIONS

At the time this thesis was written Internet Relay Chat had been around for exactly one decade. How long child pornography has been disseminated across IRC, however, is subject to speculation. The same holds true for what directions it will take in the future.

There were two primary objectives to this research. My intent was to provide an exploratory examination of one IRC community involved in the dissemination of child pornography from an anthropological perspective. In doing so, I have examined the activities and events governing exchange relations within this community, as well as how IRC technology is conducive to the actions of the community. I have demonstrated that #100%preteenpixxx is far from the common perception of a haphazard group of “perverts” swapping “kiddie porn”. Such a community is, in fact, quite the opposite in its complexity and structure. #100%preteenpixxx is an “intentional community”, where community entrance and subsequent status maintenance depend heavily upon a shared opportunity to exchange a desired commodity.

The areas of focus within this thesis may be considered by some as outside the realm of what anthropologists should be “looking at”. First, the focus of this research is a virtual community. This requires the study of human relations that transcend the physical boundaries of time and space, and that are brought about by computer-mediated communication. Second, this research addresses a virtual community that is bound by “criminal activity”. I have made the argument earlier in this thesis that criminal activity

should be no exception to ethnographic investigation. Dominant cultures around the world impose rules and laws that prohibit actions they consider illegal, deviant, immoral or evil. However, in each of these cultures there inevitably exist sub groups for whom these actions are in some way meaningful, moral and good, or instrumental.

I have also been accused by some for getting on the proverbial bandwagon and choosing a “flavour-of-the-month” topic. One such accusation occurred near the beginning of my investigation, while engaged in an online conversation with another anthropology student via IRC:

Tina - well you've picked an easy topic because it exists...and it's politically correct right now, but I hope you can live with what the ramifications are of such biased reporting...

In my opinion, accusations such as these stems from the recent focus on Internet child pornography by the media, various governments, lobby groups and law enforcement. Thus, the primary motivating factor behind this research was that the “problem” of child pornography dissemination across the Internet had not been addressed from the perspective of those involved in the actual dissemination. With certain exceptions, examinations of child pornography on the Internet to date have been superficial. Most tend to address the issue in such ways as to reflect current policy. Others fail to recognize how each Internet technology in isolation has vast implications on the dissemination of this material.

Furthermore, law enforcement action taken against child pornography dissemination on the Internet generally involves undercover operations against identifiable perpetrators. Although enforcement officers involved in such operations are exceptionally good at mimicking the actions of perpetrators, it is not their task to attempt

to “understand” these actions. Only through long-term ethnographic immersion in a child pornography trading community do we begin to interpret and communicate this way of life from its native perspective.

Some anthropologists might also consider the way in which data was collected for this thesis unusual. I introduced the term “investigative ethnography” to represent the amalgamation of anthropological field methods with traditional and computer investigative techniques. The investigative ethnographer is, for all intents and purposes, both a detective and a voyeur. Conducting IE is nothing short of intrusive. By nature of its thoroughness, the investigative ethnographer conducts extensive background inquiries, enters into people’s lives, asks personal questions, notes the actions of their informants, and reports their observations back to “outsiders”.

One of the most challenging aspects of conducting this type of IE was being forced to recognize my own potentially detrimental biases. As indicated earlier in this thesis, my values and opinions of child pornography were at odds with the individuals I had proposed to study. I also indicated that I am an advocate of Internet technology, and tend to see the good in the technology before the bad. These biases ultimately tested my ability to remain objective throughout the entirety of the investigation.

I did not undertake this project with the intent of using my findings to fuel the pornography debate. Outside of that which violates Canadian law, I have a relatively neutral opinion on pornography. Rather, I wanted to concentrate my efforts on how IRC technology is used to disseminate a particular illegal commodity across the Internet, as well as the factors that influence and disrupt this dissemination.

Likewise, the process of functioning as a researcher amid two adversarial groups (child pornography disseminators and the police) posed numerous challenges. The majority of my online informants were keen on learning what trading techniques other suppliers and collectors were employing, as well as their success. On several occasions, these informants were interested in learning if I knew of what the police were doing to try to put an end to online trading. Conversely, during this research I was able to formulate and apply several analytical models to identify key patterns of information and conduct within #100%preteenpixmap. These models address environmental domains in cyberspace, virtual communities and settlement patterns, as well as assess the nature and dynamics of criminal threats within these environments. As a result, there has already been some interest in the law enforcement community to use these models as supplements to their conventional online investigative techniques.

There are several observations made during this investigation that remain with me to this day. Foremost is the amount of time and energy spent by #100%preteenpixmap members searching out desired materials and the subsequent negotiations to obtain them. A second observation is how the channel serves as a safe-haven for the members of this trading community. The conflict between the community members and the broader cultural and legal taboos associated with child pornography were instrumental in formulating the beliefs, symbols and rituals exhibited in #100%preteenpixmap.

Other observations were of a more haunting and disturbing nature. It is hard for me to comprehend the actions of individuals such as Unseen who's sexual desires revolved around preteen sadism, rape, and torture, or Sally who claimed that she was being photographed having sex with her father. Although I had no way to validate this

occurrence, I was ethically and legally bound to err on the side of caution and report the incident to the police. I also think back to informants such as Chrism and HQ who claimed to be teenagers interested in pornography depicting people their own age. If they really were teenagers, how should we consider them? Are they pedophiles, sexual predators, or simply individuals sexually interested in others in their peer-group and unclear of the scope of the law?

What I hope to have emphasized here is that, as anthropologists, we remain should attempt to remain objective in our discourse of online criminal communities. This can be a challenging feat, as communities such as #100%preteenp1xxx are involved in activities that are complex, problematic, and emotionally disturbing. This thesis has illustrated that the nature of community members, the motivations for their actions and the types of materials they are disseminating are not as cut-and-dry as we might first believe. My ethnographic investigation of #100%preteenp1xxx clearly reinforces this concern and supports an interpretation that is significantly different to the coverage of Internet child pornography advanced to date. My interviews and observations with actual participants in IRC child pornography dissemination permit an alternate and arguably more accurate interpretation of the events that take place online. I feel safe in noting that this investigation has probably raised more questions than it has answered. This was intentional. It is my hope that these questions will serve as a stepping stone for future work, both in anthropology and other social sciences, examining the nature and prevalence of child pornography on the Internet.

APPENDIX A: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

A1 - Law Enforcement Officers and Intelligence Officers

Informed Consent Procedures:

My name is Ian Ferguson; I am a Master's student in the department of Sociology and Anthropology at Carleton University. I am conducting a series of background inquiries into the implications of BBS and Internet technologies on the trafficking of child pornography for my thesis. Your name was referred to me by _____ from _____ as someone I should talk to. I appreciate your help and cooperation in this endeavor. If you request, your name will not be identified with any of the answers you give, you may decline to answer any questions you wish, and you may terminate the interview at any time if you so desire. Would you object to this interview being recorded to facilitate transcription?

Questions:

This interview will be divided into three categories. This first category regards your professional experience as a _____, as well as your experience dealing with child pornography.

1. How many years have you been in your current position?
2. Briefly, describe for me the duties and responsibilities of the unit or division of which you are currently a member.

3. Briefly, describe for me the duties and responsibilities of your current position.

The following set of questions will deal with traditional child pornography trafficking outside of the context of Internet technologies.

1. In your opinion, how common and readily available is child pornography in Canada (excluding what has become available via bulletin board systems and the Internet)?
2. In your experience, how much of this material is produced domestically?
3. In your experience, what percentage of this material is produced for commercial purposes (that is, the primary intent of the production is for profit)?
4. Can you please describe me the dynamics and characteristics of commercial child pornography? [For example, I am curious about the quality of the material, age range of those depicted, scenarios that are commonly depicted, target markets, etc.]
5. Similarly, what percentage of this material is produced privately or non-commercially (that is, the primary intent of the production is for personal use or sharing with others free of charge)?
6. Are there overlapping characteristics between child pornography that I have labeled "commercial" and "private" that should be noted?

7. In your experience, how common is the trans-national exportation of child pornography that has been produced in Canada?
8. In your experience, how common is the importation of child pornography produced in other countries into Canada?
9. Please describe for me the differences (if any) of child pornography produced in other countries as compared to that which is produced in Canada.
10. What are the most common methods in which these materials are disseminated, excluding that which has become available via bulletin board systems and the Internet?
11. Which formats (videos, photographs, literature, etc.) are most commonly disseminated?
12. Let us suppose that I harbor an attraction to minors and that I would like to obtain materials depicting minors in sexually provocative or explicit ways. I do not have any connections, and as far as I can tell, nobody seems to share my interests. Furthermore, I have heard that much of the materials I am looking for are available on the Internet, however I do not have access to a computer. How would I go about getting my hands on the materials I want?
13. What procedures are undertaken to detect suspect materials?
14. What procedures are undertaken upon detection of suspect materials?
15. In your opinion, how effective is this system of procedures?

16. What do you perceive as the major shortcomings and disadvantages (if any) to this system of procedures?

Next, I would like to ask you a few questions that deal with child pornography trafficking within the context of computers and Internet communication technologies.

1. What does your agency view as the major concerns of the ability to traffic child pornography via BBSs and the Internet?
2. In your experience, how much of this material is produced domestically?
3. In your experience, what percentage of this material is produced for commercial purposes (that is, the primary intent of the production is for profit)?
4. Similarly, what percentage of this material is produced privately or non-commercially (that is, the primary intent of the production is for personal use or sharing with others free of charge)?
5. Are there any overlapping characteristics between “commercial” and “private” child pornography that should be noted in context of the Internet?
6. How do you feel that Internet technologies have or will increase the trafficking of child pornography in and out of Canada?
7. I am going to list a series of Internet mediums that could be used to disseminate or acquire child pornography. I want you to rate them based on the current likelihood of their use: highly probable; somewhat probable;

somewhat unlikely; or highly unlikely. You may base your answers on common trends exhibited in cases which you or your unit / division have investigated. Please remember that we are only taking into consideration child pornography and not other conventional forms of pornography or erotica.

The World Wide Web ☐ HP ☐ SP ☐ SU ☐ HU

Usenet Newsgroups ☐ HP ☐ SP ☐ SU ☐ HU

IRC Channels ☐ HP ☐ SP ☐ SU ☐ HU

FTP Sites / File Servers ☐ HP ☐ SP ☐ SU ☐ HU

Web Conferencing ☐ HP ☐ SP ☐ SU ☐ HU

Video Conferencing / CUSEE ME ☐ HP ☐ SP ☐ SU ☐ HU

E-mail ☐ HP ☐ SP ☐ SU ☐ HU

Listservs / Mail Lists ☐ HP ☐ SP ☐ SU ☐ HU

14. I want to obtain materials that depict minors in sexually provocative or explicit ways, however I do not have any connections, and as far as I can tell, nobody seems to share my interests. I have heard that much of the materials I am looking for are available on the Internet, so I went out and purchased an account with a local Internet service provider. How would I go about getting my hands on the materials I want?

15. In your opinion, have the “traditional” methods of child pornography trafficking diminished because of these Internet technologies?
16. There have been numerous arrests in the past two years involving child pornography related charges. The largest case that I am aware of is that of Trevor Davis and the Orchid Club. Please describe for me the nature and distribution of this group as well as the types of Internet technologies they employed.
17. How common is a group like the Orchid Club and how does it compare with some of the other high profile cases involving child pornography trafficked via the Internet.
18. What procedures has your agency implemented to detect trans-national trafficking of child pornography via the Internet? How do these procedures differ from “traditional” methods?
19. In your opinion, how effective is this system of procedures?
20. What do you perceive as the major shortcomings and disadvantages (if any) to this new system of procedures?

That concludes the third and final part of this interview. Is there anything you would like to add at this time?

Thank you for your cooperation in this study.

A2 - Online Informants

Informed Consent Procedures:

My name is Ian Ferguson and I am a graduate student at Carleton University in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. I am doing my thesis on how pre/teen pornography is shared between people in this IRC channel. I am NOT affiliated with the police, the government or the media and I am not trying to collect information to get you or anyone else in trouble. I would like your assistance in helping me learn a little bit about what goes on here by asking you a few questions. This will take approximately 45 - 60 minutes. Is this OK with you?

Before we begin, I want to ensure your anonymity and that this interview is 100% confidential. I assure you that none of the information you share with me today will be used to harm you. You may decline to answer any questions you wish, and you may terminate the interview at any time if you so desire. In addition, I will not be using your name or that of this IRC channel. I want to ensure your privacy and I do not want to exploit you. This is important to me. Does this sound OK with you?

One other thing: under no circumstance do I want you to send me child pornography. If this happens, it puts me in a difficult position as I will have to hand it over to the police and tell them where I got it. I DO NOT want to do this.

Would you like to ask me anything before we start?

Okay, lets begin.

1. First, I would like to ask you a little bit about yourself. Don't worry, I don't want any info that will reveal your identity. How old are you?

2. Are you male or female?
3. What is your marital status?
4. Where are you from?
5. What do you do for a living?
6. How would you describe your home life?
7. Do you live alone?
8. How long have you been using the Internet?
9. How many hours a week do you use the Internet?
10. How much of this time is devoted to preteen and/or teen pornography?
11. What do you consider your primary use of the Internet?
12. Where do tend to access the Net?

For the next series of questions, please indicate when you have finished answering so I know when to move on. Also, feel free to speak your mind. Do not worry about offending me or saying something that you think is bad. OK?

12. Do you trade or collect pre/teen porno pics?
13. I know very little about trading in IRC. Maybe you could describe in some detail what a typical trading session is like for you?

14. Is chatting with other people with similar interests an important part of the trading process for you?
15. If yes, maybe you could describe in some detail what a typical chat session is like?
16. Do you or have you ever sent free pictures or other files to initiate or continue a chat?
17. If yes, why? If no, why?
18. Do you feel that IRC is a safe and good way to collect, trade or chat about pre/teen porn?
19. What do you like / dislike most about it?
20. Do you think there is a difference between teen porn, preteen porn and kiddie porn?
21. How long have you been trading or collecting pre/teen porn?
22. Were you trading or collecting before you had access to the Internet?
23. Why did you become involved in pre/teen porn?
24. How did you become involved on the Internet?
25. What is your primary involvement in pre/teen porn?
26. Has this involvement changed over time?

27. What do you get out of this kind of pornography?
28. What do you do with the porn you collect?
29. Would you or have you acted upon anything you have seen in pre/teen porn?
30. For those interested in trading, what types of pre/teen do YOU make available to others in this channel?
31. Is there a particular form of pre/teen that you like most?
32. Are you interested in other forms of porn as well?
33. How big is your overall porn collection?
34. How much of your collection is pre/teen porn?
35. How much of your collection was collected via the Net?
36. Based on your experience, how is IRC pre/teen porn production and distribution organized?
37. The media would have us believe that the Internet has increased the trafficking of child pornography to an all time high. Is this an accurate perception?
38. Many people like yourself take precautions to protect themselves and their interests in pre/teen porn since in many countries, pornography showing people under 18 years old is illegal. What measures do you take to protect yourself (both on-line and off-line)?

39. Have you ever had an encounter with a cop concerning your involvement in pre/teen porn?

40. If yes, how would you describe your experience(s)? How were you treated?

41. Last question: How do you feel that Internet technology could change to better serve your interests in preteen / teen porn?

OK, this concludes the interview. Thanks for your time. Did you have any problems with the questions I asked you?

Do you want to ask me anything?

APPENDIX B: STATEMENT OF ETHICS

1.0 Preamble

This Statement of Ethics is intended to serve as a set of guidelines to be followed with regard to all research methodologies or techniques used to achieve the objectives outlined in section 2.0.

2.0 Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is to examine the nature of “intentional criminal communities” in cyberspace using organized rings involved in the production, dissemination and/or collection of child pornography, as defined under the *Canadian Criminal Code*, as the point of reference. In doing so, the researcher will address two specific points relevant to this study:

- 2.1 The creation and intent of child pornography rings operating within specific identified virtual environments via the Internet, or who make use of specific identified Internet communications technologies, to satisfy common goals; and
- 2.2 Identifying and examining operational trends pertaining to this type of intentional criminal community.

3.0 Identification and Disclosure of Intent

Upon entering the research environment, or upon approaching potential subjects or informants, the researcher will disclose the following information:

- 3.1 The purpose of the research;

- 3.2 Descriptions of investigative procedures;
- 3.3 Detailed description of exactly what participation will entail for the subject or informant;
- 3.4 Probability and nature of potential risks to the subject or informant, including how confidentiality will be protected;
- 3.5 Explanation of who will have access to information collected during the course of the study; and
- 3.6 Statement that under no circumstances is the researcher to be sent any illegal materials (including image files, video files, audio files, or text files depicting child pornography, among others) or other forms of incriminating evidence. The subject or informant will be warned up front that failure to comply with this request may result in legal action.

4.0 Collection, Analysis and Retention

- 4.1 The researcher shall collect data, by investigation or otherwise, to the extent that is strictly necessary and ethically and legally permitted, as well as analyze and retain information relating solely to this study.
- 4.2 Notice of intention to investigate:
 - 4.2.1 Before commencing an investigation into the fields detailed in section 2.0, the researcher shall notify the advisory committee and, where applicable, any external parties concerned of the intention to carry out the investigation and its purpose.

- 4.3 The researcher shall, under no circumstances, pressure, coerce, threaten, trick or bribe a subject or informant for information, or attempt to collect evidence for the specific purpose of incriminating that subject or informant.
- 4.4 The researcher will respect the rights of all potential subjects or informants to privacy, confidentiality and anonymity, and not to be studied. The researcher will make every effort to determine whether those providing information wish to remain anonymous or to receive recognition and then respect their wishes.
- 4.5 The researcher shall, under no circumstances, act as an agent or paid informant of the police, or of a municipal, provincial or federal government department or agency, during the course of this study.
- 4.6 The researcher shall, under no circumstances, knowingly interfere with or disrupt an investigation being conducted by the police or a government department or agency within the same environment(s) being surveyed during the course of this research.

5.0 Informed Consent

- 5.1 Any subject or informant may wave the right to sign a consent form if they feel that it is inadequate, inadvisable, unattainable, or will jeopardize their anonymity. In such cases, the researcher will work with the subject or informant to devise personal, technological or culturally appropriate

methods to allow them to make ongoing decisions to participate or to withdraw from the research process.

- 5.2 Informed consent indicates that the subject or informant has understood to his/her satisfaction the information regarding participation in the study and has agreed to participate as a subject or informant. In no way does this waive his/her legal rights nor release the researcher and his sponsors from their legal and professional responsibilities.
- 5.3 Informed consent warrants the subject or informant the freedom to withdraw from this study at any time without consequence.
- 5.4 Informed consent permits the subject or informant the right to receive new and updated information during the course of this study.

6.0 Covert Research and Deception

- 6.1 The researcher shall, under no circumstances, use false pretense or act under a false or assumed identity, which may include posing as a minor, a pedophile, a law enforcement officer or an agent of the government, among others, for the purpose of collecting information, except
 - 6.1.1 where the technology or customs of a particular Internet environment, community or (sub/counter)culture dictates that the user must adopt a pseudonym, nickname, alias, or false name, or
 - 6.1.2 where the researcher feels that adopting a pseudonym, nickname, alias, or false name is required to protect the identity or personal safety of himself or others.

- 6.2 Covert observation techniques may need to be implemented to guarantee “official” or “on-the-record” representations of reality. Covert techniques will only be implemented if both the researcher and the advisory committee agree that no other methodology would properly accomplish the research objectives.
- 6.3 Covert observation techniques will be deemed unacceptable if they would interfere with one’s understanding of the facts which might influence a decision to informed consent, or risk harm to the research subject or informant.
- 6.4 Covert observation techniques will be deemed unacceptable if they would interfere with one’s right to privacy – that is information about behavior that occurs in contexts in which an individual can reasonably expect that no observation or recording is taking place and information which has been provided for specific purposes by an individual and which the individual can reasonably expect will not be made public.
- 6.5 Covert observation techniques will be deemed unacceptable if they would interfere with or disrupt an investigation being conducted by the police or a government department or agency within the same environment(s) being surveyed during the course of this research.

This Statement of Ethics indicates that the researcher and the advisory committee understand to their satisfaction the ethical and legal guidelines regarding this study and agree to abide by them fully and without exception.

**APPENDIX C: SOME HIGH PROFILE CANADIAN INTERNET CHILD
PORNOGRAPHY CASES (1992 – 1998)**

Date	Offender	Details
October 1993	Joseph Pecciarich (a.k.a. Recent Zephyr), age 20, Mississauga, ON	Stories depicting neighborhood children and digitally modified image files created by the offender.
January 1996	Mario Bartolozzi, age 44, Toronto, ON	Stories and images depicting men and young boys engaged in sexual acts.
May 1996	Pierre Paliquin, age 38, Gloucester, ON	Undisclosed number of image files depicting children aged four to 15, engaged in sexual acts with children and adults.
July 1996	James Ritchie, age 54, Merrickville, ON	1,350 image files and 671 articles depicting young children engaged in sexual acts with other children, adults, and animals. The offender authored some of the articles.
August 1996	Marko Radjenovich, age 34, Hamilton, ON	40 printouts of photographs depicting children engaged in sex acts.
October 1996	Sydney Smith, age 45, Cambridge, ON	453 image files depicting children engaged in sexual acts.
	Trevor Davis (a.k.a. Macphisto), age 22, Kirkland Lake, ON.	Member of a child pornography ring entitled "The Orchid Club". 30,000 images and video clips depicting infants, young children and teenagers engaged in sexual acts with other children, adults, and animals.
November 1996	William Kiellor, age 44, Almonte, ON	Child pornography stories.

December 1996	Dr. Blair Evans, age 46, Gloucester, ON.	Civilian employee at Department of National Defense research laboratories. 20,000 child pornography image files in his possession at the time of his arrest.
January 1997	Stuart Friedman, age 42, Halifax, NS	U.S. Jewish cleric. Materials seized included child pornography videos, magazines, photographs, computer files, a book on "street-proofing" children against sexual predators and a video interview with a child killer.
	Heidi Wischniowsky, age 32, Orleans, ON.	First Canadian woman charged with possession of child pornography obtained via the Internet.
February 1997	Allen Hunter, age 33, North York, ON	1,000 computer files containing child pornography.
March 1997	Michael Andrew Gibbon (a.k.a. Natasha), age 28, Bridal Falls, BC.	Videos, diaries, computer files and rolls of film depicting sexual intercourse with infants and bestiality.
	Wade Graham Carruthers, age 33, Castle Downs, AB.	No details specified.
April 1997	John Bruce Lockett, age 56, Gloucester, ON	Second employee at Department of National Defense. Child pornography image files discovered at his office workstation.
May 1997	Donald Glen Richardson, age 49, Saskatoon, SASK	4,000 computer files containing child pornography.
	Richard Janes, age 34, Mirianne Janes, age 40, and their 15 year old son, Hamilton, ON.	5,000 pornography images seized, 1,000 of which depicted boys and girls as young as 4 years.
	Computer & Net Player Magazine	Magazines pulled from store shelves when child pornography discovered on CD-ROM insert.
August 1997	Steven Elder, age 42, Gloucester, ON.	Third employee at Department of National Defense. Computer files and 30 videos containing child pornography in his possession at the

		time of his arrest.
September 1997	Patrick Danniels, age 34, Labrador City, NFLD	Child psychiatrist charged with possession of child pornography.
October 1997	Daniel Hancock, age 30, Oshawa, ON. Trevor Partridge, age 30, Bowmanville, ON.	32,000 images and video clips depicting infants, young children and teenagers engaged in sexual acts with other children, adults, and animals.
November 1997	Gordon Mattice, age 56, Mississauga, ON.	939 videotapes, 305 magazines, 24 eight-millimeter cassettes, 14 super eight reel-to-reel tapes, 70 books, and 247 computer disks containing 40, 000 images.

Sources: Associate Press (1996); Barrick (1996); Bindman (1995); Bray (1996); Campbell (1998); Canadian Press (1996a, 1996b); Di Gregorio (1996); Haysom (1997); Jenish (1993); Johnstone (1995); Kuitenbrouwer (1996); Lamberti (1997); Ottawa Citizen (1996); Poling (1996); Rupert (1996); Southam Newspapers (1996); Stern (1996, 1997); Sunde (1995); Windsor Star (1996)⁷⁸.

APPENDIX D: FILE NAMES

Phonetic Name	Pronunciation / Meaning
01stcum	First cum
13gngbng	13-year-old gang bang
bathtime	Bath time
kidcest	Kid incest
boybath1	Boy taking bath, 1 st in series
2boysuck	Two boys performing oral sex (sucking cock)
10eatme	10-year-old performing oral sex (eating someone out)
05sucky	5-year-old performing oral sex (sucking cock)
10likcun	10-year-old who likes cunt
12bang	12-year-old engaged in group sex (gang-bang)
09fuck2	9-year-old fucking, 2 nd in series
yngrider	Young person riding someone
11yranal	11-year-old engaged in anal sex
10butfuk	10-year-old being butt fucked
08fukuk	8-year-old fucking and sucking cock

09gang-bang	9-year-old gang bang
3some090	Three-some, 90 th in series
06pussy	6-year-old's pussy
10yrpussy	10-year-old's pussy
!!rear	Anal shot
6yngass	6-year-old's young ass
yngfun	Young fun
fun-lez	Fun lesbian sex
blosex51	Oral sex, 51 st in series
~10vibtr	10-year-old using a vibrator
04dil	4-year-old using a "dildo"
12bnna	12-year-old using a banana
carrot02	Penetration using a carrot, 2 nd in series
08famfun	8-year-old engaged in group sex (family fun)
daddy2	2 nd in a series called "daddy"
my-sister	My sister
momson6	Mom engaged in sex with son, 6 th in series
07anal-uncle2	7-year-old engaged in anal sex with uncle, 2 nd in series

11p-dad	11-year-old peeing on dad
11-uron-12	11-year-old urinating on 12-year-old
yng-pee	Young person peeing
f11rape	11-year-old female being raped
forced3	3 rd in series called forced (forced sex)
whp1_p14	14 th picture in series called "whp1" (whip)
pusclamp	Pussy clamp
SM_RAPE	Sado-masochism rape
TRAPE	Teen / torture rape
SM_PISS	Sado-masochism piss

ENDNOTES

- ¹ See Chapter 3 and Appendix C.
 - ² I have used the term “exchange relations” to mean the production and dissemination of both material and non-material goods, a concept which derives from the work of Karl Polanyi. In Tyrrell & Ferguson (1998), this concept was modified to fit the economic regimes of Cyberspace.
 - ³ The use of anthropology in the field of criminal justice and intelligence has a long and complex history. For those interested in examining this area in more detail, I recommend the following books. Elliott Leyton, in his book *Hunting Humans: The Rise of the Modern Multiple Murderer* (1986) provides an anthropological perspective on mass and serial murder. Ethnographic examinations of urban gangs include Mercer Sullivan’s *“Getting Paid”: Youth Crime and Work in the Inner City* (1989); Martín Sánchez Jankowski’s *Islands in the Street: Gangs and American Urban Society* (1991), and William Whyte’s *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum* (1993).
- Anthropological examinations of legal systems include *Law and order in Polynesia: A Study of Primitive Legal Institutions* (1934) by Herbert Hogbin; *The Judicial Process Among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia* (1955) by Max Gluckman; and *Justice and Judgment Among the Tiv* (1957) by Paul Bohannan.
- The use of anthropology in intelligence gathering has a controversial yet interesting history. One of the key intelligence documents for the United States occupation of Japan at the end of World War II was *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (1967) by Ruth Benedict. E.E. Evans-Pritchard, who became an intelligence officer with the British Army, wrote *The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People* (1950). The controversial use of anthropologists by the CIA during the Vietnam War is documented in *Montagnard Tribal Groups of the Republic of Viet-Nam* (1964) by the US Army Special Warfare School, and *The Rise and Fall of Project Camelot: Studies in the Relationship between Social Science and Practical Politics* (1967) by Irving Horowitz. One of the earliest uses of “ethnography” in intelligence gathering is seen in *The Germania* (1970 [original @82 AD]) by Tacitus.
- ⁴ Although I am not aware of anyone else using the term “investigative ethnography” or “IE” there has been another anthropologist who has made the analogy of ethnography as detective work. H.L. Goodall (1994) describes himself as an “organizational detective” who aims to locate and interpret clues to solve mysteries surrounding organizational cultures.
 - ⁵ Although this thesis employs the use of descriptive statistics, it is unfeasible to use quantitative statistics in Cyberspace research. The reason for this is two-fold. First, Cyberspace is not a static environment; technological advances and changes in human interface change at an unprecedented rate. Second, Cyberspace involves patterns of information and not measurable physical materials. An example of this is seen with the problem of measuring the “popularity” of web sites. Hit counters are employed to record the number of times a web site is accessed, hence measuring its “popularity”. Yet even though a counter may measure 1,000,000 hits to the site, it is possible that this is the result of a single returning user.
 - ⁶ I use the term “consultation” to refer to both informal interviews and other forms of interaction designed to gain understanding of the various facets of this environment. In part, consultations act to limit formal interview bias.

- ⁷ Consultations lasted anywhere from 20 minutes to 6 hours. It should also be noted that informants frequently initiated consultations.
- ⁸ Being allowed to view seized child pornography and online operations proved beneficial later in my investigation. For example, although I could not legally download child pornography from #100%preteenpixxx, I was able to cross-reference my online observations (e.g. file names, formats, etc.) with the materials exhibited by the police. This is discussed in further detail in chapters 5 through 7.
- ⁹ The experience of a “virtual” environment, however, must still take into account that the participant must be physically present in front of their computer terminal.
- ¹⁰ Although I employed mIRC throughout the entirety of this investigation, it is not the only IRC client available. Because the discussion presented in this thesis reflects mIRC commands and functions, discrepancies may exist with regard to other clients. I apologize for any difficulties that might arise for non-mIRC users.
- ¹¹ A Web-based version of Sam Spade is available at www.blighty.com/spade.
- ¹² The 19 channels listed in this search are not necessarily the only ones dedicated to child pornography or preteen sex. Some channels may employ names that provide no indication to their content. Other channels may have been rendered “hidden” or “secret” so they would not be included in the channel search list.
- ¹³ Throughout the course of this investigation, I also collected information from a variety of confidential offline informants. These informants ranged from members of the high-tech community, members of local underground sex subcultures, as well as individuals previously arrested for their involvement in IRC child pornography trading.
- ¹⁴ This navigation is through the file structures and not through the actual files. This is similar to using any form of file management program (e.g. Microsoft Windows Explorer).
- ¹⁵ Unlike various consultations with various law enforcement professionals, these were recorded as a result of the environment in which they were conducted.
- ¹⁶ At the time this thesis was written, I was unclear of any law enforcement action taken against Sally. However, I do not believe that any further action was taken as I was never questioned in any detail about the incident, or asked me to supply any additional information.
- ¹⁷ For a more detailed discussion of “deviant” and “illegal” activity in cyberspace should consult: Katie Hafner and John Markoff’s book *Cyberpunk: Outlaws & Hackers on the Computer Frontier* (1991), Bruce Sterling’s *The Hacker Crackdown: Law & Disorder on the Electronic Frontier* (1992), and Edward A. Cavazos and Gavino Morin’s *Cyberspace and the Law: Your Rights and Duties in the On-Line World* (1995).
- ¹⁸ Statistics Canada surveyed approximately 35,000 households, representing 11.6 million private households in Canada. Data on Internet usage was collected for the first time in 1996. The survey only covered home access and excluded Internet access at work or in public places such as schools and libraries.

- ¹⁹ In North America, it has been suggested that much of the public concern surrounding Internet regulation tends to result from individuals with little or no computer experience, or who are more generally technologically illiterate. A recent survey of 1,444 Americans published in the December 1997 issue of *Wired* magazine indicated that the less "connected" an individual is, the more likely they are to be ignorant and alienated from issues surrounding technological regulation. The use of the term "connected" refers to the use of a home computer, a laptop computer, a cell-phone and/or a pager (*Wired*, December 1997).

For more information on initiatives in Europe, refer to *Copyright and Related Rights in the Information Society* (Commission of the European Communities, 1995) and *Industries culturelles et nouvelles techniques* (Ministère de la Culture et de la Francophonie, 1994). For more information on initiatives in Japan, refer to *A Report on Discussions by the Working Group of the Subcommittee on Multi-Media Copyright Council: Study of Institutional Issues Regarding Multi-Media* (Subcommittee on Multi-Media Copyright Council, 1995). For more information on initiatives in Australia, refer to *Highways to Change: Copyright in the New Communications Environment* (Copyright Convergence Group, 1994).

- ²⁰ One of the most prevalent on-line reactions to the debates surrounding regulation, free speech and censorship on the Internet is what has become known as the Blue Ribbon Campaign. The campaign is typically characterized by the inclusion of an image depicting a blue ribbon on Web sites supporting free speech on the Internet.

A second example can be seen with the fictional Canadian Internet Licensing Board (CILB) web site (www.cilb.com). As stated by the site's designers, the intent of the CILB is "to draw attention to the absurdity of trying to regulate a medium which cannot, and should not, be regulated by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), the Government of Canada, or any other group".

- ²¹ The investigation ultimately led to the indictment of Felix Somm, the managing director of the German unit of CompuServe by German authorities. Charges laid against Somm included transmitting images depicting violent sex, child pornography, bestiality, and a computer game that included images of Adolph Hitler and Nazi party symbols. The outcome of this indictment was not known at the time of this study.

- ²² The full version of the CAIP voluntary code of conduct is available at www.caip.ca.

- ²³ Although uncommon, there have been instances where illegal pornography has been published on Web pages. One site published by a member of the North American Man / Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) included images of a young boy performing fellatio and urinating on adults and other children (Daniels, 1997).

- ²⁴ I examined a possible example of this in the back pages of a popular pornographic periodical in another paper (Ferguson 1996). The advertisement reads: "HOT, WET & KINKY: I'm a pro, and I know just what I like. I like it hot, wet & kinky. I may look young & innocent, but don't think I haven't seen it all. I do it with boys, I do it with girls, and use your imagination after that (publisher's restrictions prevent me from giving further details.) If you'd like to see me at my professional best, send \$3 for a sample photoset to... [Address omitted by author]".

- ²⁵ I provide comprehensive case studies of this phenomenon elsewhere. For more information, please refer to *Social Patterns of Accusation in Multiple Victim / Multiple Offender Sex Abuse Cases* (1996), and *The Bogeymen of Cyberspace: An Anthropological Investigation into Online Stranger Danger* (1997).

²⁶ In Canada, a “minor” constitutes (1) a “child”: defined as anyone under the age of fourteen years, or (2) a “young person”: defined as anyone over the age of fourteen years, but who has not reached their eighteenth birthday. This paper will address the sexual victimization of minors with strict reference to the following *Criminal Code* provisions:

Sexual Interference (s.151): Anyone who for a sexual purpose touches, directly or indirectly with a part of the body or an object, any part of the body of a child under fourteen.

Invitation to Sexual Touching (s.152): Every person who for a sexual purpose invites, counsels or incites a child under 14 to touch, directly or indirectly with a part of the body or an object, the body of any person, including a child’s own body and the body of the person encouraging the touching.

Sexual Exploitation of a Young Person (s.153): Every person who for a sexual purpose invites, counsels or incites the young person to touch, directly or indirectly with a part of the body or an object, the body of any person, including a the young person’s body and the body of the person encouraging the touching.

Incest (s.155): Having sexual intercourse with a blood relation (parent, child, brother, sister, half-brother, half-sister, grandparent, or grandchild).

Anal Intercourse (s.159): Acts of anal intercourse are prohibited with children and young people under eighteen.

Bestiality (s.160): Every person who has sexual intercourse or other sexual activity with an animal; who compels someone else to have sexual intercourse or other sexual activity with an animal; who has sexual intercourse or other sexual activity with an animal in the presence of a child under fourteen; or who incites a child under fourteen to have sexual intercourse or other sexual activity with an animal.

Child Pornography (s.163.1): Any photographic, film, video or other visual representation, whether or not it was made by electronic or mechanical means that shows a person who is depicted as being under the age of eighteen years and is engaged in or is depicted as engaged in explicit sexual activity or the dominant characteristic of which is the depiction, for a sexual purpose, of a sexual organ or the anal region of a person under the age of eighteen years

Parent or Guardian Procuring Sexual Activity of a Child (s.170): Every parent or guardian of a child under the age of eighteen who procures (prevails upon or induces) the child to become involved in an illegal sexual activity with any person, other than the parent or guardian.

Corrupting Children (s.172): Endangering the morals of children (under the age of eighteen) or rendering home an unfit place for the child.

Exposing Genitals to a Child (s.173.2): Every person in any place who exposes his or her genitals to a child under fourteen for a sexual purpose.

Living off the Avails of Child Prostitution (s.212.2): Every person who lives wholly or in part off the profits of prostitution of a child under eighteen.

Attempting to Obtain the Sexual Services of a Child (s.212.4): Every person who obtains, or attempts to obtain for consideration, the sexual services of a young person under eighteen.

Sexual Assault (s.271): Applying force to another person, directly or indirectly without consent under circumstances of a sexual nature.

The above discussion of victimization does not include consensual sexual activity between minors. In Canada, no child under the age of 12 can legally consent to sexual activity. Children over the age of 12 but not yet 14 can consent to sexual activity with another individual under the age of 16. Young people over the age of 14 but under 18 can legally consent to sexual activity, as long as one of the individuals involved is not in a position of trust or authority over the other, or is a person upon whom the other is dependent.

²⁷ For a more complete examination of the behavioral nature of child molesters and pedophiles / infantophiles, I recommend the following books. *Child Sexual Abuse: New Theory and Research* (1984) by D. Finkelhor; *Child Molesters: A Behavioral Analysis* (1992) by Ken Lanning; *The Psychosocial Development of Sex Offenders: Differences Between Exhibitionists, Child Molesters, and Incest Offenders* (1997) by Michael Miner et al.; *Infantophilia: A New Subcategory of Pedophilia? A Preliminary Study* (1995) by David Greenberg et. al.; and *Personality Correlates of Pedophilia: Are They Reliable Indicators?* (1992) by Paul Okami et. al.

²⁸ An example of this dichotomy can be seen within the *boy-love* subculture (e.g. NAMBLA (North American Man / Boy Love Association)). A “boy-lover” can be described as an adolescent or adult male who considers himself attracted to prepubescent males. Some boy-lovers will describe this attraction as a form of homosexuality. Others may have no sexual attraction to boys, or may be involved in a heterosexual relationship with a female.

Many members of the boy-love subculture view Western cultural taboos surrounding adult / child sexuality in a very different manner than that held by mainstream society. One example would be their application of the term “pedophile”. Many boy-lovers view the term as derogatory. Others view themselves as pedophiles as it derives from the classical Greek meaning for “boy lover”. Therefore, many share the view that the terms “pedophilia” and “boy-love” are interchangeable, if one accepts that the two words are actually one of the same.

²⁹ This definition is an adaptation of Lanning’s definition of a child sex ring: “one or more offenders simultaneously involved with several child victims” (1992b: 351).

³⁰ Most Canadians likely consider materials depicting sado-masochism, pygmalionism or coprolangia as “deviant” pornography. There will be no effort made here to discuss whether such sexual practices are normal or abnormal. However, it is important to note that although such materials could be considered offensive or obscene, depending on definitions of terms and the context in which the acts are depicted, they are not necessarily illegal.

³¹ One of the more popular cases of such a dispute involved the apparent use of underage models by Calvin Klein. Calvin Klein employed several young-looking models (e.g. Kate Moss) in several of his company’s fashion advertisements throughout the 1990’s.

³² For a comprehensive examination of child pornography-related laws in other countries, I suggest the *Internet Law Library* (law.house.gov), and *Findlaw* (www.findlaw.com).

³³ This image was examined and approved for use in this thesis by two Project P detectives.

- ³⁴ Cavazos and Morin offer a similar scenario in which a series of digitized image files discovered on a Usenet newsgroup depicted a woman engaged in sexual intercourse with a space alien (Cavazos and Morin 1995: 99). An additional common form of digitally simulated pornography involves the wide body of digitally simulated images depicting celebrities in the nude or engaged in sexual acts available on the Internet.
- ³⁵ For a more comprehensive examination of the Langer case, refer to Anne-Marie Kinahan's work *Politicians, Police, Pedophiles and Perverts: A Critical Analysis of Media Commentary on "The Ordeal of Eli Langer"* (1996).
- ³⁶ The theoretical concepts presented in this chapter were developed in conjunction with my colleague Marc Tyrrell. Additional thanks are extended to Tony Maltby, Paul Thibaudeau, and Brian Given.
- ³⁷ The term "contingent community" is employed to mean virtual communities whose existence is the result of an accidental or possible occurrence, or is dependent upon an uncertain event or condition.
- ³⁸ Taxonomic analysis has been employed by anthropologists to examine cultural institutions, social institutions, and folk terminology, among other areas. These applications be traced throughout the history of the discipline, and continue to this day. Some examples of taxonomical analyses are provided in Morgan (1877), Cohen (1974), Orbach (1977), and Whyte (1993). These references are included here to establish a pattern of use. However, the "validity" or "success" of these examples is clearly a matter for a separate discussion.
- ³⁹ These concepts were first proposed in *Contingency and Community in Cyberspace: Technological and Social Evolution in Cyberspace* (Tyrrell & Ferguson, 1998)
- ⁴⁰ The existence of prescriptive membership in a virtual community, which is the norm for most pre-industrial communities, is rare but growing. The primary example of this is corporate Intranets that frequently require all members of the corporation to engage in CMC (e.g. e-mail, electronic document sharing, online conferencing). However, this discussion of virtual communities refers specifically to intentional communities.
- ⁴¹ There is a significant degree of mandatory membership present in communities of enterprise that is not seen with communities of practice. An example of this is individual faculty pages within a university departmental web site.
- ⁴² There have been cases where channel users have employed fantasy discussion to initiate a real-life encounter. In May 1995, a 15-year-old boy from Seattle named Daniel Montgomery ran away from home following a liaison with an older man who he had met in an IRC channel. During the course of this liaison, the man mailed Daniel a bus ticket inviting him to come live with him. Police found Daniel unharmed at the San Francisco International Airport two months later and took him into protective custody (Sunde, 1995: A9).

There have also been cases where such real-life encounters have had tragic consequences. In late October 1996, the body of a woman from Hampton, Maryland was pulled from a shallow grave outside the trailer of her lover in Lenoir, North Carolina. The incident occurred shortly after the victim had travelled to Lenoir to meet her lover for the first time following an anonymous e-mail liaison. During this liaison, the two had constructed and "participated" in several cyber-sex scenarios involving sado-masochism, torture and snuff. The victim's lover was charged with her murder, but claims that her death

was an accident that occurred while the two were living out their sexual fantasies conceived during their e-mail liaison (Anonymous, 1996:55).

- ⁴³ Such discussions often serve as nothing but fantasy or role-play between two individuals. However, online sexual predators often use fantasy as pretext for a real-life encounter. Consider the following example.

I experienced this first hand while doing an online operation with Keith Daniels at Ottawa Carleton Regional Police headquarters. The operation consisted of Daniels posing as a young girl in a target IRC channel to attract potential sexual predators. Within a few minutes, he had struck up a conversation with an adult male from the US. Following a brief introduction, the suspect asked Daniels "how old are you and what do you look like?". Daniels responded with his online identity's "age", and provocatively described that "she" was petite with short blond hair and small developing breasts. The suspect appeared pleased. "Have you ever been fucked before?" he asked. Daniels replied that he was "still a virgin", but implied that "she" might be interested in sex. At this time, the suspect sent a series of child pornography images, which Daniels documented in his notebook. The suspect then sent a picture of an erect penis, which he claimed was his taken with a digital camera. Following further dialogue, the suspect supplied his name, a photograph of himself, his email address, and indicated that he was interested flying up to Ottawa to meet Daniels.

- ⁴⁴ Channels with identical names are also present on other IRC networks. However, I am unable to substantiate whether their operational structures are the same as those on EFNET. Therefore, the observations made here may or may not apply.

I am aware of one instance where an informant was simultaneously involved in the "same" channel on two different servers. This informant explained that he believed this would increase the range of traders that he could interact with at any given time. He accomplished this by running two versions of mIRC at the same time, with each logged into a different server.

- ⁴⁵ An example of an opportunity site would be a legitimate, licensed massage parlour that serves as a front for prostitution services.
- ⁴⁶ Child pornography is not the only commodity that the contingency ring was involved in. The 15 operators also ran a series of pirated software ("warez") trading channels. These channels appear to operate using the same trading principals as pornography trading channels.
- ⁴⁷ The methods of identity construction that appear in many synchronous arenas are unique. However, while situations of gender swapping and body morphing are fairly common in IRC channels and MUDs, they appear to be fairly rare on the web, in list-serves and most newsgroups.
- ⁴⁸ On one occasion, I observed a user create a pseudo-graphic depicting the term "Pre Teen" using text characters. However, I never witnessed this form of visual cue repeated.
- ⁴⁹ Multiple scripts can also be employed to work independently of each other. In such cases, a single IRC server event can trigger events in one or more scripts. An example of this would be an alias identification script (which identifies the user) followed by a ban script (which blocks the user's access to the channel).
- ⁵⁰ This model is adapted from an earlier version employed in *Social Patterns of Accusation in Multiple-Victim / Multiple-Offender Sex Abuse Cases: An Anthropological Perspective for Criminal Justice*

Professionals handling cases of Child Sexual Victimization (Ferguson, 1995). In this case, the model was employed to assess a series of unfounded allegations surrounding a large-scale child sexual victimization case. First, several of the initial offenders were alleged to be members of a satanic cult and an organized child sex ring. Second, there were multiple allegations of the victims being ritually abused. Third, many believed that the offenders were involved in the production of commercial child pornography.

By employing the model to assess the data I had collected during my investigation, I was able to either disprove or contextualize all these allegations. Although the offenders videotaped some of the victimization, it did not involve a commercial motive. The victimization was in no way part of a cultural or religious belief system. While these incidents did reflect many of the stereotypes commonly associated with multi-victim / offender sexual victimization, they were nothing more than sadistic crimes committed by a series of marginalized individuals.

⁵¹ Tony Maltby provides an example of online culturally prescribed acts permitted by law in his paper *Informing Online: A Tribe in Turmoil* (1998).

⁵² Additional examples of online criminal activity that has real-world repercussions include cyber-rape (Dibbell, 1993; Michals, 1997), cyber-terrorism (Collin, 1996), and economic espionage (Porteous, 1997; Sallot, 1998).

⁵³ Cache is an allocated area of a computer's hard disk into which data accessed on-line is downloaded for storage. For example, each time a web site is visited, its multimedia components and HTML structure are downloaded to the cache in order to facilitate subsequent navigation of the site. How long the on-line data is stored in the cache is relative to its size, as well as the frequency that the material is accessed on-line.

⁵⁴ Conducting investigative ethnography is both a time and labour intensive undertaking. As discussed in Chapter 2, over 800 hours were spent online over the course of 6 months. However, the number of hours logged into #100%preteenpixxx does not equal the number of hours worked. Hundreds of preparatory hours were spent over the course of the year leading up to investigation familiarising myself with IRC, researching appropriate software clients, and learning the legal and ethical implications of conducting online IE.

Computer automated observations, interviews and field logs generated thousands of pages of information. This does not take into account consultations that were not recorded at the request of the informant. Furthermore, hundreds of hours were spent conducting background and peripheral investigations off-line. Arguably the most time-intensive task was analysing informant interview and channel observation logs. These logs, which were often in excess of a hundred pages, often required the assistance of a second investigator. Numerous hours were also spent in libraries conducting open-source data collection, including perusing media and legal databases, and examining social scientific literature. Interviews with enforcement professionals and other informants ranged in length from # to # hours. However, interview time does not take into account travel time, or time spent preparing for interviews.

⁵⁵ In some cases, general information and "opportunities" are available to people without status not engaged in the group reciprocity system. These people are usually referred to as "lurkers" since they do not contribute to the group's discussions. In this case, we are not dealing with a form of reciprocity per se, but rather with a form of "gathering".

⁵⁶ When I eventually acquired a copy of the study, it turned out that pornographic images were sampled from Usenet newsgroups and not the World Wide Web. Like IRC, there are several newsgroups devoted to child pornography and child-sex. However, this distinction was never made during the course of the Canada AM interview.

⁵⁷ Because web sites such as these are commercial operations, they are conscious of avoiding any potential legal problems. One way to avoid legal problems is by using disclaimers. Disclaimers serve to warn users about the nature of the material available on the site. They also indicate that the individuals portrayed in the pornography are above the age of majority. By presenting such information up front places full responsibility on the individual user for their actions. Consider the following example taken from a "teen" pornography site:

[*Name omitted*] includes visual, audio, and/or textual depictions of nudity and heterosexual, bi-sexual, homosexual, and transsexual sexual situations of persons over the age of eighteen years. Persons under eighteen years of age and persons who may be offended by such depictions may not directly or indirectly download, acquire, view, read, listen to, or possess any photograph, video file, sound file, textual material, advertisement, or other communication, message or other content at, in, or through [*name omitted*], nor place any order for any goods or services at, in, or through connection to or from, [*name omitted*]. If you are under the age of eighteen years, are offended by such materials, or are acting on behalf of any governmental agency, you are not authorized to download any materials from [*name omitted*] and any and all such downloading shall constitute intentional infringement of [*name omitted*] rights in such materials.

All materials, messages, and other communications contained at [*name omitted*] are intended for distribution exclusively to consenting adults in locations where such materials, messages and other communications do not violate any community standards or any federal, state or local law or regulation of the United States or any other country. No materials from any parts of [*name omitted*] designated as "XXX" are authorized to or otherwise may be downloaded to persons located in the following areas: Alabama, Florida, except Ft. Lauderdale, Miami, and St. Petersburg, Georgia, except Atlanta, Kansas, except Kansas City, Kentucky, Minnesota, Missouri, Mississippi, North Carolina, Ohio, except Cleveland and Cincinnati, Pennsylvania, except Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, South Carolina, Tennessee, except for Nashville, Utah, Afghanistan, Kuwait, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Libya, Pakistan, The Republic of China, Singapore, Saudi Arabia, Syria, The United Arab Emirates, or any other place in which to do so would constitute a violation of any law, regulation, rule or custom. Any and all unauthorized downloading of materials from [*name omitted*] shall constitute intentional infringement of [*name omitted*]'s rights in such materials.

By downloading materials from [*name omitted*], down loader hereby agrees to be personally liable and to fully indemnify [*name omitted*] for any and all damages directly, indirectly and/or consequentially resulting down loader's attempted or actual unauthorized downloading or other duplication of materials from [*name omitted*], alone or with, or under the authority of, any other person(s), including, without limitation, any governmental agency(ies), wherein such damages include without limitation, damages resulting from loss of revenue and/or property, fines, and attorney's fees, including, without limitation, those generated by prosecution and/or governmentally imposed seizure(s), forfeiture(s), and/or injunction(s).

All materials, messages, and other communications available at [*name omitted*] are for the private use and enjoyment of its members only, any resale or other use of any kind is strictly forbidden. Except for authorized downloading, all advertisements and other communications and content of all kinds available at [*name omitted*] may not be copied in any form, without the express written consent of [*name omitted*].

[name omitted] reserves the right to refuse access to any advertisement or other communication at [name omitted] and cancel any member's subscription without notice. [name omitted] does not screen or endorse [name omitted] licensees' advertisements, communications and other content available at [name omitted] for electronic dissemination. You are therefore advised to use your own judgment to evaluate all advertisements and other communications at [name omitted] prior to purchasing goods and/or services described in [name omitted]. [Name omitted] is not liable for damages resulting from disseminating, failing to disseminate, or incorrectly or inaccurately disseminating any materials, advertisements or other communications. [Name omitted] is not affiliated with any company or organization other than [name omitted] PUBLISHING, Inc. No inference of association or affiliation with, or endorsement by any company or organization is intended or should be inferred. [name omitted] has no financial or other interest in, nor owns any third-party online stores or services provided by third parties which may appear in, at or through [name omitted].

- ⁵⁸ One way in which channel operators can get around this is by inviting users to use the channel by way of a DCC invitation request.
- ⁵⁹ Although “#100%preteenpixxx” is a pseudonym used to protect the anonymity of the original channel, it approximates the original title and its connotations are the same.
- ⁶⁰ The 13 year age marker is also a common signifier in Western cultures for the start of “adolescence”. John Santrok (1993), in his book *Adolescence: An Introduction*, defines adolescence as “the developmental period of transition between childhood and adulthood that involves biological, cognitive and social changes. ...Adolescence begins at approximately 10 to 13 years of age and ends between the ages of 18 and 22 for most individuals” (Santrok, 1993:29).
- ⁶¹ Stein (1990) makes a similar analogy when examining pornographic materials available in an adult bookstore.
- ⁶² For a more comprehensive discussion of IRC mode commands, refer to Stuart Harris's book *The IRC Survival Guide: Talk to the Work with Internet Relay Chat* (1995).
- ⁶³ Collecting this information through strict observation would have required hundreds of continuous hours sitting at the computer manually recording each individual that logged into the channel, as well as their subsequent actions while online. Having mIRC automatically log this information allowed for a more detailed analysis of the data later.
- ⁶⁴ Such a high amount of time spent online per week does not necessarily mean the informant was physically present in front of their computer, but rather the amount of time they were logged into their Internet service provider.
- ⁶⁵ Just because an ISP resolves to a particular country does not necessarily mean that the user is located in that country. Some of the more computer literate users who had concerns regarding their anonymity would route their connection through other ISPs, or disguise their IP addresses using a technique called “spoofing”. Although I provide some general discussion of this in Chapter 7, readers wanting more information should refer to Icove et al. (1995: 29-60).
- ⁶⁶ Déja News is a web-based search engine that scans Usenet newsgroup postings. It accomplishes this by performing searches based on user-defined queries. Déja News also conducts “Author Profiles” that display statistics on Usenet articles originating from a particular email address. For more information, refer to the Déja News web site at www.dejanews.com.

- ⁶⁷ The only variation to this rule that I witnessed was a web site entitled FREEFREEFREEFREE (www.freefreefree.net/UNCP.HTML). Although the tile could imply free pornography, the site was actually a company that sold coffee, cocoa and cappuccino.
- ⁶⁸ Audio files are short sound clips played in real time over the Internet (e.g. RealAudio), or for download and playback using the appropriate client software. The content of such files range from the sounds of individuals engaged in sexual activity to the dictation of sexually explicit text. A computer system with a sound card and the appropriate software permits anyone to create pornographic audio files, either by recording the desired sound(s) using a microphone, or sampling the content of an existing recording, such as pornographic movie.
- ⁶⁹ Animated files are a series of images displayed in rapid succession in order to create the illusion of movement. Common examples of this include cartoon movie shorts, or animated gif files. Animated files designed using morphing technology allow two or more digital image files to be blended together to create the illusion of a physical transformation.
- ⁷⁰ Although I observed one instance in which an adult penis was the focus of the image, there was little emphasis placed on preteen male genitals. Similarly, unlike adult pornography, the breast received little emphasis in the materials traded in the channel. One can deduce that is because the majority of the females depicted were undeveloped as they had not reached puberty.
- ⁷¹ Each of the Web sites solicited in the channel offered simulated "teen" porn, depicting participants clearly over the age of majority. However, I am unable to substantiate this observation against the material traded within #100%preteenp1xxx, which could well depict teenagers under the age of 18.
- ⁷² For a full discussion of restraint, enslavement and mummification practices refer to Trevor Jacques' book *On the Safe Edge: Manual for S&M Play* (1996). The book *Pain and Passion: A Psychoanalyst Explores the World of S&M* (1991) by Robert Stroller provides an examination of sado-masochism from a psychological perspective.
- ⁷³ This supplier was only present in the channel briefly on one occasion, during which time I was unable to speak with him. Therefore, I am unclear what he meant by "all the files that got me BANNED are all in here!"
- ⁷⁴ For a complete discussion of competitive intelligence from a business perspective, I recommend *The New Competitor Intelligence: The Complete Resource for Finding, Analyzing, and Using Information about your Competitors* (1995) by Leonard M. Fuld. Excerpts from this book are available at www.fuld.com/newcomp.html.
- ⁷⁵ I base this observation on suppliers who are not soliciting their sites in other trading channels in addition to #100%preteenp1xxx.
- ⁷⁶ I make this reference to action taken against this channel in particular, and not the overall issue of obscenity on the Internet.
- ⁷⁷ I have often wondered whether the NMCP informers were responsible for granting me access to #100%preteenp1xxx. Both members were serving as operators in the channel at the same time I began my stay in the channel. Therefore, the possibility exists that my admittance allowed NMCP to collect information on me, thinking I was a trader. However, this analogy is pure speculation.

⁷⁸ In addition to covering high-profile cases, Canadian media also reported on the law enforcement units conducting online investigations into Internet child pornography. Consequently, both Keith Daniels at Ottawa Carleton Regional Police and the Ontario Provincial Police's Project P received media coverage (Hunn, 1997; Gooderham & Laghi, 1996). Even during the course of my investigation, I received some media attention from the Ottawa Citizen (Ross, 1997).

GLOSSARY

Agents. See bots.

Applets. Small applications designed using the Java programming language that enhances the capabilities of a Web browser.

Bots. Bots and agents are small programs that are designed to perform specific tasks on the Internet. This commonly involves “recognizing” specific events or commands, or automating specific actions. Bots can be employed for positive means (such as monitoring a Web site for updates) or for malicious purposes (such as planting a virus on another computer system).

BBS (Bulletin Board System). An electronic BBS is a computer that operates either on a network or a modem to allow other computers with similar connections to communicate with it for the purposes of sharing information or transferring data or files.

Child Erotica. Child erotica is any material relating to children that serves a sexually or emotionally stimulating purpose for the beholder, but is not necessarily in violation of the law. Such material may include drawings, school photographs, books, pictures from a catalogue, among others.

Child Molester. A child molester is an individual who engages in sexual activity with a minor, but does not wish for an emotional relationship with their victim. In such cases, the sexual activity will be used as a mechanism to inflict psychological or physical harm on the minor.

Child Pornography. In Canada, child pornography constitutes any sexually explicit image, video, text or audio of an individual under the age of 18 years.

Child Pornography Ring. A child pornography ring is one or more individuals simultaneously involved in the production, collection or dissemination of child pornography.

Child Sexual Victimization. Child sexual victimization is any conceivable act defined by law as involving the assault or abuse of a minor in a sexual or sexually exploitative manner.

Copronlangia. Sexual activities involving the use of feces and/or urine.

CUSEEME. A vast multi-user discussion forum that allows users to communicate using real-time video conferencing technology over the Internet.

DCC (Direct Client-to-Client). Direct Client-to-Client commands employ the IRC server to establish a direct connection between two users. DCC allows users to talk privately (DCC Chat), send files (DCC Send) and receive files (DCC Get).

Cracking. The act of breaking into a computer system or a network.

Fisting. The full or partial insertion of the hand into the vagina or anus.

Freeware. Freeware is free software made available for public access. The software may be copied and distributed, with or without conditions, and the user is not expected to pay a usage fee.

Fserve (File Server). Fservices are scripts that function through an IRC client program. Fservices function as a combination of DCC and FTP, allowing a user to access a certain directory tree on the hard drive of the host computer to upload and download files.

FTP (File Transfer Protocol). The file-transfer capabilities provided by TCP/IP in which files can be uploaded and downloaded from a host computer via the Internet.

Hacker. Traditionally, a hacker is an individual who spends a lot of time with computers. Today, the media has given the term a negative meaning by associating hackers as people who break into computer systems or networks (“cracking”).

Internet. The Internet is a worldwide set of networked computers linked through common transmission control protocols and Internet protocols (TCP/IP). These networks are capable of transferring data over vast geographical areas as well as different computer operating platforms (e.g. PC, Unix, Mac, etc.), across phone lines, fiber-optic cables, and satellite links.

Investigative Ethnography (IE). Investigative ethnography is the application of anthropological field methods with conventional and computer investigative techniques.

IRC (Internet Relay Chat). Internet Relay Chat is a vast multi-user discussion forum that allows users to communicate textually in real-time over the Internet. IRC is based on an operational client/server model consisting of a global network of host servers and client programs that allow individual users to send and receive data. The IRC client reads in the commands and text that the user supplies to it, filters them, and performs the appropriate actions by passing them on to the IRC server. The server, in turn, processes this information and routes it to its destined recipient

IP Address. Internet protocol address.

Multi-User Dungeon / Dimension (MUD). Online role-playing game that in some cases involves a graphical avatar.

Pedophile. A pedophile is an individual who harbors sexual or emotional attractions to minors. This is generally marked by a preference to engage in sexual activity with a minor over an adult. The reasons for a pedophile engaging in sexual relations with a minor can range from experimentation to having a strong emotional tie (such as love), which may or may not be reciprocated, with the minor.

Pygmalionism. Sexual activity involving the use of an inanimate object, such as an inflatable “love doll”.

Scat Play. A slang expression for coprolangia.

Search Engines. Search engines are comprehensive online indexes. Online searches are carried out based on user submitted queries that allow for the retrieval of desired information from various areas of the Internet. Some search engines gather information by drawing upon catalogued Web sites and archived newsgroups. Others randomly search (or “crawl”) catalogued Web sites and archived newsgroups.

Shareware. Shareware is software distributed over the Internet for people to download and demo. Like freeware, this software may be copied and distributed, with or without conditions. However with shareware, the user is usually expected to pay a usage fee, typically after a trial period.

Spoofing. Spoofing is the process of forging one’s IP address to create the illusion that they are operating on a different network than the one they are actually using. IP stands for Internet Protocol.

Usenet. Usenet is a decentralized worldwide network of computers that exchanges vast amounts of articles marked with universally recognizable labels called newsgroups.

Virtual Community. Virtual communities consist of the individuals and the webs of social relations within a given virtual settlement environment. Variables governing the community include common topics of interest, collective goods, opportunities and role obligations.

Virtual Neighbourhood (VN). A virtual neighborhood is a cluster of sites maintained by a defined social unit or strongly interconnected along an identifiable dimension.

Virtual Settlement (V-Set). A virtual settlement consists of individual sites on the Internet bound by common topics of interest or collective goods.

Virtual Settlement Assemblage Area (VSAA). The virtual settlement assemblage area is a sub-environment operating within a virtual settlement assemblage environment on the Internet. Individual IRC servers constitute a VSAA.

Virtual Settlement Assemblage Environment (VSAE). The virtual settlement assemblage environment is the technological environment where a collection of artifacts and actions exist. The VSAE is a subset of the Internet environmental domain, such as Internet Relay Chat, the World Wide Web, Usenet, among others.

Virtual Site (V-Site). A virtual site is a single virtual space made up of individuals who regularly attend and participate in common events. Each V-Site consists of one or more social units tasked with performing different functions.

Warez. A slang term for pirated software.

World Wide Web (WWW). The World Wide Web is a global connection of multiple networks and stand-alone servers accessible through a common protocol known as Hypertext Transfer Protocol (HTTP). HTTP allows data – Hypertext Markup Language

(HTML) files commonly known as Web pages or sites – to move between a server and an HTTP client program (e.g. Netscape Navigator, Microsoft Internet Explorer, etc.). Web sites commonly incorporate text, graphics, sound and video files. Additional programming languages (e.g. Java, VRML, and Visual Basic) and plug-ins (e.g. Macromedia Shockwave, Real Audio) expand the capabilities of the Web beyond HTML.

REFERENCES

Akdeniz, Yaman.

(1997) The Regulation of Pornography and Child Pornography on the Internet. The Journal of Information, Law and Technology. 1. Electronic document.

(1997) Policing the Internet: First European Conference on Combating Violence and Pornography on the Internet. The Journal of Information, Law and Technology. 1. Electronic document.

Albright, Julie M., Tom Conron.

(ND) Online Love: Sex, Gender and Relationships in Cyberspace. Electronic document: <http://www.scf.usc.edu/~albright>.

Alexander, Jeffrey C.

(1992) The Promise of a Cultural Sociology: Technological Discourse and the Sacred and Profane Information Machine. Theory of Culture. (Richard Münch, Neil J. Smelser, ed.) Berkley: University of California Press.

American Psychiatric Association.

(1994) Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders: DSM-IV. Washington, DC.: American Psychiatric Association.

Associate Press.

(1996) Internet subscriber's access shut down over child porn. The Vancouver Sun. Jan 2 A10.

Atkins, Steve.

(1997) Sam Spade. Computer software: Blighty Design.

Barrick, Frances.

(1996) Cambridge man pleads guilty in child porn case. The Hamilton Spectator. Oct 3 A13.

Bedy, Mohinder Singh.

(1992) Protection of Women in Moral Danger: A Study if Trafficking in Women in Rajasthan. India: Himanshu Publications.

Benedict, Ruth.

(1967) The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture. London: Routledge.

Bernard, H. Russell.

(1988) Research Methods in Cultural Anthropology. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Bindman, Stephen.

(1995) Canada's first Internet pedophile up for sentencing. The Montreal Gazette. Jul 10 A6.

Bohannan, Paul.

(1957) Justice and Judgment Among the Tiv. London: Oxford University Press.

Boone, Margaret S., John S. Wood.

(1992) Computer Applications for Anthropologists. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Bray, Hiawatha.

(1996) Porn E-Mail Sparks Hunt. The Vancouver Sun. October 23 D15.

Byrne, Elisabeth.

(1994) The Formation of Relationships on Internet Relay Chat (IRC). Nepean, Australia: University of Western Sydney.

Campagna, Daniel S.

(1988) The Sexual Trafficking in Children: An Investigation of the Child Sex Trade. Dover: Auburn.

Campbell, Don.

(1998) Former Nortel employee claims OPP framed him in child porn case. The Ottawa Citizen. January 21 C3.

Canadian Press.

(1996) Importing of porn via Internet alleged. The Vancouver Sun. Jan 18 A4.

(1996) Child-sex computer pornography seized. The Vancouver Province. May 3 A15.

Capitanchik, David, Michael Whine.

(1996) The Governance of Cyberspace: Racism on the Internet. US: Institute for Jewish Policy Research. Electronic document.

Cavazos, Edward A., Gavino Morin.

(1995) Cyberspace and the Law: Your Rights and Duties in the On-Line World. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Cecil, Thomas.

(1997) Justice Agencies and the Internet. The Internet and Criminal Justice. (Hyatt Regency San Francisco Airport, ed.) Electronic document:
<http://www.97internet.search.org/cecil.html>.

Cobban, William.

(1996) The Selling of Innocents. Canada: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

Cohen, Yehudi A.

(1974) Culture as Adaptation. The Cultural Present. vol. 2 (Yehudi A. Cohen, ed.) pp. 45-68 New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Collin, Barry C.

(1996) The Future of Cyber Terrorism: Where the Physical and Virtual Worlds Converge. 11th Annual International Symposium on Criminal Justice Issues. Electronic document. <http://www.acsp.uic.edu/OIC>.

Commission of the European Communities.

(1995) Copyright and Related Rights in the Information Society. Brussels: Commission of the European Communities, Com. (95) final.

Copyright Convergence Group.

(1994) Highways to Change: Copyright in the New Communication Environment. Australia: Report of the Copyright Convergence Group.

Daniels, Keith I., Sergeant.

(1997) Interview. Ottawa: Ottawa Carleton Regional Police Service. Sexual Assault Child Abuse Section, Criminal Investigative Services.

Davis, Robert W.K., Scott C. Hutchinson.

(1997) Computer Crime in Canada. Scarborough: Carswell Thompson Professional Publishing.

Di Gregorio, Ray.

(1996) Child pornography printouts lead to charge. The Spectator. Aug 26 C1.

Dibbell, Julian.

(1993) A Rape in Cyberspace. The Village Voice. Dec 21.

Dworkin, A., C.A. MacKinnon.

(1988) Pornography and Civil Rights. Minneapolis: Organizing Against Pornography.

Dworkin, Andrea.

(1981) Pornography: Men Possessing Women. New York: Putnam.

Escobar, Arturo.

(1994) Welcome to Cyberia: Notes on the Anthropology of Cyberculture. Current Anthropology. 35: num. 3 June 211-231.

Espinosa, Joseph.

(1997) Investigator's Toolbox. Computer software: Intelligence West.

Ethical Hackers Against Pedophilia (EHAP)

(1998) EHAP Web Site. <http://www.hackers.com/ehap/index2.htm>.

Evans-Pritchard, E.E.

(1950) The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Federal Bureau of Investigation

(1997) Safety Tips for Kids on the Internet. Washington: Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. Electronic document: <http://www.fbi.gov/kids/internet/internet.html>.

Ferguson, Ian.

(1995) Female Genital Mutilation: A Review of Current Literature. Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada.

(1995) Child Sexual Abuse and Domestic Violence Database. Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada. Computer database.

(1996) Criminal Pornography on the Internet: Preliminary Research Report. Ottawa: unpublished, prepared for Department of Justice Canada.

(1996) Social Patterns of Accusation in Multiple Victim / Multiple Offender Sex Abuse Cases: An Anthropological Perspective for Criminal Justice Professionals Handling Cases of Child Sexual Victimization. Ottawa: Carleton University, honours research paper.

(1997) The Bogeymen of Cyberspace: An Anthropological Investigation into On-Line Stranger Danger. Paper presented at the 1997 Northeastern Anthropological Association Meetings. Montebello, Quebec, April 11-13.

Ferguson, Ian, Marc W.D. Tyrrell.

(1997) Do Cybernaughts Leave Electronic Fingerprints? Theorizing Cyber Crime. Paper presented at the 37th NEEA meetings. Montebello, Quebec. April 11-13.

Finkelhor, D.

(1984) Child Sexual Abuse: New Theory and Research. New York: Free Press.

Fuld, Leonard M.

(1995) The New Competitor Intelligence: The Complete Resource for Finding, Analyzing and Using Information about your Competitors. John Wiley and Sons.

Garfinkel, Susan.

- (1996) Cybercrime in Cyberspace: Today and Beyond. electronic document:
<http://www.seas.upenn.edu/~namjj/english285/final.shtml>.

Gerald, Tom.

- (1997) Danger on the Internet. 20/20. October 31.

Gibson, William.

- (1984) Neuromancer. New York: Ace Books.

Global Internet Liberty Campaign (GILC), Electronic Frontier Canada (EFC).

- (1997) Letter to Chancellor Kohl urges investigation of CompuServe prosecution. Joint Press Release.

Gluckman, Max.

- (1955) The Judicial Process Among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Goffman, Erving.

- (1959) The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc.

Gold, Marta.

- (1996) Unplugging: There's a Place Where Child Pornography, Bestiality and Violent Sex are Easy to Find, Where Adults and Children can Watch Anonymously. It's the Internet. The Province. October 13 A38.

Goodall Jr., H.R.

- (1994) Casting a Promised Land: The Autobiography of an Organizational Detective as Cultural Ethnographer. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

Gooderham, Mary, Brian Laghi

- (1996) Tracking high-tech pedophiles. The Globe and Mail. Dec 14 A1.

Greenberg, David M., John Bradford, Susan Curry.

- (1995) Infantophilia: A New Subcategory of Pedophilia? A Preliminary Study. Bulletin of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law. 23: num. 1 63-71.

Hafner, Katie, John Markoff.

- (1991) Cyberpunk: Outlaws & Hackers on the Computer Frontier. New York: Simon & Shuster.

Hamman, Robin.

- (1997) The Application of Ethnographic Methodology in the Study of Cybersex. electronic document: Dept. of Communication Studies, University of Liverpool.
<http://www.socio.demon.co.uk/magazine/>.

Harris, Stuart.

- (1995) The IRC Survival Guide: Talk to the World with Internet Relay Chat. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Hawkins, D. James; Elaine Z. Konstan.

- (1996) The Canadian Private Investigator's Manual. Toronto: Emond Montgomery Publications Limited.

Haysom, Ian.

- (1997) B.C. man faces child-sex charges: Raid on home nets video of bestiality. The Ottawa Citizen. March 7 A5.

Hermelin, Tessa.

- (1996) Interview. Ottawa: i-Star Internet Inc. Legal counsel.

Hogbin, Herbert Ian.

- (1934) Law and order in Polynesia: A Study of Primitive Legal Institutions. London: Christophers.

Horowitz, Irving Louis.

- (1967) The Rise and Fall of Project Camelot: Studies in the Relationship between Social Science and Practical Politics. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Hunn, Peter.

- (1997) Chasing Cyber-Predators: Stg. Keith Daniels is battling the growing problem of child exploitation on the web. The Ottawa Citizen. Oct 19 B4.

Icove, David. Karl Seger, William VonStorch.

- (1995) Computer Crime: A Crimefighter's Handbook. Sebastopol, CA: O'Reilly & Associates, Inc.

Information Highway Advisory Council.

- (1995) Connection, Community, Content: The Challenge of the Information Highway. Ottawa: Industry Canada.

Jacques, Trevor.

- (1996) On the Safe Edge: Manual for S&M Play. Koen Book Distributions.

Jankowski, Martín Sánchez.

- (1991) Islands in the Street: Gangs and American Urban Society. Berkley: University of California Press.

Jenish, D'Arcy.

- (1993) The King of Porn. Macleans. Oct 11 52-64.

Johnson, J.M.

- (1995) Horror Stories and the Construction of Child Abuse. Images of Issues: Typifying Contemporary Social Problems. vol. 2 (Joel Best, ed.) New York: Walter de Gruyter Inc.

Johnstone, David.

- (1995) Cracking Down on Cybercrime. The Ottawa Citizen. June 18 A5.

Jones, Quentin.

- (1997) Virtual-Communities, Virtual Settlements & Cyber-Archaeology. Journal of Computer Mediated Communication. 3: num. 3 December.

Jones, Robert Alun.

- (1994) The Ethics of Research in Cyberspace. Internet Research. 4: num. 3 30-35.

Junod, John A.

- (1997) WS FTP Limited Edition. software program: Ipswitch, Inc.

Kabay, M.E.

- (1994) Totem and Taboo in Cyberspace. Interdisciplinary Perspectives on INFOSEC. (17th National Computer Security Conference) electronic document: <http://www.ncsa.com/library/>.

Kaite, Berkeley.

- (1995) Pornography and Difference. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Katz, Jon.

- (1997) The Digital Citizen. Wired. December.

Kinaha, Anne-Marie.

- (1996) Politicians, Police, Paedophiles and Perverts: A Critical Analysis of Media Commentary on "The Ordeal of Eli Langer". Ottawa.

Kipnis, Laura.

- (1996) Bound & Gagged: Pornography and the Politics of Fantasy in America. New York: Grove Press.

Kuitenbrouwer, Peter.

- (1996) A mountain of smut. Maclean's. Nov 18 61.

Kurtis, Bill.

- (1998) Cyber-Sex Cop. Investigative Reports. Arts & Entertainment Network. Apr 11.

Lamberti, Rob.

- (1997) OPP make record kiddie porn seizure. The Ottawa Citizen. Oct 17 A3.

Lanning, Kenneth V.

- (1992) Child Sex Rings: A Behavioral Analysis for Criminal Justice Professionals Handling Cases of Child Sexual Exploitation. Deviant and Criminal Sexuality, vol. 2 (National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime, ed.) Quantico: U.S. Department of Justice, FBI.

Levy, Steven.

- (1984) Hackers: Heroes of the Computer Revolution. Garden City: Anchor / Doubleday Press.

Leyton, Elliott.

- (1986) Hunting Humans: The Rise of the Modern Multiple Murderer. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, Inc.

Maltby, Tony.

- (1998) Informing Online: A Tribe in Turmoil. Hull: Paper presented at the Museum of Civilization.

Mardam-Bey, Khaled.

- (1997) mIRC. Computer software: mIRC Co. Ltd.

Matzkin, Jonathan.

- (1996) Civilizing the Electronic Frontier: CompuServe Turns to Technology. PC Magazine. Electronic document: <http://www.pcmag.com>.

McCorduck, Pamela.

- (1996) Shelley Turle knows what role playing in cyberspace really means: A profile. Wired. April. Electronic document: <http://www.wired.com>.

Mehta, Michael D., Dwayne E. Plaza.

- (1997) A Content Analysis of Pornographic Images on the Internet. The Information Society. 13: num. 2 153-162.

Michals, Debra.

- (1997) Cyber-Rape: How Virtual Is It?. Ms. April 68-72.

Miner, Michael H., S. Margretta Dwyer.

- (1997) The Psychosocial Development of Sex Offenders: Differences Between Exhibitionists, Child Molesters, and Incest Offenders. International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology. 41: num. 1 Spring 36-44.

Ministère de la Culture et de la Francophonie.

- (1994) Industries culturelles et nouvelles techniques. Paris: Ministère de la culture et de la Francophonie.

Morgan, Lewis H., Leslie A. White.

(1964) Ancient Society. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Multi-Media Copyright Council.

(1995) A report on Discussions by the Working Group of the Subcommittee on Multi-Media Copyright Council: Study of Institutional Issues Regarding Multi-Media. Japan: Multi-Media Copyright Council.

Myers, Wayne.

(1996) Fun.nl -- Live Sex on the Internet. Wired, 2: num. 10 645-649.

O'Brien, Shirley.

(1983) Child Pornography. Dubuque: Kendall / Hunt.

Odzer, Cleo.

(1997) Sex and the Cyber Citizen. New York: Berkley Books.

Okami, Paul, Amy Goldberg.

(1992) Personality Correlates of Pedophilia: Are They Reliable Indicators?. Journal of Sex Research, 29: num. 3 August 297-328.

Orbach, Michael K.

(1977) Hunters, Seamen, and Entrepreneurs. Berkley: University of California Press.

Ottawa Citizen, The.

(1996) Police seize child porn copied from Net: Merrickville man charged with possession. The Ottawa Citizen, Jul 18 B6.

Page, Shelley.

(1996) Pedophiles Lurking on the Net are 90's Challenge to Parents. The Ottawa Citizen, October 10 B1.

Poling, Jim.

(1996) Internet porn alarm police: Child sex video haul highlights problem, they say. Hamilton Spectator, Nov 5 B1.

Porteous, Samuel. (1997) Economic Espionage (II). Commentary, num. 46 July

Project P (anonymous Detective Constables).

(1997) Interview. Mississauga: Ontario Provincial Police. Pornography Crime Unit, Criminal Investigation Bureau.

Racicot, Michel, Mark S. Hayes, Alec R. Szibbo, Pierre Trudel.

(1997) The Cyberspace is not a "No Law Land": A Study of the Issues of Liability for Content Circulating on the Internet. Ottawa: Industry Canada.

Rappaport, Roy.

(1971) Ritual, Sanctity, and Cybernetics. American Anthropologist. 73: 59-76.

Rathje, William L.

(1980) Archaeology. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers.

Report of the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution.

(1985) Pornography and Prostitution in Canada. Ottawa: Volume 1.

Rheingold, Howard.

(1993) The Virtual Community: Homesteading on the Electronic Frontier. New York: Harper Perennial.

Richard Combs Associates.

(1997) Competitive Intelligence: Global Business Research. Electronic document: <http://www.combsinc.com/>.

Richardson, James T.; Joel Best, David G. Bromley.

(1991) The Satanism Scare. New York: Aldine De Gruyter.

Rogers, Rix.

(1990) Reaching for Solutions: The Report of the Special Advisor to the Minister of National Health and Welfare on Child Sexual Abuse in Canada. Ottawa: Department of Supply and Services Canada.

Rosenberg, Michael S.

(1992) Virtual Reality: Reflections of Life, Dreams, and Technology: An Ethnography of a Computer Society. Electronic document: <http://www.oise.on.ca/~jnolan/muds/>.

Ross, Heather

(1997) Dialogue with the depraved: Carleton student spends nights on the Internet, interviewing pedophiles, child porn swappers. The Ottawa Citizen. Oct 10.

Rupert, Jake.

(1996) Employee faces child-porn charge: Office computer used collect images, police say. The Ottawa Citizen. Dec 10.

Sanderson, David.

(1993) Smileys. US: O'Reilly & Associates, Inc.

Sallot, Jeff.

(1998) Spying comes in from the Cold War. Globe and Mail. March 21 D1-D2.

Sannicolas, Nikki.

- (1997) Erving Goffman, Dramaturgy, and On-Line Relationships. Cybersociology. 1: num. 1 September. Electronic document.

Santrok, John W.

- (1993) Adolescence: An Introduction. Madison: WCB Brown & Benchmark Publishers.

Sobel, David L.

- (1996) The Constitutionality of the Communications Decency Act: Censorship on the Internet. Journal of Technology Law & Policy. 1: Electronic document.

Southam Newspapers.

- (1996) OPP seize Net child porn. Kitchener-Waterloo Record. Jul 18 A5.

Sopinka, John

- (1997) Freedom of Speech and Privacy in the Information Age. Ottawa: Supreme Court of Canada. Sept. 15.

Spradley, James P.

- (1980) Participant Observation. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Stan, Adele M. eds.

- (1995) Debating Sexual Correctness: Pornography, Sexual Harassment, Date Rape and the Politics of Sexual Equality. New York: Delta.

Statistics Canada.

- (1997) Household Facilities and Equipment. The Daily. Nov. 27.

Stein, Michael.

- (1990) The Ethnography of an Adult Bookstore: Private Scenes, Public Places. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press.

Sterling, Bruce.

- (1992) The Hacker Crackdown: Law & Disorder on the Electronic Frontier. New York: Bantham.

Stern, Leonard.

- (1996) E-mail child porn message turns out to be a hoax. The Ottawa Citizen. October 23 A4.

- (1997) Woman faces charge in Internet porn case. The Ottawa Citizen. Jan 24 B2.

Stroller, Robert J.

- (1991) Pain and Passion: A Psychoanalyst Explores the World of S&M. New York: Plenum.

Sullivan, Mercer L.

(1989) "Getting Paid": Youth Crime and Work in the Inner City. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Sunde, Scott.

(1995) Cyberspace Chase: Disappearing teen sets off alarm over chat groups. The Ottawa Citizen. June 6 A9.

Tacitus, translated by H. Mattingly.

(1970) The Germania. Penguin Books.

Tate, Tim.

(1990) Child Pornography: An Investigation. London: Methuen.

Tyrrell, Marc W.D.

(1995) From Cyberia to Cyburbia: An Examination of the Links Between Consciousness in Cyberspace and the Restructuring of the "Real" World. Unpublished manuscript. Ottawa: Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University.

Tyrrell, Marc W.D., Ian Ferguson.

(1998) Contingency and Community in Cyberspace: Technological and social evolution in Cyberspace. Paper presented at the 38th Annual NEAA meetings. Orono, Maine. March.

United Nations Center for Human Rights.

(1996) Sexual Exploitation of Children. New York: United Nations.

United States Army Special Warfare School.

(1964) Montagnard Tribal Groups of the Republic of Viet-Nam. Fort Bragg, North Carolina: United States Army Special Warfare School.

U.S. Attorney General for the Northern District of California.

(1997) Ronald Riva, member of "Orchid Club", Internet child pornography ring, pleads guilty. Press Release. May 14.

Wollocombe, Mark C.S., Detective Sergeant.

(1996) Interview. Ottawa: Ontario Provincial Police. Anti-Rackets Section, Criminal Investigation Bureau.

Wells, Mary.

(1990) Canada's Law on Child Sexual Abuse. Ottawa: Department of Justice Canada

Whyte, William F.

(1993) Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum. 4th ed. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.

Wiley, Stephen R.

(1997) Crimes Against Children Facilitated by the Internet. FBI. Statement before the House Judiciary Committee Subcommittee on Crime. Nov 7

Wilkinson, Paul.

(1995) Terrorism: Motivations and Causes. Commentary. num. 53 January.

Windsor Star.

(1996) Exploiting Children: Images on the Internet. The Windsor Star. Sept 4 A6.

Young, Marilyn, Senior Intelligence Officer

(1997) Interview. Ottawa: Revenue Canada. Intelligence Development and Field Support Section, Intelligence Services Division, Enforcement Directorate.

Case Law

Ontario (Attorney General) v. Langer (1995), 97 C.C.C. (3d) 290

R. v. Clark (1996), B.C. Prov. Ct.

R. v. Hurtubise (1996), Surrey Registry, B.C. Prov. Ct.

R. v. Pecciarich (1995), 22 O.R. (3d) 748 (Prov. Div.)

R. v. Ritchie (1997), Brockville, O.R. (Prov. Div.)

Reno, Attorney General of the United States, et al. v. American Civil Liberties Union et al. (47 U.S.C.A. §223 (Supp. 1997))

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

APPLIED IMAGE, Inc.
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved