

STOLEN INNOCENCE:  
THE DAMAGING EFFECTS OF CHILD PORNOGRAPHY  
-- ON AND OFF THE INTERNET

by

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[4TOC.FIN]

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## Preface

### Child Pornography and Molestation: My Personal Experience

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I was 11 years old when I saw my first piece of child pornography. I was living in Cape Town, South Africa, where I was born, and travelling by train to my Saturday morning ballet class (I believe the year was 1950). The train was very empty that day. I was sitting alone next to a window in an empty compartment when a stocky, white middle-aged man entered it at a station along the way. He sat at the window seat opposite me.

It wasn't long before he initiated a conversation by asking me about where I was going, where I lived, whether I had any brothers and sisters, and so on. I answered his questions politely, until he stumped me with one I didn't understand:

"Do you ever practice with your brothers?" he asked.

"Excuse me, what did you say?" I asked, embarrassed.

"Do you ever practice with your brothers?" he asked again.

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I queried him once or twice more, only to get the same incomprehensible question. My embarrassment increased with each repetition. I felt at fault for not understanding him; after all, he obviously expected me to. I couldn't bear to ask him another time.

"Yes," I answered, hoping this would end the matter.

"I practice with my niece," the man volunteered. "Would you like to see a picture of her?"

"Yes," I replied politely.

The man took an enlarged picture out of his briefcase of a nude young girl, her nipples tinted pink, looking sweetly at the viewer. Horrors! At last I understood that he had been asking me if I "practiced" intercourse with my brothers. I inwardly cringed with shock and mortification, but fancied that I managed to keep a stiff upper lip. How strange that I didn't want him to know how I was feeling -- as if I had to respond to his normalization of what he was doing to his niece by colluding with it.

Once I understood what the man was talking about, I was distressed that I had finally answered his question about

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"practicing" with my brothers in the affirmative. Being sexual with anyone was totally forbidden outside of marriage in the Victorian-like society in which I lived. Incest was infinitely more wicked. Furthermore, I was unaware of having any sexual feelings at all -- which made his questions to me all the more strange. It didn't occur to me to say: "Well, if that's what you meant by practicing, I assure you I would never do such a thing!!" Instead, I felt trapped in the situation. Trapped by the norm of politeness and submissiveness to adults. I don't believe I had ever defied my parents or any other adults at that time. And needless to say, I had never been warned about the need to watch out for nasty strangers who might want to do bad things to me.

At last another man entered the train and sat down in our compartment. What a relief! The man was sure to stop talking about sex now. Then the most amazing thing happened. The man suggested we move to another compartment, and I demurely followed him there! Once again, I was alone with him. Although I didn't want to follow him, I didn't know how to refuse. Defying him was out of the question. Making a scene in front of the other man was even more unthinkable. Isolated with him once more, the man proceeded to the next step.

"Can I feel your breasts?" he asked me. I was wearing a dress with a little peterpan collar that hugged my neck. I can

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still remember it vividly today -- as I fancy I can also remember the incident -- the first experience of sexual abuse that I can remember. It had a pattern of small green flowers with pale yellow centers on a white background, and sported an all green collar. My skirt was short -- as was typical for young girls' dresses in those days.

"Yes," was the answer to the man that came out of me. He cupped his hands over my tiny mounds covered by my dress. It would have been a difficult feat for him to get at my bare breasts if he chose to remain in a seductive mode of progressing a little step at a time. Little, for him, that is. For me, each step was a gigantic leap into further violation. I think he complimented me on my fine little breasts. I seem to remember the man once more seeking my permission to look at my privates -- although I can't remember what word he used to describe them. If so, I consented again. The man then raised my skirt with one hand, and with the other, he pulled my panties to one side at the crotch to gaze at my little hairless pubis (mons?). "How beautiful," he said, or some such thing. Oh! The awful discomfort! The embarrassment! The shame! The longing for it to be over. I felt completely helpless, as if I had no way out.

I was imprisoned by my inability to rebel; to defy him; to be rude. It simply never occurred to me that I didn't have to tolerate his behavior -- let alone give him permission to violate me.

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Despite my very submissive behavior toward the man's sexual abuse, I didn't lose awareness of the train's progress toward my destination. After what seemed an eternity, it arrived. What an incredible relief! At last, I had no difficulty telling the man I had to leave, and disembarking the train. He did nothing to stop me. I still wonder today, how far he would have proceeded in his sexual violation had the train's arrival at my station not rescued me from my behavioral paralysis. At what point would I have finally become defiant? And -- assuming I would have -- how would he have reacted? There's no way of knowing.

From the station, I embarked on the walk to the ballet school. During my walk, I was in turmoil and shock about what had happened. I felt violated yet guilty. I felt responsible, yet not responsible. I felt terrible confusion, and lots of shame! I felt sullied. My most private parts had been touched by this man. It was so different to the time when my twin brother and I and two neighbor boys exposed our genitals to each other out of curiosity. My twin and I were still bathing together, so our curiosity was totally focused on the neighbor boys, and theirs on me. This was a fun experience. It was an equal exchange that we all wanted to engage in.

When I arrived at ballet school, it didn't occur to me to tell my kind and wonderful ballet teacher what had happened. Nor

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did I spend a moment contemplating whether or not I would tell my mother. Telling anyone was out of the question, so no decision was required.

A few things were absolutely clear and unambiguous for me, and always have been: I didn't like the look of the nasty, ugly man who sat opposite me in the train; I hated seeing the photo of his niece and realizing for the first time that some family members have sex together, but I hated the sexual violation much, much more.

My body participated in the ballet class -- but my mind was preoccupied with what had happened on the train. I went through the dance movements as if in a trance. When the class ended, I had to retrace my steps: walk, train ride, walk to my home. I could think of nothing besides my violation on my journey home and for many days thereafter. But I stopped thinking about it as time went by.

Some might wonder why I didn't get out of the train before my ballet school station in order to escape from the man sooner.

The answer is that the "good girl" that I was, didn't consider missing my class or arriving late. How would I have explained either of these circumstances to my mother or my teacher? Nor did it occur to me to lie to them that I had missed the train because lying wasn't something that I did then.

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Years later, I and my sister, who is three years older than me, shared our experiences of sexual abuse on the train. She had many more than I did, but none of them were as traumatic for her as mine was for me. I felt no anxiety that she might blame me for my passivity toward my perpetrator, and I'm sure she was equally confident that I wouldn't blame her. After talking to my sister, I began talking about my experience easily and openly with others. I was by this time completely devoid of shame or self-blame. I no longer expected to be blamed for what had happened, and I never have been. I arrived at this place on my own. I don't remember anything about the psychological work that I must have done to free myself of the negative attitudes I had harbored about my role in my own sexual abuse. I can only vouch for the radical and healthy understanding about it that I had achieved. Had I been blamed, I believe I would have been very angry. I feel sure that I wouldn't have reacted by doubting myself -- only doubting the blamer.

I'm not aware of any lasting negative effects of my abuse by the man in the train. Since my life's work is about understanding the prevalence and harm of all kinds of sexual violence against women and girls, my first experience of sexual abuse gave me many valuable insights into many children's inability to defy their perpetrators. For example, it is imperative to understand that just because many children react

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submissively toward their perpetrators, this doesn't indicate that they wanted the experience, enjoyed it, consented to it, or that they weren't traumatized by it.

Many psychiatrists and other members of the mental health profession who have worked with survivors of child sexual abuse - particularly in the past -- have made the same error as pedophiles in mislabelling such children as "seductive" or "colluding" or "consenting" to the sexual abuse imposed upon them. It is easy to see how many adults who do not understand sexual abuse from a victim's perspective, could draw the wrong conclusion. Had I not had my distressing experience at the age of 11 or so, I would probably have made the very same errors. My experience taught me that children who are accustomed to obeying "grown ups" and behaving politely toward them will also manifest this behavior when subjected to sexual abuse by adults. At least, this is the case when there is no education at school or at home about how to handle such experiences assertively.

I didn't know the word pornography or that any such phenomenon existed when the man in the train showed me the picture of his niece. It was a picture of a lovely young girl, not a crude crotch shot in Larry Flynt style. I have sometimes wondered if this early exposure had anything to do with my passionate aversion to pornography that started when I was exposed to mainstream pornographic movies in the late sixties

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that were considered fashionably avant garde (like Sweden's "I am Curious Yellow"). I have been working to combat pornography from 1974 until today.

This book is a critical step forward in my campaign and is particularly meaningful to me because it speaks on behalf of those who cannot speak for themselves. Through this work, I will examine child pornography as a media form, a business, a cultural phenomenon, and a gender-based pathology, and I will demonstrate its clear and indisputable links to the traumatizing sexual abuse of countless children.

\*\*\*\*\*

Stolen Innocence is a companion volume to Dangerous Relationships. However, instead of focusing on the relationship between adult pornography and rape, Stolen Innocence will focus on the relationship between child pornography and child sexual abuse. In both of these books, large sections are devoted to descriptions of pornographic pictures followed by analytical comments on each of them. In an earlier publication -- Against Pornography: The Evidence of Harm (1994) -- I instead reprinted over 100 examples of pornographic pictures. There is no question that viewing the pictures has a much greater impact, and is therefore vastly preferable, than reading descriptions of them. However the catch was that no publishers were willing to risk

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being sued for my failure to obtain permission from the pornographers to reprint their pictures. Paying for them was out of the question for many reasons: it would have been prohibitively expensive; it would have contributed to the profits of pornographers -- which I had no desire to do; neither Hustler nor Playboy were willing to grant me permission; my information on publication sources was sometimes completely missing, sometimes partially missing (e.g. the date of publication), making it impossible for even the pornography magazines to locate the picture.

Unwilling to go through the many trials and tribulations I experienced in the past as a self-publisher, I have to forgo including in Stolen Innocence pictorial examples of child pornography that are not illegal but that fit my definition of this form of child sexual abuse. Regrettably, this will diminish the impact that this book could have. I resonate with the feelings expressed by anti-child pornography activist Barry Crimmins as he sat in a US Senate hearing chamber before giving testimony:

"I was haunted by the horrifying images I had seen over the past seven months. The children with the dead eyes and defiled bodies. I wished everyone could see these pictures.

I wished no one could see these pictures." (The Boston Phoenix - Online version)

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Despite the lack of pictorial evidence, I believe the reader will encounter sufficient narrative detail in this work to comprehend at least in part the horrifying and destructive nature of child pornography and the devastating consequences for its young victims. In some cases, this material will be shocking and even sickening. This is unfortunately necessary in any effort to reflect the reality of child pornography and ultimately to advocate on behalf of its victims.

[2,376 words]

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"The fact is, thousands of children around the world have been brutally abused to create these images, and demand for the pictures is burgeoning, fueled by the Internet."

-- Rod Nordland and Jeffrey Bartholet (2001, March 19), p. 46

"Just as the First Amendment protects pictures of people committing murder or injecting drugs... it should safeguard an image of an adult having sex with a child."

-- Nadine Strossen, Head of the ACLU, 2000\*

[\*Footnote: Cited by Ladd, Donna. (2000, July 4). Incest.com. Village Voice, 45(26), 41.]

Introduction

In the past decade, public concern about child pornography and other forms of child sexual abuse has greatly intensified. The fact that numerous survivors of child sexual abuse were finally motivated to accuse the priests and other officials in the Catholic Church who had sexually abused them -- sometimes for

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years -- has contributed to this concern. The widespread cover-up of these crimes by Catholic Bishops and other prominent churchmen has also magnified the public scandal -- that is far from over today (June, 16, 2003).

Although child pornography is not a prominent feature of the public's horrified reaction to this scandal, the use by some priests of child pornography in their arsenal of seductive strategies has also come to light. In addition, because pedophiles -- most of whom are obsessed with looking at and collecting child pornography (ref) -- are the major perpetrators of the child sexual abuse in the Catholic Church, the twin issues of child porn and child sexual abuse have even caught the attention of President Bush, John Ashcroft, and other prominent government officials to an unprecedented degree. Furthermore, many legislators have been working for years to draft legislation to provide law enforcement officers with the means to combat child porn on the Internet more effectively.

Whereas adult porn is often falsely conceptualized as harmless "fantasy" -- as if it were a victimless pursuit -- child pornography is widely recognized as victimizing children in the very process of producing it. It is the recognition that children are unable to consent to being used in pornography, as well as the awareness of the damaging consequences of child porn-related sexual abuse, that has prevented freedom of speech from

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being used as an obstacle to the criminalization of child porn.

### Major Goal of Stolen Innocence

Legislation to criminalize the production, distribution, and consumption of child porn has always been based on the fact that its production requires the sexual exploitation of a child/ren. Therefore, it is not that surprising that the majority opinion of the Supreme Court justices struck down the government's legislation criminalizing computer-generated child pornography (which does not use actual children in production) in 2002 on the grounds that it "is not intrinsically related to the sexual abuse of children" (p. A1/A16).

Friel points out that in order for the government to prove that a ban on virtual child pornography would protect children from child sexual abuse, they will have to show "a clear connection between virtual child pornography and child sexual exploitation" (p. fn 235; emphasis added). Although Friel maintains that this will be very difficult to prove (p. 235), the major goal of Stolen Innocence is to do just this, i.e., to show a causal relationship between the exposure to both computer-generated and traditional child porn and the occurrence of child sexual victimization.

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Aside from the scientific importance of these issues, there are crucial policy implications. I hope this book will succeed in providing the necessary data, reasoning, and theory to make a convincing case for the need to criminalize computer-generated child porn so that this material can remain illegal.

### Feminist Neglect of Child Porn

In the area of sexual violence against women and children, feminists have typically played a groundbreaking role in bringing the various manifestations of this widespread problem to public attention. Florence Rush, one of the feminist pioneers in the areas of child porn and child sexual abuse, wrote her first article on child porn in 1978 [Child pornography. Unpublished paper, presented at the Pittsburgh Conference on Pornography: A Feminist Perspective, May 17, 1980]. She also wrote about child porn in her ground breaking book, The Best Kept Secret: Sexual Abuse of Children, [New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc.] in 1980.

Although a few other feminists have also written about child porn (for example, Linnea Smith, Elizabeth Matz, Liz Kelly, Anne Mayne), they have been the exceptions. The organized feminist anti-porn movement has focused almost exclusively on adult porn.

As Liz Kelly notes, "in feminist analyses of, and campaigning against, pornography relatively little attention has been paid to

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child pornography." (p. 113, In Itzen (ed. (1992). Pornography: Women, Violence, and Civil Liberties). Kelly suggests that child pornography has not been a central concern of feminists because, "Many feminists simplistically elide children's interests with those of adult women" (p. 113). In addition, she argues that, "Failure to recognize that children's oppression has an independent structure can result in feminists not challenging the general resistance to seeing and knowing what adults do to children" (p. 113).

Feminist writer Susan Cole's (1995) reason for ignoring child porn (quoted below) is the same as mine was until fairly recently. "I'm always struck," she said,

"by how easy it is for people to see the children in pornography as victims and how difficult it is for them to see force and coercion in pornography that features women. And this is why I don't focus too much on child pornography.

It's easy to upset people with it.... What is it about the circumstances of a female's presence in pornography that changes when she turns eighteen?" [Power Surge: Sex, Violence and Pornography. Toronto, Ontario: Second Story Press, p. 103]

I believe Cole's reasons for deliberately neglecting child porn are shared by many other feminists. Despite my sympathy for

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Cole's argument, I no longer consider it justifiable for feminists to ignore the devastating effects of child pornography on children.

### The Paucity of Research on Child Pornography

Relatively few books have been published on child pornography especially when compared with the numerous books on other forms of child sexual abuse. Several of those that are available have focused on offering advice to parents regarding how they can protect their children from deliberately or inadvertently accessing child pornography on the Internet. For example, in the case of Herbert Lin's Youth, Pornography, and the Internet (National Academy Press, 2002), a 21-person committee was chosen "to study the tools and strategies for protecting kids from pornography." This anthology provides several different approaches to protecting youth from exposure to pornography on the Internet.

There are a few other books written with a mind to protecting children from exposure to pornography. Internet Pornography: Awareness and Prevention by Michael McBain, is a very short volume (89 pages) described as "a parent/teacher guide to protecting minors from the dark side of the Internet." The author shows parents and teachers how to audit their home and school computers so they can control minors' access to

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pornographic material. Other books that focus on child protection include Jens Waltermann and Marcel Machill's, Protecting Our Children on the Internet (Bertelsmann Foundation Publishers, 2000), and Frank York and Jan LaRue's book, Protecting Your Child in an X-rated World (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 2001). A Report of the Joint Hearing before the Subcommittee on Technology of the Committee on Science, U.S. House of Representatives, titled Cyberporn: Protecting Our Children From the Back Alleys of the Internet (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1995) constitutes another example of the protecting-children theme.

There are a few existing books that specifically discuss child pornography. Unfortunately, many of these were written in the pre-Internet era and thus do not examine today's major arena of child pornography. Books on child pornography published in the pre-Internet era include Shirley O'Brien's Child Pornography (1983), Ann Wolbert Burgess' groundbreaking scholarly anthology, Child Pornography and Sex Rings (1984), and British journalist Tim Tate's excellent volume, Child Pornography: An Investigation (1990).

For those audiences interested in more scholarly reports, Splintered Lives: Sexual Exploitation of Children in the Context of Children's Rights and Child Protection (1995) is a first rate self-published report on child pornography by a team

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of British feminist researchers -- Liz Kelly, Rachel Wingfield, and Linda Regan. This report offers many new and thought-provoking theories, ideas, and concepts several of which will be discussed in Stolen Innocence. Kenneth Lanning, a retired Director of the child pornography section of the FBI -- a position which he held for many years, has written four editions of an influential report entitled Child Molesters: A Behavioral Analysis -- the most recent edition of which was published in 2001. Despite the specificity of this title, Lanning's report provides a relatively comprehensive analysis of child pornography -- including child pornography on the Internet -- from a law enforcement perspective.

Philip Jenkins' brilliant and groundbreaking volume, Beyond Tolerance: Child Pornography on the Internet (2001), is the first and only book, to my knowledge, to focus on child pornography on the Internet. This volume has proved to be my most indispensable resource in writing Stolen Innocence. (Although an edited anthology by Carlos Arnaldo, titled Child Abuse on the Internet: Breaking the Silence (2000), also focuses on the Internet, only some of the contributors write about child pornography.)

Books and reports form only a portion of the literature; there are also many articles by scholars, journalists, and others, many of which are located on the Internet. In examining these articles, however, we again find that there is far more concern about the dangers of the Internet for children than about

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child pornography. For example, Jenkins (2001) notes that most of the material focuses on "children being seduced or stalked by predatory adults [males] whom they encounter online" (p. 10). Child pornography is only relevant in these cases when predators use it in their seduction strategy. "Cyberstalking," Jenkins observes, "has next to nothing to do with the underworld that supplies and consumes KX and hel-lo [two examples of very hardcore child pornography]" (p. 11). Jenkins (2001) concludes that there is a "stunning lack of available information on the current realities of child porn" (emphasis added, p. 10). "(I)n the United States," he explains,

"The ferocious legal prohibitions on viewing child porn images have had the effect of virtually banning research. The existing literature thus ... ignores the computer revolution that transformed this particular deviant subculture in the mid-1980s." (p. 10)

James Kincaid also observes that, "If we look for studies of the actual material, the kiddie porn\* itself, we find nothing, since it is against the law to look at what may exist, much less own it" (cited by Jenkins, p. 19). [\*Footnote: This term minimizes the seriousness of child pornography.]

Similarly, Harmon, Denna, and Boeringer, Scot B. (2002, January 20), who undertook an extensive review of the literature

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on accessible depictions of child pornography on the Internet, found that there are "very few systematic research projects" on this subject (p. 2). However, they considered it understandable that "little experimental research has ever been done" because of "the ethical problems of exposing subjects to such materials and the possible permanent effects that subjects might suffer" (p. 2). In addition, Harmon et al., noted

The extreme violence and brutality sometimes present in postings on the internet cannot be over-emphasized when discussing the potential effects upon viewers -- especially young viewers. The PI (Principal Investigator) of this study found it necessary to seek professional debriefing through the counseling services offered at the university after conducting this analysis." (p. 2)

The paucity of research on child pornography on the Internet is exceedingly unfortunate since it is a problem of such momentous concern to millions of individuals and organizations throughout the world.

Nonetheless, this state of affairs is not very surprising given the obstacles faced by researchers. Jenkins makes a sobering point regarding how easy it is to break the current child pornography laws. "Contrary to popular impression, he writes,

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"'Downloading' does not refer to the act of deliberately saving an image but merely to pressing on a link that causes an image to appear on the screen. The offense is in the accessing, not the saving. Almost certainly, too, it is not necessary for a prosecutor to show that an accused individual knew that pressing that link would produce a suspect image." (p. 18)

Furthermore, Jenkins notes, "It is no excuse to say that one was consulting the images for purposes of academic research or journalistic investigation, nor can one claim to be collecting materials to expose and combat the evils of child pornography" (Jenkins, p. 19). Simply "viewing child porn material is a criminal offense" (p. 19).

Hence, freelance reporter Lawrence Matthews, 55, who claimed that he was trading child pornography photographs "as part of a major investigation into the child porn world," was found guilty of a serious criminal offence. He was fined \$4,000 and sentenced to 18 months in prison (Jenkins, p. 19; Kirtley, 1999, p. 86).

While it is of great concern to me and presumably others that genuine research on child pornography has been criminalized, Matthews' claim that he was only conducting research for a magazine article "on the subject of online child pornography and

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law enforcement sting operations" is wholly unconvincing since "he could produce no notes, drafts, contracts or even so much as a query letter to a publisher to back up his assertion" (Kirtley, p. 86). Meanwhile he had spent almost two years on doing his "research."

Pete Townshend, the 57-year-old guitarist and co-founder of the Who rock band, was arrested at his home near London, England, in January 2003, "on suspicion of possessing child pornography."

Townsend declared his innocence on the grounds that he "happened upon" the images "by accident," and that "he was only researching child pornography sites for an autobiography" (SFC, January 16, 2003, p. A2). He maintained that child pornography was relevant to his autobiography because he might have been molested as a child (SFC, p. A2). This unlikely story was rendered even less credible by the inconsistency in his claiming both accidental access (he later admitted using his credit card\*) to the site and a desire to conduct research (\*Footnote: Warren Hoge, New York Times, May 8, p. A7).

By May 8, 2003, he changed his story by maintaining that "his motive was research to help his 'campaign to counter damage done by all kinds of pornography on the Internet,'" (Warren Hoge, New York Times, p. A7). Incredibly, Scotland Yard found Townshend's various explanations plausible, and cleared him "of the more serious charge of being in possession of indecent

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pictures downloaded from the Internet" (Hoge, p. A7). Apparently the United States is not the only country where celebrity plays a vital role in being declared innocent of nasty charges.

Apparently, the British police did not share my response. He was merely "given a formal police caution and placed on an official register of sex offenders" for five years but "cleared of the more serious charge of being in possession of indecent pictures downloaded from the Internet" (Warren Hoge, British rock star receives lesser punishment in Internet case, New York Times, May 8, 2003. Internet version, p. 1). A child sexual abuse victim group "had harsh words for the police decision," as did Scotland Yard.

Be this as it may, since I planned to include in this book descriptions of a sample of child pornography on the Internet, I was shocked when I learned that I had no more right to access child pornography -- as legally defined -- than the most brutal child pornography offender had. Only police officers and attorneys who prosecute or defend child pornography offenders are permitted to access, study and collect the offenders' child pornography collections.

Despite Jenkins' claim that it is impossible to do research on child pornography on the Internet, he himself noted that researchers can "access freely what we might call the collateral

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manifestations of the child pornography world, namely, newsgroups, bulletin boards, and message boards" (p. 19). Jenkins based the research for his book on these "collateral manifestations," including the "verbal, textual material collected from newsgroups and message boards" over a period of two years (p. 20). However, he acknowledged that:

"I do not know from firsthand observation exactly what the material is that I am supposed to be handling, whether what is advertised as child pornography in fact features subjects aged five or thirty-five. Virtually all the so-called lolita sites that are easily discovered on the Internet do, in fact, involve much older women [females]." (p. 20)

Nevertheless, Jenkins maintains that he was able to circumvent this problem by studying many websites on which several independent users' provided detailed descriptions, analyses and criticism of the content" (p. 20).<sup>\*</sup> [\*Footnote: As will become clear in the discussion of the legal history of child pornography in Chapter 3, there was a long period when no distinction was made between child and adult pornography, and when the laws about pornography were poorly implemented. Even after a law criminalizing child pornography was passed in 1978, and law enforcement officers were admonished to radically increase their efforts to combat child pornography on the Internet, strategies had not yet been devised to handle the new and challenging

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problems posed by the Internet.]

Researchers cannot be prosecuted for the child pornography they downloaded for research in the past, although they can be prosecuted if they have kept the child pornography pictures they collected. Additionally, it is still possible to review and analyze the findings of a few studies undertaken during a less restrictive time.

British child pornography and child sexual abuse researchers Liz Kelly and her colleagues Rachel Wingfield and Linda Regan (1995) suggest quite a different reason from those mentioned above for the lack of research on child pornography: "sexual exploitation" (the term used to refer to child pornography, child prostitution, and trafficking in child sex slaves), they note, "is not a recognised 'type' of child abuse...." (p. 28).

Five years later Kelly, Regan and Sheila Burton (2000) (in Itzin), make a similar point about the neglect of research on "sexual exploitation":

"detailed knowledge about sexual exploitation of children is still rare.... Most prevalence research does not ask the kind of questions which would reveal sexual exploitation, either as a factor in ongoing sexual abuse or as separate from it. Official statistics also fail to record sexual

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exploitation as a category." (p. 74)

Kelly et al., also note that the frequent connections between criminal networks and the child pornography industry add to the difficulty of doing research (p. 74).

In addition to the lack of research on the prevalence of children victimized by child pornography, several researchers point out the paucity of research on the effects of child pornography on the victims. For example, Ulla Carlsson (in Carlos A. Arnaldo. (Ed.). (2000)) observed that

"We have seen remarkably few studies of the effects of pornography on those who view it, and we know even less about the effects on young, and very young, viewers. Studies of sadistic pornography are even rarer." (p. 62)

Daniel Linz and Imrich (2001) concur with Carlsson that:

"empirical research is limited on the effects of these materials [child pornography] on victims. [Endnote: Tate also notes that: "There are virtually no empirical research studies into the effects of child pornography on children themselves." Child Porn, 1990, p. 180] Most often, the primary sources of information of victim effects come from clinicians who have treated victims. Few studies employing

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other methods exist on the effects of these materials on adult viewers." (p. 79)

Harmon, Denna, and Boeringer, Scot B. (2002, January 20) also note that "to date there has been no published analysis of written pornography on the Internet" (p. 3).

Conclusion: It is abundantly clear that there is a serious lack of research on child pornography. Rod Nordland and Jeffrey Bartholet (2001, March 19) note that the general ignorance about child pornography "serves the child pornographers well" (web, p. 46). To rectify this situation, funding must be allocated to undertake research on child pornography and its effects. And in order to be able to conduct such research without restrictions, researchers need to be given

"a First Amendment-based academic research privilege that would provide scholars with the ability to study child pornography by examining the topic firsthand, including the opportunity to analyze and critique this form of image-based content, free from fear of state and federal government prosecution." (Calvert, 2002, p. 257)

Calvert, a professor of Communications and Law, provides several reasons for extending an academic research privilege to authentic researchers, as well as providing "the constitutional,

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judicial, and statutory foundations upon which this privilege could be constructed" (2002, p. 259). He points out that

"if scholars are not allowed to view child pornography for legitimate research purposes, then society is left largely to rely on two sources for its data about the quantity and content of child pornography that circulates on the World Wide Web: the government and pedophiles. Both sources may be viewed as dubious, each constituting its own somewhat suspect class." (p. 260).

Law Enforcement officials should be included as a third source. Calvert notes that "many people do not trust the government or law enforcement agents" as sources of information, and very few, if any, individuals would trust information given by pedophiles.

Well-executed research by reputable scholars is likely to be the best source for obtaining credible information about the prevalence, content, and effects of child pornography.

However, of the large number of pedophiles in the United States, it is reasonable to assume that a number of scholars are amongst them. Methods must be developed to distinguish between researchers who are genuine and those whose "research" is merely a cover for their desire to download child pornography and build up their child pornography collections -- as was the case with Matthews, for example (described above). Calvert makes several

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proposals for limiting the conditions under which researchers can exercise their research privilege (see pages X-x). His suggestions discriminate against independent researchers like myself who, as an emerita professor, is no longer connected with an institution of higher learning. In my view it would be preferable if a national committee of qualified academics would be required to evaluate the merits of research proposals about child pornography as well as the motivation of the researchers involved.

### A Shocking Miscarriage of Justice

This chapter will conclude with a brief article about a shocking miscarriage of justice involving an extremely lenient punishment given to a perpetrator of appallingly sadistic pornography-related child sexual abuse. This case indicates how much work needs to be done to combat this pernicious industry.

Pornography - Law Enforcement and The Ivory Tower Syndrome  
by Sharon Secor (July 2003)\* [\*Footnote: News and Commentary;  
Copyright 2001-2003, Morality in Media, Inc.]

... Even when laws against pornography are enforced, some in our legal system still appear more sympathetic towards the perpetrators than the victims, even when the victims are children.

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"I enjoyed what I was doing. I didn't want to stop. I didn't want help," said former New York Law School professor Edward Samuels, according to an article written by Andrea Peyser.

[Footnote:

<<http://pqasb.pqarchiver.com/nypost/350809771.html?did3D350809771&FMT3D>  
BS&FMTS3DFT&PMID3D42522&desc3DSICKENING+LOGIC+OF+%27VICTIMLESSES%27+BAB Y+RAPE> and published in the June 24, 2003, edition of the New York Post.]

Samuels made these comments after being caught with what has been widely reported as one of the most vile and extensive collections of child pornography ever encountered by the Manhattan District Attorney's office. According to Peyser, during the trial, prosecutor Maxine Rosenthal provided details of the roughly "150,000 shots, from stills of naked, undeveloped girls to videos of rape, whippings and even bestiality, committed upon children as young as 3."

In the same edition of the New York Post, Laura Italiano also reported on Rosenthal's [Footnote:

<<http://pqasb.pqarchiver.com/nypost/350809611.html?did3D350809611&FMT3D>  
ABS&FMTS3DFT&PMID3D42522&desc3DPERV+PROF+FUROR+-+WRIST-SLAP+FOR+150,000+KID+PIX>] description of the materials. In addition to the "nauseating images involving babies and

## Chapter 1: Introduction

dogs," Rosenthal described horrific scenes in which little girls were "crying and grimacing in pain." Samuels, a married father of two children, also possessed an assortment of whips and restraints. In her prosecution of this man, Rosenthal asked for the woefully inadequate maximum sentence possible within the plea bargain arrangement that Samuels's defense attorney, Avraham Moskowitz, successfully brokered.

However, despite the reportedly shocking depravity of his collection of images depicting the unspeakable suffering of innocents, Manhattan Supreme Court Justice Brenda Soloff found the four years in prison that Rosenthal asked for to be far too harsh. In fact, according to Italiano, "the judge admitted she struggled over whether to send Samuels to jail at all." And, out of her great inner struggle came the sentence - six months in jail and 10 years probation.

On June 24, 2003, New York Newsday staff writer Karen Freifeld quoted [Footnote:

<<http://216.239.53.104/search?q3Dcache:XRmnhBIHqr8J:www.nynewsday.com/news/local/crime/nyc-nyporn3344580jun24,0,5169419.story+edward+samuels+and+child+porn+sentence&hl3Den&ie3DUTF-8>>] the judge as saying that Samuels presented "a strong case [that] he has suffered enough."

Judge Soloff was not alone in her concerns about Samuels. In

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the June 23, 2003, edition of New York Magazine, Elisabeth Franck reported [Footnote:

<[http://www.newyorkmetro.com/nymetro/news/crimelaw/features/n\\_8815/](http://www.newyorkmetro.com/nymetro/news/crimelaw/features/n_8815/)>] that the dean of New York Law School, Richard Matasar, wrote in an e-mail to colleagues that "the Law School has placed Professor Samuels on paid administrative leave so that he may attend to his defense... Our hearts go out to Ed and his family as they face the difficult time ahead." Matasar acknowledged that he wrestled with the subject. "When there's no purchase or sale of these materials, I don't know... As a lawyer, I am ambivalent on these issues," he said, according to Franck.

Randolf Jonakait, one of many of the school's professors who were unhappy with the dean's decision to go to the district attorney with the information, reportedly said, "The notion of going to the police and not talking to Ed seems to me incorrect; it was wrong from a workplace point of view and wrong from an academic freedom point of view. Anyone who's concerned with issues of academic freedom should be concerned about this." Franck indicated that Jonakait was also one of several professors that "challenged the validity of the law Samuels was accused of breaking." "This is close to a victimless crime," Jonakait reportedly said.

"Like so many other parents, I gratefully spend each

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day in the intimate, loving care of my tiny girls. And, as I struggle to understand these people, these well-educated and successful people, I look at my almost-four-year-old daughter, all sunshine and innocence. She shines with the knowledge that she is loved, that her world and the people in it are good.

"As I think about all of this, the depravity of those images fills my mind. The dog. Tiny girls tied up. Babies. Beatings. Red welts. For a fraction of a horrible moment I am able to envision how my own daughter's face would look, innocence extinguished, fear and pain deadening the sunlight of her eyes. I taste my tears, my heartaches for those children, and no, I can't say that I concern myself greatly about the possibility of Samuels suffering too much.

"Perhaps, therein lies part of the answer. I (and most others) live in the real world. We don't look down upon such situations from the ivory tower of academia or from a courtroom bench. To expect that they would shun an alleged child-pornography addict would be to underestimate the propensity to agonize in academia. Especially legal academia. And especially when you factor in the deep ambivalence among legal scholars about pornography."...

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[4,554 words]

Chapter 2: A Collage of Descriptions of Abusive Child  
Pornography Pictures

[4collage.bok]

This collage of descriptions of child pornography pictures/sexual abuse are included in this chapter to give readers a sampling of examples of the kinds of material that is the subject matter of this book. The first few examples are differentiated on the basis of the age of the victimized children. Since children of different ages are sometimes included in one example, the category in which these cases are placed is based on the youngest victim(s).

1. Pornography-Related Sexual Abuse of Babies

Kevin Niedermier, a member of The Child Protection Society, described

"a series of pictures which I will never forget was entitled BABYRAPE. It was a series of seven pictures depicting a man removing a diaper from an infant girl, inserting his fingers into her vagina and finally having sexual intercourse with

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her." ([www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/5021/](http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/5021/) November 6, 1996, p. 2).

Rita Rooney (1983) refers to a magazine entitled Baby Sex, that "shows six-month old infants in sexual acts with adults" (p. 127). She also mentions "audio tapes, complete with descriptive narrative, [that] record the screams of a little girl being raped" (Innocence for sale: A special report on child pornography. (Ladies Home Journal, April, pp. 79-81, 127-128, 130, 132) (p. 127).

### 2. Pornography-Related Sexual Abuse of Toddlers and Very Young Children

o Niedermier described the contents of a pedophile newsgroup on the Internet that portrayed,

"Images of grown men sodomizing young boys, [and] a very young girl pinned to a bed while having a bottle inserted into her vagina" ([www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/5021/](http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/5021/) November 6, 1996, p. 2).

o Davies (1994), a journalist for the U.K. Guardian interviewed a woman about her early experiences of being filmed while being sexual abused. She told him that,

**Chapter 2: A Collage of Descriptions of Abusive Child Pornography**

"A typical event would involve adults (which sometimes included her mother and father), and children as young as 2 or 3 through to teen age. The abuse would include anal, oral and vaginal penetration of the children by the adults and by each other, with objects as well as fingers, hands and penises, tying up, gagging, blindfolding and whipping. The men who filmed were also perpetrators, and she was beaten if she was not compliant, or if ... she gagged and choked on semen." (Cited by Itzin, 1996, p. 184)

o "I would be made to be a perpetrator, and I would have to be involved in sexual abuse with younger children. Oral sex or penetrating their vagina or rectum. And that included abusing my brother. I would also be abused by other older children and by male and female adults. There were babies involved too. They would be naked.... The babies weren't being penetrated.... But fingers would be in vaginas, rectums. I don't know about new babies, or tiny babies, but certainly toddlers would be penetrated.... The penis in our mouths would make us gag and retch, and we had to swallow before anything came up. If we didn't swallow it and make a mess, we had to lick it up." (Itzin, p. 179)

o "In the pornography, there was also violence -- tying up, restraint. There was pushing things inside us: instruments, bottles, rods, in our vaginas and rectums. Fruit, bananas,

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cucumbers, things like that, ice cubes. Being hung upside down, being tethered with a dog collar round our necks and on all fours. Animals mounting us in that position. There was also recording: recording pain, recording sexual excitement.... They were reel to reel tapes." (Itzin, p. 179)

- o "A child porn dealer's catalogue lists the following entry: 'Lolitas: More extracts with plenty of action from the younger stuff. See small girl lowered on to giant prick; black girl treated nasty.'" (Tim Tate, 1987, p. 13)

- o "A park grounds-keeper approached a six year-old girl and asked her to 'shake his pee-pee to get all of the milk out of it.' He showed her nude photographs and then masturbated in front of the child." (Badgely, p. 1281)

### 3. Pornography-Related Sexual Abuse of Children

- o A woman reported that when she was 12 years old, "a 17 year-old watchman exposed to her, showed her pornography, fondled her sexually and attempted to rape her. 'I did not tell anyone,'" she said (Badgely, p. 1279).

- o "A sixteen-year-old girl who had been molested by two

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family friends from age seven to age twelve testified:

'Viewing the pictures in the magazines seemed to click something for him, for he then wanted his own personal record of all that he had taught me. He whipped out his Polaroid camera, which was in his briefcase, and then he proceeded to take pictures of me in various positions, which included using the vibrator.'" (Vol. 1, p. 781)

o "A sixteen-year-old girl testified: 'At about age eleven and a half he started using the magazine again. In these magazines there were pictures of one woman masturbating another woman, two men and a woman having sex, oral, anal and vaginal sex. It was with these magazines that we started having me act out positions with him.'" (Vol. 1, pg. 785)

**4. Teenage Perpetrators**

o "My uncle would make me look at pornographic literature and then take photographs of me doing it naked when he was baby-sitting. This is age 4 to 11 that I remember. He'd show me photographs of adults, men and women with whips and leather and children and animals. It would be photographs of oral sex, penetrative sex, both vaginally and anally. Somebody must have given him these, because he was only a

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teenager. Then he would make me act out some of them. If we were alone, this would be putting things inside myself, or he would put them in and then take the photographs. Sitting in provocative positions, masturbating; in sexually provocative poses and smiling. That was always the big criterion of photographs: smiling." (Itzin, "Porn and the organisation of abuse," in Bibby, 1996, p. 177)

- o "Over a period of time until detected by the child's parents, their five year-old daughter had her 15 year-old uncle as her baby-sitter during her parent's absence. He would read a pornographic magazine and then fondle the child's vagina and anus." (p. 1281)

- o "A 12-year-old boy discovered and read several pornographic magazines in his older brother's bedroom. A few days later, while baby-sitting a neighbour's five year-old son, he started a game of 'dickie' with the child. According to the child's account given to the police, the older boy 'put his dickie in my mouth and I was to suck it and then I was to put my dickie in his mouth and he was to suck on it'." (Badgely, p. 1281)

- o "A family friend, a 15 year-old boy, was asked to babysit an 11 month-old infant boy. When the parents left, the babysitter took a combination of gravol pills and whiskey in

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hopes of becoming 'high'. He reported later to the police that previously he had read several hard-core pornographic magazines which portrayed sadomasochistic heterosexual acts.

While reading, he heard the baby crying upstairs. The baby wasn't hungry and the babysitter decided to give him a bath.

The account given the police describes what happened.

o "I took him into the bathroom and took the diaper off to give him a bath. Before this, I was reading a dirty book. I was feeling horny and I was giving [the infant] a bath and tried to screw him.

"The anal intercourse on the infant resulted in tearing of the sphincter muscle leaving the ruptured tissue protruding from the anus." (Badgely, p. 1282)

### 5. Child Perpetrators

"Two brothers, ages six and eight, were playing in a ravine when they were approached by three boys, two of whom were age 10. The older boys showed the younger children pictures in a pornographic magazine and then asked the brothers to fellate them. The older brother refused but the six year-old sucked the penises of both of the 10 year-old boys."

(Badgely, p. 1281)

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### 6. Incestuous Abuse

o "Danica (1988) recalls how, at the age of 11, her father called her to the basement and showed her some photographs of her mother naked. Smiling that smile I know. The smile I have learned to make for the camera too. The smile I make when he says, wet your lips, lift your head, smile. (Cited in Itzin, 1996: p. 185)

o "A Tehama County man has been arrested for allegedly bringing his 10-year-old daughter to Oakland where he allowed her to be drugged and used in pornographic movies...." (?Iconoclast, date, page ).

o "This is a magazine called 'Lolita,' Special No. 5. It features a girl, 12 years old. She was sexually abused by her natural father from the time she was 7 until she was 12. If you look through [the magazine], you find her inserting bottles and other articles into her vaginal orifice. (Toby Tyler, p. 35)

o "One witness reported being forced by her father to view pornographic materials during the course of an incestuous relationship." She testified about what happened when her father took her to a hotel: "'Of course he had booked a

**Chapter 2: A Collage of Descriptions of Abusive Child Pornography**

double room. He had all kinds of things in his briefcase, and he pulled out a magazine or book and told me to read it.

He sat on the bed and watched me and his facial expression frightened me. I did not want to read it. I did not want to look at those pictures. I was emotionally tortured and I didn't know what to do. I did not like my body or my father's body and having to look at those pornographic pictures forced me to visually memorize painful incidents with my father.'" (Gov. Comm., Vol. 1, p. 801)

o "During all those years my grandfather showed me his [pornographic] books and magazines. He made me pose in seductive positions like the women in them. He would show me the pictures and say, "This is what I'm going to do to you, and this is what you must do." Or he'd say, "Do you see how pretty this girl looks? You must sit with your legs like she does." There were pictures of lots of nude women in them -- women in fishnet stockings with no panties on. There were a lot of open crotches and open legs. He always made me sit with my arms on my hips and my legs spread open like in the pictures. I still often sit like that automatically, with my legs up and my hands on my knees."

(Lara Newman (pseudonym), Russell)

**7. Children Bought and Sold**

## Chapter 2: A Collage of Descriptions of Abusive Child Pornography

"A shocking report" was received by Defense for Children International (DCI) in the United States about

"the buying and selling of children by photograph for the purpose of pornography production and child trafficking. We are still investigating such reports and we believe that such activity may take place in a variety of nations," he said. (Kenneth Herrmann, professor of social work and member of DCI. 1984, p. ).

### 8. Child Prostitution and Pornography

"One of the very first commonalities we [a group of formerly prostituted women] discovered was that we were all introduced to prostitution through pornography, and we were all under 18 at the time. Pornography was our textbook. We learned the tricks of the trade by men exposing us to pornography; we tried to mimic what we saw. I can not stress enough what a huge influence we feel this was. These pictures were of real men and women who appeared to be happy consenting adults, engaged in human sexuality." (Testimony at the Public Hearings on an Ordinance to Add Pornography as Discrimination Against Women, Committee on Government Operations, City Council, Minneapolis, Minnesota, December

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12-13, 1983. Cited by Russell, date, p. )

### 9. Bestiality

"There is a magazine called 'Lisa'... [that] shows Lisa engaging in various acts, including oral copulation to the point of ejaculation with her father. If you look at this picture, you will see that Lisa is 7 years old .... Then they come out with a subsequent edition, 'Lisa With Her Dog,' [which] shows Lisa engaging in various sex acts, including oral sex with her dog...." (Toby Tyler, p. 33)

### 10. Pedophiles' Perceptions

o "Children who have sexual encounters with adults suffer no immediate damage as a direct result of the experience. For the child, the experience usually contains elements of excitement and adventure. Often there is a sense of pride and a feeling that one is a big boy or girl because they have engaged in sexual activity with someone who is much older."

o "For the most part, damage done to children as a result of sexual activity with an adult is perpetrated upon them more

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by the society within which they live than the adult involved in the encounter. Many adults who suffered little or no affect from a childhood sexual experience have been convinced by today's media there must be something wrong with them and that they have been scared for life." ("Kids, sex and pornography," in Newsgroup: alt.binaries.pictures.erotica.pre-teen, October 1996, quoted in [www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/5021/anarchy.htm](http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/5021/anarchy.htm))

### 12. Pseudo-Child Pornography

"In this scene, actor-director Hardcore is having rough sex with Cloey Adams, who is pretending to be under age. 'If you're a good girl, I'll take you to McDonald's later and get you a Happy Meal.' Hardcore then 'proceeds to piss in her mouth.' Addressing the camera, Cloey Adams says, 'What do you think of your little princess now Daddy?' Nor is Hardcore through with her. 'Turning to the crew, he calmly says, 'I'll need a speculum and a hose' ... One of Max's favorite tricks is to stretch a girl's asshole with a speculum, then piss into her open gape and make her suck out his own piss with a hose.' (Max Hardcore's video, Hollywood Hardcore 13, described by Martin Amis in "Rough Trade" in U.S. Talk magazine (March 1, 2001). (Adult Video News (AVN) review, cited by Simonton, Keeping intimacy at a safe

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distance is a dangerous trend. Media Watch, Summer, 2001, p. 6)\* [\*Footnote: The Nation published a piece by pornographer Mark Cromer (February 26, 2001) heralding Max Hardcore as a hero who works to keep pornography dirty, 'the way it should be.'.... (Ann Simonton, Media Watch, Summer, 2001, p. 6). Simonton notes that the FCC did nothing to censure Hardcore.]

### 13. International Child Slave Trade

Some children are "stolen from families in the United States, Europe, and other nations. It could well happen that a child missing from Washington today could be seen in pornographic pictures next year in Germany.... The victims could very well be the sons or daughters of U. S. Senators as well as the children of the poor." (Herrmann, date, p. )

### 14. Parents Who Sell Their Daughters

Pornographer: "There's no real problem finding parents who are interested [in selling their daughters to make pornography]. None at all.... You have more people wanting that easy money than their kids are worth. Some of these young girls are ugly." (Campagna and Poffenberger, 1988, p. 137)

**Chapter 2: A Collage of Descriptions of Abusive Child Pornography**15. Reading a Hustler Article Results in Death

"My son, Troy Daniel Dunaway, was murdered on August 6, 1981, by the greed and avarice of the publishers of Hustler Magazine. My son read the article 'Orgasm of Death,' set up the sexual experiment depicted therein, followed the explicit instructions of the article, and ended up dead. He would still be alive today were he not enticed and incited into this action by Hustler Magazine's 'How To Do' August 1981 article; an article which was found at his feet and which directly caused his death. (Vol. 1, p. 797)

16. Pornography and Murder

A man testified that,

"Pornography wasn't the only negative influence in my life, but its effect on me was devastating. I lost all sense of decency and respect for humanity and life" (Gov. Comm. Vol. 1, p. 794). He admitted that "'The day came when I invited a small neighborhood boy into my apartment, molested him and then killed him in fear of being caught. Over the next few years I kidnapped, sexually abused and murdered four other boys" (p. 794).\* [\*Footnote: Unfortunately, this perpetrator does not divulge the contents of the pornography he had viewed. He merely implies that it was relevant to his

**Chapter 2: A Collage of Descriptions of Abusive Child Pornography**

murders. In addition, it seems that his first murder had given him the urge to murder more boys.]

[2,684 words]

## Chapter 2: A Collage of Descriptions of Abusive Child Pornography

### Chapter 3: The Legal History of Child Pornography

[4legal.his]

There was a "general relaxation of censorship standards" during the so-called sexual revolution of the 1960s "when pornographic pictures and films of children became widely available in Europe and the United States (Jenkins, 2001, p. 31). "At least for a few years," Jenkins wrote,

"it was easy to walk into a store in New York, Los Angeles, or London and purchase what was frankly advertised as child porn. This might include pictures of, say, young girls performing oral sex on adult men or women or men performing anal sex on young boys, as well as countless pictures of eight- or ten-year-old girls in Penthouse-type cheesecake poses." (2001, p. 32)

According to Jenkins (2001), "The modern history of child porn" as an industry dates from this period" (p. 31). David Baker (1978) claims that the child pornography that "began to cautiously appear in an 'under-the-counter' fashion at adult bookstores in the late 1960's" was, up until 1968, mostly pseudo-child pornography (p. 810). After 1968, according to Baker, little girls of eight to 14 years old were made to pose naked in

**Chapter 2: A Collage of Descriptions of Abusive Child Pornography**

magazines with titles such as Lollitots and Moppits. "As the sexual appetite of pedophiles increased," Baker (1978) noted that, "so did the demand for child pornography" (p. 810). Hence, "by 1976, child pornography had become a featured item among obscenity dealers, displaying in great volume and variety children aged three to sixteen in every conceivable sexual pose and act, heterosexual, and homosexual. Such magazines graphically exhibit[ed] children as young as three years old 'in couplings with their peers of the same and opposite sex, or with adult men and women. The activities featured [a] range from lewd poses to intercourse, fellatio, cunnilingus, masturbation, rape, incest and sado-masochism." (p. 810)

Researcher Kutchinsky claimed that the research he conducted in Denmark in 1970 and 1973 showed that the repeal of the laws censoring pornography resulted in a lowering in the rate of sex crimes. Although this research was severely defective, it was nevertheless used to validate the belief that exposure to pornography had a cathartic effect. This erroneous conclusion contributed to the proliferation in child pornography that followed. According to Jenkins,

"The magazines produced in these years offered a wide range of subjects, from girls in their mid-teens down to toddlers, and the activities portrayed varied from innocuous nudity on a beach or at a nudist camp to extreme sexual acts, showing

### Chapter 3: The Legal History of Child Pornography

children performing with each other and with adults."

Titles of magazines included Children-Love, Lolita, Lollitots, Nudist Moppets, and Bambina-Sex (p. 32).

Given that the easy availability of child pornography was already widespread when the 1970 Commission on Obscenity and Pornography was sponsoring new research on pornography, their handling of the child pornography issue was all the more reprehensible. Not only did they disallow research on children out of an alleged concern for childrens' welfare, but they concluded on the basis of no research that they were "satisfied ... that juveniles rarely purchase explicit materials" (p. 168).

The Commissioners naively believed that "their obligation to the young was over" once so-called adult pornography was labelled "'for adults only,' or 'parental guidance recommended'" (Rush, p. 168). They also maintained that pedophilia was irrelevant to child pornography, and that "the use of prepubescent children is almost nonexistent" (Rush, p. 167).

Furthermore, when the Commissioners claimed in their final report that there was no evidence that pornography causes harm, a few members of the Commission specifically included children in this generalization (1970), and "recommended the repeal of laws restricting the sale of [all] pornography" (p. 168).

The Commission's conclusion, the inaccurate interpretation

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of Kutchinsky's research, and the change in attitudes that occurred during the so-called sexual revolution of the 1960s, intensified a new tolerance toward the proliferation and mainstreaming of pornography, including child pornography.

"By **1973 the Supreme Court** abandoned a national standard definition of obscenity and allowed individual states to establish their own guidelines" (Rush, p. 168). By the mid-1970s, child pornography was "sold over the counter and in considerable quantities," according to the 1985 Attorney General's Commission on Pornography" (cited by Tate, p. 61). Much of this material was made in the United States (ibid).

On February 4, **1977**, psychiatrist Judianne Densen-Gerber held a press conference to protest the proliferation of child pornography. She documented the quantity and accessibility of these materials by displaying "250 publications [that she had obtained in New York] dedicated to sex with children aged three, four and five" (Rush, 1980, p. 169). There was an immediate flurry of media coverage and investigation of her claims as well as vociferous expressions of public outrage about the examples of child pornography that she had brought to public attention. Even the Federal Government responded rapidly to the furor.

Many people will be surprised to learn that child pornography was legal in the United States **prior to 1978** --

### **Chapter 3: The Legal History of Child Pornography**

except in Tennessee where there was already a law prohibiting the use of children in pornography (Osanka and Johann, 1989, p. 458).

Densen-Gerber demanded that special legislation be designed to outlaw child pornography (Tate, p. 64). Proponents of a child pornography law argued that, "Child pornography should not have First Amendment protection because it is a product of child abuse" (Osanka and Johann, 1989, p. 458). However, they also contended that "Such materials 'may be excluded from first amendment protection, even if no child abuse activity occurs'" (p. 458).

In **May 1977**, evidence was presented to the Senate sub-committee on Juvenile Delinquency documenting that 264 monthly child pornography magazines were being published in the United States, as well as a large number of one-issue specials (Tate, p. 65). The sub-committee heard testimony about parents who sold their children for use in pornographic movies and photographs and about the enormous profits that were being made from the commercial production of child pornography (Tate, p. 65).

A federal **Sexual Exploitation of Children Act** was passed in **1978** prohibiting the "manufacture or commercial distribution of obscene material involving subjects aged under sixteen years" in the United States (Jenkins, 2001, p. 35). This new federal statute also criminalized inter-state transportation of child pornography and children intended for use in sexual activities.

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According to Jenkins, this legislation "virtually eliminated the open availability of child porn materials in adult stores" (2001, p. 35).

As a result of this 1978 anti-child pornography legislation, a cottage industry in home-made child pornography developed, the products of which were traded, not sold. In addition, child pornography that was made in the United States was exported for publication in Europe, then imported back into the U.S. for distribution (Tate, **xx**).

Because the 1978 federal child pornography law did not regulate text, there was also a sizeable market for pornographic books in which sex between adults and children was described (Dietz and Sears, 1987/88, p. 28). Sexually explicit drawings of children were -- and still are -- also untouched by legal constraints. Sexually explicit photographs of children that are taken by photographers who qualify as artists (e.g., Mapplethorpe) or those who can pass themselves off as such, also seem to enjoy considerable latitude.

San Francisco photographer Jack Sturges, for example, who was apprehended because of his sexually explicit pictures of children, was eventually found not guilty because of his profession -- regardless of the fact that the salacious photographs in question were part of his private collection

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(i.e., not done for job-related reasons). This reasoning implies that professional photographers cannot be prosecuted for taking sexually explicit photographs of children no matter their quality, no matter if they shot them for their sexual gratification, and no matter if they kept them as a record of their past exploits -- an area of the law ripe for reform.

In 1982, "the key **Supreme Court case of** New York v. Ferber accepted the argument that child porn is evidence of the crime of child sexual abuse and that stopping distribution of child porn was the only effective way to end the abuse" (Osanka and Johann, 1989, p. 448). **The Child Protection Act of 1984** then

"virtually removed the whole category of child pornography from first Amendment protection. Any depiction of sex involving a minor was automatically obscene, making it child pornography and therefore illegal (Jenkins, 2001, p. 36).

This law also raised the age of a minor from 16 to 18 years old.

In their study of so-called adult bookstores, Dietz and Sears reported that "we are aware of no instance of over-the-counter commercial distribution of child pornography since the enactment of **the Child Protection Act of 1984**" (1987/88, p. 28, fn. 46).

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#### **The Child Sexual Abuse and Pornography Act of 1986**

"created a separate offense for transporting a child in foreign or interstate commerce when an intent to have the child engage in sexual acts 'for the purpose of producing child pornography' could be shown" (Osanka and Johann, 1989, p. 466).

It also

"created new offenses for 'Knowingly advertising or causing a notice to be made that a person was either seeking or offering to: a) receive, exchange, buy, produce, display, distribute, or reproduce child pornography; or b) secure the participation of a child for sexual conduct in order to produce child pornography'" (Osanka and Johann, 1989, p. 466).

Also in 1986, the **Child Abuse Victims' Rights Act** allowed

"any minor who is a victim of a violation of the federal child pornography law and who is personally injured as a result of such violation to sue to recover actual damages plus the cost of the lawsuit, including a reasonable attorney's fee. Such lawsuits must be initiated within six

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years after the cause of action accrues or, if the child was a minor at the time, no later than his or her twenty-first birthday." (Osanka and Johann (1987/1988), p. 466)

According to Jenkins (2001), "the legal campaign against child porn continued vigorously, ensuring that the legal availability of child porn material declined sharply" (p. 35). Although the public and legislators alike responded with a sense of urgency to the issue of child pornography once it was brought to their attention, under-age children continued to be used in the pornography industry, sometimes intentionally and sometimes unintentionally (for example, when a child or her pimp lied about her age).

In the mid-1980s, the availability of video equipment enabled amateur child pornographers to produce their own videos "in the privacy of their homes, cheaply and with minimal risk of discovery by informants or authorities" (Doyle, p. 126). The portability of camcorders made it possible to produce child pornography almost anywhere. For example, it enabled producers "to capture on videotape the mass rape of female children during the Bosnian war" (p. 126). That this video sells for more than the equivalent of \$8,000 in US dollars reveals the dreadful truth that many pedophiles are extremely eager to add very violent and sadistic child pornography to their collections (Doyle, p. 126).

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Futhermore, the availability of home camcorders "has greatly facilitated the production and copying of child pornography" without requiring "the services of a photographic laboratory" (Faller (1990) Understanding Child Sexual) p. 46). In addition, Faller notes that the production of child pornography videos is "quite a lucrative enterprise, which further enhances its appeal" (p. 46).

Some of the most popular pornography magazines like Playboy\* [\*Dines (1990) found that there were many sexual cartoons about children in Playboy in the 1970s and 1980s], Penthouse, and especially Hustler, used the cartoon format to sexualize children, belittle adult-child sexual abuse, and reinforce myths about young girls enjoying sex with adult men. For example, the Chester the Molester cartoons, a regular feature of Hustler magazine for many years, constantly joked about and belittled child molestation (see several examples in Chapter 14).

Pseudo-child pornography is another legal way that pornographic magazines responded to the crack down. Consider Larry Flynt's text accompanying a crotch shot of a young-looking childified woman.

The Lolita complex is one of the most common sexual fantasies of the heterosexual male. Many men fantasize about having sex with young girls -- which is taboo in

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today's society. But many wives and girlfriends gratify and fulfill their man's fantasies by dressing and acting like adolescent girls ... wearing pigtails and bobby socks. It's a harmless fantasy carried out by two adults. And, as our own Lolita reports, she too enjoys playing a little girl with her boyfriend.

The outlandish statement that many "normal" men are attracted to prepubescent girls (Lolitas) validates this deviant sexual interest. The claim that many females are willing to childify themselves to fulfill their male partners sexual desire for young girls encourages men to feel entitled to having this deviant interest satisfied. After all, their female partners should understand that "today's society" deprives them of the opportunity to directly pursue their interest in children because it has been made illegal.

Although pseudo-child pornography is frequently provided as an alternative to child pornography to avoid breaking the law, "some judges are ruling that even images in which the 'kids' are played by adults violate the 1996 Child Pornography Prevention Act" (Ladd, Village Voice, July 4, 2000, p. 41). Could it be that the women who are used in pseudo-child pornography judged to be illegal use particularly young-looking women? Or do judges' rulings depend on their views on pornography, or some other such idiosyncratic opinions? Unfortunately, Ladd does not describe

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the content of the pseudo-child pornography, or try to find out why some judges rule against these images.

.  
In 1988, the "**Child Protection and Obscenity Enforcement Act** made it unlawful to use a computer to transmit advertisements for or visual depictions of child pornography" (Jenkins, 2001, p. 38). Because child pornography producers were able to use child prostitutes ("porn models") who could pass for minors, this legislation was amended by the **Child Protection Restoration and Penalties Enhancement Act of 1990** to prevent distributors from avoiding prosecution by claiming ignorance of a child prostitute's ("porn model's") true age, and producers from maintaining "that they had been deceived" (Linz and Imrich, 2001, p. 96). Hence, this legislation required

"that any producer of books, magazines, films, or videotapes that contain visual depictions of actual sexually explicit conduct shall create and maintain individually identifiable records pertaining to every performer, most importantly the date of birth of each performer" (Linz and Imrich (2001, p. 96).

This section of the 1988 law was reversed by a U.S. Supreme Court ruling on X-Citement Video in **1994** after which, "if pornographers do not know that the children they use are children, the pornography made using them is legal" (MacKinnon,

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1995, p. 1965). According to MacKinnon (1995), the Court's decision

"accomplishes an effective drop in the age of consent for use in child pornography to the age of physical maturation -- for some girls, 10 or 11 years old -- a change that pornographers, including those on computer networks, can be predicted to exploit fully." (p. 1965)

Indeed, as MacKinnon pointed out, the Carnegie Mellon researchers had documented "extensive use of children for sex" in cyberspace (p. 1965).

In an attempt to fill the demand for child pornography without breaking the law, the pornography industry invented what Dietz and Sears referred to as pseudo-child pornography:

"depictions of presumably adult women wearing childlike clothing or photographed amid childlike props or settings" (1987/88, p. 28). Dietz and Sears report that females were thus depicted on 9.4% of book covers, 3.1% of pornographic magazine covers, and 1.5% of video covers in their large scale survey of such materials (1987/88, p. 28).

Other techniques used to create pseudochild pornography include shaving the pubic hair of youthful-looking, small-breasted women over the age of 18, posing them in childlike ways,

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requiring them to hug a doll or a teddy bear, describing them as children in the text and/or fabricating child-like quotations to put into their mouths. However, as Dietz and Sears point out:

"Despite the use of pigtails, bobby socks, and teddy bears, the women in these pictures most often resemble adolescents rather than prepubescent children and therefore correspond more to the interests of hebophiles [persons particularly attracted to postpubescent children/adolescents] than of pedophiles." (1987/88, p. 28).

In 1989, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child required that "all State Parties will undertake to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and abuse, and take all measures to prevent 'the exploitive use of children in pornographic performances and materials'" (Doyle, 1999, p. 131).

This convention was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1989. Only two of the 189 nations in the United Nations have not ratified this convention: the USA and Somalia (emphasis added; [www.freethechildren.org/peace/childrenandwar/uncrc.html](http://www.freethechildren.org/peace/childrenandwar/uncrc.html)).

In 1990, Osborne v. Ohio made it illegal to view or possess visual child pornography. "By the 1990s," Jenkins (2001) notes, the Federal government defined child pornography as a "'visual depiction ... of a minor engaging in sexually explicit conduct,' including 'lascivious exhibition of the genitals or pubic area of

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any person'" (p. 37). Moreover, "Even advertisements featuring naked children" were "strictly taboo in the United States" (Jenkins, 2001, p. 39).

The increasing significance of the availability of both adult and child pornography on the Internet brought with it a daunting new challenge to law makers and law enforcement agencies regarding how to deal with child pornography in this new abstract world where the application of community standards was no long relevant. In a period when no solutions seemed to be forthcoming, the findings of a very influential study of pornography on Internet Bulletin Boards was published in July **1995**. The principal investigator of this study -- a Carnegie-Mellon graduate student called Marty Rimm -- maintained that the Internet offered "an unprecedented availability and demand of [for] material like sadomasochism, bestiality, vaginal and rectal fisting, eroticized urination ... and pedophilia" (Jenkins, 2001, p. 50). (Rather than "pedophilia" Jenkins presumably meant incest and extrafamilial child sexual abuse.)

Rimm's findings were dramatically described in a Time magazine cover story authored by Philip Elmer-Dewitt (July 1995) which came to the immediate attention of members of Congress. In addition, Rimm showed some members of Congress some examples of pornographic pictures (including child pornography) that he had downloaded from pornography bulletin boards. The Congress

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members were duly shocked by the pictures, their viewing of which played a major role in their formulation of the **Communications Decency Act (CDA)** which was passed in **1996**. The public was also outraged about young people having access to online adult pornography.

Jenkins (2001) described the **Communications Decency Act**) as "a sweeping censorship measure" (p. 8). The conservative supporters of this measure in Congress -- influenced by Rimm's lobbying about his research findings -- maintained that "a vast amount of Internet business involved the most horrifying pornography," whereas "liberals all but denied that such material existed and underplayed the existence of pedophile newsgroups and BBS's" (Jenkins, 2001, p. 51).

By passing this legislation, Congress was attempting to limit the availability of online adult pornography to children. "Paradoxically," Jenkins (2001) pointed out that the debate about children's access to adult pornography on the Internet

"helped divert attention from the graver dangers of the Internet, particularly from child porn. By focusing public attention on the supposed threat posed by mainstream adult sites, anti-smut campaigners framed the debate in terms of depriving adults as well as children of the right to view nudity and 'mainstream' porn sites." (p. )

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When Rimm's study was subsequently trashed by Internet devotees who feared it would lead to censorship -- they succeeded in destroying his reputation, both personally and professionally, as well as putting great pressure on Time reporter Philip Elmer-Dewitt to perform many "mea culpas" and retract his favorable review of the study's findings. Although many of the arguments of the internet-philies were untenable, it was the enormous numbers who participated in the anti-Rimm campaign and the intimidating tactics they employed that resulted in the irrational invalidation of all Rimm's findings.

A number of plaintiffs filed suit challenging the constitutionality of the Communications Decency Act resulting in a District Court entering "a preliminary injunction against enforcement" on the grounds that it violated the First Amendment because it was too vague and overly broad. However, the Court left in tact the "Government's right to investigate and prosecute the obscenity or child pornography activities prohibited therein" (p. ). The Government appealed the Court's decision which was then sent to the U.S. Supreme Court, which also struck it down on June 26, 1997.

#### Computer-Generated Child Pornography

Two kinds of "virtual" or "computer-generated" child

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pornography were created in the 1990s:

1. Child pornography based on images created by computers without using real children. However, Healy (2002) maintains that, "it is still impossible to create entirely computer generated images that appear lifelike" (p. 7). However, she predicts that, "technology will soon be able to facilitate the creation of lifelike child pornography without using any real children at all" (p. 7).

2. Child pornography based on images made by using some body parts of a real minor, for example, by grafting a picture of "a real minor's face on the body of an adult engaged in sexual conduct" (Linz and Imrich, p. 97). Another variation on this theme has involved photographs of childrens' faces lifted from school yearbooks on the Internet and attached to the bodies of other children or pseudo-children, making it appear as if the children whose faces were used are participants in the child pornography industry. In addition, a photograph of a real child can be digitally altered so that the child is no longer recognizable.

Healy also notes that "it is ... possible to insert digital images of a person into a video in which they have not appeared" (p. 7). In addition, she states that,

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"it is not difficult to add objects to an image. One can also delete objects or parts of a photo. An individual may superimpose a child's face on an adult's body, erase pubic hair or facial hair, and reduce and minimise breasts so as to make adult images look like children." (Healy, 2002, p. 7)

Some researchers and individuals concerned about child pornography consider computer-generated child pornography as a positive advance because it "may soon take the place of those materials which require the sexual abuse of real children for their production" (Friel, 1997, p. 224-225). Friel (1997) makes the plausible suggestion that "the economic and legal incentive[s] should encourage the business-oriented pornographers who are just in it for the money, [and pedophiles concerned about security] ... to switch to legal pornography." She optimistically surmises that "this makes it appear as if the advent of computer-generated child porn will achieve a groundbreaking decrease in the prevalence of child sexual abuse in the United States and elsewhere" (Friel, p. ?).

However, after making this compelling argument for anticipating a positive impact of computer-generated child pornography, Friel wisely proceeds to argue that "virtual child pornography may prove an even greater danger than its 'real' counterpart (p. 228)." For example, she argues:

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"With virtual child pornography, a pedophile could manipulate a picture of a child's sibling or friend, and make it appear as though he or she had engaged in sexual intercourse with the molester. A trusting child who is not educated regarding the tricks available with today's technology would assume that the picture proves that the event occurred.... Seeing a friend, or particularly an older brother or sister, engaging in sexual conduct could send a message to the child that it is natural or acceptable for children to have sex with adults. Thus, even more so than traditional child pornography, virtual child pornography has the potential to help a pedophile seduce a child." (p. 229)

Friel also maintains that a pedophile "will find it easier to distort and manipulate pictures of actual children to create his pornography. In this case, an indirect (sic) victim is created: the child who may suffer emotional trauma at seeing her face on a pornographic image" (p. 236).

The United States Congress are firmly on the side of the argument that believes that the impact of computer-generated child pornography will be very negative. They are concerned

"not only that pedophiles use such images to whet their own

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appetites and lure children into sexual activities, but also that virtual child porn can 'desensitize the viewer to the pathology of sexual abuse or exploitation of children.'

(Stuart Taylor, 2001, p. 51)

More serious is the fact that the degree of realism present in computer-generated pornography "could be a deadly obstacle to law enforcement officers, who would not be sure if a suspected pornographer's collection was produced using real children or not" (p. Friel, p. 242). And, of course, the onus is on the police officers to prove that the material is genuine -- not computer-generated. Hence, it could become very difficult to impose legal sanctions on the producers, distributors, and sellers of child pornography.\* [\*Footnote: There are other arguments against legalizing depictions that do not involve the exploitation of real children which will be presented later, especially in Chapters 8 and 9].

Congress responded to the development of computer-generated child pornography by expanding the federal definition of child pornography in the **Child Pornography Prevention Act of 1996** to include computer-generated child pornography. More specifically, they banned "any image that 'appears to be' sexually explicit conduct by an actual child" (Taylor, 2001, p. 51; emphasis added).

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The Free Speech Coalition brought a lawsuit to strike down this statute. In reaction the Justice Department argued that a ban on computer-generated child pornography is necessary "to protect 'children who may be abused as a result of the dissemination of visual depictions of child pornography'" (Taylor, 2001, p. 51). A Federal Court found this argument unconvincing, and therefore struck down the **Child Pornography Prevention Act in 1999**. Congress appealed this ruling.

In **January 2001**, the Supreme Court agreed to hear Congress' case for banning computer-generated child pornography. The Justice Department and other supporters argued "that the unquestionably valid ban on actual child porn will become unenforceable unless the court also upholds the ban on virtual child porn" (Taylor, 2001, p. 51). They also contended that as computer imaging technology advanced, "prosecutors will be unable to prove that the children depicted in sexually explicit images are real even when they are" (p. 51).

Despite these arguments, on April 16, 2002, in a 6-to-3 ruling, the Supreme Court found this law to be unconstitutional.

"If no real children were used, and the pictures did not cross the line into obscenity, the ban violates the First Amendment, the court said" (SFC, April 17, 2002, p. A1). The justices also maintained that, "Virtual child pornography is not intrinsically related to the sexual abuse of children" (p. A1/A16). However,

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the Supreme Court did not oppose the Child Pornography Prevention Act's provision banning "the use of identifiable children in computer-altered sexual images" (ACLU, Press Release, <http://www.aclu.org/news/2002/n041602a.html>, p. 1).

In other words, the Supreme court decided that the first kind of computer-generated child pornography -- identified at the beginning of this discussion of this material -- is legal, but not the second kind.

The Federal Government appealed this decision, so the **Child Pornography Prevention Act** has been temporarily reinstated while Congress attempts to revise their law to try to convince the Supreme Court to ratify it. [check this with ACLU]

I am firmly on the side of the Federal Government with regard to this issue because of the evidence (to be demonstrated) that viewing child pornography is a significant cause of child sexual abuse. Whether or not the child pornography is computer-generated is irrelevant to the impact on the viewer. Chapters 8 and 9 will be devoted to providing a theoretical basis for the hypothesis that child pornography is a significant cause of child sexual abuse. The available empirical and anecdotal evidence supporting this theory will also be furnished.

[4,532 words]

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#### Chapter 4: The Prevalence of Child Pornography

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"(T)he use of prepubescent children is almost nonexistent."

-- The National Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, 1970\* [\*Footnote: cited by Rush, 1980, p. 167].)

Hughes (1999, March) notes that "The actual number of sex predators online, the number [of] children they have contacted, ... or the number of cases of sexual exploitation [pornography-related sexual abuse] is impossible to know and very difficult to estimate" (p. 28). However, various scholars attempt to make these difficult estimates in the passages below.

#### 1. The Prevalence of Non-Electronic Child Pornography

Because "non-electronic child pornography has been very difficult to obtain for the last 20 years" (Jenkins, 2001, p. 9), it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to estimate its prevalence off the Internet. Kelly, Regan and Sheila Burton (2000) (in Itzin) also attribute the lack of information on the prevalence of non-electronic child pornography in part to the

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fact that most child sexual abuse researchers have not asked questions about child pornography "either as a factor in ongoing sexual abuse or as separate from it" (p. 74). As a researcher on the prevalence of child sexual abuse myself (e.g., Russell, 1986), this criticism applies to my work as well as all the other United States studies I have reviewed (see Russell and Bolen, 2000). In addition, Kelly et al., note that in the UK, "Official statistics also fail to record sexual exploitation as a category" (p. 74). This is certainly true in the United States as well.

Because the Internet has become the preferred haven for child pornography producers, distributors, collectors, and users, few researchers today would likely have any interest in conducting a study to try to ascertain the prevalence of non-electronic child pornography.

#### **2. The Prevalence of Internet Users**

The higher the number of adult Internet users, the higher the potential number of males on the Internet who already are sexually attracted to children, and the higher the number who may become attracted to them. Whether adult surfers who are ignorant about child pornography seek it out or come across it accidentally, a certain percentage can be expected to respond to their exposure to portrayal of sexualized children by becoming sexually aroused to children for the first time. In addition, those who are

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already attracted to children may become more intensely aroused by child pornography on the Internet (see Chapter 9 for an explication of my theory of why this occurs).

The number of Internet users "has grown massively since its origins in 1969" (Carlos Arnaldo, 2001, p. 55). Wells (2000) estimated Internet usage "at about 67.5 million persons worldwide," and maintained that "By the year 2003, researchers expect that there will be roughly 350 million Internet users" (p. 99). Whatever the precise figures are, it is widely believed that there is a massive increase in the number of users on the Internet over time.

Although the percentage of users "is expected to increase rapidly," Von Feilitzen (1999, p. 3) suggests "that less than 5 per cent of the world's population accesses the Internet" at the time of her publication (p. 3). This provides some idea of the gigantic size of the potential number of Internet users who remain to be recruited.

### 3. The Prevalence of Child Pornography on the Internet

Estimating the prevalence of child pornography on the Internet is impossible. Besides the obstacles posed by the illegality of looking at child pornography pictures on the Internet, there are innumerable private pedophile groups that

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trade photographs with each other that are impossible for researchers to access. Hence, most of the following estimates of the volume of child pornography on the Internet only provide impressions of small segments of the whole prevalence picture. For example, limiting his observations to the number of child pornography pictures in child sex-related newsgroups, O'Connell (2001) comments that:

"The volume of material posted is enormous: in a two-week period in January 1998, a total of 6,034 child erotica (sic) and child pornography pictures were posted in child sex related newsgroups -- and this figure does not take into account the number of pictures available on CDs." (p. 73)

Rod Nordland and Jeffrey Bartholet (2001) report that when the international Wonderland Internet sex abuse ring was busted in 1998, police "discovered computer files with three quarters of a million images of child pornography in Britain alone" (p. 47).

In order to be a member of the Wonderland Internet relay chat group, an individual "had to provide 10,000 images." Since there were 200 members, this amounts to 2,000,000 child pornography photos. Nordland also notes that "specialists identified 1,263 different victims, all of them under the age of puberty" (p. 47).

When the Apollo sex ring of pedophiles was broken up in the Netherlands in 1998, CD-ROM duplicating facilities were found in

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the home of Gerald Ulrich -- the leader of this ring. "On the first Ulrich disc alone, Dutch police identified more than 200 victims -- and 16 more such discs have yet to be fully cataloged.

Many of the images on the Ulrich CD-ROMs and Wonderland computer tapes showed children as young as 3 months subjected to explicit sex acts" (Nordland and Bartholet (2001), p. 47).

One year later on Sept 8, 1999, the police succeeded in busting one of the largest child pornography businesses in the U.S. Owners Thomas and Janice Reedys' business "provided access to a suspected 300 child-pornography Web sites, reached thousands of people in dozens of states and netted the couple as much as \$1.4 million a month" (Tresniowski et. al., 2001, p. 119). The company's computer database listed 320,000 clients worldwide (p. 120). Lt. Bill Walsh concluded that "the Reedys are just the tip of the iceberg when it comes to Internet child pornography, and there's no telling how big the iceberg is" (cited by Alex Tresniowski et. al., 2001, p. 122). Jenkins expresses his alarm that "even the vast quantity of images that are now publicly available represents only a fraction of the true repertoire" on the Internet (p. 77).

Jenkins contends that because law enforcement officials have focused their efforts on dealing with "online seduction, or pedophiles stalking victims via computers," while neglecting the far more serious problem of child pornography, collectors and

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producers of child pornography on the Internet are being left to continue their work uninterrupted.

### 4. The Prevalence of Child Pornography Users on the Internet

Jenkins (2000) cites the international police agency Interpol as reporting "that over 30,000 pedophiles are involved in organized child pornography rings in Europe" (p. 74). He notes that these pedophiles are "core activists" and that "casual browsers may be much more numerous" (p. 74). Furthermore, child pornography rings are just one manifestation of the child pornography industry as a whole.

Jenkins offers the following estimate of the prevalence of child pornography users on the Internet:

"The core population [presumably he is referring to pedophiles] as of 2001, should be counted somewhere in the range of fifty to a hundred thousand individuals, though that is a very loose figure. It is also a global number: perhaps a third of these are located in the United States. Given the phenomenal expansion of the Internet since the mid-1990s, we can assume that this figure is changing very rapidly, and certainly expanding." (p. 74; emphasis added)

Elsewhere, Jenkins refers to there being a maximum of "a hundred

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thousand people in the child porn subculture" who are users of child pornography on the Internet (p. 211).

##### 5. The Prevalence of Child Victimization by Child Pornography on the Internet

Hughes notes that "the number of children online has grown as rapidly as the whole Internet" (p. 26). In 1995, there were an estimated 1.1 million children on the Internet. By the beginning of 1997, the estimated number of children had risen to 6 million; and by the end of 1997, the estimated number had increased to 10 million children online (p. 26). Linz & Imrich (2001) also cite an estimate of 10 million children online, but without specifying the year (p. 1000).

"In the late 1980s," according to Kimberly McCabe (2000), "it was estimated that child pornography exploited some 1.2 million children" (citing Campagna & Poffenberger, 1988; Garcia, 1987, p. 73). Several years later in 1992, Tim Tate quoted the U.S. Department of Justice's assessment that child pornography producers had "filmed the abuse of more than one million children in the United States alone" (in Itzin, p. 208).

Hughes offers the following explanation for the increase in child victimization by child pornography on the Internet:

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"The movement of the sex industry to the Internet has increased the demand for new and more extreme images of the sexual exploitation of women and children.... Buyers demand new images with the scenes of sexual exploitation and abuse that are in fashion among predators. The result is increased abuse and exploitation of women and children."  
(p. 45)

Similarly, Jenkins refers to "the constant infusion of new material," noting that "the [child pornography] images now coming online are ever more explicit and hardcore" (p. 4).

#### 6. The Increase in the Prevalence of Child Pornography Over Time

Despite the impossibility of arriving at a sound basis for estimating the prevalence of child pornography on the Internet, many researchers and other investigators have noted the enormous increase in child pornography over time. For example, British feminist researcher Liz Kelly states that, "like other forms of porn its [child pornography's] availability and acceptability have increased significantly in the latter part of the twentieth century" (in Itzin, (1992) p. 116). In addition, Hughes (1999) reports that, "Through the mid-1990s citizens of Western Europe and the United States observed that the problems of child pornography and predators on the Internet were escalating rapidly" (p. 60). She also maintains that:

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"Although descriptions and depictions of the sexual abuse of children have existed for centuries, the number and availability of images, especially photographs and videos that require the actual sexual abuse of a child, have increased exponentially." (1999, p. 35)

Hughes (1999) attributes this increase to the mainstream acceptance of pornography in general as well as the growth in the prostitution industry over the past several decades (p. 35). She maintains that these developments have "increased the demand and supply of child pornography" (1999, p. 35). Another factor, according to Hughes, is that "the Internet has enabled the globalization of the production and distribution of all types of pornography, including child pornography" (1999, p. 60). On the other hand, O'Connell (2001) suggests that:

"Perhaps the most significant factor influencing the growth of child pornography on the Internet is the ease of dissemination and collection. Such anonymity and convenience, eliminating the need to expose identity in a transaction, has revealed quite an extraordinary level of adult sexual interest in children. Presumably this interest was either dormant or latent on this scale in the past."  
(p. 68)

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Carlsson (2001) refers to "the rapidity, economy and simplicity" of the Internet as responsible for expanding "the distribution of child pornography immensely" (p. 62).

Another source of the increase in child pornography is due to the Internet's facilitation of the "globalization of the production and distribution of all types of pornography, including child pornography" (Hughes, 1999, March, ?p. 35). Similarly, Carlsson (2001) maintains that, "the Net's global reach implies unprecedented potential for effectively spreading illegal images" (p. 62).

South African researcher Anne Mayne (2000) offers the following very different explanation for the escalation in child pornography over time:

"It is linked to an expansion in the production of adult pornography. Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler ... are powerful promoters of the libertarianism that began to gain wide popularity in the 1960s and 1970s. They also covertly normalise and promote sex with children." (p. 25)

Mayne explains that the libertarian movement has encouraged an increase in child pornography because it fosters "the attitude that anything that turns you on sexually is acceptable" (p. 25).

Chapter 14 provides numerous descriptions of cartoons and child

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pornography pictures published in these well-known pornography magazines that promote adult-child sex (i.e., abuse).

Nordland and Bartholet (2001) provide additional evidence of the escalation claimed by so many researchers i.e., that "In 1998 the FBI opened up 700 cases dealing with online pedophilia, most for posting child pornography. By 2000 that figure had quadrupled to 2,856 cases" (p. 47).

##### 7. Number of Hits on Child Pornography Sites

Jenkins cites U.S. Customs authorities who "claimed to have found child porn sites that scored literally millions of hits in a given month" (p. 74). And Nordland and Bartholet (2001) refer to a website known to U.S. Customs as the Tajik Express that

"recorded 4,107 hits from different Internet user addresses in the first month, as well as 95,450 downloads of images. In its third month, the site recorded an astounding 147,776 hits from individual users, and the download of 3.2 million images." (p. 47)

Santos (2001) notes that "Surveys ... suggest that pornographic sites in general are among those most often visited on the Internet" (p. 58).

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### 8. Conclusion

The piecemeal estimates of the prevalence of child pornography on the Internet cited above are exceedingly unsatisfactory. Because figures are given without any explanation of how they are arrived at, there is no way to assess their accuracy. The fact that most child pornography on the Internet is illegal is probably the biggest obstacle to estimating prevalence; but many others have been described in this chapter. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to conclude with the following observations:

1. The number of Internet users keeps increasing exponentially, both in the United States and internationally. Hence the number of individuals who are potential new viewers of child pornography, is also increasing exponentially;
2. The number of pedophiles and non-pedophilic child molesters who gain access to the Internet internationally is increasing very fast, and will continue to do so;
3. The prevalence of child pornography on the Internet is massive;
4. The prevalence of child pornography is escalating

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rapidly;

5. Because the child pornography sought by users typically becomes more extreme over time, this factor accounts for an ever-growing demand for child pornography that is more injurious to the victims used in it;

6. The increasing division into the haves and the havenots within and between countries, creates ever-growing populations of very vulnerable and exploitable children who can be recruited, tricked, manipulated, coerced, drugged, raped, beaten, and/or tortured into becoming victims of child pornography;

7. All the advantages of being a child pornography user on the Internet, as opposed to off the Internet, have encouraged many new users who now feel safe to pursue their sexual arousal to child pornography for the first time.

8. Because of the massive level of adult sexual arousal to children now evident on the Internet, it appears that there are many new users whose "interest was either dormant or latent ... in the past" (O'Connell, 2001, p. 68).

9. Whereas previously most child pornography users were not financially motivated to trade in child pornographic

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pictures between themselves, there are increasing numbers of users who are motivated by money to take photos of pre-pubescent and post-pubescent children. Presumably, there are some financially-motivated users who sexually abuse children to obtain fresh merchandise that is more profitable than recycling old material.

[2,424 words]

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### Chapter 5: The Economics of Child Pornography

[4economi.bok]

Writing about child pornography in the late 1980s, Campagna and Proffenberg (1988) contended that it was "very big business" (1988, p. 123). They cite an informative interview with a child pornographer who provides detailed information about the large sums of money to be made producing and marketing child pornography (see this interview below).

By the year 2000, Lanning (2000) notes that commercial child pornography is not openly sold anywhere in the United States because of the strict federal and state laws that have been enacted (p. 63). Presumably, Lanning is referring to child pornography that is not online.

With regard to on line child pornography, Lanning maintains that it "is more readily available in foreign countries [than in the U.S.]. United States [male] citizens, however, seem to be the main customers for much of this material" (p. 63). Although Lanning does not explain why commercial child pornography is more readily available in countries outside of the U.S., it is probably because the U.S. is making more efforts than other countries to prosecute pedophiles and others involved in the

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child pornography industry. This interpretation is supported by Jenkins' (2001) contention that, "the Internet makes it extraordinarily easy for businesses to relocate to other nations with laxer laws, and it is more or less certain that this will be the course of action taken by child pornographers [in the United States] in the coming years" p. 201).

Unlike adult pornography, Healy (2002, p. 5) notes that, "the overwhelming majority of child pornography seized in the United States has not been produced or distributed for profit" (p. 5; Anna Grant et al., 1999, and O'Connell, 1999, concur with Healy's observation [p. 178]). For example, many observers have noted that pedophiles typically swap or trade child pornography pictures with each other, rather than selling it. However, Hick and Halpin (2001) report that some members of the pedophile community do now "seek commercial profit" for child pornography (p. 60). Lanning also contends that, "With the advent of the Internet, it does appear that profit-motivated, child-pornography distribution has returned and is growing" (p. 63).

Santos (2001) is less tentative than Lanning in stating that, "Selling child pornography on the net can be very lucrative for producers and distributors" (p. 58). Samantha Friel (1997, Fall; Pornography by any other name?) identifies a new and growing type of child pornography entrepreneur: those who have no personal interest in sex with children. More specifically, she

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refers to the economic incentive that can be expected to encourage "the business-oriented pornographers who are just in it for the money" (p. 227).

For example, Thomas and Janice Reedy are pornographers who owned one of the largest child pornography businesses on the Net. The Reedy's company's computer database contained a list of 320,000 clients worldwide (p. 120). Thomas Reedy's father is reported as saying that his son was motivated by money, not child pornography (p. 120).

Although some of these business-oriented "producers, middlemen, distributors, and collectors may not molest children," Mehagen Doyle (1999, Bad apples in cyberspace) notes that "they all play a role in the sexual exploitation of children," and "perpetuate the view that children are economic commodities" (p. 124). In addition, in an effort to increase advertising revenue, pornographic website operators use popular names and terms to capture inadvertant individuals on their pornography sites when these individuals conduct key word searches using these names and terms (Doyle, p. 129). The owner of the site is paid a fee for every hit on their web site names. Doyle also notes that:

"A person logging onto one of the Services may later find himself or herself receiving adult and child pornography on their e-mail. Receivers may not even have solicited such

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material. However, an anonymous person on the same Service may have tried to increase business with free 'teasers.'" (p. 130)

Friel (1997, Fall), Pornography by any other name?) suggests that business-oriented child pornography producers who are just in it for the money, have an economic and legal incentive to use computer-generated child pornography (p. 227). Whether they actually do so is a question for researchers to investigate. It requires considerable expertise to be able to differentiate computer-generated from non-computer-generated child pornography.

To what extent this is even possible at this time, I do not know.

Money is also a crucial motive for service providers to make illegal sites accessible to their customers. According to one Net source: "The FEAR of losing users who access these illegal groups and the loss of the MONEY that these same users pay" explains why service providers do nothing to control child pornography and other illegal sites. This anonymous source concludes that "In effect, children are being exploited on the internet for profit" (www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/5021/list.htm. Version 11/06/96).

Barry Crimmins, a children's rights and safety activist,

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elaborates on the above point by castigating America Online (AOL) -- the largest Internet server in the United States. He testified to the Senate Judiciary Committee Hearings on Child Pornography on the Internet in 1995/1985 about AOL's responsibility for facilitating pedophiles' activities on the Internet because of its profitability. He noted that AOL has "private rooms" that were "created by, and for, pedophiles. There were rooms promoting rape, incest, the exchange of child pornography, hate crimes, and every possible, and in some cases impossible, sexual activity. If one could imagine it, it was there" (p. ).

Crimmins also testified that "AOL has had a great deal of prior knowledge as to how its service is being misused." He therefore concluded that "AOL facilitates and profiteers on these dastardly crimes" (p. ). Crimmins proposed that "The profit must be removed from 'looking the other way'." He argued that "if AOL put a fraction of the effort into dealing with this problem that they put into spin doctoring their culpability, things would improve rapidly" (p. ).

British journalist Tim Tate (Child Pornography, 1990, p. 221) singles out the commercial and amateur computer-games' industry as being "quick to cash in on the easy money of electronic sex" (p. 221). Although he notes that, "The vast majority of such software is aimed at normal heterosexual men

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(sic)," he points out that some of this software "allows consumers to opt for juvenile 'partners' in the game" (p. 221). For example, Tate describes a computer sex game called "Softporn II" as "a fantasy scenario between a male (yourself [sic]) and the female of your choice," who can be an under-age partner (p. 221). Those who make this choice and then follow the computer program's "request to describe the physical statistics of their 'partner', are rewarded by a series of eroticised encounters...." (p. 222).

Sex rings typically use children for the commercial production of child pornography. In addition, a growing number of parents are also motivated by money to sell their daughters for use in child pornography. The following testimony by a pedophile called Stewart provides many examples of such parents.

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The Economics of Child Pornography: A Child Pornographer Experience\* [\*Footnote: This is an excerpted version of an interview in Campagna and Poffenberger, 1988, pp. 123-127]

On the basis of an interview with Stewart, university professors Campagna and Poffenberger described him as a 43-year-old freelance producer of child pornography "with market ties to national buyers and organized crime" (p. 123). He had been

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"identified by a United States postal inspector in 1987 as 'one of the kingpins in child pornography on the East Coast'" (p. 122). Campagna and Poffenberger note that "his observations about the dynamics of the national market in child pornography coincide almost precisely with those provided by other pornographers interviewed" (p. 123. Stewart was incarcerated in a federal penitentiary when the authors wrote their book.

The interview makes it clear that Stewart is also a pedophile who masturbates to the child pornography he makes, and has sex with underage girls (but never "with kids under 12").

\*\*\*\*\*

### STEWART

"I was never involved in no pornography."

Stewart, (p. 123)

"Child pornography is a very big business. It wouldn't be hard for you to start if you knew where to sell them. That's the key. Somebody has to put in a good word for you to sell them. You might have some pictures to show, about ten sets. If you had ten sets, you'd make a phone call to either Pittsburgh or New York. They'll come down here and look at 'em. If they like what you got, they'll buy them right on the spot. Nothing is ever

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guaranteed, but chances are you'll get to \$25,000 if the girl was cooperative and pretty. She has to pose as you want her to, pose for about 250 pictures or so. Some of them can be real gross, with a dog for example.

"The parents are always there when the pictures are taken. Every time I did this I made real sure the parents signed a release. But let me tell you this: I was never involved in no pornography; I was just involved in taking nude photographs. The release form was a legal document drawn up by an attorney.

Mostly it was to keep me from getting blackmailed. If I photographed some hop head's daughter and she blew her money on drugs and came to me saying she wanted more, this form saved me.

I had a note from you [sic] saying I could bring your kid to my cabin. I tried to cover myself pretty good but still got stopped quite a few times by the police just for harassment.

"I would take the pictures, give them to parents, and they would sell them. I never sold any of these pictures directly to customers, just to buyers who resold them to customers. If the kid is exceptionally good looking, you can use her two or three times. She puts on a little wig, a change of clothes, maybe some makeup. Let me tell you something else about kids. I have found more cases where their uncles, or especially their dads or brothers, have had sex with them....

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"You'd be surprised how many girls between sixth and eighth grade go for older guys. I don't know why. I have never threatened a girl, forced a girl into anything. A camera is a big part of the attraction. You can go to strange places -- like I used to hit the beaches up in New Jersey a lot. I'd have a radio, camera, and see a couple of nice young girls laying there on the beach, so I'd say "Excuse me miss, but would you watch my camera while I take a swim?" Later I'd come back with two ice creams for them. It's as simple as that. You start asking to take their pictures. If you ask for some cleavage they'll show you the whole breast. My conquests sometimes happened like this, I'd meet one young girl do something to her she'd like, and she would involve another girl who would get another girl, and so on.

I'd get five for the one I met. It usually led to pictures, but I always had their parents' permission. I knew these pictures were being sold by the parents. They'd give me a percentage. What you do with them is your business. If you got \$15,000 or \$25,000 for them, then I think you should be very generous with me. Give me \$5,000 or \$8,000 in return after you sell the pictures. I've never been cheated. They all treat me fair and come back for more pictures. The parents came from all kinds of backgrounds; clerks, steel workers, plumbers. You signed the release form before I'd even talk to you to show I didn't solicit you. So, no matter what you say in court, I got the form you signed drawn up by my attorney. You can probably use your kid three times in pornography. Sell the pictures in the states,

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Canada, and once overseas. If the girl is local, the pictures are sold on the West Coast or, chances are, in Canada. I kept a lot of the pictures I took of girls in my cabin for my use. My studio was on a farm where I could develop my own films and photos.

"I would take about 250 pictures. That's a set. There's 100 pictures in a book, and the parents would pick out the best ones. There was a limit as to how far I went. Nothing but the legs spread. I never let sex interfere with my business. I've been in the business of photographing nude girls for about 25 years. I've had thousands of girls as models for my books. The reason I got so popular was because I didn't do nothing to the girls. They really trusted me....

".... I've had people look me up and ask me to photograph their kids. You can make a damn good living doing this. I made a lot of bucks on what the parents gave me for a percentage. If I had been involved in pornography all the way through from taking pictures to selling them, I'd be a very, very rich man. I never had sex with kids under 12. I do believe in taking anything I can get. I don't believe in God, only in what I can see and touch. I don't believe what I do is that wrong as long as I don't force anybody or blackmail them....

"I consider my photos to be art. Did I tell you that I sold

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a picture to Hallmark Cards? I sent them a profile of a little girl with the words, "I love you daddy." I've also had some of my pictures displayed at fairs. Pornography isn't my bag. You're talking about a lot of time if you get caught. Plus there's other things involved. I don't want no little girl coming up to me in five years and calling me a dirty old man. I just took pictures of girls masturbating, that sort of stuff.

"If you brought your kid to me, asked me to photograph her, and agreed to put it in writing, then I'd pose her the way I think the pictures would sell. But I wouldn't pose her with another guy. She would just masturbate or use something on herself. Most of these girls are very young, undeveloped, don't forget. Is this pornographic? It might be suggestive, I don't know if that's pornographic. It might be. I really don't know, never gave it a thought. Nudism is one thing. Pornography is another. Anything that shows a sex act is pornographic. The best thing you can have is two girls together. If you can get twins, you're in the money. I've photographed twins. They sold real well.

"The people that buy these pictures don't travel just to look at one set of pictures. They won't cross the state line unless you have 10 or 20 sets. Organized crime from New York will send someone down to look at the pictures. They make offers for the pictures right then and there. I don't ask no

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questions. It's too damn dangerous. These guys, I think they get all the profit 'cause they're paying for the pictures.

Whoever publishes the books ... does a good job. It's a nice technicolor book, no name on it. The pages are glossy. It's a well-made book and would cost you about \$50. A new book comes out all the time. They're numbered so you can get the whole series. You couldn't go into a book store and buy one -- not unless you're known. They have everything under the counter, if you know where to go. Anything you want, tapes, 8mm films, kids with dogs.

".... Once the kid has been photographed a few times, that's it. The parents have to go out and find new talent. It's a very touchy thing when you're dealing with a kid. I never photograph any kid right after I meet her. I have to get to know her first.

I'd take her into another room and talk with her. I'd tell her to use a bad word and if she would come back to her parents and tell them the word, I wouldn't touch her, wouldn't photograph her, 'cause that means she'll tell the people next door. If she didn't tell, I would explain how far up the ladder I wanted to go, ... and how far I wanted her to undress. I never exceeded these steps. There were many girls who would say no and I'd drop it at that point. The parents were always there. Nothing was ever forced on the girl. Parents would invite me to their house.

I'd get to know the girl and see how she acted. They had to have a certain look on their face. That's really important.

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They couldn't show fear or doubt in the pictures. They had to show happiness or love, take my word for it. To get that look, I'd give them something, from tricycles to stereos. It depended on what they wanted. You have to be able to express excitement in the pictures. Props help a lot, like mirrors and stuffed animals....

"A lot of my clients came from nudist camps. Nudist camps are the biggest part of it. You can go to a nudist camp, take the mother and daughter at the same time. Mothers and daughters posing at the same time is the biggest money maker in pornography. Say if a mother has two daughters. Get the mother in bed with the two daughters. That's the biggest moneymaker. You're talking big bucks -- as much as \$50,000.

"Mothers are a bunch of assholes -- most of them -- because they sell their daughters. A mother is the greediest son of a bitch in world. There's some good ones, like the ones that try to get daughters into commercials with my pictures. The others are dogs. They don't care how far you want to go. I've had mothers ask me to bring in dogs to lick their daughters because that kind of picture pays more. They wanted pornography. It don't matter to them just so the girl isn't hurt.

"It's a business. People buy it. Who's to say it's wrong? .... I'll photograph anything or anyone in the privacy of my home

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from 6 months to 96 years old. I don't give a goddamn who knows it or how many pictures I take. I'll fight it in court if I have to. Pornography with little kids, five or six years old, is a no-no.... I would mind if you took pictures of my daughter 'cause you're not in the family...."

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### 2) A CHILD PORNOGRAPHER DESCRIBES HIS BUSINESS

"I don't think I am that damaging to the child because I'm honest about what the whole thing is about."

[pornogra\3testimo.bus] (pp. 133-138)

This anonymous child pornographer who works in a bar, was interviewed about his business by Campagna or Poffenberger. He claimed that he never sexually abused the children he photographed. He did not volunteer whether or not he also sexually abused other children and the interviewer failed to ask him about this. He comes across as very callous and untouched by the children he photographs even though he recognizes that his actions are damaging.

Question: Is pornography profitable today?

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Answer: Even today, the most money is made in child pornography because it's hard to get and willing children are hard to come by. First of all, young boys are not that much of a moneymaker; they're pretty much out as far as good money is concerned. The ones that make money are those who are professional. They look at it like a business.

Question: Do the kids make money?

Answer: Ah, most of the time the kid is brought in by a parent. The parent is propositioned with money.

Question: What kind of money are we talking about?

Answer: Well, it goes anywhere from nickels and dimes to big money: \$5,000, \$10,000, \$20,000 a spread. A spread, you're talking 500 to 1,000 photographs shot at different times in different setting. Outdoor, mockup playground settings, this type of thing. Girls, say between the ages of 8 and 13, are the very salable objects. Twins, identical twins, are the prime pictures, the most salable.

Question: Why it that?

Answer: It's in demand. Identical twins are an unusual setup; specifically young girls without overdevelopment and preferably

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with little or no pubic hair on their body, etc. A good spread, done well from a professional standpoint with lights and backdrop and producing artistically "good photographs," is worth twenty grand - \$20,000 for 1,000 pictures.

Question: So I would bring in a girl -- my daughter. Would I bring her to you?

Answer: I would act as a middleman. I'd deal with you and with the photographers. I'd set the price with you.

Question: And how would you do that? What are your criteria?

Answer: The criteria would be, first of all, they'd have to be nice looking girls. Clean, couldn't look like urchins or trash. They had to look like the girl next door. Pigtails, the whole nine yards. You'd come to me and we'd negotiate a price.

Question: How would I know to go to you?

Answer: Most of the time you'll find that some people come into my bar and start talking about pornography. From their comments you'd figure out they weren't against it. Somebody would ask ... for instance, do you know where I can get some photographs of a woman and donkey or a dog or young kids. You'll find it's the upper-middle class that has the money to spend on these

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pictures....

Question: So if I wanted to buy some pictures of twins, how much would it cost me as the consumer?

Answer: For 500 of the best, you'd have to spend \$2000 ....

These might even be people you know, their kids....

Question: And they won't be duplicated in other places?

Answer: That arrangement can be made, and if it is, of course, the price goes even higher....

Answer: If I arrange with you to take these pictures of your daughters[, ] I'd give you \$5,000 for the session. You bring the girls in, make sure they've done their hair taken a bath, and have a change of clothes. We'd want a cheerleader's uniform complete with boots, nightgowns, different underwear, school dresses, bluejeans, bathing suits. They bring their own attire most of the time. I take the pictures, give you \$5,000 after the session is over with. Generally the girls are rewarded with their own little color television or maybe a bicycle.

Question: Would you agree with the parents on all that?

Answer: You agree with the parents on the money. Then you tell

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them, "Listen, first of all you will sign a waiver, a legal waiver that says we have your permission to take these pictures of your girls." That's a prerequisite. That's the only businesslike way to do this and it keeps your can out of prison.

Secondly, I want to talk to the girls. The prerequisites there are that the parents will be at the location but they won't be in the same room because the kids feel safer with them in the immediate vicinity but they don't want them in the same room while they're being photographed....

Question: ... How would you get these kids to cooperate? Are we talking about perverse things like sexual intercourse?

Answer: No. The first thing you do is assure the girl that there's not going to be any physical contact between her and the photographers or with anybody else. This is strictly a photography session. If you lay it on the line, most kids believe you. They're harder to con than adults. After they are assured you're on the level, they could care less.

Question: What happens then?

Answer: You tell the girls beforehand, "Listen, honey, you know I made a financial arrangement with your parents. We also plan to reward you." They get the reward, like a television, when they are through. If you treat that business as a business, you have

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very few problems. There are people in the business that want to sexually abuse the kids, try to get in animal acts, perverse things [like that] in front of the camera. This type of thing is no good. It doesn't sell and brings a lot of heat down on everybody. There's no sense in it....

Question: Okay, so if I rent my children to you for an afternoon. Is that against the law?

Answer: I'm sure they'd find a law to match the act. Somewhere I suppose it's against the law. But a good businessman takes every precaution.

Question: Would you research me if I said I had a couple of kids to photograph?

Answer: Certainly. You'd give me your name and phone number. After finding your address in the phone index, I'd call the telephone company and credit union to see if you paid your bills. Find out where you work. Somewhere along the line I'll meet someone you know and I'll find out what kind of person you are....

Question: What happens when the session is over?

Answer: You go to people that are in the book publishing business

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that you've known for several years. Tell them you got some very nice pictures -- for example, of two cute blond-haired girls and you need \$20,000. It's just that simple. I had to give up maybe \$10,000 for the pictures so I have to make a little. They come, look, and usually take around 500 of the best. Half are just discarded. This includes the negatives.... They don't want any competition from anyone for the same product. They're not stupid, not when they pay that kind of money.

Question: Who are "they"?....

Answer: They are businessmen who own publishing companies. They are connected with organized crime. Obviously, since it's a contraband article, not available on the newsstands, you're going to have to pay \$25 or \$30 for one of these magazines. There'd be about 15 or 20 color photographs and an equal number of black and white.

Question: And these magazines generally do not deal with sex acts, just nudity?

Answer: Right. You're dealing with voyeurs, not perverts as such. You are talking about a local businessman who wants to look at a young girl. Your local insurance agents. They are the ones who can spend the money on these photographs.

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Question: Were you part of the distribution?

Answer: No, all I did was sell the negatives and photographs....

Question: Did you have to pay a photographer?

Answer: I paid a photographer because it's cheaper than buying \$7,000 or \$8,000 worth of photography equipment....

Question: That's pretty profitable after overhead.

Answer: Yes, it is. Most of the photographers in that line are homosexuals, so you don't have to worry about them fooling with the girls.

Question: Were you there at the sessions?

Answer: Absolutely. It's my neck, my butt, and my money that's riding on the line. Damn right. I'd usually be out of sight but nearby with the parents....

Question: Did the parents know what you were going to do with the photographs?

Answer: Sure. This was plainly stipulated in the legal instrument that they signed....

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Question: Did you ever have problems getting people?

Answer: No. It's just word of mouth. There's no real problem finding parents who are interested. None at all.

Question: Did you ever have more business than you could handle?

Answer: You have more people wanting that easy money than their kids are worth. Some of these young girls are ugly. How do you tell a parent, "I can't take pornographic pictures of your kid because she's ugly?" A touchy thing.

Question: Did it bother you to be involved in this sort of activity?

Answer: Didn't bother me because I figured, in all likelihood, that the kid has been abused a lot more than I'll ever abuse it.

At that age, girls are a lot smarter than men give them credit for. They know what's going on. I have no respect for the parents, but it's a business. They come to me. I don't go looking for them.

When you explain to the kid, "Your mom or dad needs the money and that's the only reason you're here," most will accept that because they know basically what's going on at home. The

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worst psychological damage occurs in the parent-child relationship. I don't think I am that damaging to the child because I'm honest about what the whole thing is about. For me it's money. For, the kid, it's taking care of their parents. For the parents, it's the money.

Question: Would you use the same kid again and again?

Answer: Normally no, because twice around is about all the circulation the pictures can stand. You've saturated the market at that point with that face and body.

Question: Who was easier to work with, mothers or fathers?

Answer: Mothers.... Daddies cherish their little girls. Mothers are hard core. They're in business to make money.

Question: Was there ever any anguish shown by these parents?

Answer: Yeah. There was this one woman who had a real sweet girl who said, "Lord I hope this stops here." I said, "It's up to you whether your kid becomes a prostitute or a junky. You need the money so you sold your kid." That's what it boils down to. Sometimes cases like that make a parent think really hard what their kids is all about. Maybe they're better off. Who knows?

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[4,869 words]

Chapter 6: Children's Access to Child and Adult Pornography

[4kids-ac.bok]

The Internet "is causing a revolution ... in terms of exposure to young people. We have no gatekeepers any longer. Anything goes."

-- Jennings Bryant (cited by Webb, 2001, p. 136)

"What's on the Net is simply unavailable to too many kids."

-- Judith Levine, Harmful to Minors (2002), p. 149

"That the most obscene pornography can be so readily accessed by young people online is not in dispute any more."

-- Dale Spender, 1995, p. 216:

As recently as 1970, the National Commission on Obscenity and Pornography assumed that access to pornography was not a problem for children. More specifically, the Commissioners were satisfied "that juveniles rarely purchase explicit materials" (Rush, p. 168) -- neglecting to consider that many would have

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access to material owned by their fathers and older brothers. They naively believed that "once such materials were labelled 'for adults only,' or 'parental guidance recommended,'" their "obligation to the young was over" (p. 168). The Commissioners also maintained that, "the taboo against pedophilia" had "almost remained inviolate," and that "the use of prepubescent children is almost nonexistent" (Rush, p. 167).

On the basis of these inaccurate assumptions, the Commissioners "recommended the repeal of laws restricting the sale of pornography" -- including child pornography (Rush, 168).

Their green light to the pornography industry resulted in a growing trade in child pornography in the 1970s and 1980s, and in adult pornography -- up to the present time. After Densen-Gerber and others brought samples of the easily available material to public attention, the Federal Government passed a law that criminalized child pornography. American society is currently much better educated about child pornography, and few people would now make the erroneous statements that were made by the Commissioners in 1970.

**1. Children's Access to Adult Pornography**

Given the constant changes in Internet technology, the laws relating to child pornography, and the vigor with which these

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laws are implemented, it is important to note the publication dates of the various statements made about children's access to pornography. Because of the increase in public concern about child pornography in recent times, and the lesser efforts to combat it that are being made by the police and legislators, non-Internet child pornography is less accessible than it was in the past. Indeed, there appear to be conflicting views at this time on how accessible it is to Internet-literate children and teenagers (Ofelia Calcetas-Santo (1996) makes this same observation). This makes Finkelhor and his colleagues' (2001) very recent quantitative study of children and adolescents' unwanted access to pornography on the Internet particularly valuable (to be described in section 2. below).

There is a great deal more adult pornography than child pornography both on and off the Internet, so adult pornography is far more accessible to both children and adults. The fact that non-computer-generated child pornography (as defined by the Federal government) is illegal is another reason for its lesser accessibility. In addition, the majority of pornophiles are primarily interested in adult pornography. For these reasons, pedophiles use adult pornography more often than child pornography to try to arouse the curiosity of children about sex and/or to try to arouse them sexually and/or to use as a model for children to imitate. For example, in Burgess' study of sex rings, she reported that 62% of the 55 sex rings used adult

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pornography to get children involved in these rings (cited by Rush, Nov 1984, p. 3).

Donna Hughes (1999, March) (Pimps and Predators) quotes a pornographer's very important observation that

"Children will have easy access to adult material so long as adults have easy access to adult material. For example, somebody's dad or older brother is always going to have a porn collection to 'borrow' and show to friends, or dirty novels, or whatever." (p. 48)

Older males who like pornography are "going to have it around, and kids are going to get a hold of it," the pornographer concluded (p. 48). Of course, this applies to videotapes as well. With regard to the Internet, Jenkins (2000) contends that "even the hardest [core] child pornography materials continue to be easily accessible for anyone with appropriate technical expertise" (p. 5). This statement presumably applies to children since their technical computer skills are often superior to adults, including those necessary to access, work and play on the Internet. Garry Webb (2001, May), p. 90 writes more specifically that

"It is now possible for anyone from nine to 90 to watch full-color, full motion pictures of every kind of sexual act

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imaginable. Instant porn free of charge delivered to your home 24 hours a day, 365 days a year. And millions of us young and old, male and female, are consuming it." (p. 90)

Barry Crimmins, in his testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee Hearings on Child Pornography on the Internet in 1995/1985, described his own experience of being sent "over a thousand pornographic photographs of children" when he joined an adolescent chat group on AOL where he "adopted the on-screen identity of a 12-year-old"\* (Boston Phoenix on-line version).  
 [\*Footnote: Durkin (1997) cites other "reports of children who use the Internet receiving unsolicited computer files containing pornographic pictures that were sent to them by adult users" (p. 15)] He testified that:

"I have seen every possible type of sexual degradation of children, from toddlers to teens.... At one point a particularly sick individual sent me (in my guise as a 12-year-old) so much child pornography that it took eight and a half hours to download it." (p. )

Crimmins told the Committee that in his opinion it is most serious when children access pornography that is sent to them by pedophiles who use it to arouse their curiosity. Once these pedophiles

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"gain the child's attention, he or she is much more vulnerable to exploitation by a pedophile. The worst possibility is that pedophiles will use the children's curiosity and vulnerability to gain physical access to them so that they might sexually and/or physically abuse these children."

Even more seriously, Crimmins suggested that it is very likely that some missing children "have disappeared because of such contacts. In my investigation, many pedophiles, believing that I was a 12-year-old, attempted to woo me in this fashion."

An anti-pornography organization called Morality in Media set up a Web site in June, 2002, that provides people with a convenient way to report possible violations of federal Internet obscenity laws online (News release, emailed to me on April 14, 2003). On March 12, 2003, this organization asked all those who had reported receiving pornographic spam to the Morality in Media Web site if their child "was (or could easily have been) exposed to the porn spam." "Of the 2514 reports received March 12 through April 11 that indicated receipt of porn spam, 974 (38.7%) were checked" in the affirmative (News release). Robert Peters, president of Morality in Media, notes that:

"Porn spam poses a triple threat to children. The descriptions of sexual acts and organs found in porn spam

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are often vile; a significant amount of porn spam comes with pictorial material; and curious and vulnerable children may also click to the Web site that is marketing the pornography where they will often be able to view hardcore sex acts of every kind imaginable, free of charge."

For all these reasons, this chapter will examine children's access to both child and adult pornography on and off the Internet. First, however, we will examine quantitative studies of this issue.

### 2. Quantitative Studies of Childrens' Access to Pornography Off the Internet

Fortunately, it is not necessary to rely on anecdotal evidence regarding children and adolescents' access to pornography. The studies of pornography researchers James Check, Gloria Cowan and Robin Campbell, and Itzin and Sweet provide quantitative data about children and youth's access to pornography in Canada, the United States and Britain. These three studies substantiate Check's statement that "Children are major consumers of pornography" (p. 91).

James Check (1995) undertook a large scale survey in Canada of 1,100 children ranging in age from four to 12 years old. He reported that "39 percent of the children in the survey said that

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they watched pornography at least once a month" (p. 89). Because so many people were so incredulous about this high figure that they assumed Check's methodology must be faulty, he revised his methodology and conducted the survey again at many different locations, such as shopping malls, theaters, and schools. The result was identical: 39 percent.

In yet another study by Check, 275 teenagers "from a local high school in a middle-class Toronto neighborhood," whose average age was 14 years, were asked how often they watched pornography (pp. 89-90). Check reported that 90 percent of the boys and 60 percent of the girls had seen at least one pornographic movie. Gender differences are much greater with regard to the regularity of watching pornography: "one-third of the boys, but only 2 percent of the girls, watched pornography at least once a month," Check reported (p. 90). He speculated that "the girls watched once because a boyfriend or somebody wanted them to, or because they were curious, and then didn't want to watch again" (p. 90). Check made no attempt to explain the boys' motivation to watch pornography perhaps because he took it for granted that it is designed to appeal to males. Presumably, they used it for masturbation purposes -- as do adult males.

Check then "provided a list of six possible sources of information about sex (teachers, peers, parents, books, schools, and magazines)" (p. 90). Unlike the girls who did not view

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pornography regularly, 29 percent of the boys reported "that pornography was the most significant source among those listed" (p. 90). Unfortunately, Check failed to include teen movies in his list of sources of information -- especially on TV -- and MTV in particular. Mass media researcher Dines considers these to be the major source of misinformation (Personal communication, March 2003).

Check noted that he had "five data sets ... all pointing in the same direction" (p. 91):

"Children are major consumers of pornography and they are learning from watching it.... Teenagers have access to pornography in their homes from parents, brothers, sisters (sic), and friends. They can easily copy a friend's videotape or buy or rent one in a store. Age is simply not a significant barrier for a motivated youngster." (p. 91).

Check concluded that pornography is not 'adults-only' material. For children who are watching pornography -- some "as young as six, seven, eight, nine, or ten years old -- pornography is their sex education" (p. 91).

\*\*\*\*\*

Gloria Cowan and Robin Campbell (1995) conducted a study of

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453 high school students in California that reveals the widespread access children and teenagers have to pornographic videos and films. Out of all the topics that these researchers investigated, the focus here will be on their pornography-related findings which are recorded in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1

### Exposure to Pornography:

#### Comparison of Selected Findings by Gender

Selected Findings	Boys (N=231)	Girls (N=212)
% who had seen explicit pornography*	83%	48%
% who had watched pornography at least once a month	30%	10%
Average number of sex videos/films seen	12	5
Average age of first exposure to pornography	11	12

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% who believed they had learned "some"

or "a lot" from pornography	60%	48%
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Missing information on gender: 10

Figures in table rounded to the nearest whole number

Table constructed from Cowan and Campbell's data, 1995, p. 150

Mean age: 14.57

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[\* Footnote: The term "explicit pornography" covers a wide range of material from nonviolent intercourse movies to extremely degrading, violent, torture movies culminating in the death of the female (this is a common scenario in R-rated slasher movies).]

Wherever the contents of the pornographic video or movie is on the continuum of misogynistic sex, pornography is sexist by definition (see Appendix), and therefore detrimental for both girls and boys to watch. In the light of this fact, it is distressing to see that almost half the girls (48%) had watched pornography by the age of 12, and more than four fifths (83%) of the boys had watched it by the age of 11.

In addition, almost half of the girls (48%) "believed they had learned 'some' or 'a lot' from porn," while three fifths

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(60%) of the boys concurred with this belief. It is unfortunate that Cowan and Campbell did not ask these high school students what they thought they had learned. Nevertheless, in light of the misogynistic character of pornography, these high percentages are very frightening. Given how poorly sex education is handled in U.S. schools, pornography often becomes the major source of miseducation about male and female sexuality for some pre-adolescents and many adolescents.

With regard to gender differences, Table 6.1 reveals the unsurprising finding that males scored significantly higher on all the variables compared except for the average age of first exposure to pornography in which the boys were one year younger than the girls (11 vs. 12, respectively).

\*\*\*\*\*

Itzin and Sweet analyzed the answers of 4,000 readers of an issue of British Cosmopolitan magazine in November 1989 (published in March 1990). Ninety-six percent of the respondents were women, so I will refer to them as such. Because the sample is self-selected, and the readers of Cosmopolitan are not in the least representative of the British population, the results of this survey cannot be generalized beyond the readership of this particular issue of the magazine. None of the readers referred to pornography on the Internet.

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Itzin and Sweet (1992) report the following findings about women readers' access to pornography when they were children:

- o The average age of first exposure to pornography was 14 years and 6 months;
- o Over one third (36%) of the women had seen pornography by age 12;
- o 61% had seen pornography by age 16 (p. 225).

The circumstances in which the women first saw pornography presumably includes the 39% of women who first saw it when they were older than 17 years. Therefore, only 61% of them were below the British age of consent.

- o 49% came across the pornography accidentally.
- o 45% "were shown it by someone"
- o Only 7% "chose to see it" (p. 225)

Given that 39% of these women were first exposed to pornography after the age of 16, it is all the more striking how few women and girls were interested in seeing pornography. It

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would be interesting to know if the Internet has had any effect on this very low percentage of female interest.

As stated at the outset of this section, these studies show that there is no such thing as adult-only pornography. It is vitally important that people recognize this fact, and that they stop deluding themselves that children can be protected or prevented from having access to this material.

### 3. Studies of Childrens' Access to Pornography On the Internet

#### a) Involuntary Access

David Finkelhor, Kimberly Mitchell and Janis Wolak (June 2000) are to be commended for undertaking a large scale scientific study on children and adolescents' involuntary access to pornography on the Internet.

In order to find out more about the prevalence of on-line victimization of children, Finkelhor and his colleagues conducted "a telephone survey of a representative national sample of 1,501 young people, ages 10 through 17, who use the Internet regularly" (p. xi). Their criterion for regularity was extremely low in view of many children's use of the Internet for doing their homework: at least once a month for the previous six months (p. xi). The interviews were conducted between August 1999 and

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February 2000. Fifty-three percent of the survey participants were males and 47% were females; 73% were non-Hispanic white, 10% were African American, 3% were American Indian or Alaskan native, 3% were Asian, 2% were Hispanic white, and 7% were "other."

The Finkelhor team of researchers reported that "nearly 24 million youth ages 10 through 17 were online regularly in 1999, and millions more are expected to join them shortly" (p. viii).

Of the different forms of sexual victimization that Finkelhor et al. inquired about, only unwanted exposure to sexual material is relevant to our interest in children's access to pornography (the other two forms of victimization studied were being sexually solicited and harassed). Finkelhor et al., defined "unwanted exposures" as "those that occurred when the youth were not looking for or expecting sexual material" (p. 13).

They also limited the unwanted exposures they were interested in "to **pictorial images of naked people or people having sex**" -- excluding written pornography and lists of pornographic videos, websites, etc. (p. 13). Because they believed their respondents "could not be reliable informants about the ages of individuals appearing in the pictures, they viewed," this research team did not attempt to find out "how many of the exposures involved child pornography" (p. 14).

Following are some examples of interesting findings about

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children's unwanted exposures to sexual material reported by Finkelhor and his colleagues.

- o "A quarter (25%) of the youth had at least one unwanted exposure to sexual pictures in the last year" (p. 13).

- o 71% of these exposures occurred when the youth were searching or surfing the Internet or misspelled addresses, and "28% happened while opening E-mail or clicking on links in E-mail or Instant Messages" (p. 13).

- o "Slightly" more boys than girls reported unwanted exposures (57% and 42%, respectively). Unfortunately, Finkelhor et al. provided no test to ascertain whether this 15% difference was or was not statistically significant. The possible explanation for this finding that more boys than girls reported unwanted exposure to pornography may be that boys spend significantly more time surfing the Internet than girls and are therefore more likely to encounter unwanted exposures.

[Footnote: The research team suggests that this finding "may reflect the reality that boys tend to allow their curiosity to draw them closer to such encounters" (p. 14). I think they are implying here that more boys than girls follow up pornographic pop-ups and other invitations to access pornography, and then become upset by the pornography on some of these sites.]

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o With regard to the content of the unwanted exposures, "94% of the images were of naked persons"; 38% were of people having sex; and "8% involved violence in addition to nudity and/or sex."

Regrettably, no examples of the violent pornography or the pornography involving people having sex are described or quoted.

o "More than 60% of the unwanted exposures occurred to youth 15 years of age or older". Although nearly one quarter (23%) of the sample were between 10 and 12 years old, only "7% of the unwanted exposures occurred to 11- and 12-year-old youth." None of the 10-year-olds reported an unwanted exposure (p. 13).

o Almost half (48%) of the incidents of unwanted exposures were reported to a parent (p. 15). [Footnote: Finkelhor et al., report three different figures for this finding; the other two are 39% (p. 15) and 40% (p. ix).]

o In 44% of the incidents of unwanted exposures, the young respondents did not disclose them to anyone.

o In only 3% of the incidents of unwanted exposures did the youth inform an authority figure such as a teacher or school official, and in only 3% of the incidents did they disclose it to their Internet servers. No incidents were reported to a law-enforcement agencies (p. 15).

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- o "In 93% of instances [of unwanted exposures through email], the sender was unknown to the youth" (p. 14).

- o Pornography websites are often programmed to make them difficult to exit. Viewers' attempts to exit frequently take them into other pornographic websites. This occurred to the youth in just over a quarter (26%) of the incidents in which pornography was encountered while surfing. (p. 15).

- o "In households with home Internet access, one third of parents said they had filtering or blocking software on their computer at the time they were interviewed." (p. ix).

Finkelhor et al., observe that "It is not simple for those who want to avoid sexual material on the Internet to do so" (p. 17). They argue that whatever the effects of accessing pornography may be, young people "have a right to be free from unwanted intrusion of sexual materials in a public forum such as the Internet" (p. 17). Their conclusion about all the unwanted experiences reported by the respondents -- not only unwanted exposures -- is that "the seamy side of the Internet spills into the lives of an uncomfortably large number of youth and relatively few families or young people do much about it" (p. viii).

Voluntary and Involuntary Access

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According to Janet LaRue, an attorney and the Senior Director of Legal Studies for the Family Research Council, 74 percent of the public libraries in the United States provide some access to the Internet and related services, whereas only 15 percent use some kind of blocking technology "on at least some of their public workstations" (Burt, 2000, p. v). LaRue maintains that,

The most significant reason that so few libraries have utilized blocking technology is the policies, pressure, and practice of the ALA [American Library Association] in advocating for unrestricted access by anyone, regardless of age, to all of the materials available on the Internet regardless of content, including the most deviant pornography. This includes child pornography, hard-core depictions of rape, sexual torture, sadomasochistic abuse, group sex, and sex involving urination, defecation, and bestiality." (pp. v-vi)

LaRue notes that "The ALA has acknowledged that the first Amendment protects none of this material" (p. vi). She argues that, "It is the height of hubris and duplicity for the ALA and public librarians knowingly to provide this illegal material and attempt to wrap themselves in the Constitution" (p. vi).

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In 2000, David Burt, a public librarian in Oregon, conducted a six-month investigation of patrons' use of the computers at public libraries to access and download adult and child pornography. He sent more than 14,000 freedom-of-information requests to answer his questions "to the nation's 9,767 public library systems" (p. 5). This constituted almost 100 percent of these libraries. However, 71 percent of them ignored his requests. The unrepresentative 29 percent of libraries that responded provided "more than two thousand documented incidents of patrons, many of them children, accessing pornography, obscenity, and child pornography in the nation's public libraries" (p. 1). Unfortunately, the low response rate means that Burt's findings cannot be generalized to all public libraries in the United States.

Burt observed that many of the more than 2,000 incidents were "highly disturbing, as librarians witnessed adults instructing children in how to find minors engaging in public masturbation at Internet terminals" (p. 1). Furthermore,

"The incidents supplied by libraries included 172 incidents where librarians described crimes being committed, such as the accessing of child pornography, the accessing of material described by the librarians as 'obscene,' public masturbation, and adults exposing children to pornography. In only six of these incidents (3.5 percent) were the police

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notified."

Burt also notes that,

"Analysis of computer logs from just three urban libraries revealed thousands of incidents that went unreported, indicating that the 2,062 incidents represent only a fraction of the total incidents nationwide. The total number of incidents each year nationwide is likely to be between four hundred thousand and two million." (p. 1)

Burt (2000) points out that, "The anonymous environment of the public library offers the ideal place to access this sea of pornography" (p. 2). No "password, username, or other information" is needed to access sites on the Internet (p. 8). Table 6-2 below shows the numbers of individuals accessing pornography in libraries between 1997 and 1998.

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Table 6-2\*

The Number of Incident Reports, Patron Complaints, and News Stories In  
Viewing Pornography Between 1997 and 1998

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# Incidents

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Adults accessing child pornography .....	41
Children accessing pornography .....	472
Children accidentally viewing pornography .....	26
Adults exposing children to pornography .....	106
Pornography left for children .....	23
Pornography left on printer or computer screen .	113

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\*A modified version of a table in Burt (2000), p. 5.

The high number of children accessing pornography (472) is the most striking of the findings revealed in Table 6-2. Many of these children are likely motivated "to avoid supervised access to the Internet at home and school" (Burt, 2000, p. 2). Perhaps children who do not have access to computers in their homes also use library computers to view and/or download pornography on the Internet. Burt reports that "most of the children were young adolescents, but many of these children were quite young. In some incidents, older children were showing the younger children pornography" (p. 6). For example, Burt cites a case in which a patron at the Houston Library observed:

"A set of brothers using two side by side display monitors.

One child about twelve was teaching two others about ten and eight years old how to access the pornography sites."

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(p. 6)

Burt notes that such incidents "often upset library staff as well as patrons. He cites a case in which a branch manager in Washington state reported the following incident to her director:

"On Monday of last week a group of about eight to ten teenage boys came to the library and asked me if they could get pornography on the Internet. I replied that they could... Several pictures were printed of naked women from the waist up. Later that afternoon, one of the younger boys (elementary age) said that the big boys had shown some dirty pictures on the computer... First, it is against my personal convictions to provide pornography of X- or R-rated pictures to children. When I applied to work at the library, running a porn shop was not in the job description.

A second and greater issue is that we are supplying pornography to minors without their parents' permission or knowledge." (p. 7)

With regard to the motivation of men to use library facilities to access and download child pornography, Burt (2000) notes that,

"men who do not wish to risk their pornography habits being discovered by their wives and children, transients without any other access to Internet pornography, pedophiles wishing

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to download illegal child pornography, and sexual perpetrators wishing to expose others to pornography[,] would all be attracted to a public library to obtain free access to the Internet." (p. 2)

Burt's finding that only 41 adults used library computers to access child pornography in his survey is surprising low given the large number of adults in the categories of men mentioned in the above quotation.

The Response of the American Library Association and Other Free Speech Organizations

Dorothy Field, Director of a Public Library in Florida, reported that: "A number of people were coming into the library and accessing sites that would be described as hard-core porn," which "they would view for hours on end" (p. 2). Burt noted that "the response of both the American Library Association and the 'free speech community,' organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union and People for the American Way, has been to discount such reports" (p. 2).

Burt quotes Ann Symons, a former president of the American Library Association, as saying, "The whole issue of protecting children has been blown way out of proportion by the media and those who seek to promote their own agendas" (p. 2). Burt then

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quotes Judith Krug, the "director of the ALA's Office of Intellectual Freedom," as declaring that the number of individuals who access hardcore pornography sites "is so small that it is almost laughable.'" Krug estimated that "'only one child out of a trillion billion' might use library computers to seek out pornography." Burt notes that "other free-speech organizations have taken a similar line.... The ACLU has dismissed the many published accounts of patrons viewing pornography in libraries as 'a few unconfirmed press reports" (p. 2).

The official ALA policy statement is as follows:

"Libraries, acting within their mission and objectives, must support access to information on all subjects that serve the needs or interests of each user, regardless of the user's age or the content of the material." (Burt, 2000, p. 3)

Examples of Children Accessing Pornography on Public Library Computers

"Four children were ... observed who appeared to be masturbating, one to bestiality." (p. 9)

A staff member in Florida wrote that,

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"Young man probably 13 or 14 years old had accessed something having to do with sex with animals. He acted strangely, perhaps also masturbating. I asked him questions about what he was doing and after a while he left." (p. 9)

A staff member in Washington state filed a report,

"After several prior incidents of sperm being found by staff in the restroom on the floor after a particular set of brothers have been using the Internet and restroom, I approached one of the patrons, asked him into my office and told him that we had seen a pattern of sperm and his Internet use. After examining his hands for an extended period of time, I said that ejaculation was an inappropriate activity in the library." (p. 9)

"Internet pornography, pornographic chat rooms, and masturbation at the library played a key role in the attempted molestation of a four-year-old boy by a thirteen-year-old boy at the Phoenix Public Library, according to a police report" (p. 9).

When the four-year-old told his mother that he needed to use the toilet, she escorted him to the men's restroom which he entered by himself. He exited in about two or three minutes

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"and told his mother that there was a boy inside the bathroom who was willing to give him a quarter to 'suck his d---." (p. 9)

Damian, the young perpetrator, was 13 years old. He told the police that he had gone into a chat room on the computer where he talked with a self-described Macho Man, 73, who dared him to do perform fellatio. Damian also admitted that "he was going to the restroom after he had been looking at pornography on the Internet and he would masturbate himself while inside one of the stalls in the restroom. He told [me] that during his two to four hour period while at the library he would go a minimum of two times each visit and masturbate." (p. 10)

A patron in Olympia, Washinton, wrote:

"More and more as I visit the library I see children sitting on the computers looking at very graphic pornography. This time I glanced over and saw a young teen viewing an explicit image and an eight or nine-year-old boy was happily looking over his shoulder. I told the librarian who simply shook her head and said there was nothing she could do about it." (p. 11)

"These reactions by the librarians are consistent with how

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the ALA instructs librarians (p. 11).

Examples of Adults Exposing Children to Pornography

There were 106 incidents of men exposing children to pornography in Public Libraries. Burt noted that "In most states, exposing children to pornography is a crime. Yet not one of these 106 incidents was reported to the police by library staff." (p. 14)

One library patron in a Florida Library wrote:

"I am so appalled at the pornography displayed on the computers by adult users! My 11 year old son and I were flashed by one of these men with this obscenity on the screen. Why is this not prevented? The look on my son's face was horror!" (p. 14)

"Three young boy[s] (8-9 years old) were waiting to use an Internet workstation. When the man using the workstation finished, he handed a paper to the boys with the following URL: persiankitty.com .... The boys accessed the site and discovered that it was pornographic. They came to the Reference desk and explained the situation to \_\_\_\_ [who] referred them to me.... According to the boys, the man gave them the paper with the UR[L] and told them, 'Look up this.

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You'll like it.' I cautioned the boys against talking with strangers...." (p. 15)

A Public Library in Jefferson County, Colorado, received

"A report from a mother who had left her child, a girl about 7 years old, alone in the children's room. When she returned the little girl's screen had up a picture of male frontal nudity. There was an adult man sitting next to the girl. After the mother grabbed her child and left the area the little girl told her mother that the man had exposed himself to her." (p. 16)

A mother in Florida wrote the following account of her daughter's experience in a Public Library:

"I dropped my daughter off at the public library.... When I picked her up, I could tell something was wrong, but it took her several minutes to tell me what had happened. She told me that she had seen a man sitting at a computer and he was looking at named women. She then told me that she had seen him touching himself 'down there.'... My daughter, who is 12-years-old, told me that she went to the information desk right away to report what she had seen, but the library staff member did not call the police.... I spoke with the same library staff member. I told them I wanted the police

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and campus security called. One of the library staff said there was nothing the police could do, but I insisted that the police be called or I would call them myself. A report was taken by the police, campus security, and the library. My daughter was so traumatized by the incident, that she could not remember her address or phone number, and she had to be hospitalized the next day for post-traumatic stress and suicidal intentions with intent. Later the following week, I learned that this man had come back to library again, and he was escorted off library property and given a 'no trespass' warning. The library staff failed to obtain this man's name, address, phone number, or any other identifying information before giving him this warning. I also learned from a staff member, that this man had been reported doing the same thing on six prior occasions without the police being notified. It is the policy of the library that the police not be called for any criminal activity unless directly asked by a patron of the library to notify the police departments. My daughter continues to have nightmares about this incident and she is currently in therapy and on medication. At one time, she loved going to the library, now she is terrified to enter the building."

(pp. 16-17)

Burt points out that the First Amendment is supposed to protect everyone, including children, "from forced or coerced

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expression" (p. 51). Yet

"each time a visual reproduction of a child's sexual abuse is viewed by others, his or her first Amendment free expression and privacy rights are violated in the most outrageous way. This is precisely what the ALA facilitates by advocating for unfiltered access to all Internet material, including child pornography. It is the epitome of hypocrisy for the ALA to facilitate the invasion of privacy and exploitation of sexually abused children, who have been forced or coerced into sexual "expression," while claiming in their Bill of Rights and Code of Ethics to believe in and protect free expression and privacy rights." (p. 51)

In conclusion, Burt makes a very strong case for the fact that the ALA and all those public libraries that choose to follow its policies, contribute significantly to the exposure of children to pornography as well as providing a safe environment for pedophiles to add to their collections by downloading child pornography.

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Qualitative Data

Sometimes children inadvertently access child pornography

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sites by doing a key word search using popular words or phrases that are likely to be of interest to children (e.g., "Princess Diana," and "Walt Disney") (Doyle, Bad apples in cyberspace, 1999, p. 129). Doyle maintains that pornographic website operators deliberately use such terminology "in an effort to increase traffic to their sites," thereby increasing their advertising revenue (p. 129).

Donna Hughes (1999, March, Pimps and Predators on the Porn accessible to Children) explains how pornography website owners also

"exploit any public event to draw Web traffic to their site.

Whenever a topic is popular, the pornographers put a keyword on their Web sites that someone is likely to be using to search for information. They then prime the search engines ... to get their sites listed in the first few that come up when someone does a search" (p. 53).

For example, when a female user typed in "Bambi," "she landed on a pornography site with whips and chains" (p. 54).

Trebilock (1999) [Child molesters on the Internet], reported that when he was "an Internet novice," he typed "alt.sex.incest" on his computer, and "In less than a minute, I was scrolling through hundreds of brief text messages from guys who offered to

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swap photographs or described their sexual fantasies with children" (p. 46). This included an example of child pornography involving a 6-year-old girl (p. 46). **[get more info on this case]** "In less than 15 minutes," Trebilock continued, "without any special software or expert knowledge, I'd found a deviant world without sexual boundaries, one that could be located by curious teenagers ...." (emphasis mine).

Doyle points out that a person who provides their email address to a pornographic website "may later find himself or herself receiving adult and child pornography on their e-mail" -- despite the fact that they did not solicit this material (p. 130). In such cases, an anonymous person on the same website "may have tried to increase business with free 'teasers,'" according to Doyle (p. 130).

Finally, Lawrence Haas ("Public Access information networks Abstract on internet) notes that: "Unlike a retail outlet, movie theater, or video rental shop, there is no one on the internet to check a child's age physically before granting access to what many people consider age-appropriate material" (p. 1).

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Following are three testimonies and one edited account about children's access to pornography on the Internet (the emphases

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are all added).

1. Edited Testimony of Patricia Shao re: Daughters' Involuntary Access to Pornography

... Early this summer, my thirteen-year old daughter went to her friend's house to play on the computer. They were in the neighborhood; they were properly supervised; and I knew they were safe. It was shocking to discover later what they had experienced that afternoon.

The girls were in a teenage chatroom on America OnLine, and were propositioned for "cybersex". Initially, they thought it was funny, giggling as you'd expect thirteen-year olds would, but as the requests became raunchier, they were frightened.

I, too, am frightened, and appalled at how I am not able to protect my children on the Internet. As I continued to research this topic, and speak with other children and parents, I have discovered that almost seven out of ten have been victimized on the Internet.

I speak openly with my children, so my daughter was not afraid to come to me with this experience. My daughter's friend, however, insisted that I could not reveal to her parents what happened. She felt almost guilty, as if she were responsible for

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what happened to her.... Children as young as ten years old have related stories to me of how they were propositioned, and of nude pictures sent to them on their computer so they could recognize the sender, who wanted to set up a face-to-face meeting.

I understand that I have responsibilities as a parent to protect my children.... [But] I was unaware of the dangers of chatting on-line, and of the amount of pornographic material available to anyone with a computer and a modem. I've learned that you can download hard-core pornography; you can search the Internet to talk to anyone with the same interests as yours, be it common or perverse, and that all this can be accessed by children free of charge.

I am aware of software and other "lock-out" features that I can download onto my computer. But what happens when my children are at a neighbor's house? What happens if peer pressure builds, and a normal sleep-over party of teen-age boys becomes an opportunity to read and view pornographic material, material they may not have access to otherwise?...

[Child molesters] may have looked on school playgrounds yesterday, but the playground for the Children of the Nineties is the Information Superhighway.

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**Chapter 6: Children's Access to Child and Adult Pornography****2. Personal Account of Father Who Imposed Child Pornography on Young Son\***

[\*Footnote: This account is based on written and verbal information given to me by Mrs. Cook after she requested me to be an expert consultant in her custody battle with her ex-husband. She checked the accuracy of this account and gave her permission to publish it.]

Mr. and Mrs. Cook have a 3-year-old son called Cam. After living together for over nine years, Mrs. Cook found out in December 2001 that her husband had shown their son pseudo-child pornography on the Internet. Cam told her that he had seen a "scary movie" with his father when he stayed overnight with him. Mrs. Cook asked him why the movie was scary and he replied, "There was a man in a lady's tummy and there was fire." Cam also coincidentally began using the term "slut and slutty" at this time.

Mrs. Cook was afraid that her ex-husband -- whom she divorced over his addiction to pornography -- would continue to show their son pornography on the Internet when he exercised his visitation rights. She was also worried about his starting to sexually abuse their son as his pornography addiction became more extreme. After a long drawn-out battle with lawyers and a move to another city, Mrs. Cook won full custody of her son.

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### Voluntary Access by Children on the Internet

Newsweek journalist [name] -- ignoring gender -- maintained in 1995 that "Kids (sic) are very hungry to view sexual materials, and left to their own devices they will find that the Internet provides them with an unprecedented bonanza" (p. 48). In the same year, Keith Durkin and Clifton Bryant (1995) -- who also ignore gender -- warn that "Given the increasing computer precociousness of many adolescents, there is genuine reason for apprehension" that they will have access to pornography websites that facilitate "deviant sexual behavior" (p. 197).

Australian feminist researcher Dale Spender (1995) observed that, due to the generation gap in computer competency, "it is more likely to be the younger than the older male members of the community who at this stage are calling up the pornography" (p. 215). Spender quotes David Killick and Sonya Sandham's claim that "Teenagers are the biggest market for this pornography" for which "there is very little checking of age" by the Internet servers (p. 215). (Spender notes that "Craig Johnstone reaches the same conclusions" [p. 215]).

Spender (1995) maintains that,

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"Countless examples could be quoted of schoolboys who are experimenting with transmitting obscene and offensive images. Teachers acknowledge that these same students would not bring Penthouse into the classroom, they would not put pin-ups on the wall, and would not necessarily harass female classmates in real life. But they appear to have no compunction about making, storing, and transmitting these offensive images to the screens of the girls in the virtual world." (p. 213)

In the following personal account, a mother ask her daughter, who has just turned 13, to show her how she accesses pornography on the Internet via AOL.

Mother: "You told me you knew how to find dirty pictures on the Internet," I say, "Show me. I don't believe it." The girl rolls her eyes, "Anybody can do that." She turns back to the keyboard and starts writing. "Look. I'll just type in porn.com."

Up flashes a screen filled with pictures of women performing oral sex on men, women licking each other's breasts, a flashing red sign that reads BOOBS! and various little pop-up boxes showing tiny animated pictures of fellatio. The girl spins and covers her eyes as if blinded by a light. "I don't want to see those pictures! she shouts. "Get it off the screen!"

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Her mother does so, and looks nonplussed. "I don't even know how to do that!" she tells her daughter. "How come you know?"

The girl looks at her mother quizzically. "It's easy, Mom. You just think of a word."

"But how did you know to go to that Web page?" her mother persists.

"I didn't. Don't you get it? You just type in a word. I could have thought of any word. Sometimes you get sex pages even when you're not thinking of anything dirty. I was in computer lab at school today, and I was looking for Britney Spears and I get a sex page. And we have filters on our computers. I got embarrassed and turned it off, and the boys behind me were, like. 'No! No! Leave it on! Leave it on!'" (Webb, p. 92)

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4. Testimony by Dr. Susan Elliot re: Son's Voluntary Access to Pornography

I am a parent of three teenage children - a girl, age 17, and boys age 14 and 12. Our brush with CyberPorn was, happily,

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not devastating or dramatic, but it was disturbing.

A respected teacher suggested that they might benefit from information sharing on the Internet. Our household had been inundated by promotional discs from America-On-Line and so we logged on line. The boys participated in the public chat rooms, then ventured into the more exciting realm of the "private" chat rooms. While "chatting" they were offered "pictures" by other participants. They accepted a few of these, as did their classmates. With great ease these children were able to E-Mail hard core pornography in full color back and forth to each other. This might have gone on for some time if my husband had not noted that the memory of our computer was rapidly filling up. We opened up the "trash" file and found the graphics in question. They portrayed varying numbers of humans and animals engaged in a horrifying gamut of sexual activities. The pictures were lewd and obscene by any standards.

We immediately confronted the children with questions about the pictures and they confessed all. Was any lasting damage done? I would say, "Yes," because their early sexual images will, forever, be something which is not tender, or beautiful, or even harmlessly titillating; but something which is coarse, vile, and ugly.

Children Unaware that They Have Been Used in Pornography

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Robert Trebillock (1999) [Child molesters on the internet] refers to the fact that "The Internet has spawned sites featuring snapshots of children -- unwittingly photographed while at play in parks and at the beach -- who serve as pedophiles' love objects (sic)" (p. 47). The term "sex objects" would be preferable here, especially as pedophiles deceive themselves into perceiving themselves as lovers of children.

I have also heard of cases where the photographed heads of girls available on non-pornographic websites (e.g., school yearbook pictures, or sports teams) can be placed on photographs of the bodies of other naked young girls, or other girls engaged in sexual acts. Hence, anyone who recognizes their faces is likely to think that these unwitting victims have participated in the production of child pornography. Pornographers who want to create pseudo-child pornography which childifies women can also attach girls' heads to women's bodies.

Conclusion

Anti-pornography feminists have long protested the lies about women that pornography conveys. It has been repeatedly demonstrated in this volume that comparable lies are told about children, the most obvious being that they enjoy sex with adults,

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particularly men. Both adult and child pornography are constructed by males as masturbatory material. Hence, the content of these materials will be guided by whatever turns them on and gets them off. This includes violence and brutality to satisfy the more sadistic pornophiles.

Because of the lack of adequate sex education in most American schools and homes, "the negative consequences of the many distortions and lies about sexuality and sexual behavior inherent in pornography will have a greater impact on the children exposed to this material" (Kelly et al., 1995, p. 35). As Bryant over-tentatively notes, "kids may think that what they see portrayed on the Net is real sex and not an idealized or fantasized depiction of it" (as quoted by Webb, p. 136). Bryant's description of the sex as "idealized" reflects a male bias, since the portrayals of sex in both adult and child pornography using females typically degrades females.

As an example of the negative consequences of unrealistic images of females, Bryant maintains that, "Young girls notoriously sensitive about their bodies may conclude that in order to be wanted and desired, enormous breast implants and anal sex are a must" (cited by Webb, p. 136). Like Kelly et al., Bryant contends that Internet pornography

"has already become 'a weird form of sex education' -- and

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it's one that isn't countered by anything suggesting, for example, that not all women want sex with multiple partners, or enjoy ending a lovemaking session by having their sweetheart ejaculate in their face (a universal theme in hard-core Net porn)." (p. 136)

Because many children now become Internet-literate at a very young age, growing numbers of children have access to pornography much earlier than they had in the past. Consequently, they are being exposed to materials that, in Webb's words, "are sometimes brutal and almost always shocking" (p. 136). Webb also notes that: "much more of the innocence of childhood is being denied them" (p. 136).

It is common for advocates to say that it is up to the parents to monitor their children's use of the Internet, and to use a filtering system to protect them from receiving unsolicited pornography. This recommendation is very classist, in my opinion. Many of the less educated parents, single mothers, and parents struggling to make ends meet, do not have the time or know-how to monitor their children. Besides, we have seen that children can access such materials in most of the public libraries in the United States, and sometimes at their schools as well.

Crimmins also notes that such recommendations "completely

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disregard[s] a serious reality: in many cases the parents themselves are the perpetrators of these crimes. AOL constantly has rooms entitled "family fun," "Nudist families," "Incest is best," "Have hot stepdaughter," and so on. In these rooms, child pornography is exchanged, and incest is discussed and celebrated. Many of the photos that are exchanged are purportedly of people's own children. So, the myth that parents should be the sole entity that should protect children on-line, or anywhere else, is once again exploded.

The most recent controversy relates to the popularity of file-sharing programs (when two or more individuals have access to the same files) among young people. These programs have caused

"a government outcry over children's exposure to pornography through these programs. Recent reports by the General Accounting Office and the House Committee on Government Reform said half of the searches of words like 'Pokemon,' 'Britney Spears' and 'Olsen twins' returned unrelated pornographic video and images" (Benny Evangelista, SFC, May 19, 2003, p. E4).

Furthermore, these pornographic materials include illegal images.

Mark Ishikawa, a chief executive officer who monitors the Web, reports that child pornography is also available on filesharing

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networks. According to Evangelista, "8 percent of the images and videos downloaded during [a] study depicted child pornography" (p. E4).

[8,363 words]

## Chapter 7: Child Pornographers and Pedophiles: Personal Stories

[4perps.bok]

"We do not believe sex [with children] is a bad thing, and therefore we don't believe that visual depictions of sex is a bad thing."

-- NAMBLA (cited by Tate, Child Porn, 1990, p. 156)

"Females are dogs whose only worth is as pawns for my pleasure...."

-- Peter Gus Sotos, sadistic pedophile (cited by Tate, Child Porn, 1990, p. 170)

Following are the personal stories of four child pornographers and pedophiles, all of which have been shortened by deleting a few passages.

1. Joseph Henry's testimony before the Permanent Sub-committee on Governmental Affairs, United States Senate, Ninety-Ninth Congress, February 21, 1989\*[\*Footnote: Published in the Iconoclast, late summer 1989, pp. 13-16.]

In 1971, a pedophile called Joseph Henry was caught molesting girls at the New Jersey nudist camp that he managed,

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but charges were not filed against him by the club or by the victims' parents. This left him free to move to California where he became involved in a pornography ring (Craft, p. )....

Senator Roth asked Henry numerous questions.

Henry: ... "I'd like to thank you and the sub-committee staff for allowing me to testify about my life as a pedophile, my life of molesting children and the damage I've inflicted on my victims and their families. My testimony may be uncomfortable for some people, but it has to be that way because adults must learn to spot the Joe Henry's of the world. I hope no one thinks what I say here today is designed to win sympathy for myself. It isn't. Your sympathy must go to my victims -- 22 little girls, age 6 to 14 -- who I molested since 1949. They will likely carry these emotional scars for the rest of their lives.

I was born on December 15, 1934, in New York City. I am now incarcerated in California, where in 1978, I pleaded guilty to four counts of committing lewd acts upon children. These children were girls between the ages of 8, 9, and 10 and were molested by me and a group of men over a period of several years.

The father of the eight-year-old girl is also in California State Prison because he was renting out his daughter to members of the group for \$100 a session. I was one of the men who paid \$100 for his daughter.

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As with many child molesters, I, too, was molested as a child. It happened when I was 12. By the age 14, I was, again, molested by the man who lived next door to me, a man who always seemed friendly and approachable. I first came to him just as someone to talk to, but after a while, I couldn't talk to him unless I also let him copulate me. It was a time of traumatic tragedy, a time for my secret sex education that would lead me into this hell called pedophilia.

By the time I was 24, I had molested 14 young girls and had been arrested twice and sent to State hospitals, once for 18 months. During this incarceration, I never received therapy. There was never any physical force with the children I molested.

The children didn't resist, but to say it was with their consent would be wrong. I know now I was harming them psychologically.

I used all the normal techniques used by pedophiles. I bribed my victims; I pleaded with them, but I also showed them affection and attention they thought they were not getting anywhere else. Almost without exception, every child I molested was lonely and longing for attention. For example, I would take my victims to movies and to amusement parks. When I babysat them, I would let them stay up past their bedtime if they let me fondle them. One little eight-year-old girl I was babysitting came over to my house one day soaking wet from a rainstorm. I told her I'd pay her \$1 if she would stay undressed for an hour.

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This incident opened the door for three years of molestation.

I used these kinds of tricks on children all the time. Their desire to be loved, their trust of adults, their normal sexual playfulness and their inquisitive minds made them perfect victims. I never saw any outward emotional damage in one of my victims until 1971 when, I was 36 and the manager of a nudist park in New Jersey.

I was able to see many children nude and grew particularly attracted to a nine-year-old girl named Kathy. I once bought her five Christmas presents. She was the first little girl I ever forced myself upon and the first whose molestation was not premeditated. I actually saw the trauma and the terror on her face after I had molested her. The incident made me leave the camp.

For the next three years, I was fighting all kinds of urges. I hadn't yet discovered child pornography, and I didn't want to just pick up children off the street. If I had not been under a psychiatrist's care at this time, I probably would have committed suicide. The doctor helped me with my hatred for my father, my fear of adult women, but he couldn't do anything for my urges toward little girls.

Around 1974, when I was beginning to hang around the 42d

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Street porno shops in New York City, I got my first exposure to commercial child pornography. I got to be friends with one of the porn shop owners and one day he showed me a magazine that just arrived called Nudist Moppets. They were paperback books with stories of child sex, adult/child sex. The films in the peep shows were of men with girls, boys with boys, girls with boys and a few that looked like families together in sexual activity.

Eventually, I put together a photographic collection of 500 pages of children in sexually explicit poses. Before long, films started coming in and I bought a film projector. I started reading some of the pornographic tabloids called Screw, Finger and Love, which were filled with all types of sex stories, ads and listings for pen pals. At least one of the issues was devoted to a pedophilic theme. In one issue of Finger, there was an ad about organizations that were devoted to sexual intimacy between children and adults. I wrote to three of them -- Better Life, Guyon Society and the Childhood Sensuality Circle. Better Life and the Childhood Sensuality Circle responded, so I sent in the membership fee to join them.

I was disappointed with Better Life publication because it was on a homosexual pedophilia newsletter and my sexual interest was girls. However, in the third issue, there was an ad that had a street number to write to instead of the usual coded numbers.

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I wrote to them, and a few weeks later, I received a letter from a man named Lance Carlson. His real name is John Duncan, and he was a central figure in the child prostitution ring I eventually got involved in. In his first letter to me, Duncan wanted assurance I was not a cop or any other such person trying to entrap him. He also wanted to hear about my experiences, past or present. I wrote and said I wasn't a police officer. I also told him about Barbara, the first girl I molested and how I got interested in little girls. We began a long correspondence. This was in October of 1975.

Duncan began telling me about two girls he was molesting at the time, Tammy and Lisa, ages 8 and 9. He also sent me their nude photos. It was only after I successfully returned his nude photos that he began to trust me and get into very explicit details about his molestation with the girls.

I was desperate for friendship, someone who understood my obsession with children. My letters to Duncan ran as long as nine-typed pages. I would sign them, "A fellow little girl lover." I offered to trade photos. I even gave him my phone number and he called me collect.

In February of 1976, I wrote Duncan telling him I planned to travel to California in the summer and would like to attend a "child sex orgy," and I would be very glad to pay for this

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privilege. I wrote him, "I want to assure you that I can keep my mouth shut." He began telling me so many things about Tammy and Lisa and implying they would be available for me if they liked me when I came to California. I began sending Duncan money and presents to give to the girls. Duncan also told me about a "cute blue-eyed blond." He was referring to 8-year-old Yvonne who Duncan said I would be able to have sex with for \$100 a session.

I finally traveled to California on July 1, 1976. Duncan brought Tammy and Lisa over to my motel where I was staying. That day, I could not have the children alone to myself because Duncan had arranged for another member of the ring to molest them. Several days later, Duncan molested Tammy and Lisa in my motel room. Then we went to a nearby park where I pushed the girls on some swings. While we were there, Duncan met with Yvonne's father in the park and apparently was arranging for me to rent his daughter.

A few days later, after paying Duncan the \$100 that we agreed would be given to Yvonne's father, I had this 8-year-old to myself for about 6 hours during which time I molested her. When I was unable to take Yvonne home that night because I didn't have a car, Yvonne's father phoned my motel room and said that since I was keeping her overnight, it would cost me another \$100.

At that time, this was the height of my pedophilic experiences. It was a dream come true. After returning to New

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York, I wrote and described what the trip meant to me.

I really don't know what I enjoyed the most of all the wonderful things that happened, there were so many of them to choose from. If it wasn't for all the photos here on my desk, I would think it was just a fantastic dream. I will always be grateful to you for taking me out of hell and giving me a brief taste of Heaven.

I recount these letters, Senator, not to appear sensational, but only to try and convey how deep my obsession was. I spent virtually every waking moment thinking about the children I molested. This type of letter writing is very typical with pedophiles. Some pedophiles survive through explicit letters and the purchase or trading of child pornography because live victims are not always available. These letters were a release for me. They allowed me to relive everything with Tammy, Lisa, and Yvonne. I wasn't sure I could go through with actually paying someone to have sex with their daughter. It was obvious Yvonne had been rented to several other men. The first thing she said to me that night that I had her alone was, "What would you like me to do?"

The next day when her father came to pick her up, the first thing he said [to her] was, "Did you cooperate?"

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You might wonder what are these children really like. How do they act when they are with a group of men who are molesting them? Truthfully, they are manipulated psychologically to such a degree that their facial expressions are blank, as though they are saying, "Just get it over with." Do they cry or fight off my advances? Usually not. Remember, in the child's mind, they think they are as guilty as I am. They know other little boys and girls don't do this, so they must not be good children. They are overwhelmed with shame most of the time and simply comply with the wishes of the adult. Can you imagine what must have gone through the mind of little eight-year-old Yvonne as her father would deliver her to yet another strange man who would keep her for a few hours at a time, molesting her whenever he had the urge to do so?

One of my most vivid memories was of Lisa during my second visit to California. The second time I saw her, it was obvious someone in the group had brutalized her, possibly raped her. She told me she didn't want to be photographed and said several times, "Please don't hurt me. Just don't hurt me."

Yvonne's father is now serving a 14-year sentence in California State Prison. I understand from reliable sources, Yvonne may never be normal again. During this time, 1975 and 1976, I was actively involved in the San Diego-based pedophilia organization, the Childhood Sensuality Circle, which I understand

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your subcommittee examined briefly in your hearings last November. I corresponded with Valida Davila, the head of the CSC, and did some typing for her. As was the practice with the CSC, Davila also put me in touch with other pedophiles. I can't stress enough that this group and others, regardless of their publicly stated goals, are in practice little more than contact services for pedophiles. These groups serve as a reinforcement for pedophiles and a constant source for new friendships and, thus, a supply of new victims.

By November 1976, I was back in New York when I received a phone call from a man named Eric Cross. Cross was a friend of John Duncan, and he said he understood I was looking for a woman with small children who would agree to marry me so that I could be a father and feel like an adult, not just to molest children.

At that time, I had no idea who Cross was, but I later learned he was a child pornographer, publisher of Lolិតոts magazine, and a pedophile with connections not only through the United States, but in several foreign countries as well. I understand he is now in Florida State Prison and facing a Federal trial on charges of distribution of child pornography.

I went to Los Angeles in the fall of 1977 to meet with Cross. For several nights, I met with Cross to look at child porn photos he was sending out of the country. Cross and I were at a motel examining photos of naked children that he was sending

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to a source in Canada. As we left the hotel one night, we were arrested. The police had to release me through lack of evidence, and I was able to return to New York, but some weeks later, I was rearrested in New York by U.S. Customs agents.

After my arrest, I learned that numerous other men had come to Los Angeles and San Diego from 1974 to 1976 to molest children John Duncan made available to us. Various motels and homes of two of the men were used as locations for the molestation. The children were also photographed during sessions with the men. Although I did not participate in this, one of the men, I can't be sure which, apparently sold photos to the Dutch child porn magazine Lolita because in the Lolita issues 29, 30, and 31, there are shots of Tammy and Yvonne in various explicit poses.

I cannot begin to imagine the damage that was done to these children by what I and others did to them. Like the alcoholic, there is no known cure of the pedophile. The pedophile must realize he has a problem and wants help. That is the first step, and that's why the therapy I am now receiving at Patton State Hospital in California has played such a big part in why I am here today.

Chairman Roth: .... What role do you think child pornography has played in your life?

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Henry: .... With the films, it was a stimulant to seek and reestablish actual relationships with a child.

Chairman Roth: So there is, in your judgment, a direct link ... between child pornography and a pedophile promoting his conduct with a child?

Henry: Yes, Senator.

Chairman Roth: Let me go back for a moment to your victims. Are you familiar with what has happened to any of those young children?

Henry: I heard [that my three victims here in California] were having treatment.... One of my victims was my cousin Patricia who I had molested over three years.... I understand Patsy has come completely reversed in her personality than she was as a child. She is now a cold, frigid woman. She cannot establish any long relationship with an adult male, and I definitely base that on molestation of her when she was a child.

Chairman Roth: Did you ever photograph the children you molested and then later trade [them] in exchange for those photographs?

Henry: Yes, Senator.

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### 2. Interview with Robert: Child Pornographer and Pedophile\*

[\*Footnote: Campagna & Poffenberger (1988). The Sexual Trafficking in Children: An investigation of the Child Sex Trade. Dover, Massachusetts: Auburn House Publishing. Pp. 128-131]

Robert was a former steel worker who was a divorced father of two daughters aged 6 and 12 years old at the time of his interview. He became involved with child pornography when he was 17 years old. He produced and distributed child porn mostly for a local market, although "he occasionally sold or swapped child pornography to fellow collectors from other states" (p. 128).

Robert was arrested by postal inspectors when he was 27 years old, and charged with "statutory rape, aggravated assault, simple assault on children, and the production and distribution of child pornography," and sentenced to 15 years in a state penitentiary (p. 128). Prior to his arrest, Robert's "behaviour went virtually unnoticed and unreported, for approximately fifteen years" (p. 128).

Question: Did you ever have occasion to photograph children?

Robert: Yes, I had a personal collection of over 300 different pictures of children, all girls between the ages of 9 and 12. I

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kept them from my wife and daughters by hiding them in a partition-like wall I built in my basement.

Question: How tough was it to get kids in that age group to let you photograph them?

Robert: My parents own and operate a real estate company with a lot of apartments and rental houses in different neighborhoods. So I'd get to meet kids who lived in different areas of the city or I'd go to arcades, schoolyards, even hospitals, and offer kids money to take their picture in the nude. Any place where there are children I can usually find a willing one. Like I told you, I don't bother with anything over 12 years old. It's not that hard to persuade a kid to come with me for a photo session; I never forced a child to take photos. I'd pay them anywhere from \$5 to \$20. If they said no, that was it. I'd let them alone. But most of the kids I asked needed the money, wanted the money.... If I asked one hundred kids, I'd get anywhere from 35 percent to 50 percent to come with me.

Question: Did you ever have any contacts or hassles with parents?

Robert: No, I never had any contacts with parents. I've heard of parents entering into deals involving their kids, but I never did. Police really underestimate the amount of people and the kinds of people involved in child pornography. I personally know a lot of professionals -- ... doctor or lawyer types who wanted

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pictures.

Question: What did you do with your photos?

Robert: I sold most of them. I'd take 8 by 10 photographs, sold them for \$30 apiece. I'd also exchange them with other pedophiles and pornographers. We'd exchange them hand to hand or through the mail, which is how I got caught.

Question: How did you meet other pedophiles?

Robert: Through magazines and circulation newspapers, underground stuff like NAMBLA, PIE. There's so many. Although now you have a problem with the postal inspectors.

Question: Is that how you got busted?

Robert: You got it! I kept a list of about 200 names of people living throughout the United States for the purpose of selling and swapping child pornography. It takes a lot of time to develop a list of that size. Nowadays everybody is real cautious. Anyways, I'd just start writing to people, pedophiles I'd met or who listed an address in a magazine. Once I got their trust, we'd start selling or swapping pictures and names of other pedophiles we knew. A pedophile is always afraid that the postal inspectors will get their mail. These guys, when they raid a

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home which deals in child pornography, will take the master list if they find it and start writing to the names on the list.

That's how the authorities first became aware of me. I was on somebody's list who got busted. They (postal inspectors) started writing to me under a different name and sending me photos for which I'd send them money. We went back and forth a couple of times. They kept records of it. When they arrested me, they had the evidence there.

Question: Did you ever pay a child to have sex with you?

Robert: Sometimes I'd have to pay, but I also would just meet little girls and talk them into it. I would have maybe 50 sexual relationships with girls 12 and under in say a year's time. It's tough to get kids that young. I'd mostly get their parents' confidence so they would leave their kids with me. You know, a babysitter.

Question: Where would you find the younger kids you paid for?

Robert: Usually in the arcades around the city, in the streets, or in the neighborhood. It's the same as pornography; if I can get a kid to pose nude for money, she will usually do the other things for money too. I can always get the kids because in a way I love kids and they would do me favors and these favors kept me out of jail. It's like this. I could take their photos and send

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them to people and make money while also having access to my sexual preference and the kids would never tell. This went on and on for years until I got caught.

Question: Are you talking about actual sexual intercourse with a child as part of your relationship with young girls?

Robert: Yes, both sexual intercourse and, oral sex; me on the child and the child on me.

Question: Are you receiving any treatment in this prison?

Robert: Yes, a little. There are about 65 inmates in here doing time for child abuse offenses like mine. Not all of them are receiving treatment; it's a voluntary thing. I am going to try my best to get the help I need. It's the only way I'll be able to stay out of this place once I do my time.

3. Prepared Statement by John Ferguson for Hearings on .....

Senator Specter: Perpetrator of Porn-Related Sexual Abuse\* [\*The term "he" in this paper also refers to women, who also abuse children.] [\*\* The placement of one paragraph has been changed.]

"Strangely, (not really so strangely, because I picked the idea up in a book) [about a grade school teacher seducing and having sex with one of her students], the

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thought of this taking place and actually happening [that if some young boys were to find books like these, it would drive them out of their minds with lust] held a delicious eroticism; an irresistible anticipation that I eventually acted upon...."

John Ferguson: These are views I have developed as a long term, heavy user of pornography, and it's connection to my being a child molester. Much of what I've learned about this subject has come from my participation in "Together We Can" of Pittsburgh, Inc., [a treatment program] which has done more to help me and people with problems like mine than anything I have come across in my experiences....

A Brief History

About the age of 9 or 10, I began getting interested in girls; staring up their dresses -- watching them get in and out of cars -- the age of the mini skirt was in fashion. I discovered masturbation a short time later. Although I didn't know what it was, I knew it felt good, and I seemed to relate it to staring at women's legs. One day, while rubbing myself against a railing, while staring inside cars that were driving home from work, with women in short skirts, I noticed that my zipper had become partially opened. I was afraid. (I knew that I had been doing something wrong); and yet, I was strangely,

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incredibly excited at the same time. I had discovered flashing, and I went on to do it in grade school, Jr. high, and high school.

All during this time my self-esteem deteriorated, and I withdrew more and more into myself. I could never relate to girls. I liked them, but I felt so bad about myself that I could never relate to them on an equal basis. Other kids recognized this, and called me 'queer', 'faggot', and after a while, I guess I accepted that this was the way my life was going to go.... There is no way I could ever describe how miserable and hopeless every day of my life was. At age 17, when the other kids were getting ready to graduate and get their lives going, I stood atop a bridge, planning to end mine. My whole life centered around masturbation, flashing, and sneaking and peeking at girls at any opportunity I could. I hated my life, myself, but couldn't stop from being the way I was. As bad as I felt, though, I couldn't end it all from jumping off that bridge. I made a confession on a tape recorder and played it for my parents, who were stupefied. I was on the verge of a nervous breakdown.... and I was put in a psychiatric ward for evaluation and to try to get my nerves calmed down. I started what was to be the beginning of ten years of psychotherapy.

Experiences with Pornography

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Up until this time, my experience with pornography had consisted of looking at Sear's catalogs, at the ladies underwear section, and a few nude pictures of women in some magazines that some of the kids had hid in the woods.

At age 18, I got a job working in a hospital (the same place I was taken to after the bridge incident, so I felt proud that I had what it took, as far as guts were concerned, and felt like I had achieved a moral victory as far as making a comeback); and one day our little office, one of the guys brought in three or four hardcore porno magazines that aroused me so intensely that I could barely control myself. Never in my life had I ever seen or heard of anything like this. Sex oral sex everything close up and in color. I fed on these magazines like a man possessed. Never in my life had I ever been aroused like this. A short time later, I found out about actual movies.

I was evolving into a new world that my life would center around; a world based on loneliness and fantasy. I would use pornography to fill the emptiness and loneliness. It would become a source of stimulation as well as a source of 'education', and a tremendous source to feed my imagination and fantasy life, which is where I hid away from the world, and myself. I remember the first time I went into a porno theater. It was more a dirty, seedy, smelly slum, than a theater. People were constantly coming and going. Some were well dressed, some

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were shabbily dressed; most of them were alone like me. I was afraid to be there.

My initiation to the porno movie was viewing 'Deep Throat'. After the first 10 minutes, I was shocked and disgusted enough to walk out; my head lowered as I came out the door into the crowd on the sidewalk. But I kept thinking about what I'd seen, and went back two or three days later, only to walk out again, this time after 20 minutes. Eventually, I stayed for the entire movie. After 'getting used' to pornography, the shock value lessens.... This applies to all forms of perversion that are found in the pornographic movies house and bookstore. The offenses we commit are there -- whether in printed word fashion, or in living color. We can read about other people acting out things we've only thought about or fantasized about, and somehow it becomes more acceptable. It can, in a way be a way for the offender to justify what he does 'it's in the book and other's do it.'

Thirteen more years went by. I 'progressed' into go-go bars, burlesque houses, and alcohol. By this time, I had gone through probably \$15,000 worth of pornography; buying it, later burning it because I knew it was destroying me, turning me into a monster, only to resist it for a while and give in and buy more -- a lot more. I wanted -- had to -- have it. And I couldn't get enough of it. No matter how much pornography I had, I never had

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enough of it. Porno was number one priority in my life -- the only thing that made an otherwise miserable life bearable. The therapy I had received was done by people who didn't understand the complexity and obsessiveness of what I was doing, and why I couldn't seem to stop. I went to church ministers, changed my religion[, ] anything to try and change my life around. Nowhere could I find anyone who understood enough to have the right answers. One of the officials of a church I visited was convinced I was possessed by demons, and thought that I should consider an exorcism. Eventually, I gave up on the counseling and religion. I felt I was so evil even God didn't want to help me.

Somewhere down the line, in my early twenties, while browsing through the porno novels, I came across a book about grade school teacher seducing and having sex with one of her students; probably between the ages of 10 to 13. I didn't think people were allowed to sell books like that. It viewed the child as going out of his mind with pleasure as his sexy teacher did everything to him. I fantasized that I was that child, and that the teacher was doing that to me. The thought came to me that if some young boys were to find books like these, it would drive them out of their minds with lust. It was driving me crazy, so I imagined the effects it would have on a kid, just beginning to become interested in girls. Strangely, (not really so strangely, because I picked the idea up in the book) the thought of this

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taking place and actually happening held a delicious eroticism; an irresistible anticipation that I eventually acted upon....

When you read enough pornography, over a period of time, it gets ingrained. What was once disgusting becomes arousing. There have been many times that I've cursed the day I first saw those three or four porno magazines. I was already a sex offender, because I'd been flashing, but there's no doubt what a tremendous impact pornography had on me. Today, it is the single most difficult part of my lifestyle to change. Even today, I'm in the midst of great inner struggle; one part of me knowing what pornography has done to me, and the other part craving the feelings pornography aroused in me. Pornography has had a tremendous impact on the offenses I've committed.

The point I would like to stress is that when I started going to the movie houses (the hard core porno movie houses), there were only a few of them, and they were frequented by mostly the so called 'low-life'; the sicko's, people who hung out on street corners and asked you for money when you walked by drunks, addicts, dirty old men. Today, videocassettes are everywhere. Drive-in theaters showing hard core porno movies are commonplace.

Porno's availability has, in my opinion, increased by a factor of 10. Half of the people renting out hard core pornography on videocassette today are women. Porno today is high class, sophisticated, and much more accepted than even years ago. I

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have no doubt that kids today now have the opportunity to view pornography, at home, on videocassette, when mom and dad aren't home. In our society, I don't believe the 'straight' pornography (between adult men and women) can be stopped. Too many people want it -- people who vote. I, myself, have never come across actual films of child pornography, but they're available if you've got the money and the right connections.

... Fictionalized child pornography novels, as well as novels about people abusing animals are commonplace, and just about in every [porno book]store that I'd gone in[to]. In my opinion, although these are fictionalized novels, without any actual pictures, they're just as dangerous and damaging, because they get the mind's imagination going, and the body always follows what the mind tells it like. The mind is where it all happens, not in the penis, as some castration advocates suggest, and the body cannot react to pornography without the mind receiving it first.

I was still heavily into flashing and getting drunk at go-go bars, but now I had 'branched out', or escalated, as I've learned to call it. I've never reached the point of having sex with children, but I had gotten to the point of 'accidentally' bumping into some young girls, feeling their breasts, making it look accidental. I was developing patterns, and the longer it kept on, the bolder, I became. Maybe I wasn't yet to the point of

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having sex with a child, but I had my books and I could imagine it. In the process of our methods of operation, thoughts precede actions. What my mind can conceive, my body can act out. Had I not been stopped (arrested), there's no telling how far I'd ever go. I had parked my car in an area which I had scouted (targeted) for young kids to be playing. I had it all planned that they would be walking by my car, and I would just happen to be looking at a magazine, knowing all along that they would look into the car and see what I was reading. I anticipated their reactions, and had even handed them one of the magazines, imagining what they'd do with it. I had escalated and had now been frequently doing things that contained great risk of getting caught. I had been doing things a lot more on impulse. At this stage, getting arrested was just a matter of time.

The Arrest and Charges\* [\*The source of this section comes from Ferguson's answers to Senator Specter's questions at the ?Hearings [**find out title**].

Ferguson: I was arrested about one year ago for sitting in a parked car and handing out dirty magazines to young kids walking by on the sidewalk.... My charges are being held in abeyance if I did agree to seek treatment, and I have done that.

Senator Specter: Is that the only time that you have ever been arrested?

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Ferguson: That's the only time I have been caught.... When the offender does things like this it's very very seldom he gets caught. [In] this particular case [I showed the kids] ... a Playboy magazine, but I also had some hardcore pornographic magazines in the car....

Senator Specter: Have you ever handed out hardcore pornographic magazine to children [before]?

Ferguson: I did hand them out just the one time, but there were several other instances where I had them in my apartment and I had some kids in there and I let them look through them. And one time there were some young children in my apartment and I had a video cassette on the TV, a hardcore porno cassette, which I allowed them to look at.

Senator Specter: Why did you make this kind of hardcore material available to children?

Ferguson: ... I didn't feel good about myself as a person and relating to women and the only way I could find to get any gratification or feel good about myself was to victimize someone weaker than me, younger than me, less knowledgeable than me....

Senator Specter: ...Did you ever molest a child sexually?

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Ferguson: I fondled [them] a few times but I never had sex ... with a child.

Senator Specter: On how many occasions did you fondle a child?

Ferguson: I would say [on] four or five different occasions.

Senator Specter: How old were the children?

Ferguson: They were young girls probably between the ages of 11 and 13, I would say....

Ferguson's Postscript

I've always had an extremely bad self image. In my mind, I never measured up. With pornography, there was no risk of rejection, no responsibilities[, ] my sex life was lived on the movie screen[, in] paperback novels[, ] in magazines and in my fantasies. Child pornography novels show child molesting not as molesting but as sweet, delicious, and arousing sexual activity....

I imagined that showing pornography to a child was sexually arousing [to] him, and I was the source, I was able to make him feel this way. In a world where, I felt inferior, having control

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over kids made me feel that I could be in control.

There is no doubt in my mind that child pornography, and pornography in general[, ] plays a huge role in the adult molesting a child. The adult may view a hardcore porno movie between two adults, and fantasizing himself doing that to a child, or a child doing that to him....

[6,275 words]

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### Chapter 8: Introduction to Russell's Theory of Pornography as a Cause of Child Sexual Abuse

[4russell.int]

"Child porn is the theory, Molestation is the practice."

-- Philip Jenkins, p. 4\* [\*Footnote: Jenkins has adapted Robin Morgan's famous quotation --

"Pornography is the theory, rape is the practice"  
-- to apply to child pornography.]

As previously mentioned, there is almost universal agreement among researchers that child pornography created by photographing children constitutes child sexual abuse. The hypothesis that I will describe, explicate, and attempt to substantiate in this and the following chapter is that a causal relationship exists between adult or juvenile males'\* [\*footnote: from this point on, the terms "adult man," "men," or "males" should be understood to include juvenile and adult males as potential or actual sexual perpetrators] exposure to child pornography -- including computer-generated, written and oral forms of it -- and their perpetration of child sexual victimization.

However, since there are still professionals and many more

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non-professionals who believe that exposure to pornography is cathartic, that is, it provides "a release of wishes, desires or drives such that they do not have to be acted on in reality" (Kelly et al., 1995, p. 23), it is important to evaluate this theory before launching into my very contrary theory.

### **Catharsis vs. Intensified Desire**

According to the catharsis theory, the repeated exposure of males to pornography "leads to a steadily decreasing interest" in the material (Bart and Jozsa, 1980, p. 210). This theory is frequently described as the "safety valve" theory. Applying it to child pornography, it assumes that repeated viewing of child pornography would lower the desire for sex with children of pedophiles and other consumers of this material. Hence, according to this theory, watching child pornography would diminish the prevalence of child sexual abuse.

In evaluating the validity of the catharsis theory, an old but very influential experiment by Howard, Reifler, and Liptzin (1971) will be described. This poorly designed experiment has been widely quoted as proof of the validity of the catharsis theory (Diamond, p. 199).

Howard et al.'s (1971) experiment was based on a small sample of 23 white college males and nine comparable controls.

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The researchers exposed the subjects and the controls to a pornographic movie, then tested both these groups for their sexual arousal to this material. The subjects were then exposed to adult pornography for 90 minutes a day for 15 days, whereas the controls viewed two non-pornographic movies over the same period. Twenty of the 23 subjects were then shown a third pornographic movie.

Howard et al., (1971) found that "all of the subjects reported initial stimulation by the pornography," followed by "a marked decrease in interest in it as a result of the exposure" to large amounts of the same kind of pornography (cited by Osanka and Johann, 1989, pp. 173-174). Many pro-pornography researchers have cited Howard et al.'s interpretation of their flawed experiment as if it had provided solid evidence that pornography is harmless because it initially causes sexual excitement but on repeated viewing interest in acting out the sex acts portrayed dissipates rather than stimulating or intensifying this interest.

Zillmann and Bryant conducted an experiment that showed why Howard et al.'s conclusion is totally invalid. These researchers gave the male subjects a greater range of pornography to view than the limited material available to the subjects in Howard et al.'s experiment. Zillmann and Bryant found that the subjects' boredom after repeatedly looking at the same pornographic material motivated them to switch to viewing different and more

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extreme pornography, such as sadomasochism and bestiality (cited by Osanka and Johann, 1989, p. 175). Zillmann and Bryant go on to say that the sexual brutalization of women holds "the greatest promise of exciting men" (*Ibid.*). Howard et al., had failed to consider this possibility, resulting in their flawed methodological design. Osanka and Johann cite other research that, like Howard et al.'s, draws the same fallacious conclusions based on similarly flawed experimental designs, e.g., O'Donohue and Geer (1985) and Schaefer and Colgan (1977).

Although masturbation is not mentioned in the experiments of Howard et al. and Zillmann and Bryant, it seems likely that male viewers' acts of masturbation (a major goal of pornography) to the pornography they were watching, dissipated their interest until the next time they became sexually aroused. Would they always be satisfied to masturbate to this material? Clearly, many would not because most males consider masturbation a very inferior alternative to sex with the type of individuals they desire. Furthermore, the ejaculatory pleasure obtained from masturbation would intensify the association between it and the pornography viewed. Hence, the catharsis theory is not substantiated by the experimental research. (see Summers and Check, 1987).

Research aside, probably very few people would support a proposal to solve the problem of parents physically abusing their

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children by watching movies that show parents battering and torturing their children, and many of the children enjoying this abusive behavior. Likewise, perhaps no one would favor movies showing African American women and men being lynched as a way of diminishing racial discrimination. So why do so many individuals -- including researchers -- believe that only in the case of male misogynistic pornography that exposure to it dissipates the problem. Since believing such an inconsistency is totally irrational, this alone is sufficient "proof" that pornography is no safety valve.

Men's Propensity to Sexually Victimize Children

Because it is important to know the proclivities and the state of mind of those who read, hear, and view child pornography, I will start by describing some of the research on men's propensity to sexually victimize children. This question is of prime importance. If, for example, only one percent of men have a proclivity to victimize children sexually, whether or not child pornography intensifies this interest or causes these men to act out their proclivities, would be an issue of relatively little importance. If, on the contrary, a large percentage of men have such a proclivity, then ascertaining whether or not men's exposure to child or adult pornography promotes their acting out these proclivities is vitally important.

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Some of the studies to be described below focus on the extent of male desire for sex with children. Sexual interest in children is a critical prerequisite for acting out child sexual victimization in most instances.\* [\*Footnote: I say "most instances" because there are undoubtedly some cases in which males sexually victimize children for other reasons. For example, in South Africa some African males rape baby girls because they believe this act can cure AIDS. In this AIDS era, some males sexually assault young girls rather than adult women in many countries because they believe they are more likely to be virgins -- and therefore AIDS-free -- or at least that girls will have had less exposure than older females to this fatal disease.

### The Research of Kurt Freund and Kevin Howells

While some clinicians (e.g., Wyre), law enforcement officers (e.g., LA cop), as well as the public at large, consider all perpetrators of child sexual abuse to be pedophiles, most researchers -- including myself -- do not subscribe to this view. Nor does Kurt Freund (1981) who contends that

"As a rule, there exists a broad spectrum of erotic behavior patterns for a person, from most to least preferred; and a correspondingly broad spectrum of erotic external stimuli, from most to least rewarding ones.... The considerable

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breadth of these ranges is exemplified by some cases of heterosexual activity in homosexual persons (...), by the frequency of homosexual interaction among heterosexual persons in penitentiaries (...) or under other conditions where partners of the preferred sex are not available, or by the not infrequent choice of female children as surrogate partners by adults [men] who are not pedophilic." (p. 155: Emphasis added)

Freund noted elsewhere that "Pedo- and hebephilic [male] patients\* [\*Footnote: see the definition of hebephilics in the Appendix] [presumably non-patients as well] are ... often married [to women] but ... in the course of time intercourse tends to become conspicuously infrequent" with their spouses (p. 165).

Although the research of both Freund and Howells (to be described shortly) is very old, it remains very salient and still relevant to the issue of men's propensity to sexually victimize children (more recent research will be cited later). Before describing Freund's illuminating experimental findings, it is important to know that he defines a pedophile as an individual who has a

"sustained erotic preference for children (within the age range up to and including 11 or 12) ... under the condition that there is a free choice of partner as to sex and other

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attributes which may co-determine erotic attractiveness" (p. 161).

Freund (1981) used phallometric testing in his experiments to diagnose what he called "true pedo- or hebephilia" as opposed to "normal" heterosexual males by measuring their level of sexual arousal when viewing pictures of naked girls and boys. He chose this measure as the best because he considered a diagnosis of pedophilia or non-pedophilic child molesters to be impossible from "a person's known sexual history alone" (p. 162). [However, he also acknowledged that there is a "problem of response suppression or feigning of spurious responses" with phallometric testing (p. 162).]

In one experiment Freund (1981) assessed the penile volume changes of so-called normal heterosexual males on viewing "colour slides and movies of nude females and males of various ages" (p. 162). The results showed that although the "normal" heterosexual males showed a larger penile response to adult females than to children," (Howells, 1981, p. 79), "children have some arousal value even for normal males" (Freund, 1981, p. 137). In addition, Freund found "that normal heterosexual males respond even to very young girls substantially more than to males of any age group" (pp. 161/2).

The term "normal" as a descriptor of heterosexual males is

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placed in quotes because use of this concept assumes that the sexuality and personalities of heterosexual males are not greatly distorted by the patriarchal character of the societies in which this term is used. For example, research by Malamuth, Briere, Check and others has shown that it is common for males in the United States and Canada to acknowledge some likelihood of raping women if they could be assured that they would get away with it. More specifically, Briere, Malamuth and Ceniti (1981) reported that 60% of a sample of 356 male college students indicated that there was some likelihood that they would rape and/or force "a female to do something [sexual] that she really didn't want to do" if they would not be punished for it and if no one would know about it. On the basis of this research, mens' proclivity to rape/force a woman to have intercourse/sex could be considered normal for men in the United States -- given their socialization, their exposure to the patriarchal culture, etc.

Similarly, many other studies have shown that high school boys feel they would be entitled to rape females under many different circumstances. However, to consider this sense of entitlement as normal for heterosexual males would be exceedingly sexist. Although all contemporary societies are patriarchal to varying degrees, there are also significant cultural differences regarding what sexual behavior is considered "normal" for heterosexual males. For example, in India, despite being illegal, it is considered acceptable in some regions for old

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heterosexual males to marry and have intercourse with very young girls. The same is true among the Masai of Central Africa. However, most other countries have an age of consent for females of 16 years or older. In many non-Western societies it is believed to be "normal" to have more than one wife, sometimes many more. Hence, quotes will be used for the term "normal" when this term is not used in actual quotes by other researchers, etc.

Kevin Howells (1981), who defined pedophiles as "persons with a dominant and sustained sexual interest in children" (p. 62), maintained that

"There is one classificatory scheme that is pervasive, whether explicitly or implicitly, throughout research and theory in this area. A distinction is made between offenders whose deviant behaviour is a product of a deviant sexual preference for children, and those whose deviant behaviour is situationally induced and occurs in the context of a normal sexual preference structure." (p. 76; emphasis added)

Howells' situational offender, who "prefers adult partners" and only "becomes involved with a child when there is 'some challenge to his sexual adequacy or threat to his sense of competency as a man'" (p. 78; this unreferenced quote comes from Nicholas Groth) is the equivalent of Freund's category of

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"normal" heterosexual male. Elsewhere, Howell's describes situational offenders as those "whose behaviour is precipitated by unusual life circumstances" (p. 62), or whose behavior is "situationally induced" (p. 67), or as "those of a normal orientation" (p. 77), as compared with "sexual preference induced pedophilic behaviour" (p. 67).

Howells cites Swanson's examples of important situational factors predisposing some "normal" males to select a child "as a sex object" who serves "as a substitute for an adult woman" (p. 77), for example, "marital disruption, loss of sexual partner through the wife's illness or work requirements, the use of alcohol, and multiple life stresses" (p. 77). He also quotes Groth's examples of situational factors or stressful precipitating events as "physical, social, sexual, marital, financial and vocational crises to which the offender fails to adapt" (p. 78).

The notion of "normal" situational sexual perpetrators against children markedly contrasts with the view that all such males are pedophiles. Indeed, Howells maintains that "There is good reason to think that such persons [pedophiles] form a minority in the total population of people who become sexually involved with children" (p. 76; emphasis added). Although Howells' cites other researchers (e.g. Mohr et al., 1964; Swanson, 1968) who have come to a similar conclusion (p. 77), he

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does not explain what the "good reason" is.

### The Research of John Briere and Martha Runtz

Psychologists John Briere and Martha Runtz (1989) undertook a provocative study in an attempt to determine the percentage of "pedophiles" (their application of two definitions will be described below) in a sample of 193 undergraduate males. These researchers recruited male students in class for a study on "sexual attitudes" (p. 66). The students were assured of complete anonymity and confidentiality, and were also informed that they could discontinue their participation in the study at any time.

Briere and Runtz's information about their methodology was very inadequate. For example, they failed to describe the percentage of the class who refused to participate in their study, and the possible impact of the refusal rate on their findings. Nor did they mention the class description, the class status of the students, their demographic characteristics, and the limited generalizeability of the study. [Footnote: Unfortunately, this failure is the norm in the reporting of many studies by psychologists.] Bearing these limitations in mind, Briere and Runtz (1989) reported the following findings in response to the four questions they asked the students' about their sexual interest in children:

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1. Just over one fifth (21%) of the male undergraduates "admitted to at least some sexual attraction to some small children" (p. 71).
2. "9% reported fantasies about sex with a child" (p. 71).
3. Over half of the students who reported fantasizing about sex with a child (5% of the total sample) "stated that they had masturbated at least once to such fantasies" (p. 71).
4. Seven percent "indicated [that there was] at least some likelihood of having sex with a child were it possible to do so without detection or punishment" (p. 71).\* [\*Footnote: This figure is substantially lower than the percentage Malamuth obtained in a study using the same or similar question. He related that 10-15% of male students reported some likelihood of sexually abusing a child if they could be sure of getting away with it (Malamuth, personal communication, July 1986).]

When Briere and Runtz (1989) applied David Finkelhor's very broad definition of pedophilia requiring that "the adult has had some sexual contact with a child" or that "the adult has masturbated to sexual fantasies involving children," they estimated that at least 5% of the university males in their

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sample were pedophiles (p. 71). When they applied an even broader definition of pedophilia requiring only that the students have at least some sexual attraction to children -- the figure for pedophilia in Briere and Runtz' sample rose to 20% (p. 71).

Briere and Runtz (1989) hypothesized that, "given the probable social undesirability of such admissions ... the actual rates of pedophilic interest in this sample were even higher" (p. 71). They maintained that their findings support Vernon Quinsey's conclusion, "based on a review of anthropological and historical data" that adults sexual behaviors with children are ubiquitous (p. 71).

Despite the very broad use of the term pedophilia, Briere and Runtz's study confirms Freund and Howells' findings that a significant percentage of so-called "normal" heterosexual males have some sexual interest in children. These researchers conclude with good reason that:

"The current data offer strong support for the notion that male sexual interest in children is relatively common in our society, even among "normal" (non-incarcerated and nonclinical) males" [i.e. non-pedophiles -- by the terminology Freund, Howells and I favor]. (p. 7).

Also significant is the fact that Briere and Runtz's

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question asked about sexual attraction to "small children" -- a phrase that suggests pre-pubescent rather than adolescent children. Had they asked their sample of male students about their sexual attraction to adolescent children at least five years younger than themselves, the percentage presumably would have been very much higher. Since we live in a culture that eroticizes teenage girls (for example, film star Brooke Shields was described at the age of 12 years as the most beautiful woman in the world), a good case can be made for the notion that only a small percentage of men experience no sexual attraction to children. Indeed, after defining hebephiles as "persons particularly attracted to postpubescent children (adolescents)," Dietz and Sears (1987-1988) comment:

"Whether such attraction ought to be regarded as abnormal is a debatable point, for attraction to sexually mature members of the opposite sex of the same species is biologically normal. It is not even clear that our culture, which proscribes sexual activity with those below the age of consent, condemns sexual attraction to these persons." (p. 28, fn. 47)

Hence, Briere and Runtz's 20% figure for males who admitted at least some attraction to small children would be infinitely higher if it included males who have some attraction to adolescent females under the age of 18.

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### The Research of Claude Crépault and Marcel Courtoire

Crépault and Courtoire (1980) undertook an experiment in which they studied Canadian men's erotic fantasies. Their sample consisted of 94 French-speaking adult male subjects aged between 20 and 45, who resided in the province of Quebec and "who had lived with a woman for at least a year" (p. 266). They recruited their subjects -- 61% percent of whom were married -- by placing posters in public places and "advertising the research in a major French language newspaper" (p. 567). They obtained their data by administering two-hour long semi-structured interviews and self-administered questionnaires about the subjects' erotic fantasies.

Crépault and Courtoire reported finding that slightly more than three fifths (61.7%) of these men imagined a "scene where you sexually initiate a young girl" (p. 571), and 3.2% imagined a "scene where you sexually initiate a young boy" (p. 572). Although the non-random method of subject recruitment renders it impermissible to generalize these figures to a wider population, these researchers' finding that over 60 percent of the men had such erotic fantasies about young girls is surprisingly high. Perhaps the wording of the advertisements and posters encouraged males with such fantasies to respond (the authors provide no information on this wording). However, it is not clear why subjects who responded to posters and an advertisement would be

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more prone to have erotic fantasies about young girls than men of comparable age in the general population [**check article for evidence of a comparison group**].

### The Research of Philip Jenkins

Philip Jenkins (2001) also emphasizes that "a sexual interest in children is not confined to a tiny segment of hard-core ... 'pedophiles'" (p. 25), and rejects the notion that there is "a fundamental gulf dividing 'child-lovers' (sic) from 'normal' people" (p. 27).

Referring to the sizeable legal market in pseudo-child pornography in which adult women masquerade as young teens (Jenkins, p. 27) on adult sites titled "lolitas" or "child porn" (p. 29). Jenkins infers that "The popularity of such materials indicates a mass popular market for teen sexuality" in the United States (p. 28). Jenkins is struck by the significance of pornography merchants assuming "that a substantial audience would be interested in something that notionally lies so far beyond the pale" (p. 30). From these observations he infers "that those interested in child pornography might not be so far removed from the 'normal' population" (p. 30).

Pornography researcher Gail Dines takes issue with Jenkins' assumption that the sizeable popular interest in pseudo-child

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pornography is only a reflection of a mass popular market for teen sexuality. She maintains that the mass media also constructs the sizeable male interest in this market (Personal communication, Friday, March x).

Research Report by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and Save the Children-UK

A report released in February 2002 by UNHCR and Save the Children charity in Britain documents the "rampant" sexual victimization of children in refugee camps in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone in exchange for money and food by "U.N. staff, security forces, staff of international and national NGOs, government officials and community leaders" (p. 3). This report was based on "interviews and group sessions conducted with 1,500 adults and children" (UNHCR and Save the Children-UK, 2001, p. 2).

The interviews revealed that "the very people [men] who are meant to be providing services, are the exploiters themselves," stated Jane Gibril, a senior official with Save the Children charity (Maharaj, 2002, p. A9). Journalist Davan Maharaj (2002) notes that "The report ... is replete with accounts by children who said they were forced to have sex with relief workers to get basic humanitarian aid" (p. A9). "Children who refused to have sex were sent to the back of food lines (p. A9). The assessment

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team reported that childrens' involvement "in sexually exploitative relationships has become a mechanism for survival for many refugee families" (p. 8).

According to Maharaj (2002), 40 humanitarian aid groups were implicated in creating "cesspools of sexual exploitation of children" (p. A9). More specifically, the assessment team reported that

"In all three countries, agency workers from international and local NGOs as well as UN agencies were reportedly the most frequent sex exploiters of children, often using the very humanitarian aid and services intended to benefit the refugee population as a tool of exploitation. Most of the allegation involved ... humanitarian commodities and services, including oil, bulgur wheat, tarpaulin or plastic sheeting, medicines, transport, ration card, loans, education courses, skills training and other basic services, in exchange for sex with girls under 18." (pp. 4-5)

The majority of children involved in "the exchange of sex for money or gifts" were "girls between the ages of 13 and 18 years" (p. 3). In addition, "girls between the ages of four and 12 were also reported as being sexually harassed, either verbally or through touching of buttocks, breasts, or genitals" (p. 12). The opinion of many of the men who were interviewed -- "including

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agency workers and community leaders" -- was "that younger girls are more desirable as sexual partners.... Some also believed that sex with a virgin could cleanse a man from infection" (p. 4; emphasis added).

According to the report, some peacekeepers "were alleged to have had sex with the girls without using condoms" (p. 6). To what extent the peacekeepers' contributed to the "50% pregnancy rates of all the teenage girls in the camps" was not addressed. Most of these girls "had become mothers between the ages of 13 and 16" (p. 10). Most of them found that "their families and care-givers reject[ed] them when they become pregnant" (p. 10). Furthermore, "abortion is illegal" in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone; it constitutes "a felony offence punishable with life imprisonment" (p. 10). Hence these girls become single mothers at a very young age with no means of supporting themselves and their child or children.

The irony is that many pedophiles do not treat their victims in the callous manner described in this report. This is a suggestive indicator that most of the predatory male peacekeepers probably qualify as "normal heterosexual men." On the other hand, since adult women and children were equally available for exploitation, it is difficult to understand why these so-called normal men would prefer to have sex with children.

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A major shortcoming of the interview-based report is its failure to provide information on the numbers and percentages of preadolescent girls and teenagers who were sexually victimized by peacekeepers. Earlier we pointed out that some researchers consider adult males' sexual attraction to teenage girls to be normal. However, it is illegal to act out this attraction in the United States and many other countries. The peacekeepers who exploited teenage girls in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone were in such relatively powerful positions over the impoverished semi-starving refugees, that they may have felt that they need not be constrained by any local laws. However, in the absence of more information on the ages of the children, this vital question cannot be answered.

Nevertheless, the assessment team's report corroborates the statements made by the researchers whose work was described above that many so-called normal non-pedophilic adult males sexually victimized children. Although there were presumably some pedophiles who participated in the sexual violation of children in these countries, it seems exceedingly unlikely that a disproportionate percentage of these sexual predators would have sought jobs helping the poverty-stricken refugees in the African countries mentioned above.

Finally, in many traditional societies studied by social anthropologists as well as in some ancient civilizations like

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Greece, it is, or was, customary for adult males, and sometimes mothers, to have sex with children. For example, Finkelhor (1984) notes that

"among the Lepcha people of India, many adults and adolescents have sexual intercourse with young girls by cultural prescription. It is believed among this group that only through early sexualization do young girls come to physiological puberty." (p. 36, citing Ford and Beach, 1951.)

Ford and Beach (1951) also report that in a few societies,

"adults participate actively in the sexual stimulation of infants and young children. Hope and Siriono parents masturbate their youngsters frequently.... Among the Kazak, adults who are playing with small children, especially boys, excite the young one's genitals by rubbing and playing with them.... Mothers in Alorese society occasionally fondle the genitals of their infant while nursing it." (p. 188)

In contrast to most nations today, members of the Lepcha people clearly do not consider it abusive for adult males to have sex with young girls. Nor is the incestuous behavior of the other pre-industrial societies cited by Ford and Beach considered a harmful breach of the incest taboo. Assuming that the biology of

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the males in these societies is the same as the biology of males in all other societies, these practices suggest that many "normal" males in the United States and elsewhere, may have a propensity to sexually abuse children.

The Meaning of "Cause"

Given that the major goal of Stolen Innocence is to demonstrate that the consumption of child pornography plays a causal role in child sexual victimization, it is vital to define the term "cause."

George Theodorson and Achilles Theodorson (1979) differentiate between the term "simple causation" and "multiple causation." They define simple causation as

An event (or events) that precedes and results in the occurrence of another event. Whenever the first event (the cause) occurs, the second event (the effect) necessarily or inevitably follows. Moreover, in simple causation the second event does not occur unless the first event has occurred. Thus the cause is both the SUFFICIENT CONDITION and the NECESSARY CONDITION for the occurrence of the effect (p. 40).

By this definition, the consumption of child pornography clearly

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does not cause child sexual victimization because some pornography consumers do not sexually victimize children and because many incidents of child sexual victimization are unrelated to child pornography. However, Theodorson and Theodorson's (1979) concept of multiple causation (defined below) is applicable to the relationship between the consumption of child pornography and child sexual victimization.

With the conception of MULTIPLE CAUSATION, various possible causes may be seen for a given event, any one of which may be a sufficient but not necessary condition for the occurrence of the effect, or a necessary but not sufficient condition. In the case of multiple causation, then, the given effect may occur in the absence of all but one of the possible sufficient but not necessary causes; and, conversely, the given effect would not follow the occurrence of some but not all of the various necessary but not sufficient causes (p. 40).

As I have already presented considerable research on males' proclivity to sexually victimize children, I will next discuss the theories relating to the causes of those proclivities.

### Causes of Males' Proclivity to Sexually Victimize Children

There are many factors that contribute to the causation of

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child sexual victimization. Adults' exposure to child pornography is only one of them. I will not attempt in this book to evaluate the relative merits of different causal factors, but merely to present evidence that exposure to child pornography is a significant one.

Because not all adult male consumers of child pornography are equally negatively affected by it, some people conclude that this is evidence that merely consuming this material cannot be playing a causal role in child sexual victimization. This is similar to the tobacco industry's claim that since many smokers do not die of lung cancer, this proves that smoking does not cause lung cancer. But this reasoning is faulty since there are no grounds for assuming that the proponents of smoking as a cause of lung cancer believe that smoking is the only cause. In addition, the tobacco industry's fallacious defense is based on their focus on individual rather than group differences. In contrast, the proponents of smoking as a cause of lung cancer focus on the statistically significant number of smokers who get lung cancer compared with non-smokers.

Whereas the individual level of analysis is more relevant for psychologists and clinicians, the group level of analysis is more relevant to social policy makers. Although it is important for psychologists to try to explain individual differences, this information is not needed to determine the impact of pornography

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or smoking on individuals.

David Finkelhor's theory re: causes of child sexual victimization

Sociologist David Finkelhor (1981) developed a very useful multicausal theory to explain the occurrence of child sexual victimization. According to his model, four preconditions must be met in order for child sexual victimization by an adult to occur. First, "the adult must have sexual feelings for a child" (p. 2). Second, the adult's internal inhibitions against acting out his sexual feeling(s) must be overcome. Third, the adult's social inhibitions against acting out his sexual feelings (e.g., fear of being caught and punished) must be overcome. Fourth, the adult must overcome the resistance or attempts at avoidance by the child, if these occur (p. 2).

According to Finkelhor's theory, "(T)he presence of all four prior conditions" must be met to explain the occurrence of child sexual victimization (p. 9; emphasis added). In addition, he maintained that there is a logical sequence to these four preconditions:

Only some individuals have sexual feelings about children. Of those that do, only some overcome their internal inhibitions to act on these feelings. Of those who overcome their internal inhibitions, only some overcome external

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inhibitions -- the surveillance of other family members or the lack of opportunity -- and act on the feelings." (p. 8)

Finally, the potential child victim's resistance to the sexual victimization must be overcome.

Finkelhor's formulation of the fourth precondition is problematic since, as he himself acknowledges, "sexual abuse can occur in such a way that resistance by the child is irrelevant to whether the abuse occurs" (p. 7). For example, perpetrators can make a surprise assault on an unsuspecting child, and/or they can also use force. In such cases, this precondition is not necessary for child sexual victimization to occur.

Whereas Finkelhor's model relates to the causes of child sexual abuse in general, my three-factor theory to be presented in the next chapter applies to only one cause: the exposure of adult males to child pornography is a significant cause of child victimization. As will become evident shortly, my theory draws heavily on Finkelhor's model.

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Finkelhor and Jones' Research on the Decline in Child Sexual Cases

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Finkelhor and Jones (2003, March) note that, "The number of sexual abuse cases substantiated by child protective service (CPS) agencies dropped a remarkable 40 percent between 1992 and 2000, from an estimated 150,000 cases to 89,500 cases" (p. 1). In order to shed light on the causal factors involved in this decline, these researchers undertook a detailed evaluation of "the strengths and weaknesses of six possible explanations for the decline by using data from a number of different sources" (p. 1). Finkelhor and Jones conclude that, "Evidence from a number of different sources, including NCVS [National Crime Victimization Surveys] data showing a 56-percent decline in self-reported sexual assault against juveniles, is consistent with a real decline in sexual abuse" (p. 2).

Because my theory (explicated in the next chapter) shows a causal relationship between exposure to child pornography and child sexual abuse, and because there is a consensus among researchers that there has been an enormous increase in child pornography on the Internet, many individuals are likely to interpret Finkelhor and Jones' conclusion that there has been a real decline in child sexual abuse as evidence that my theory must be incorrect. Therefore it is important for me to evaluate the validity of this interpretation.

### The Validity of a Decline in Child Sexual Abuse

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I and co-author Rebecca Bolen (2000) undertook a thorough analysis of the methodology of the National Crime Victimization Surveys -- one of the studies on which Finkelhor and Jones base their analysis and conclusion that there has been a real decline in child sexual abuse between 1992 and 2000. While Bolen and I focused on NCVS's findings about the national incidence of rape in the United States, Finkelhor and Jones excluded all cases of juvenile rape, focusing instead on NCVS' data on sexual assault. The NCVS for 1994 defined sexual assault as follows:

"A wide range of victimizations, separate from rape or attempted rape. These crimes include attacks or attempted attacks generally involving unwanted sexual contact between victim and offender. Sexual assaults may or may not involve force and include such things as grabbing or fondling.

Sexual assault also includes verbal threats." (p. 149)

Given that Finkelhor and Jones' report was designed to evaluate the possible explanations for the decline in child sexual abuse, the NCVS's definition of sexual assault is an inappropriate data base to include. Not only is the NCVS' definition seriously flawed as a definition of sexual assault, but it does not even purport to serve as a definition of child sexual abuse. The term child sexual abuse typically includes a great range of abuses from non-contact abuses (e.g., witnessing genital exposure) or relatively mild forms of contact abuse (e.g., touching of sexual

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body parts) at one end of the continuum to rape at the other end.

In contrast, the NCVS' definition of sexual assault excludes rape and attempted rape, but includes verbal threats. No other incidence or prevalence study of child sexual abuse excludes rape and attempted rape and includes verbal threats -- for good reason. It makes no sense!

Moreover, the NCVS surveys are limited to children aged 12 and older. Furthermore, the two youngest age groups in which their age data are categorized are 12- to 15-year-olds and 16- to 19-year-olds. Clearly, 18- and 19-year-olds are not children. Finkelhor and Jones fail to mention these serious methodological problems with the NCV Surveys and how they dealt with them. Nor do they mention these kind of methodological problems in any of the other studies on which they base their analysis and conclusions about the decline in the number of substantiated incidents of child sexual abuse.

Rebecca Bolen and I (2000) undertook a thorough evaluation of the methodology of the NCVS surveys efforts to provide national data on the incidence of both reported and unreported rape (see Chapter 9). We concluded with the statement that,

"Currently, the NCVS's massive underestimate of the incidence of rape is not only useless, but dangerous, because it misinforms the public regarding the magnitude of

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the rape problem. We would actually be far better off without these surveys. Hence, unless their methodology is repeatedly revised until it yields more realistic assessments of the incidence of rape, it would be preferable for them to discontinue their questions on rape." (p. 85)

For reasons explained above, it appears that our conclusion is even more appropriate with regard to use of the NCVS surveys as a basis for estimating the national incidence of child sexual abuse.

Aside from one other interview-based study that is limited to the state of Minnesota, Jones and Finkelhor (2001) base their analysis of "the trends in reported and substantiated cases of child sexual abuse ... on data from child protective service (CPS) agencies" (p. 10). These studies include aggregate data from the National Child Abuse and Neglect Data Systems (NCANDS) and "more detailed child protective service data from Illinois, Minnesota, Oregon, and Pennsylvania" (pp. 1-2). Hence, it is important to understand the limitations of the CPS data for measuring the incidence of child sexual abuse. Following is a description by Jones and Finkelhor (2001) of how the CPS agencies obtain their data.

"All States have laws that require different classes of professionals to report any suspicion of child maltreatment.

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Reports by these professionals or by other community members come to the agencies' attention locally or through a centralized State intake process. CPS agencies investigate those reports that seem valid and fall within their jurisdiction, evaluate the level of evidence that maltreatment has occurred, and decide whether or not to substantiate the reports.".... (p. 10)

Data stored in the CPS administrative system represent only those cases of maltreatment that come to CPS attention. Many cases of child maltreatment never come to official attention at all. Furthermore, most States limit the role of CPS agencies to cases of maltreatment by caretakers. This would include investigating reports of abuse by parents and guardians, babysitters, teachers, and other individuals who share responsibility for caring for the child.... Despite capturing only a certain proportion of cases, CPS data are the best source for analyzing national trends in child maltreatment because aggregate information is available on an annual basis." (p. 10)

Child sexual abuse is one form of "child maltreatment" in addition to physical abuse and neglect.

Bolen and I (2000) made the following criticisms of

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researchers who use CPS data as a basis for ascertaining the incidence of child sexual abuse:

1. Narrow definition: Because the CPS' definition of child sexual abuse limits these acts to those that are perpetrated or permitted by a parent or caretaker, most experiences of child sexual abuse do not qualify as such; for example: sexual abuse by siblings, neighbors, and acquaintances who are not in a caretaking role, as well as sexual abuse by strangers, gangs, or peers, and "even numerous seductions by adults or adolescent acquaintances of the child where the parents were not neglectful" (Finkelhor, 1994, p. 35). Furthermore, several studies have found that sexual abuse by nonrelatives is much more prevalent than sexual abuse by relatives (e.g.,.....). Given the exceedingly narrow definition of child sexual abuse, it comes as no surprise to find such a low incidence of child sexual abuse.

2. Reported cases biased: Incidence estimates based on reported cases of child sexual abuse are inherently biased because they are limited to suspected cases of child sexual abuse and the small minority of children who choose to disclose their abuse experience(s) to someone who then has to report it to the appropriate authorities. It is well-known that few cases are reported than actually occur.

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3. Only substantiated cases: Until recently, only cases that have been substantiated or indicated (i.e., there is a very strong suspicion that they are valid, but they do not quite meet the substantiation guidelines) are included in the official incidence statistics. Finkelhor and Jones note that it is now necessary for the CPS to decide between only two categories: substantiated and unsubstantiated. Presumably, this has resulted in a lowering of the incidence of substantiated cases.

The impact of the false memory syndrome movement in the 1990s has likely decreased the number of reports of child sexual abuse to CPS agencies as well as increasing the number of cases they unsubstantiate.

4. Comparison with FBI statistics on rape: Although the FBI statistics on rape are typically described as based on cases reported to the police, the statistics are in fact based only on the number of rapes that are not "unfounded". "Unfounding" refers to "the percentage of complaints determined through investigation to be false" (UCR, 1993, p. 24). The criteria used by the police to determine which complaints are false or baseless are not explained in the Uniform Crime Reports.

Both the FBI's statistics on founded cases of rape and CPS's

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statistics on substantiated cases of child sexual abuse grossly underestimate the incidence of these crimes, making them appear relatively rare. Both founded cases of rape and substantiated cases of child sexual abuse are equivalent to mere tips of icebergs that are highly unrepresentative of the vast numbers of unreported cases.

5. Excluded cases of child sexual abuse: In addition to the cases of child sexual abuse that we have already noted as missing from the CPS statistics on substantiated cases, there are several other types of sexual abuse that are largely or completely missing. For example:

- a. Pornography-related child sexual abuse
- b. Child sexual abuse of child prostitutes
- c. Sexual slavery: Domestic and international trafficking
- d. Recently disclosed cases in the Catholic church

Conclusion: The statistics quoted by Finkelhor and Jones as indicating a decline in child sexual abuse cases between 1992 and 2000 are based on such deficient data that their observation cannot be taken at face value. Furthermore, their attempt to evaluate several different explanations for why these defective figures show a decline, are all based on similarly defective data. Therefore their conclusion that there has been a real decline in the incidence of child sexual abuse must be

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discounted.

[7,019 words]

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Chapter 9: Russell's Theory of Child Pornography as a Cause  
of Child Sexual Victimization

[4russell.the]

"We live in a culture which sexualizes children and infantilizes grown women for the gratification of men."

-- Michelle Anderson, feminist attorney\*

[\*Footnote, Iconoclast, Summer 1989, p. 7)

"The increased demand for child pornography directly translates into an increased number of sexual abused children...."

-- Crimmins, Testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee Hearings on Child Pornography on the Internet, 1985, p. 2

"If it wasn't for the Internet I would have never known. I think as the Internet grow, more people will find out their sexual desires just as I did. (ref provided)

-- Philip Jenkins, 2000, p. 23 (message posted on a child pornography board by 'Dad').

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A major objective of this volume is to challenge the belief that exposure to child pornography is harmless for adults and children.

Although women have been known to sexually abuse both males and females, males are the overwhelming majority of child pornography consumers and perpetrators of child sexual victimization. Therefore, my three-causal factor theory of child pornography as a cause of child sexual abuse focuses on male perpetrators. The diagram of my causal theory schematized in Figure 9-1 below should prove helpful to the reader in following my theory.

[Figure 9-1 here]

The list below and on the far left of Figure 9-1 includes some of the more frequently cited causes of males' proclivity to sexually victimize children. However, I will not attempt to explain them here (a task I undertook in Russell, 1984, pp. 234-243.)

1. Male sex-role and sexuality socialization
2. Childhood sexual experiences with other children
3. Childhood sexual trauma and/or experiences of sexual abuse by adults

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4. Sexualization of children by the media, the fashion industry, child beauty pageants, etc.

5. Exposure to child pornography

The following four quantitative findings of different researchers serve as summary indicators of males' proclivity to sexually victimize children in the United States at this time in history (see Box 2 on the left of Figure 9-1). There are no equivalent data on females presumably because their proclivity to sexually abuse children is rare.

1. 10-15% of males report some likelihood of sexually abusing a child if assured that they would not be caught (Malamuth, personal communication, July 1986).

2. 21% of male undergraduates admitted to some sexual attraction to small children (Briere & Runtz, 1989, p. 7).

3. Adult males' sexual attraction to female adolescents is very widespread and considered "normal" for heterosexual males [but not considered normal for lesbians, gays, and heterosexual women] (Jenkins, 2001, p. 30; Dietz, 1987-1988, p. 28, fn. 7).

4. "Children [pre-adolescent girls] have some arousal value

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even for normal males" (Freund, 1981, p. 137).

Males' Exposure to Pornography

The impact on males of their exposure to child pornography only causes them to perpetrate child sexual victimization when there is a co-occurrence of Causal Factors Ia or Ib, II, and III (see on the far right of Figure 9-1). Factor IV is an important Contributing factor to the occurrence of child sexual victimization -- not a causal factor. The three causal factors have to be present in order for child sexual abuse to occur. This does not necessarily mean that they necessarily occur in a logical sequence.

The fact that viewers of both adult and child pornography can become addicted to it is a very significant characteristic of pornography. It means that exposure to it can result in a growing need to repeat the exposure again and again. This in turn increases the impact of the exposure to child pornography on the causal factors to be described shortly. The addiction of viewers to child pornography also increases the demand for this material, which in turn sets up economic incentives and serves to increase the amount of child pornography produced and the number of children abused to produce it.

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Jenkins (2001) quotes the following written message by a pedophile board participant describing how quickly he experienced an addiction to child pornography: "hello, loli-lovers! [it is] about 6 weeks before I came to this board [for the] first time and I love it. Surely you know it by yourself, that you want every day more and more and more" (p. 109).

Some obsessed viewers describe themselves as addicted. For example, researchers Ethel Quayle and Max Taylor (2002), who interviewed 13 men convicted of downloading child pornography from the Internet, "made reference to the Internet and addiction when talking about the compulsive elements of downloading" (p. 352). For example: three of the men made the following statements:

"At one point I sort of deleted all the pornography off the machine and I tried not to get back on ... to it. But ... the sense of addiction, compulsion, and obsession was so strong that I ended up, you know, falling back into old habits."

"I couldn't stop looking at these pictures... I was a junkie... a junkie par extraordinaire... I figured that the only way I was going to stop was if I got busted."

"I was obsessed by it, I really was, I will definitely

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admit that... an addiction ... definitely." (p. 352)

Quale and Taylor (2002) note that these men used the notion of addiction "to make sense of a loss of control, of high rate behavior, and also as a way of distancing [themselves] from ideas of personal agency" (p. 352).

The addiction to pornography is different from addictions to habit-forming substances like alcohol, nicotine, cocaine, and heroin. Nevertheless, it is clear that many of the pedophiles who are avid collectors of child pornography find it exceedingly difficult or impossible to voluntarily stop viewing child pornography and collecting it, suggesting that some child pornography addicts suffer from a double addiction.\* [\*Footnote: Subscribing to the addiction model of exposure to pornography can be seen as removing the responsibility of ardent child pornography viewers and/or collectors by transforming them into patients who need help. It's one thing not to be able to stop a habit; quite another thing not to be willing to stop it. Research is needed to ascertain the extent to which pedophiles suffer from true addictions in contrast to a lack of motivation to abstain from viewing pornography.]

\*Causal Factor Ia. Predisposes Some Males to Sexually Desire Children/to Develop a Desire to Sexually Abuse Them

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The reason for including alternative statements about sexual abuse in this and the other causal factors is to incorporate both the victims and perpetrators' perspectives. From the child's viewpoint, "adult-child sexual abuse" is the appropriate term; from the perpetrator's perspective, the term "adult-child sex" or some other equivalent is more fitting.

It is commonly believed that it is impossible for exposure to child pornography to create a desire for sex with a child in males who previously had no such desire. To my knowledge, there are no data to support this belief. It strikes me as dogma to distance males from the notion that they or other so-called "normal" heterosexual males could become sexually aroused by children. People prefer to believe that any man who becomes sexually interested in children must already have been predisposed to this interest.

I doubt that anyone would similarly maintain that males who engage in bestiality must have been previously predisposed to desire sex with animals. It seems far more likely that when males who work with, or own animals, become sexually aroused, but have no available sexual partner, some will act out their arousal by raping an animal. Sexual deprivation, plus the undermining of internal and social inhibitions against such an act -- is all that bestiality requires -- not a predisposition to rape animals.

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Causal Factor Ia of my theory posits five ways in which exposure to child pornography causes sexual arousal in some males who were not previously sexually interested in children.

1. By sexually arousing males not previously aroused by children

Whereas some individuals may believe that only males who are sexually aroused by viewing child pornography would search for such web sites, O'Connell (1999) maintains that "All the evidence is that many people [males] at least browse in this area [of child pornography], if not actively downloading" web site pictures (p. 7).

A simple application of the laws of social learning suggests that by pairing sexually arousing or gratifying stimuli with pictures of children, viewers of child pornography can develop arousal responses to depictions of adult-child sex (child sexual victimization).

In a classic experiment, researchers Rachman and Hodgson (1968) demonstrated that male subjects could learn to become sexually aroused by seeing a picture of a woman's boot after repeatedly seeing women's boots in association with sexually arousing slides of nude females. The laws of learning that

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operated in the acquisition of the boot fetish can also teach males who were not previously sexually aroused by depictions of adult-child sex, to become so.

Masturbation to such portrayals during and/or following the movie reinforces the association between images of child sexual abuse and sexual gratification. This constitutes what R. J. McGuire, J. M. Carlisle and B. G. Young refer to as "masturbatory conditioning" (Cline, 1974, p. 210). These researchers hypothesized that "an individual's arousal pattern can be altered by directly changing his masturbatory fantasies" (cited by Abel, Blanchard & Becker in Rada (1978), p. 192). For example, Gene Abel, Edward Blanchard & Judith Becker (1978) treated violent sexual perpetrators by using masturbatory conditioning to get them to masturbate and ejaculate to nonviolent consensual portrayals of sex (p. 192).

It is presumably equally possible to change males' non-deviant sexual fantasies and behavior to deviant ones such as fantasies of sexually victimizing children and acting out these fantasies. Hence, when male Internet users with no previous sexual interest in children inadvertently find themselves with child pornography on their monitors, or when such males deliberately search out child pornography out of curiosity, they may be surprised to find themselves aroused because of the sexualized pictures of children, and the portrayal of children

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apparently enjoying posing, behaving sexually provocatively, or being engaged in sex acts. If these male viewers masturbate at the time of viewing these sexual pictures of children, or later, this can presumably be the beginning of what may become a growing interest in sex with children by males who were not previously so disposed.

The pleasurable experience of orgasm is an exceptionally potent reinforcer. The fact that adult and child pornography is widely used by males as ejaculation material is a major factor that differentiates pornography from other mass media. Hence, both adult and child pornography are much more effective at constructing or reconstructing the viewers' patterns of sexual arousal and expression.

Osanka and Johann (1989) describe a study by Schaefer and Colgan (1977) in New Zealand in which they tested four unmarried and six married males between the ages of 21 and 43 "to see whether habituation occurred with repeated exposure to pornography" (p. 174). Since the habituation issue has already been addressed above, the relevance of this experiment relates to what it demonstrates about masturbatory conditioning. Schaefer and Colgan (1977, cited by Osanka and Johann) used a penile gauge to measure sexual arousal. Both the experimental and control groups read six pages from Henry Miller's pornographic book Sexus containing explicit heterosexual scenes.

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"Control subjects read nonpornographic material after each session until their penile tumescence decreased to less than 25 percent. [In contrast,] the experimental subjects followed the reading of pornography with ejaculation." (p. 174)

Shaefer and Colgan found that "'responding [arousal] increased over trials when pornography was immediately followed by such gratification'" (p. 174). They concluded that their findings supported "the [masturbatory] conditioning theory of sexual deviation" (p. 174).

Philip Jenkins (2001) hypothesizes that were he to provide an Internet user with the URL of just one authentic child pornography site, it "could lead a person to discover within himself an interest in this kind of sexual activity" (p. 23; emphasis added). Jenkins follows this statement by contending that receiving such an URL could "serve as a kind of visual heroin, dangerously addictive" (p. 23; emphasis added). Elsewhere, he notes that some posts on the web "suggest that individuals were 'converted' after discovering the material" (p. 106; emphasis added). For example, he quotes a "message posted on a child porn board by 'Dad,' in answer to the question 'How did you become a loli-lover?' that is, a pedophile" (p. 23). "Dad" answered as follows:

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"I remember one day I done a search for teen girls on the net, I expected to find girls of 18+, ye know the usual. But this one time I found a girl-love site, ... it was wonderful.... If it wasn't for the Internet I would have never known. I think as the Internet grows, more people will find out their sexual desires just as I did." (p. 23; emphasis added)

Because of his views, Jenkins did not risk providing the specific URLs that he drew on in his analysis of child pornography on the Internet (p. 23). Similarly, Negley and Wamboldt (1985) maintain that, "Repeated exposure to sexual scenes with adolescent (or younger) girls could stimulate hidden sexual feelings towards young girls which the man had been keeping at bay" (pp. 4/5; emphasis added).

Linz and Imrich (2001) make the plausible suggestion that:

"The materials that are most likely to pose a risk for an incitement effect are portrayals that show child victims becoming involuntarily sexually aroused or otherwise responding positively to sexual aggression. Potential molesters who watch child sex depictions that supposedly had positive consequences for the victim may come to think that the victim does not suffer and may believe that a larger

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percentage of children would find forced sex pleasurable."  
(p. 91; emphasis added)

As previously noted, pseudo-child pornography combines features of adult women with features of young girls by childifying women, that is, by dressing adult women in childish clothes, giving them childish hairstyles, having them stand in child-like poses with child-like expressions on their faces, and surrounding them with children's toys. Presumably, there are some (many?) heterosexual men with no prior interest in child pornography depicting pre-pubescent children, who are aroused by the adult features of the women in pseudo-child pornography. Repeatedly masturbating to these merged portrayals of women and girls may result in these male viewers also becoming aroused by the child-like features of these women.\* [\*Footnote: The merged woman-child pictorial in Playboy magazine described in Chapter 14, provides a particularly good example of this kind of material (see p. ).] A dangerous cultural trend is evident in the childification of females becoming increasingly mainstream.

### 2. By sexualizing/sexually objectifying children

Child pornography transforms children into sexual objects designed to appeal to pedophiles and child molesters. As mentioned, a pornographer declared that: "Girls, say between the ages of 8 and 13, are the very salable objects.... young girls

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without overdevelopment and preferably with little or no pubic hair on their body ...." (Campagna and Poffenberger, 1988, p. 133). And according to Companya and Poffenberger (1988), child pornography is "a medium by which the victim is reduced to an object or animal state\* ...." (p. 138). [\*Footnote: The term "animal state" seems more appropriate as a description of what pornography reduces women to.] This is similar to what adult pornography does to women. On the other hand, Ray Wyre, a British clinician who works with pedophiles, maintains that child pornography above all "distorts the image of children into a sexual image" (quoted by Tate, 1990, p. 110). In my opinion, the sexual objectification of children automatically sexualizes them.

Child pornographers often direct girls they photograph to get into sexual poses like those displayed by girls in child pornography and/or like the women in adult pornography. They also direct girls to engage in sexual acts like masturbation or sexual intercourse with a peer or an adult. These sexualized pictures of girls evoke a sexual response in some males who previously had no interest in sex with girls. The probability of this outcome is greatly enhanced by the fact that the sexualization of girls requires them to act sexually as if they are mini-adults. In contrast, pseudo-child pornography portrays adult women as if they were young girls -- not in the sexual acts they perform, but in all the props used like clothes and teddy bears, and the text accompanying the pictures. In summary, child

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pornography and pseudo-child pornography serve to merge the portrayals of adults and children. This fact also increases the likelihood that males who were not previously aroused by the idea of having sex with children, will become so.

O'Connell (2001) notes that "The easy accessibility and transnational distribution of child pornography" sexualizes children for a rapidly growing audience (p. 66). This means there are increasing numbers of males all over the world who develop a sexual interest in children for the first time.

3. By providing images, ideas, and models of adult-child sex for men to imitate

There is a great deal of child pornography both on and off the Internet that purports to show instances of extrafamilial child sexual abuse and incestuous abuse. With regard to incestuous abuse, every conceivable relationship is portrayed in pictorial and written forms -- most especially fathers having sex with their daughters. For example, "A five-year-old child told her foster mother, 'We have movies at home. Daddy shows them when mother is gone. The people do not wear clothes, and Daddy and I take our clothes off and do the same thing the people in the movies do'" (Vol. 1, pg. 775).

Child pornography portrayals of extrafamilial child sexual

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abuse are far more common on the Internet than portrayals of incestuous abuse. An example of imitated abuse was quoted in testimony to the Government Commission on Pornography in 1985. The gang rape of a young girl was committed by six adolescent boys "who used a pornographic magazine's pictorial and editorial outlay to recreate a rape in the woods outside of their housing development" (vol. 1 p. 777).

A woman in Russell's study (1986) told an interviewer that she was 16 years old when (check relationship),

"He hypnotized me and got me to do something sexual. I came out of the spell and knew. I was lying there naked and he was just using me. (What did he do?) Oral sex, and stimulating me with his hand. (Why do you attribute this to pornography?) He explained that he had seen it in a movie."  
(p. )

Assuming the perpetrator is being truthful, this case clearly indicates that he was imitating pornography, as does the next example in which an interviewee answered a question on pornography by saying that she had been shown pornography by school acquaintances when she was 15. She said that she had a finger inserted in her vagina and experienced an attempted rape.

"They wanted me to be or do what they saw in the tapes or magazines," she explained. (Badgely, p. 1280)

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Extrapolating from research on adult pornography, Linz and Imrich suggest "a profile of what may constitute the most 'risky' set" of pornographic portrayals in films and magazines for motivating "an imitation effect among potential child molesters" (?p. 91):

- o "Portrayals that show child victims becoming involuntarily sexually aroused or otherwise responding positively to sexual aggression" (p. 91). The potential molesters who are exposed to such portrayals "may come to think that the victim does not suffer and may believe that a larger percentage of children would find forced sex pleasurable" (p. 91).

- o Portrayals that convey a message "that adult-child sex interaction is 'educational'" (p. 91).

- o Portrayals that convey the message "that the child was being sexually provocative" (p. 91)

In addition, there are many portrayals of child pornography showing only positive consequences for the perpetrators and the victims. For viewers who were not previously disposed to be sexually interested in young children, child pornography sites peopled by these kinds of positive models facilitate non-sadistic male viewers' identification with the perpetrators and, in some

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cases, their sexual arousal as well. For males who are sadistic, the child pornography showing negative consequences for the victim is more likely to be sexually arousing.

### 4. By providing portrayals of children as erotic substitutes for women

As previously mentioned, Freund maintained that his experiment showed that so-called normal heterosexual males have the capacity to use children as surrogate sex objects in the absence of available women. This increases the likelihood that child pornography will evoke sexual arousal in men, including those with no prior interest in sex with children. Some situations are likely to increase heterosexual men's sexual arousal even more; for example if they have lost sexual interest in their partners or if they cannot find a willing adult female partner; if their partners have lost sexual interest in them; if their partners are unavailable to them because they are in hospital giving birth or because of poor physical or mental health; or because they are separated from their partners; or because their partners work long hours away from home. Some men may also become receptive to the appeals of child pornography because of the massive power disparities that it represents.

Lemmy and Tice (2000) credit Struve (2000) with the idea long espoused by many feminists that: "Eroticized dominance is

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culturally entrenched" (p. 89) and has become a characteristic of males in most contemporary Western societies (p. 88). According to Struve, "Dominance stirs sexual excitement in many men, thereby eroticizing relationships that are based on power and control (p. 9). The sexual victimization of both boys and girls is one of the results of such eroticized dominance (p. 9).

Although male dominance in sexual relationships is the norm in patriarchal societies, growing numbers of males in the United States and in many other countries where the women's liberation movement has successfully challenged male dominance, have felt threatened by the loss of some of their power in the home to which they have always felt entitled. Women's greater economic independence from men -- though far from complete -- has resulted in many women being less subservient, dependent, and sycophantic toward their husbands. Some men who feel their masculinity has been undermined by these historical changes, may be especially receptive to child pornography that portrays sexy young girls fawning over adult men, their bodies, their penises, their ejaculate, and their general sexual prowess.

For example, in a pseudo-child pornography picture in my pornography collection of a very young-looking girl/woman sitting astride a prone man's naked torso as he squeezes one of her small breasts and penetrates her with his penis. The "girl's" mouth is wide open and her head and body are arched back as if she is in

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ecstasy. The man is described as having a huge penis and as being very virile as they have repeated simultaneous orgasms. The text has the girl/woman saying: "It amazed me that my body could take so much, as huge as he was, but it didn't even hurt. My little cunt just seemed to open right up to it." She also says that she "had never dreamed it could be so sensual, so sexual, so grown up." It does not take much imagination to see how appealing this example of child pornography could be to some men seeking an ego-boost.

### 5. By creating an appetite for increasingly different or more extreme forms of child pornography

It is important to recognize that pornophiles (males who frequent users of adult pornography) can also become interested and sexually aroused by child pornography. This is the only component of Causal Factor Ia where males' exposure is to adult pornography.

After invalidating the habituation theory (see Chapter 8), Zillmann and Bryant concluded that the findings of their experiment "strongly support the view

that continued exposure to generally available, nonviolent pornography that exclusively features heterosexual behavior among consenting adults arouses an interest in and creates a

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taste for pornography that portrays less commonly practiced sexual activities, including those involving the infliction of pain." (cited by Osanka and Johann, 1989, p. 175)

Unfortunately, Zillmann and Bryant do not reveal whether or not the subjects in their experiment had access to any child pornography. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to suppose that child pornography would be an example of more extreme pornography -- like sadomasochism and bestiality -- that bored subjects would opt to see. The following quotation by Margaret Healy (2002, February 27) supports this conjecture. She states that:

"With the emergence of the use of computers to traffic in child pornography, a new and growing segment of producers and consumers is being identified. They are individuals who may not have a sexual preference for children, but who have seen the gamut of adult pornography and who are searching for more bizarre material." (p. 4)

It would be unreasonable to assume that all these new consumers would be sexually aroused by child pornography. Their reactions probably range from feeling repelled by the material to being indifferent to it, to being sexually aroused by it. Given the five ways in which exposure to child pornography predisposes some males not previously so disposed, to develop a sexual interest in children (described above), it seems virtually certain that at

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least some of them would become aroused by the material.

\*Causal Factor Ib. Exposure to Child Pornography Reinforces or Intensifies the Desire of Some Males who are Already Sexually Aroused by Children

1. By repeated masturbatory activity and sexual gratification

When pedophiles and other males who already have a sexual desire for children, are exposed to child pornography with content that corresponds to their specific preferences (e.g., the gender and age of the child), their sexual arousal intensifies, as also does their desire to masturbate to these pictures. As mentioned, the ejaculatory gratification they obtain from masturbation, in turn intensifies their sexual attraction to children. The more pedophiles masturbate to child pornography, the stronger their arousal to this material, and the more it reinforces the association between their fantasies and desire to have sex with children

Calcetas-Santos (2001) notes that there are some pedophiles for whom "the pornography is an end unto itself, leading no further than masturbation" ( p. 58).

Jenkins, 2001, p. 129: Quote: "Pedophiles are not molesters!!!

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The vast majority of posters in abpep-t abhor the notion of child abuse and molestation. some won't even condone consensual sex between children and adults." !!!!!

Jenkins, 2001, p. 130: "Exponents of the 'look, don't touch' school scorn molesters who believe they cause no harm to their victims...."

Jenkins, 2001, p. 127: Rationalizations: "numerous contributors [to boards] emphasize the innocence of their interest, their hobby. They are 'just looking'; they would not enact their fantasies in a real-world context; and they express vigorous hostility toward anyone who genuinely has sex with a child...."

**Jenkins, 2001, p. 129: Fantasizer: Quote: Newbee:** "Thanks for these girls, we can let our libidos play with the kleenex or with the imagination while we're with our women, instead of go to the streets or to a girl we know and maybe hurt her or force her to do something that can be dangerous for us."

**Distinctions Made By Pedophiles,** Jenkins, 2001, p. 135: "fans of nine- and ten-year old subjects are ardent critics of the despised perverts who favor toddlers. The implication is that 'loli-fans' are not merely pleasure seekers who exploit children as sex objects; rather, they are sufficiently enlightened to recognize that older children can share sexual pleasure."

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Jenkins, Philip. (2001). Beyond Tolerance: Child Pornography on p. 106: "The majority of users who discover a child porn board already have a predilection for this type of material.... (though some posts do suggest that individuals were 'converted' after discovering the material)." [provides no data or rationale for this statement].

### 2. By creating an appetite for increasingly more extreme forms of child pornography

Jenkins (2001) maintains that some viewers of child pornography become addicted, with an increasing "hunger for ever more illegal material" (p. 109). He provides the following example of how viewing child pornography can escalate the severity of the material that males -- who are already interested in sex with children -- want to look at. He notes that newcomers to child pornography on the Internet may be "amazed and stimulated by the first few soft-core pornographic images" that they see. However, these images "are all too likely to become routine," motivating the more frequent downloaders to turn "avidly to the harder-core sites" (p. 109).

Jenkins maintains that some child pornography consumers acknowledge that "involvement thus becomes a cumulative process"

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(p. 109). For example, he quotes one pedophile as saying: "With this hobby we get bored after a while with the usual and we risk a bit to get new stuff or get actual experience. It's a natural progression" (p. 109). Similarly, Ray Wyre reports that his "Clients -- abusers -- have told me of their experience of child pornography which started out as pictures of mutual masturbation and ended with them watching videos of rape, torture and death of a child" (Tate, 1990, p. 167).

In addition, researchers Ethel Quayle and Max Taylor (2002), who interviewed 13 men convicted of downloading child pornography from the Internet, reported that, "The majority of respondents moved through a variety of pornographies, each time accessing more extreme material. This might refer to the age of the children in the photographs or to the actual activities being portrayed (p. 343). For example, one of these men said:

"I was actually getting quite bored as it were... with the sort of child pornography ... I was becoming sort of more obsessed with bondage ... and sort of torture ... imagery. So ... I'd kind of exhausted ... the potential that it had for sexual arousal." (p. 344)

Rather than child pornography showing child victims with smiling faces, some of these viewers gravitate to more callous and sadistic images showing children being upset, traumatized or

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even killed. For example, a web site called russian rape.com tries to entice sadistic viewers to "see the poor young girls swallow what they don't want, but have to do ... see the horror in the eyes of the young girls and see them wild scream (sic) in brutally (sic) rape and pain!" Another web site called rapedasians.com promises "the very best collection of very young Asian girls brutally raped."

Summary

Sexual interest in children is in most, but not all circumstances, a prerequisite for the sexual victimization of children. Factor 1a was devoted to showing seven different ways in which some males who had no prior sexual interest in children, develop this interest as a result of being exposed to child pornography. Factor 1b cites two ways in which sexual arousal to children typically intensifies as a result of exposure to child pornography in some males who already had a prior sexual interest in children.

All or most individuals probably have had or will have desires that are anti-social and/or illegal at some time in their lives. The desire to hit someone with whom one is angry is very common, for example. Clearly, there are many reasons why these desires may not be acted on. This also applies to the desire to sexually abuse a child or children. Since my theory examines the

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role that exposure to child pornography plays in causing child sexual abuse, the next section focuses on the many ways in which such exposure undermines some mens' internal inhibitions against acting out their desires.

It seems reasonable to suppose that the more intense the desire to have sex with children (to sexually abuse children), the greater will be the motivation of potential molesters to overcome whatever internal and social inhibitions they have.

### \*Causal Factor II. Child Pornography Undermines Some Males' Internal Inhibitions Against Acting Out Their Desire to Have Sex With Children/to Sexually Abuse Them

Some of the material mentioned in Causal Factor II is relevant to more than one of its components listed below as undermining some males' internal inhibitions against acting out their desire to have sex with children.

#### 1. By sexualizing, sexually objectifying and/or dehumanizing girls

The sexual objectification and/or dehumanization of girls undermines the internal inhibitions of some males against acting out their desire to have sex with them (or to sexually abuse

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them) just as dehumanizing all members of enemy nations in times of war undermines soldiers' internal inhibitions against acting in a brutal fashion toward these "non-people". However, the dehumanization of children in pornography often goes unrecognized because of its sexual guise.

Ethel Quayle and Max Taylor (2002) quotations of the statements of the following two men who were convicted of downloading child pornography from the Internet, exemplifies the degree to which they dehumanized the children photographed:

"It wasn't a person at all it was... it was just a flat image... it was a nothing" (p. 344).

"... my dad thought exactly the same as me... he says, 'well it's only a bloody picture" (p. 353).

Sometimes it is the pornographic context that sexualizes children, rather than the pictures of them. For example, there are many web sites presumably designed for pedophiles, with photos of young girls in nudist settings. Many of the young girls are frolicking about on beaches in a non-sexualized fashion. The appearance of these photographs on Internet web sites with pornographic titles, transforms the pictures of the girls into sexualized images. This is to say, the formerly non-sexualized pictures become pornographied (to invent a word). The

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fact that males who are sexually interested in young girls are the major consumers of these web sites confirms this statement.

### 2. By undermining the prohibition against adult-child sex/abuse

Despite the virtual consensus among social anthropologists that the taboo against incest is a universal phenomenon (they rarely comment on other forms of adult-child sexual abuse), former social worker Rush (Unpublished, 1978) boldly argued that:

"We do not have a history of a taboo against the sexual use of children. Until recently children were a paternal property and could be legitimately exploited, sold or even killed by their masters. And since minors were also a sexual property, sex between male adults and children have been sanctioned, or at the very least tolerated, in our institutions of marriage, concubinage, slavery, prostitution and pornography." (p. 1)

Legal ages of consent vary in different countries with most nations having opted for a range from 12 to 16 years old compared to 18 years old in the United States. Hence, from a United States perspective, most nations condone extrafamilial adult-child-sex between adult males and 17-year-old females. Also, although the laws in some countries like India prohibit sex with females below the age of 16, the long tradition of child brides

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persists -- particularly in rural areas. Nevertheless, adult-child-sex is proscribed in most countries today.

Despite the prohibition in the United States, the high prevalence of child sexual abuse attests to how frequently the incest taboo and the taboo against adult-child-sex in general, is broken (Russell, 1986; Wyatt; Finkelhor). Nevertheless, if there were no incest or adult-child-sex taboos, the prevalence of incestuous and extrafamilial child sexual abuse would undoubtedly be much higher. Very likely, few if any pedophiles would confine themselves to fantasizing about sex with children and there would be much higher prevalence rates for fathers, brothers, and other male relatives sexually abusing their younger female relatives.

Child pornography photographers, whether professional or amateur, frequently instruct the children being used in child pornography to smile. The smile is intended to convey to the viewer that the children are enjoying having sex with adults and/or other children. As O'Connell points out,

"... The children engaged in sex acts are often smiling or have neutral expressions, and very rarely do children in child pornographic pictures show signs of discomfort. To the wider audience the pictures depict children as 'willing sexual beings'." (p. 66)

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This is a major way in which the prohibition against adult-child-sex is undermined. Since child pornography "reinforces pedophiles' belief that kids enjoy it," (Wyre, cited by Begley, p. 48) this material undermines men's internal inhibitions against sexually abusing children. Itzin (1996) cites Davies' (1994) description "of a video of a 'girl with her wrists and ankles chained to an iron bar in the ceiling and a grotesque dildo hanging out of her' (p. 17). The pornographer who was showing the video pointed to the girl's smile as evidence of her consent" (p. 185). The smile also makes it appear that she is enjoying being tortured in this fashion.

Wyre also notes that child pornography showing children "actively participating in the abuse," confirms "to the abuser that ... children can give consent to sexual acts. This means they believe that both their sexual and non-sexual needs are being met without hurting the child." (Wyre in Tate, pp. 284/5). Presumably, Wyre's observations would also apply to men who have developed a desire to sexually abuse children, but who have not yet acted this out.

There are massive numbers of child pornography websites on the Internet that promote adult-child sex/abuse in the form of photographs, videos and written child pornography stories involving adults and children. For example, an incest web site titled "Golden Incest Sites!" lists 50 titles, some of which are

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followed by brief descriptions of the contents. A few examples follow\* [\*I have deleted a few examples of incest relationships that do not qualify as instances of adult-child abuse.]

"FamilyTaBoo."

"More than 8000 REAL INCEST pics! Mom/Daughters, Mom/Sons, Father/Daughters...."

"Oh... Fuck Me Dad."

"My Father fucks me every night."

INCEST - Mother and Very Young Son.

Mommy really wants her Son! She can teach him more than how to ride a bike..."

"FREE INCEST EXCLUSIVE PICTURES."

"Mom son, father daughter and MORE... Only here! A drunk father fucks his virgin daughter!"

"My Daddy Fuck Me."

Terrible place... where father fuck his daughter. NO BULLSHIT!"

"Mother and Son in Hardcore Action.

MOM suck cock to her son when father at work and continue with ass fucking!!"

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([www.incestgold.com/indes.php](http://www.incestgold.com/indes.php), June 6, 2002)

Judging from the titles listed on this web site, the pictures, stories, videos, etc., that it makes accessible to interested Internet surfers can serve as highly suggestive models for male viewers and readers who may never before have even thought about their daughters, sons, nieces, nephews and other younger generation relatives in a sexual way. The ubiquity of incest pornography also conveys the popularity of such images, suggesting that large numbers of men must experience such desires. In addition, the web site's removal of the deviant quality of incestuous abuse serves to enhance the likelihood that some men's internal inhibitions against incest as well as against sexual contact between adults and children, will be undermined.

There are masses of other web sites on the Internet that undermine some men's internal inhibitions in a similar fashion, particularly their inhibitions against sexually abusing young girls.

3. By generating and/or reinforcing males' beliefs in myths about child sexuality and adult-child sex/abuse

Following are some of the myths that are generated and/or

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reinforced by viewing child pornography. Belief in these myths undermines the internal inhibitions of some males against acting out their desires to sexually abuse children.

According to Wyre (1992, in Itzin, 1996), his clinical work with pedophiles in Britain shows that when adult males view pornography, it creates and reinforces their false belief-systems (myths) about victims of abuse (p. 170). "Child pornography convinces them [pedophiles] that the feelings and desires they have towards children are not wrong...", Wyre maintains (in Tate, p. 110).

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Table 9-1

Myths about adult-child-sex abuse

1. There is nothing wrong with being sexually attracted to children.
2. If children object to having sex with adults, they will protest or tell someone.
9. Children who have sex with adults without being forced, are consenting to it.

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7. If children behave seductively toward adults, it means "they're asking for it."

10. Children are not harmed by having sex with adults unless it's forced or violent.

12. Children can benefit from having sex with a loving adult.

13. Since children have the capacity for sexual pleasure, there's nothing wrong with adults having sex with them.

14. Children who don't physically resist sexual advances by adults, want to have sex with them.\*

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[\*Footnote: The Freudian myths that little girls go through a stage of wanting to have sex with their fathers, and the same for boys with their mothers, are not included here because these are not myths that appear to be held by individuals who are sexually interested in children. Despite the fact that there is a great deal of child pornography that shows genuine cases of father-daughter sexual encounters and many more that purport to show father-daughter sex as well as sex between every other conceivable combination of relatives, I do not believe that the two Freudian myths mentioned tend to be inferred from child

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pornography or expressed by the consumers of child pornography.]

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With regard to the first myth cited in Table 9-1, Kelly et al. (1995) quote a convicted offender's admission that "I used the pornographic films ... to reinforce my belief that what I was doing wasn't wrong" (p. 34). Jenkins (2001) points out that: "The idea [myth] that a taste for child pornography is neither abnormal nor pathological naturally makes it easier to be drawn into the subculture" (p. 119) -- a subculture that supports adults acting out their desires for sex with children.

Males who subscribe to these myths become deniers (deniers) about the nature of child pornography and its destructive effects. Jenkins (2001) provides many examples of denial (although he prefers the term neutralization) used by "the participants on the pedo boards" on the Internet. He refers to these men as engaged in a "massive deployment of every available neutralization technique." For example, he notes that many pedophiles justify their sexual behavior with children by claiming that children who "have consented to the actions," or who directly sought sexual contact with their abusers, are not victims (p. 117). These pedophiles consider such experiences to be "consensual. Even if the child is three or five, she was still asking for it" (p. 117). Jenkins also maintains that, "Linked to this is the denial of injury, since the sexual

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activity is seen as rewarding and even educational for the child, rather than selfish or exploitative" (p. 117). Kelly's observation that child pornography "enables them [abusers] to construct a different version of reality" is clearly evident (Kelly et al., 1995, p. 34).

However, it would be inaccurate to portray pedophiles as if they share the same beliefs and practices. Jenkins (2001) , p. 115 points out that "Some participants state quite openly that the Internet pedo boards reveal "intense and passionate debate about the morality" of adult-child-sex abuse (p. 115). He notes that

"Some participants state quite openly that they believe what they are doing is wrong; some recognize that they are fulfilling a deviant role, others do not; some proclaim that they are interested only in "innocent" fantasies, while others admit to actual molestation. We thus find an extraordinarily broad spectrum of attitudes and opinions." (pp. 115-116)

In conclusion: The fantasy stories on the Internet that are summarized in Chapter 16, the testimonies of pedophiles in Chapter 7, the descriptions of child pornography in mainstream men's magazines (Chapter 14), and the descriptions of child pornography on the Internet (Chapter 15), provide many examples

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of the myths in Table 9-1 as well as others that undermine some mens' internal inhibitions against acting out child sexual abuse.

4. By masking child victims' pain and trauma

I have already documented the effects on male viewers of smiling child victims in pornography. Obviously, these child pornography photographs mask the victims' physical and psychological pain and trauma. Linz and Imrich (2001) describe the effect on the male viewers of child pornography involving force -- as follows:

"Potential molesters who watch child sex depictions that supposedly had positive consequences for the victim may come to think that the victim does not suffer and may believe that a larger percentage of children would find forced sex pleasurable." (p. 91)

A pedophile called Stewart describes his method of masking victims' pain when he photographed young girls:

"They couldn't show fear or doubt in the pictures. They had to show happiness or love.... To get that look, I'd give them something, from tricycles to stereos. It depended on what they wanted. You have to be able to express [evoke] excitement in the pictures." (Campagna and Poffenberger p.

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126)

Masking the pain and trauma that victims of child pornography suffer undermines the internal inhibitions of some males who already have a desire to sexually abuse children.

A simple experiment could ascertain the precise impact of masking the victims' pain on the self-reported willingness of pedophiles to act out their desires to sexually abuse children by exposing them to child pornography in which the expressions on children's faces vary as follows: 1. the children are smiling; 2. the children have neutral expressions on their faces; 3. the children look very distressed. Hopefully, this experiment will be conducted by researchers in the near future.

Although a pedophile acknowledged to Tate (1990) that he suspected that the pleasure on child victims' faces in child pornography was faked, he nevertheless found that it still had a "validatory effect on his own desires" (p. 111). It is noteworthy that this pedophile only "suspected" that the depiction of the child's pleasurable response was faked rather than realizing it. It would be helpful to know how many other pedophiles share this suspicion, and to find out if this suspicion mitigates the undermining process that typically results from such depictions.

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### 5. By desensitizing the viewers of child pornography

Linz and Imrich (2001) maintain that "child pornography can desensitize the viewer to the pathology of sexual abuse or exploitation of children, so that it can become acceptable to ... the viewer" (p. 87). Congress made the same point when they passed the Child Pornography Prevention Act of 1996 banning computer-generated child pornography because they believed that it "can 'desensitize the viewer to the pathology of sexual abuse or exploitation of children" (cited by Taylor (2001, March 19), p. 51). In addition, Rush (November, 1984) noted long ago that viewing child pornography "serves to desensitize the abuser to the pain and damage he inflicts" (p. 2).

Linz and Imrich (2001) suggest that, "One likely source of desensitization to the degrading and abusive aspects of child pornography may be repeated exposure to 'adult' pornography wherein the models, although over the age of 18 are described and depicted as underage" (p. 94). Exposure to pseudo-child pornography may subsequently desensitize viewers to child pornography "depicting illegal images of children engaged in sexual behavior." (p. 94)

Although Zillmann and Bryant's experiment described earlier in this chapter used adult male subjects, the desensitization that occurred with repeated exposures to the same relatively mild

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adult pornographic material would probably also occur if the experiment used child pornography. As occurred in these researchers' experiment with adults, this desensitization would presumably create in adult consumers of child pornography, "a taste for" new more severely abusive material.

Hence, the research and observations in this section explain how the desensitization of male viewers of child pornography to its pathology, to the pain and damage that it causes, to the increasingly deviant and more severely abusive forms of child pornography that some desensitized male viewers come to prefer, can undermine the internal inhibitions of some males against acting out their desire to sexually abuse children.

6. By legitimatizing, normalizing, and/or trivializing adult-child sex/abuse

The legitimatizing and normalizing of adults' sexual abuse of children in child pornography are two of the most frequently cited ways in which child pornography undermines some male viewers' internal inhibitions against acting out their desires to abuse children. As Tate (1990) points out:

"All paedophiles need to reassure themselves that what they are doing or want to do is OK. It [child porn] validates their feelings, lowers their inhibitions and makes them feel

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that their behaviour is pretty normal in the context of this pornography -- they see other people doing it in the videos or the magazines and it reassures them." (Tate, 1990, p. 24)

For example, one man testified: "See, it's okay to do

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Likewise, Wyre maintains that a pedophile who uses child pornography to normalize his sexually abusive behavior is seeking

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thereby "to minimize the [negative] impact of what he does" (p. 285).

Tate (1990) also refers to the power of child pornography "to reinforce both the paedophile's attraction to children and his self-justification process" (p. 110). Santos (in Carlos A. Arnaldo, 2001) expresses a similar point by noting that pedophiles "use porn to convince themselves that their behavior is not abnormal, but is shared by others" (p. 59). Mayne (2000) names Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler magazines as "covertly" normalizing adult-child-sex and promoting sex with children (p. 25). Chapter 14 describes many examples -- particularly of cartoons in Penthouse and Hustler that -- in contrast to Mayne, I consider quite blatant legitimizers of incestuous abuse and extrafamilial child sexual abuse. In addition, many of these materials, especially in Hustler, trivialize child sexual abuse by repeatedly making jokes out of this crime. They also legitimize adult-child-sex abuse. Likewise, Santos concurs with Tate that "The production and dissemination of pornographic material are used ... to send a message that children are legitimate sex partners" (pp. 59/60).

### 7. By providing specific instructions on how to sexually abuse a child

Anxiety about how to go about sexually abusing a child can

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be a concern for males who have never acted out their desire to have sex with a child before. This can inhibit them from feeling able to perpetrate such an act. However, child pornography on the Internet can provide potential child molesters with instructions on how to do it (Linz and Imrich also make this point. See...). For example, Toby Tyler ( ) testified about a child pornography magazine in which the text described "how to have sex with prepubescent children" (p. 33). The more sexually explicit illegal material presumably demonstrates at what ages it is possible for adult males to penetrate young children anally and vaginally.

Linz and Imrich mention that law enforcement officials have reported that a published issue of the Bulletin of the North American Man Boy Love Association's (NAMBLA) -- which is distributed to all the members of the organization -- "has step-by-step 'how to' instructions for locating, seducing, sexually assaulting, and preventing the disclosure of their crime by their child victims." Since the NAMBLA Bulletin "includes semiclad photos of boys," it qualifies as child pornography (Linz and Imrich, p. 92).

According to Tate (1990, p. 173):

"During the boom days of commercial production a disturbingly large number of magazines showing children

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undergoing abuse combined with torture came on to the market. Common features were illustrated instructions showing 'fathers' clipping padlocks on to the labias of their pre-pubescent 'daughters', with an encouragement to 'keep them all for you'. Others, like the American-produced Child Discipline, instructed its readers on the best way of deriving sexual pleasure from beating very young boys and girls."

Jensen and Dines (1998) viewed and analyzed a scene in the best-selling pseudo-child pornography video titled Cherry Poppers Vol. 10. Dines informed me that the so-called pornography actress in this scene looked extremely young with a slight stature and small breasts (Personal communication, March ?). Jensen and Dines describe the scene as depicting child-adult-sex and offering "realistic detailed instructions on how to initiate a child into sex" (p. 88). They also described it as "a manual for how to perpetrate a sexual assault on a child" (p. 88).

More specifically, a man called Max who appeared to be in his forties, tells the young girl that he will show her what boys enjoy.

"Max proceeds to instruct the girl on how to fondle his penis and perform oral sex on him. He tells her, 'give it a little kiss, don't be afraid, suck it. Just like a sucker,

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just like a lollipop.' She undressed and continued to perform oral sex on him. Afterwards he lifts her up on the sink and shaves her pubic hair. He penetrates her vagina and anus with his fingers before intercourse. Though her facial expression revealed that she was in a great deal of pain, she told Max, 'This is fun, mister.' She got on her knees and resumed oral sex. Max ejaculated on her face."

Toby Tyler also referred to a child pornography magazine in which the text described "how to have sex with prepubescent children" (p. 33).

Even more ominously, British professor Harold Thimbleby ("Problems in the Global) reports that: "I have found text, film and sound material ... involving instructions for killing minors" (p. , emphasis added). Presumably, pedophiles and other sexual predators who are interested in the very extreme forms of child sexual abuse and murder described by Tate and Thimbleby would find these kinds of instructions useful.

### Summary:

I have specified seven components of Causal Factor 2, each of which can undermine the internal inhibitions of potential molesters against acting out their sexual desires toward young children. Several or all of these components are likely to have

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a greater undermining effect than single components. However, social inhibitions also have to be surmounted before all but the foolhardy or self-destructive potential molesters are likely to act out their desires. The contribution of child pornography to undermining social inhibitions will be addressed in the next section on Causal Factor 3.

### \*Causal Factor III. Child Pornography Undermines Some Males' Social Inhibitions Against Acting Out Their Desire to Have Sex With Children/to Sexually Abuse Them

#### 1. By diminishing fear of social sanctions

Fear of social sanctions is the most important factor in restraining potential molesters from acting out their desires to sexually abuse children. The more effective potential molesters perceive the social sanctions to be, the less likely they are to become perpetrators. Fear of social sanctions also serves to restrain active child molesters. For example, a pedophile called Duncan told Tate that fear of getting caught "was what stopped me progressing to buggery with the boys." (Child Porn, 1990, p. 120)

Exposure to child pornography consistently portrays the false message that males who perpetrate child sexual abuse are in

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no danger of being apprehended. For example, I have not seen any pictorial child pornography that shows a sexual predators against children being apprehended by the police or landing up in prison.

The same applies to written child pornography stories, fantasies, lists of web sites and videos, as well as child pornography in men's magazines. The outcomes of child sexual abuse are always positive for the perpetrators, and often for the victims too. Hence, exposure to child pornography gives pedophiles and other would-be child molesters a false sense of security.

Child pornography users' distorted minimization of the risks involved in sexually abusing children undermines their social inhibitions against acting out their desires to sexually abuse children.

**2. By diminishing fear of disapproval**

Pedophiles and child molesters who download child pornography on the Internet will quickly see the enormous number of child pornography web sites on the Internet, the lists of child pornography videos, the chat rooms on which trading of child pornography materials and advice goes on, making it abundantly clear that many others also download this material. As Jenkins states it: "He finds that he is not alone in his deviant interests," (p. 106). "This helps support the notion

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that the boards [where individuals post messages] are safe space that one can visit at will, where like-minded friends can reliably be found" (p. 108).

Crimmins (1985) testified to the ?Congressional Committee (1985) that "People who may have never acted on such impulses before, are emboldened when they see that there are so many other individuals who have similar interests" (p. 2). Furthermore, Jenkins states that "The more pedophiles and pornographers are attacked by law enforcement agencies, mass media, and anti-pedos, the greater the sense of community against common enemies." [Footnote: Jenkins' inconsistencies re: the sense of danger, paranoia, etc. pp. 110-113.] The knowledge that they have a support group of like-minded colleagues contributes to undermining the social inhibitions of some would-be child molesters against acting out their desires to sexually abuse children.

### 3. By providing a means of making money

Exposure to child pornography makes it clear to viewers that large numbers of individuals are making money -- sometimes a great deal of it -- from providing the material for these web sites. According to a child pornographer, "the most money is made in child pornography because it's hard to get and willing children are hard to come by." Hence, it would not take much

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imagination for pedophiles and non-pedophiles to infer that they could become businessmen overnight by photographing or videotaping, then marketing, the photos and videos of the children they victimize. The same would apply for those who hire a photographer to take the pictures and videos.

In addition, the perception obtained from frequent exposure to child pornography on the Internet is likely to be that many child pornography producers must be getting away with it.

Hence, it also seems likely that the desire of many individuals to benefit financially from the immense economic opportunities available to child pornographers on the Internet, would undermine the social inhibitions of some pedophiles and nonpedophiles against acting out their sexual interest or desire in children.

Summary

According to my theory, the three causal factors analyzed above induce some men who were not previously sexually aroused by children, to become child molesters. Contributing Factor IV -- the subject of the next section -- is not necessary to my causal theory. However, it is a very significant potential facilitator of child sexual abuse.

**Chapter 9: Russell's Theory of Child Pornography****\*Contributory Factor IV. Pornography Undermines Some Children's Abilities to Avoid, Resist, or Escape Sexual Abuse**

There are many examples in which perpetrators use force to accomplish their acts of child sexual abuse. In these cases, the various ways in which viewing pornography can undermine some children's abilities to avoid, resist, or escape sexual abuse, are irrelevant. For example, in the following case, a woman testified that:

"My father was my pimp in pornography. There were three occasions, from ages nine to sixteen, when he forced me to be a pornographic model.... I don't know if the pictures and films are still being distributed." (Vol. 1, p. 781)

In another case, "a mother and father in South Oklahoma City forced their four daughters, ages ten to seventeen, to engage in family sex while pornographic pictures were being filmed" (Vol. 1, p. 780).

**1. By arousing children's sexual curiosity and their sexual desire**

Showing pornography to boys and girls is a common seductive strategy of pedophiles who intend to arouse children's sexual

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curiosity and/or sexual desire by so doing. Although this strategy is effective in sexually arousing some young adolescent girls, there are sound reasons to believe that it is significantly less successful for girls than for boys. For example, when researcher Charlene Senn exposed a sample of college females to (1) violent, (2) degrading pornography (portraying sexual conduct that is humiliating, insulting, and/or disrespectful, such as urinating or defecating on a woman, ejaculating in her face), and (3) erotica (sexually suggestive or arousing material that is respectful of all human beings and animals portrayed, she found that female students had negative reactions to the violent and degrading pornography, in contrast to their positive reactions to erotica (Senn in Russell 1993).

Wendy Stock's studies also found that women students typically find exposure to pornography to be a negative experience. It seems exceedingly unlikely that the reaction to exposure of girls would be more positive. However, as with students, there are always exceptions to these general findings.

For example, here is an excerpt of Kathleen Brady's testimony to the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice, August 8, 1984, about her father showing her pornography for the first time:

As I sat down on the bed, he spread out the pictures of men and naked women in all sorts of sexual positions with each other. Looking at them, I felt a rush spread through my

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body.... I felt intense sexual desire, total revulsion, increasing excitement, abandonment of reason, a sense of sin and guilt, the shame of it all, and a resolve to forget it until next time. (See Chapter 11 for Brady's complete testimony.)

With regard to boys, Ann Burgess and Carol Hartman (1987) found in their research on sex rings that "physical sensation and excitement was the dominant pleasure element that kept the boys in the ring" (p. 251). It seem reasonable to infer that sexual arousal to the pornography serves to undermine boys' abilities to avoid, resist, or escape from men seeking to sexually abuse them.

Interestingly, the victims in sex rings -- particularly those with many victims -- are virtually always boys.

Pedophiles posing as young teenagers in Internet teenage chat groups often send pornographic pictures to child participants (or sometimes FBI agents posing as boys or girls), typically accompanied by sexually explicit language and pornographic pictures intended to arouse their curiosity and/or sexual interest. Some children respond as the pedophile intended, and agree to meet him. These experiences typically culminate in these children becoming victims of sexual abuse. However, they may be subjected to a much worse fate if their perpetrators choose to abduct or even kill them.

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In conclusion, we see how exposure to pornography undermines some children's abilities to avoid, resist, or escape sexual victimization by older males.

### 2. By legitimatizing and/or normalizing child sexual abuse

Santos (in Carlos A. Arnaldo. 2001) notes that "Paedophiles and child abusers ... use pornography to legitimize their actions" (p. 59). "Using" pornography refers here to showing a child or children pornographic pictures in an effort to convince them that there is nothing wrong with what their would-be perpetrators are trying to get them to do. For example, Calcetas-Santos (1996, December 9-20) quoted Congress as finding that

"a child who is reluctant to engage in sexual activity with an adult, or to pose for sexually explicit photographs, can sometimes be convinced by viewing depictions of other children 'having fun' participating in such activity." (p. ?)

Using child pornography in this situation is likely to be more effective than using adult pornography. In the following example, a foster father used pornography to legitimize his sexual abuse of his foster daughter.

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"I was sexually abused by my foster father from the time I was seven until I was thirteen. He had stacks and stacks of Playboys. He would take me to his bedroom or his workshop, show me the pictures, and say, 'This is what big girls do. If you want to be a big girl, you have to do this, but you can never tell anybody.' Then I would have to pose like the women in the pictures. I also remember being shown a Playboy cartoon of a man having sex with a child. (Vol. 1, p. 783)

An incestuous father's attempts to use pornography to normalize and legitimize having sex with his daughter were unusually ardent.

"The incest started at the age of eight. I did not understand any of it and did not feel that it was right. My dad would try to convince me that it was ok. He would find magazines articles and/or pictures that would show fathers and daughters and/or mothers, brothers and sisters having sexual intercourse. (Mostly fathers and daughters.) He would say that if it was published in magazines that it had to be all right because magazines could not publish lies. He would show me these magazines and tell me to look at them or read them and I would turn my head and say no. He would leave them with me and tell me to look later. I was afraid not to look or read them because I did not know what he

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would do. He would ask me later if I had read them and what they said or if I looked real close at the pictures. He would say, 'See it's okay to do because it's published in magazines.' (Vol. 1, p. 786)

The children and adolescents in child pornography are usually selected for their attractiveness by male standards. They are encouraged or coerced into posing in a sexy adult way and for looking as if they are enjoying posing or engaging in sex. Hence, they serve as positive models for other children being initiated into participating in the production of child pornography.

British researcher Kelly (1996) quotes a child molester who admitted showing

"porn films to underage schoolgirls and after they had seen them we many times copied what was going on.... I had a vast pile in my bedroom of pornographic literature, books, papers, cutouts and all this sort of thing and this was used in my seduction techniques.... I used that as an excuse to get them to do exactly the same." (p. 121)

Another example was cited in the 1975 Government Commission on Pornography by a young girl who testified:

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"My father had an easel that he put by the bed. He'd pin a picture on the easel and like a teacher he would tell me this is what you're going to learn today. He would then act out the pictures on me. (Vol. 1, p. 782)

Hughes (1999, March) (Pimps and Predators on the) provides another motive for child molesters to send pornography to the children they have targeted for sexual abuse: to convince them "that other children are sexually active" (p. 28). As well as legitimizing adult-child sexual encounters in this way, showing children child pornography also normalizes it.

### 4. By desensitizing or disinhibiting children

Children typically feel uncomfortable about being naked in front of others, unless they are reared as nudists. Even some children of nudists feel inhibited and reluctant to disrobe -- particularly when first introduced into the nudist scene. Hence, they would naturally also be uncomfortable engaging in sexual poses and being photographed nude.

While many children enjoy sex play with other children, they are typically unwilling to engage in sexual touching with an adult. Their reluctance increases as the sexual contact becomes progressively more violating -- from genital touching to oral anal, and vaginal intercourse.

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Santos (in Carlos A. Arnaldo, 2001) notes that: "Child pornography can be used by exploiters to lower children's inhibitions in order to seduce or encourage them to freely participate either in prostitution or pornography." (p. 59) Tate (1992) points out that showing adult pornography to children can be "used in the same way to lower the inhibitions of children" (p. 213).

Whetsell-Mitchell (1995) suggests that "Desentization, as utilized by child sexual abusers, is a process of seduction" (p. 200). In fact, this statement has to be reversed to make sense: seduction is a process of desensitization. Whetsell-Mitchell describes a child molester's step-by-step seduction strategy with a child in which he gradually moves from befriending her/him, then touching her/him, then introducing her/him to a brief look at an X-rated video, then slowly showing more of it "until the child is able to sit and watch the videos without becoming too uncomfortable" (p. 201). Whetsell-Mitchell concludes: "Variations on the grooming [seduction] process are many but the end result is desensitizing the child to engaging in sexual acts with the perpetrator, other children, or other adults" (p. 201).

Whetsell-Mitchell notes that

"the process of desensitization is utilized to lower the

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child's inhibitions. Children are exposed to sexually explicit materials as an attempt by the pedophile to make them comfortable with seeing nakedness and sexually explicit acts. The more comfortable the child becomes in viewing these sex acts the easier it becomes for the pedophile to manipulate the child into performing these acts." (p. 201)

Pedophiles have found this strategy to be very effective.

Whetsell-Mitchell also observes that, "Adult pornographic materials are frequently used to desensitize adolescents during the grooming process" (p. 201).

**5. By silencing children**

Tate (Scotland Yard Report) points out that "The paedophile must ensure the secrecy of any sexual activity with a child who has already been seduced" (p. 24).\* [\*This is equally true for incest perpetrators and most other child molesters.] He notes that "the existence of sexually explicitly photographs can be an effective silencer, and it can also be used to pressure them into continuing a relationship" (p. 24).

Even pictures that are suggestive rather than sexually explicit may be effective. The typical way to make these photographs an effective silencer is to tell the child that her

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or his parents would probably be very upset to see the photographs. This threat is typically successful because the child fears s/he would be blamed for allowing the photographs to be taken.

Many other researchers and writers have also mentioned the way in which "sexually explicit pictures of children can be used to blackmail the child victim into obedience and silence" (Santos in Arnaldo, 2001, p. 59). For example, Burgess and Hartman (1987) sex rings) contend that "The existence of pornographic photos, videos or electronic images of identifiable children is a significant influence in the silencing and hooking of children." (p. 51; also see Gaspar, Roger, & Peter Bibby. (1996). How rings work, p. 52).

Conclusion

It is important to stress that my theory is limited to the role that exposure to child pornography (and sometimes adult pornography) plays in causing child sexual abuse. There are other ways in which pornography plays a causal role in such abuse. Some of these will be mentioned in the following chapter.

More research is urgently needed on child pornography, including on the causal relationship between exposure to pornography and child sexual abuse. For ethical reasons as well

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as the need to meet protection of human subjects requirements, some research in this area is impossible. But ingenious researchers should be able to design experiments on some important topics.

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**Chapter 10: Other Damaging Effects of Pornography on Children**Chapter 10: Other Damaging Effects of Pornography on Children

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"The fact is, thousands of children around the world have been brutally abused to create these images, and demand for the pictures is burgeoning, fueled by the Internet. That in turn encourages more abuse."

-- Nordland & Bartholet, 2001, March 19, (The web's) p. 46.

"Pornography doesn't hurt the viewer, and, especially for a young person trying to figure out his or her sexual orientation, it can help in exploring fantasies and confirming that other people share the same tastes."

-- Judith Levine, Harmful to Minors (2002), p. 149

"... I love children. The thought of hurting one is abhorrent to me."

-- Pedophile (cited by Jenkins, 2001, p. 126)

This chapter will focus on some of the damaging effects of

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child pornography not dealt with elsewhere in this volume.

Many books and hundreds of articles have been written about the damaging effects of child sexual abuse on children. In contrast, there are very few studies about the damaging consequences of pornography-related child sexual abuse as well as the damage to some children of viewing pornography.\* [\*Footnote: For a detailed two-page list of psychological effects on the victims/survivors of child sexual abuse, and the behavioral manifestations of this abuse, see Finkelhor (1986), pp. 186-187.]

Harmon and Boeringer (2002, January 20) note that there are ethical problems in exposing children to research using pornography because of "the possible permanent effects that subjects might suffer" (p. 5). These researchers emphasize that the "extreme violence and brutality sometimes present in postings on the internet cannot be over-emphasized when discussing the potential effects upon viewers -- especially young viewers" (p. 5).

However, there would be no ethical problem conducting research based on interviews with children who have been used in the production of pornography (including extreme forms of it) about the psychological, physical, and social effects of their experiences. Psychological tests could also be administered to assess the effects of the abuse. The same methodology could be

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applied to adults who were subjected to pornography-related sexual abuse in their childhoods. This is the methodology used by Burgess et al. (to be described shortly). The best methodological strategy may be to interview child victims in reported cases and/or adults who experienced pornography-related sexual abuse in their childhoods, to ascertain the impact of this experience.

**1. Some Damaging Effects on Children of Exposure to Pornography**

David Finkelhor, Kimberly Mitchell and Janis Wolak (June 2000)'s study based on a national representative sample of 1,501 children and adolescents' involuntary access to pornography on the Internet, was described in detail in Chapter 6. The focus here is on inadvertent and unwanted exposures to pornography on the Internet showing pictorial images of naked people or people having sex which boys and girls found distressing.

Finkelhor et al., defined distressing exposures to pornography as those which the girls and boys found "very or extremely upsetting" (p. 13). They found that:

6% of the girls and boys reported having "a distressing\*  
[Footnote: Finkelhor et al., appear to use the words  
distressing and upsetting interchangeably] exposure to  
unwanted sexual pictures on the Internet in the last year"

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(p. 13).

72% of the girls and boys were surfing the net when they encountered pornography that they found distressing compared to 30% who were exposed when opening an email or clicking on an email link.

Approximately 25% of both girls and boys reported being exposed to pornography. Of those who were distressed, slightly more were boys than girls (57% vs. 42%). Finkelhor et al., suggest that this discrepancy "may reflect the reality that boys tend to allow their curiosity to draw them closer to such encounters" (p. 14).

Of the youth who reported being distressed:

- o 23% were "very or extremely upset by the exposure" (p. 16).

- o 20% were "very or extremely embarrassed," and

- o 20% "reported at least one symptom of stress" (p. 16).

For example:

- They stayed away from the Internet - 17% vs 34%;

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- They could not stop thinking about it - 6% vs 16%;
- They "Felt jumpy or irritable" - 2% vs 7%;
- They "Lost interest in things" - 1% vs 7% (p. 19).

Clearly, more research is needed on the effects of exposure to pornography on young male viewers, particularly because studies suggest that "over 50% of various categories of paraphiliacs [sex offenders] had developed their deviant arousal patterns prior to age 18" (Einsiedel, 1986, p. 53). Einsiedel also suggested that "the age-of-first-exposure variable and the nature of that exposure needs to be examined more carefully."

Itzin and Sweet (1992) analyzed the answers of 4,000 readers of an issue of British Cosmopolitan magazine in November 1989 (and published in March 1990). Ninety-six percent of the respondents were women. These researchers noted that

"More than a quarter of those [in the study] who first encountered pornography at the age of twelve or under" had sexual intercourse before the age of 16 (p. 229). And women who had sex under sixteen were more likely to have seen pornography at an early age." (p. 229)

Hence, it appears that early exposure to pornography has a major

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impact on girls.\* [\*Footnote: Unfortunately, there is no information on the percentage of girls who became pregnant as a result of early intercourse, and how many of these pregnancies occurred outside of marriage.]

One of the women who participated in the Cosmopolitan survey disclosed how devastated she was by seeing pornography.

"When I was ten my family was visiting my uncle and aunt's house. I was sitting next to my father when my uncle gave him a bound volume of 'adult' magazines. I looked over his shoulder, but I couldn't believe what I saw. I felt everything I was going to grow up to had been made dirty and cheap, only for titillation." (Itzin and Sweet, 1992, p. p. 229)

The testimony of the following woman also reveals the negative long-term effect of viewing pornography when she was very young.

"'My unhealthy concept of sex began when I was a child between the ages of seven and nine. At that time I was introduced to both pictorial and written pornography. This was over fifty-five years ago. My entire concept of what sex was all about came from these materials.'" (The Attorney General's Commission on Pornography, Vol. 1, p.

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2. The Trauma and Damaging Effects to Child Victims Resulting from Pornography-Related Child Sexual Abuse

Following are the conclusions of different researchers, a Government Commission and a government committee, about some of the traumatic effects of pornography-related child sexual abuse.

Despite the fact that the Attorney Generals' Commission on Pornography (1986) summarized some of what they described as "the devastating effects of pornography" on its victims, it is doubtful that they were able to separate the negative effects of pornography from the negative effects of the sexual abuse. Unless otherwise stated, this applies to the other study findings reported in this section.

"In the short term the effects of such involvement [with pornography] include depression, suicidal thoughts, feelings of shame, guilt, alienation from family and peers, and massive acute anxiety. Victims in the longer term may successfully 'integrate' the event, particularly with psychiatric help, but many will likely suffer a repetition of the abuse cycle (this time as the abuser) [if male], chronic low self esteem, depression, anxiety regarding sexuality, role confusion, a fragmented sense of self, and possible entry into delinquency or prostitution." (pp. 613-

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With regard to damaging effects, Healy (2002) maintains that:

"The impact on the child victim who is exploited to produce pornography is often serious. Children can experience a myriad of symptoms including physical symptoms and illnesses, emotional withdrawal, anti-social behaviour, mood-swings, depression, fear and anxiety." (p. 9)

The 1977 Judiciary Committee found that the children used in pornography "tended to be vulnerable children who were easily victimized and who became deeply scarred by their ordeals (S. Rep. No. 438, 95th Cong., 2nd Sess. 5, 1977; cited by Linz and Imrich, p. 87).

According to Linz and Imrich (2001), children who have been used in child pornography are typically "unable to develop healthy affectionate relationships in later life, have sexual dysfunctions, and have the tendency to become sexual abusers as adults" (p. 89). There is a great deal of solid, scientific research that substantiates these findings (refs).

Burgess et al. (1984) conducted one of the very few scientific studies on the effects of pornography-related sexual

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abuse of children victimized in sex abuse rings. She and her colleagues interviewed children and their parents or caretakers two years after the child participants disclosed their experiences.

"All of the children had very strong traumatic responses [to the pornography-related child sexual abuse] including: intrusive thoughts, flashbacks, vivid memories and dreams; almost all became increasingly isolated and withdrawn from others. Other 'symptoms' reported two years later for many included: hyperalertness; aggressive behaviour; and 'hypermasculine risk taking' (p. 56) (p. 660). Childhood stress responses like bed wetting, disturbed sleep, and mood changes were also common." (Cited by Kelly et al., 1995, p. 55: The Research Evidence to Date - **find in Burgess**)

In Burgess et al.'s study of children who were used in the creation of pornography when they were involved in sex abuse rings, they found "a significant relationship between involvement in pornography and a pattern of identification with the exploiter...." (also referred to as "identification with the aggressor" -- meaning that some of the characteristics or behavior of the perpetrator [in this case] are incorporated by their victims). (Response patterns in children and adolescents exploited through sex rings and pornography, American Journal of Psychiatry 14:5 (May 1984), pp. 9-10.) This harmful coping

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strategy often results in these males, and a few females, becoming sexual predator(s) later in their lives.

In an earlier report, Burgess, Groth and McCausland (1981) "found that having been used in pornography was a poor prognosis factor for victims of child sex rings" (cited by Itzin, 1996, p. 188).

In sex rings involving multiple child victims and the production of child pornography, some children are forced to perpetrate abuse -- including rape -- on other children in front of the camera. Kelly et al., (1995) note that this experience "exacerbates shame, humiliation and powerlessness, and requires additional adaptational responses" by these victim-perpetrators (p. 57). Hunt and Baird (1990) refer to these same negative effects on children as a result of "being photographed while being sexually abused," adding that this experience is "devastating" to the victims (p. 202; cited by Itzin, 1996, p. 188).

Norma Howes states that she has counselled about 450 girls and boys from four years and older since 1987. These children have been victimized by pornography-related child sexual abuse. She reports that

"The children I see feel bad about themselves. They feel

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responsible for what has happened. They feel they should have stopped it. They suffer from flashbacks -- they actually re-live the abuse. They have nightmares about the abuser coming into their bedroom and being there, doing things to them. This is even when they have been taken miles away and are living in foster homes or residential homes. For the children who have been involved in pornography, there are all those problems magnified many times -- they feel even more guilty, even more responsible.

It's totally debilitating. (Tate, 1990, p. 205; Emphasis added)

Victims' statements about the trauma of pornography-related child sexual abuse

The following woman reported that her first exposure to pornography was when she was in 5th grade. The babysitter showed her and her brother 8" x 10" glossy pornographic photos of people having sex. Then he tried to have sex with them.

"After we refused to do it [have sex] he would barricade us in the bathroom and make us watch him jerk off. He also made us touch him. (Where?) On his genitals. He'd show us pictures and he'd demonstrate a hard-on for us so we'd know what it was. He made fun of my brother because he [his penis] was so little.

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"(What did you feel about the pornographic pictures?) I felt repulsed and that it was ugly and wrong. I didn't want to grow up and have to do it. I thought about becoming a nun and got more religious. I didn't feel good about my body. (Long term effects?) It took me a long time to feel comfortable with certain sexual positions and sex."

(Russell, 1994, p. )

Another woman said that she was shown pornography at age seven. She was also

"a victim of both cunnilingus and rape by her 17 year-old brother. 'I still suffer from the humiliation of all that happening to me. My self-esteem suffered for years. I'm now 34 and I'm still not over the guilt and trauma.'"

(Badgely, p. 1280)

A 41-year-old woman was "shown pornography at age six." She was also "threatened and raped by her uncle. 'Children see pictures, they don't forget...' she said. "I was frightened of males. It took years to heal the scars.'" (Badgely, p. 1280)

"A teenage boy who had run away from home reported having been sexually abused by his uncle. He stated he was shown

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pornographic materials in the course of sexual abuse and he was used in the production of pornographic films.... 'It was a difficult situation for me. And afterwards, I attempted suicide several times.'" (Gov. Comm. Vol. 1, p. 800)

"A woman whose father had used pornography in his sexual abuse of her from the age of three testified: 'I was nothing but a pornographic tool for his use. I cannot distinguish the difference between sex and pornography. Because of my sexual abuse as a child, I am extremely against pornography, and because of pornography I cannot enjoy sex.'" (Vol. 1, p. 815)

The final example is about the trauma that a former male victim of a child sex abuse ring experienced.

"A young man who had been forced to engage in sexual acts for the production of pornography testified that he and other boys who had been exploited by a sex ring felt stigmatized by the publicity surrounding the investigation and prosecution of the offenders. 'Those of us who were involved in the ring never talked about it. We wanted to forget the experience. But since my name became public I couldn't escape the stigma of being involved in the sex scandal. I started taking drugs heavily at age twelve to

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try to cope with the situation.' (Vol. 1, p. 819)

3. The Trauma and Damaging Effects for Children of Having a Permanent Record of Their Sexual Abuse Experiences Distributed as Child Pornography

Calcetas-Santos (1996, December) points out that "once such material [child pornography] is loaded onto the information highway, there is no way to stop its dissemination" (p. 15). Several researchers use quite extreme words to describe the devastating impact children suffer on realizing that the photographs of their abuse are circulating on the Internet. For example, Michael Hames reports that,

"the main additional consequence for a child of involvement in pornography is fear and anxiety that it is in the world and that others will be watching it. Some live in terror that they will be recognised, and most are preoccupied by where the material has gone." (Kelly et al., 1995. p. 56; emphasis added)

Pornography researcher Gail Dines corroborates Hames' observation. She reports that many of her students who were photographed while being sexually abused in childhood are terrified that a photograph of themselves will be included in the

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slide presentation that Dines shows to her class -- even though she focuses on adult pornography (Personal Communication, March 24, 2003).

Note that the Attorney Generals' Commission on Pornography (1986) also uses extreme language when reporting that all the victims of child pornography "will suffer the agony of knowing the record of their sexual abuse is in circulation, its effects on their future lives unknowable and beyond their control. That may well be their most unhealable wound" (pp. 613-4; emphasis added).

Itzin (1996) cites a study in which women reported "being used to pose for child pornography and then living into adulthood in dread of finding the photographs published" (p. 169). Tate quotes a victim of very severe sexual abuse by her father who took photographs while he abused her. She reported that:

"Even today I still worry about those photographs. You never know whether they're still being circulated. My father was a very warped man. He could easily have sold photographs like that. For many years those pictures tormented me, preyed on my mind.... Twenty-four years after it all ended I still suffered for what he had done in those photographs." (pp. 186-187; emphasis added)

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Calcetas-Santos (1996) notes that, "The availability of child pornography on the internet results in the repeated victimization of the child on an unprecedented scale" (p. 15). Many other researchers make a similar point. The children become distressed when they become aware "that others will be able to see their humiliation" without their being able to know about it, and "that what for them was humiliating and shameful is sold/made available as a source of enjoyment for others" (Kelly et al., 1995, p. 54). Another source of distress to these children is "that what they have done under coercion, and/or as a survival strategy will be seen as at least complicity, and at worst enjoyment" (Kelly et al., p. 54).

The child victims typically find it threatening to speak about what happened to them because they fear others negatively judging them for their participation in child pornography (Kelly et al., p. 54). The victims of child pornography/sexual abuse "who enjoyed the attention or who were sexually stimulated carry special shame about their participation in pornography" (Healy, p. 10). Furthermore, sexual predators use the child pornography photographs of their victims

"to reinforce the children's sense of responsibility for the abuse and to ensure their silence. Perpetrators can take advantage of this by threatening to show the pictures to others. Several children were told that if their mothers

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ever saw the pictures they would become so angry that they would kill the children. Thus a sense of guilt and a 'negative self identity' are formed." (Hunt and Baird, 1990, p. 201, cited by Kelly et al., 1995, p. 57)

Lanning reports that "Some children have even committed crimes in attempts to retrieve or destroy the permanent record of their molestation" (cited by Tate, p. 184). Healy makes a similar point, noting that "those who have been photographed [to make child pornography] may take drastic measures, for example, burning the house where the pictures are located or stealing back the record of their exploitation" (p. 10).

Counseling Victims

Norma Howes reports that she has counseled about 450 girls and boys from four years and older since 1987. These children have been victimized by pornography-related child sexual abuse. Howes noted that she used "video-tape to record the [child's] disclosure interviews" (Tate, 1990, p. 195). She said that she observed "a completely different response from a child who has been photographed while being abused than from those who haven't" (p. 195). She found that "the children who have been involved in pornography start getting agitated, getting sweaty and become really worried about what I'm going to do with this camera. And that's even though I have explained to them what it is really for

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and obtained their informed consent to its use," Howes said (p. 195). She noted that it is very clear "that child pornography has been used as part of a control mechanism to stop them telling, because if they tell then somebody will get to see the pictures" (p. 195).

Howes contends that

"It's particularly devastating for older children and adolescents who -- as they see it -- have put themselves (p. 196) into compromising positions to allow the photographs or videos to be taken.... As they perceive it the photographs could not have been taken if they hadn't co-operated. They forget that there were threats used; they forget that they did it when they were really, really frightened. What they remember is the concrete evidence of the photograph or video showing them in a very compromising position." (Cited by Tate, pp. 195-196)

#### 4. The Trauma for Children of Being Identifiable in Computer-Generated Pornography

Rather than creating an original computer-generated image, Friel notes that child pornographers "will find it easier to distort and manipulate pictures of actual children" to

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manufacture pornography (p. 236). Because "the photograph has a strong psychological power in our culture" and because there is a common conviction that "the camera doesn't lie," ... "A child who is falsely depicted as a subject of virtual pornography would undoubtedly be shocked and humiliated if he or she discovered such an image" (p. 236).

Shirley O'Brien suggests seven different kinds of emotional consequences for a child who views her/his "own manipulated image" used in pornography (p. 236, fn. 208). The image

"(1) arouses feelings with which the child is unable to cope because of the child's lack of experience; (2) degrades the child's self-image; (3) suggests that the child wanted to engage in the conduct and, therefore, is willing to participate in real sexual experiences; (4) makes the child vulnerable to sexual dependency;\* [\*this consequence is incomprehensible to me.] (5) inhibits the healthy sexual functioning in later life; (6) invades the child's privacy' and (7) distorts the child's sense of what is appropriate behavior." (Cited by Friel, pp. 236-237, fn. 208)

Despite these points, Friel quite rightly points out that few would argue that the humiliation of being recognizable in computer-generated child pornography "is equal to the pain and loss of innocence of actual sexual abuse" (Friel, pp. 236-237).

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### 5. Pornography and the Creation of Distorted Views in Children

Pornography researcher James Check (1995) makes the important point that there is very little research on how exposure to pornography affects children outside of the context of their being shown this material by perpetrators. He is not referring to the children "who are depicted in pornography, but those who are consumers of pornography" (In Lederer and Delgado, p. 89).

In order to address this neglected issue, Check conducted several studies substantiating that high percentages of Canadian children are consumers of pornography (these studies were described in Chapter 6). He suggests that this exposure "has a much greater effect on children than it does on adults" (cited in Lederer and Delgado, 1995, p. 90). He notes, for example, that, "Fourteen-year-olds are exploring sexuality, desperate for information, and pornography provides what they think is useful information about sex" (p. 90). However, not surprisingly, one of his studies showed that what they learned was far-from-useful information about sex.

"(M)any young boys indicated that they learned from pornography to connect the use of force during sex with

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excitement, with feeling stimulated. They also learned that force was justified if the female was at all active, i.e., if she took the initiative.

"The condition that produced the most acceptance of force during sex was when the female sexually excited the male."  
(p. 90).

Applying a scale that ranged from the choice "not at all okay" to "definitely okay", Check found that "forty-three percent of the boys and 16 percent of the girls said holding a girl down and forcing her to have intercourse if a boy has been sexually excited is at least 'maybe okay' or [they] said 'I'm not sure'" (pp. 90-91). In addition, "only 71 percent of the girls and 35 percent of the boys said it's 'definitely not okay'" (p. 91).

6. The Sexualization of Children by Child Pornography has Deleterious Effects on All Children

The preamble to the Child Pornography Prevention Act of 1996 maintains that "the sexualization and eroticization of minors through any form of child pornographic images has a deleterious effect on all children" (p. 87). This is because it encourages "a societal perception of children as sexual objects ... leading to further sexual abuse and exploitation of them" (p. 87). This

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sexualization of children, in turn, "creates an unwholesome environment which affects the psychological, mental and emotional development of children and undermines the efforts of parents and families to encourage the sound mental, moral, and emotional development of children" (p. 87).

### 7. The Relationship Between Child Pornography and Child Prostitution

In contrast to adult women, many children who are used in pornography are so powerless that their perpetrators typically do not pay them. With child prostitution, it is the pimps -- not the prostituted children -- who get paid.

Child pornography and child prostitution are both forms of child sexual exploitation or child sexual abuse, and in both cases, a very high percentage of these children were sexually abused earlier in their childhoods. Another characteristic that child prostitutes and children abused in child pornography have in common is that many of them are runaways from abusive homes. Researchers Mimi Silbert and Ayala Pines (1984), who conducted a study of 200 prostitutes, refer to the "stunning amounts of sexual abuse of street prostitutes... in their childhood prior to entering prostitution" (in Russell, *Making Violence Sexy*). p. 115). More specifically, Silbert and Pines (1982) reported that

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between 60 and 70 percent of young prostituted women were sexually abused as children (p. 479 [look for page number in article in my 1984 book]).

In addition, although Silbert and Pines (1984) did not ask their sample of 200 prostituted women whether or not they had ever been used in pornography, "38% of the ... women prostitutes they interviewed ... reported that sexually explicit photographs had been taken of them when they were under the age of 16 "for commercial purposes, and/or the personal gratification of the photographer" (p. 118). Clearly the 38 percent figure would have been much higher had Silbert and Pines specifically asked the sample of prostituted women whether or not pornographic photographs had ever been taken of them. It is surprising that almost two decades after Silbert and Pines (1982) published their findings, no one has attempted to ask a sample of prostitutes the questions that these researchers failed to ask.

A woman referred to as Ms. S. testified for a group of previously prostituted women in Minneapolis.<sup>1</sup> She noted that,

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<sup>1</sup> This is a slightly edited excerpt from the transcript of Public Hearings on Ordinance to Add Pornography as Discrimination Against Women, Committee on Government Operations, City Council, Minneapolis, Minnesota, December 12-13, 1983.

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"All of us feel very strongly about the relationship between pornography and prostitution.... One of the very first commonalities we discovered was that we were all introduced to prostitution through pornography, and we were all under 18 at the time. Pornography was our textbook. We learned the tricks of the trade by men exposing us to pornography; we tried to mimic what we saw. I can not stress enough what a huge influence we feel this was. These pictures were of real men and women who appeared to be happy consenting adults, engaged in human sexuality."

Brannon (2003) refers to three studies of prostitution that found that the average age of entering prostitution was 14 years (Weisberg, 1984; Silbert & Pines, 1982; and Gray, 1973). Brannon notes that "if the average age was 14, then about half of these children had been prostituted at a younger age than 14." A fourth study of prostitutes in San Francisco found that the average age of entering prostitution was 13. A number of these little girls had been prostituted at nine, 10, and 11 years of age (Brannon, 2003). Brannon contends that there is such a strong statistical relationship between victims of childhood sex abuse becoming prostitutes, that it is clear that child sexual abuse is a major precursor to being prostituted.

Both child pornography and child prostitution are components of the sex industry. Kelly et al. (1995, p. 11) noted that they

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the same children are often used in both of these components simultaneously (p. 11). These researchers cite Gita Sereny's (1986) "study of child prostitution in three of the richest countries in the world," in which she found that every one of the child prostitutes that she had spoken to "had also been asked at some point to pose for porn photos or appear in films" (pp. 11-12).

Brannon write that "A girl's entry into prostitution is not a pretty one. A scared, desperate, emotionally wounded runaway girl of 12, 13, 14, or 15," with no money, no means of livelihood, and nowhere to run, is preyed upon by pimps who initially pose as kind caretakers, but soon show their true colors (p. 2003, p. ). As Kathleen Barry has documented, girls like this "will soon be in a situation of violence, abuse, and control that they are not able to leave" (Brannon, p. ).

With regard to the connections between child pornography and child prostitution, Rush (1980 book) pointed out that, "Those who profit from child prostitution will [sometimes] also exploit the lucrative sideline of child pornography" (p. 163). She also noted that, "Organized prostitution rings are usually well supplied with cameras and movie equipment. And once a child learns to survive by prostitution, earning a few extra dollars posing for porn pictures and films is not too difficult" (p. 163).

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Children who are poor, rejected, neglected, from stigmatized racial or ethnic minorities in poor Third World -- especially African -- countries are particularly vulnerable to being used in child prostitution and commercially produced child pornography and as primary targets of sex tourists (Kelly et al., 1995). Kelly and her colleagues wonder if "children are easier to procure [from places] where physical survival is a daily struggle, [and] where children have to work from an early age" (p. 12).

Jenkins (2001), maintains that requests for rare material is particularly sought after on the Internet pedo boards. He notes that one of the rare but most popular themes that arouses real enthusiasm is "Black loli," [loli refers to pre-pubescent children], and African or African American children (p. 85). Consistent with Jenkins' observation, Kelly et al. (1995) also maintain that "The majority of children in the world who are victims of sexual exploitation come from poor, often exclusively Black, countries" (p. 12). These researchers suggest that "the sexual exploitation of Black children is probably more acceptable to white supremacist male producers and consumers" who can dehumanize them "as not only 'non-persons' but also 'non-children' (p. 12). Racist stereotypes of Black girls as 'erotically exotic' are fostered by this material (p. 12).

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Kelly and her colleagues also note that

"The sex industry relies upon and trades in all forms of inequality; children's particular powerlessness (in that they have more limited legal and practical options than adults), and in various contexts their individual survival needs, makes them a unique target, both for consumers and producers" (pp. 12-13).

### 8. The Relationship Between Child Pornography and Child Sex Tourism

Kelly et al. (1995) refer to the fact that "sex tourism involves the richer nations 'exporting' abusers to the poorer" (p. 13). More specifically, these researchers note that "destinations in South East Asia, Latin America and increasingly Africa have become favoured by sex tourists, including those seeking sex with children" (p. 12). They argue that the sexual abuse of children as a result of sex tourism "is the outcome of the conjunction of sexism, racism, imperialism, and children's powerlessness in relation to adults" (p. 12).

Companya and Poffenberger (p. 143) describe a case in which a Thai man called Manit Thamaree was arrested by Thai police for several crimes in July 1985, including organizing "packaged sex

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tours" in which he provided males from the United States and other Western nations with the opportunity to visit Thailand and rape young Thai children (pp. 143-144).

Another of Thamaree's crimes involved "the production and distribution of child pornography that showed children being raped by Western adults" (p. 143). Thamaree had a distribution list of more than 200 customers for the United States. The magazines advertizing his trips "depicted scenes of children, ranging in age from 7 to 13, engaged in sexual activates with adults" (p. 144). After Thamaree's arrest, he

"was found in possession of thousands of negatives and prints of white males raping children. ... Many of the pictures had notations on the reverse side that identified the perpetrators as 'Americans,' 'Australians,' or men from different European countries." (p. 144)

Jenkins (2001) notes that, "many of the hard-core images circulated on the Net are the incidental products of 'sex tourism'" (p. 186). He describes these images as portraying "white men having sex with young Asian or Latina girls" (p. 186). Jenkins (2001) suggests that these photographs "are presumably souvenirs taken by tourists visiting third world countries during the 1980s and 1990s" (p. 186). He reports that "Thailand, Sri Lanka, and Indonesia are the main Asian venues" for sex tourism

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(p. 186).

9. The Relationship Between Child Pornography, Trafficking in Children, and Child Sexual Slavery

Kelly et al. (1995, p. 20): quote The Council of Europe's most recent definition of trafficking as:

"Any act or activity aimed at bringing a child or a young person into prostitution or pornography or maintaining him/her there, possibly by transporting him/her at national or international level, even with his/her consent or by means of deception, threats, force or other influence."  
(p. 26)

Kelly et al. (1995, p. 26) note that the "lack of options for children and young people in developing countries" is a major factor in the occurrence of organised trafficking, "and conditions which can only be described as sexual slavery" (p. 26; also see Basak, 1991).

Santos (Carlos Arnaldo in Carlos A. Arnaldo, (Ed.), (2001). points out that, "The global computer communication network has ... become the latest vehicle for trafficking in women and children (p. 58). Santos notes that "It is widely used by men to

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exchange detailed information on where to find children for sex, or to give information on actual locations where pimps sell pre-teen girls, the sex acts that can be bought, and the price for each act" (p. 58).

Fortunately, according to Jenkins (2001), "at least in official policy, the advanced industrial world now seems to form a united front against this trafficking" (p. 201).

Conclusion

The damaging effects of child pornography described in this chapter are far from comprehensive. However, they augment the major damaging effect described in Chapters 9 and 10 on my theory of how exposure to pornography causes child sexual abuse.

There is an urgent need for more scientific studies on the damaging effects of child pornography. Lemmey and Tice (2000) concur with this point in the following paragraph, including the need for research on child prostitution.

"For the sake of the millions of children involved today [in child pornography and child prostitution], and for all of the potential victims of the future, detailed, in-depth, empirical research on the dynamics of child pornography and child prostitution is desperately needed, especially as it pertains to the motivations and behaviors of the consumers

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of pornography and the clients of prostitutes. If such research is not undertaken soon, the intermittent but fleeting flare of the media spotlight will do little to prevent or even reduce the continuing proliferation of devastating sexual abuse among defenseless children who live in the shadows, unseen and largely ignored." (p. 101)

[5,655 pages]

## Chapter 10: Other Damaging Effects of Pornography on Children

### Chapter 11: Testimonies by or About Survivors of Pornography-Related Sexual Abuse

[4victims.bok]

"When children are used to make pornography, a child is sacrificed for the most perverse of reasons."

-- J. Marshall, 1994 (cited by Friel, 1997, p. 240, fn 228)

"I think many more of us truly help kids rather than hurt."

-- Zurich (curious@truth.net, October 21, 1996, quoted in [www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/5021/anarchy.htm](http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/5021/anarchy.htm))

This chapter is devoted to several accounts by, or about, survivors of child pornography-related sexual abuse because I believe that it is very important to learn from this kind of anecdotal evidence.

1. Pornography and Father-Daughter Incest: Testimony by Katherine Brady\* [\*Footnote: This is a slightly edited version of Brady's testimony to the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice,

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August 8, 1984.]

"It is my belief that if we confront this abuse and degradation openly, we will be able to find a way to stop it."

My name is Katherine Brady. I was born in Dubuque, Iowa and I was educated and married and lived for over 23 years in Green Bay, Wisconsin. I am a single parent with two daughters, aged 12 and 13. I am testifying here today as both an incest survivor and a child abuse prevention activist.

My father incestuously abused me for a period of 10 years, from the time I was 8 years old until I was 18. . . . During the early stages of the molestation, my father used pornographic materials as a way of coercing me into having sex with him. In the beginning, the pornography consisted of materials he confiscated from inmates of two State institutions where he worked. He was employed as a prison guard at the Central State Mental Hospital, Waupun, Wisconsin, and subsequently worked as a training and corrections officer at the Reformatory for Boys in Green Bay, Wisconsin.

My father used the pornography for several purposes. First of all, he used it as a teaching tool -- as a way of instructing me about sex and about what he wanted me to do with him. When he

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showed me the pictures, he would describe the acts in detail:

"This is fellatio," "this is what you do with intercourse," and so forth.

Second, my father used the pictures to justify his abuse and to convince me that what we were doing was normal. The idea was that if men were doing it to women in the pictures, then it was OK for him to do it to me.

Finally, he used the pornography to break down my resistance. The pornography made the statement that females are nothing more than objects for men's sexual gratification. How could I refuse my father when the pornography showed me that sex is what women and girls are for?

My father first told me about pornography when I was 9 years old. Then he sneaked it to me for private viewings after sending my mother and brother away. He would send her away on errands as if she were a child. Our family was typical in his being the authority, the head of the household. . . . When I was about 10 he told me not to tell my mother anything about what he was doing with me.

When he showed me the pornography for the first time, this is what it was like: As I sat down on the bed, he spread out the pictures of men and naked women in all sorts of sexual positions

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with each other. Looking at them, I felt a rush spread through my body . . . . I felt intense sexual desire, total revulsion, increasing excitement, abandonment of reason, a sense of sin and guilt, the shame of it all, and a resolve to forget it until next time.

The following passage is an excerpt from my book, Father's Days (1979). My body developed early -- when I was in the sixth grade, and I menstruated in grade school. Once I was in puberty, my father escalated the molestation. By that time, his use of pornography had subtly coerced me into submission. I had learned from his lessons with pornography that I had to submit to his abuse. Because I was afraid of his physical power and verbal authority, it never occurred to me to challenge his use of pornography or his abuse. The pornography frightened me, it confused me, and yet it excited me. I felt trapped. My only means of surviving psychologically was to become detached -- to send my mind off -- to pretend that the abuse was happening to someone else. I pretended for many years that I had a "normal family." The truth is that the pornography trained me to respond to my father's sexual demands.

\*\*\*\*\*

2.

Pornographer's Daughter

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by Nancy Smith

Nancy Smith, 44, sent me a poem entitled "Pornographer's Daughter" on 2/5/2003. In her two letters to me she wrote about being forced to view large amounts of pornography in her childhood.

"Dad was into the worst type of porn (sadism, bestiality, worse). He wrote porn books which he illustrated himself. I remember sitting on his lap as he went through one of his porn books showing me the pictures when I was 4 or 5 years old. Dad sold and profited from his books and I was told that mom helped him produce them.

There were porn books, magazines and pictures all over the house, many of which were extremely graphic and 'perverse.'

I was reading them obsessively before the age of ten. Many contained incestuous scenarios, sadistic scenarios, and the like. Young girls being raped by their uncles and 'loving it.' Young girls getting 'turned on' by fire, by force, by degradation and abuse. Quite the education for a young girl! Dad considered women to be sluts, whores, bitches and cunts. He believed they liked force, liked to be raped, and all wanted him sexually.

Dad also had porn parties in our home and showed films on

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our living room wall. Groups of people came to watch these -- usually family members. I remember in one movie a woman was doing fellatio on a horse. In the other, a naked woman was being chased through the woods before being raped and killed. Dad told me this was a snuff movie. It was extremely terrifying to me. I have no memories of direct physical sexual abuse by him. But then I have virtually no memories between the ages of ten and fourteen. Anything could have happened in those years.

Dad really 'got off' by scaring me. He would tell me about his fantasies -- of raping, degrading, kidnapping, and killing women. Part of his purpose in life was to keep me terrified and compliant so that I would keep my mouth shut.

To be surrounded by the worst types of pornography from early childhood on had what I believe to be devastating effects on me and on my views of women and men. I have trauma-reenactment nightmares about being used for/in child porn. I suffered from learned helplessness to an extreme. I became very promiscuous and easily victimized during my young adulthood. I was a well-scripted victim for anyone who came my way.

I got pregnant at the age of 15. I had three children by age 19. And by then I was on a self-destructive, alcoholic, revictimization run that was to last ten years and nearly

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kill me. My life has been hell. My relationships with men have been recreations of abuse to one degree or another. My son was horribly abused and my whole family of creation was victimized/terrorized by a pedophile and his family and friends. We got him arrested and convicted, but he is now out of prison again.

My life has been a nightmare. I was on complete disability for about 10 years due to post-traumatic stress disorder, anxiety/panic/agoraphobia, and asthma. I spent 15 years in intense therapy to get to where I am today. Altogether, I have been in recovery for nearly 17 years.

Pornographer's Daughter

Pictures on the wall  
Legs spread wide  
"Big titted women --  
Begging to be fucked"

i am only nine  
why am I so afraid  
to be a woman?

Daddy writes the books  
Draws the pictures

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Sells

i am only nine  
why am I so afraid  
to be a woman?

"Pussies" on the wall  
"Bitches, cunts, and whores"  
The men they come  
and "cum" again

i am only nine  
why am I so afraid  
to be a woman?

Got to go to school tomorrow  
Where did mommy go?  
Crying from the other room  
I don't want to know

i am only nine  
god help me  
i don't want to be  
a woman.

\*\*\*\*\*

**Chapter 11: Testimonies by or About Child Survivors**3. Regrets of A Nudist Mother:"My Daughter Doesn't Smile Anymore."

Edited by Nikki Craft

I am a mother of a three children. I was leery, like any other parent, about having my children exposed to the nudist lifestyle, and was keenly interested in the way they took to the environment. We attended various nudist events and carefully chose a club where there was plenty of fresh air and entertainment, and where we could feel safe.

My daughter liked nudism a lot. She even wrote an article for the A.S.A. Bulletin in 1985, when she was 12 years old, about her positive experiences as a nudist child. She wrote about how she had held a towel tightly wrapped around her for protection the first night she attended a nudist gathering, and how quickly her barriers dropped with the towel after she took the big risk and plunged naked into the hot tub. My daughter took to nudism like a fish to water. She made friends at the campsites of the Sequoians Family Nudist Club and Rawhide Ranch, looking forward to weekends and special occasion.

All that has changed now, because she befriended a man named

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Tim Wilcox who has turned out to be a convicted child molester. Last year, Tim plead guilty to a felony charge of a series of sexual molestations of our little girl, which first occurred when she was 10 years old....

My daughter was always outgoing. She had a genuine love for people, always had her heart on her sleeve and took people at face value. I put this in the past tense because things have changed since she met Tim. At the time, Tim was a stocky man in his thirties, always seen with at least one camera strap around his stomach. He liked photographing girls and young boys, and would often ask parents' permission to photograph their child. He photographed my daughter many times, posed, smiling in front of this camera.

Seeing the trust in my child's eyes, I couldn't help but trust the guy myself. My daughter and Tim rapidly became friends. They were chums; he was her good buddy. She trusted and loved him, and looked forward to seeing him at various events. He would regularly bring her gifts like candy bars, books, puzzles, and other new toys; and one time he bought her a new bicycle. He took her to the Great America twice: once as just a "fun day," and once for a rock concert.

People warned me Tim was getting too close to our family, but I felt he was just being friendly. I sensed he was starved for

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attention and wanted to know someone cared.

There were a few strange indications about Tim's behavior, but I didn't recognize what they meant at the time. Like when he put his hand on my daughter's leg and said, "Hey, you're not a virgin anymore; you've been to your first rock concert!" And once Tim said to me: "Don't you think it's strange that I would rather hang around a young girl of 12, than hang around someone my own age, or another adult?" Then there was the time he took her to a weekend self-enhancement class. She refused to go without me because they would have been in a motel together. But mostly I saw Tim as harmless: as a big brother for my daughter; and I never gave the matters much thought.

After a few months went by, Tim asked my daughter if she would like to have a pen pal in another country. She was very excited, especially since we have relatives all over the globe. He gave her the address of a man Robbert Broekstra in Europe, who had a "Teen Pen Pal Club." Tim also told her, and a lot of other kids from Sanrobes and Sequoians, to send, besides their addresses, nude pictures of themselves and their friends. They did.

When my daughter quickly got an off-color response from her [alleged] 9-year-old "pen pal" who wrote about her parents' sexual practices, she thought it was so weird she stopped

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writing.

We really never questioned, until later, what use anyone would have for so many pictures of nude children. But when U.S. Customs knocked on our door and went to Sequoians in 1986, asking questions about Broekstra and Tim, I had the idea. I gave the investigators the obscene letters my daughter had received from Broekstra's "Teen Pen Pal" Service and discovered they already had letters written to other children. By then, I was extremely upset to learn the facts after it was already too late. This is when I learned that Tim had prior convictions.

Before I found out about Tim's past, one day he ran behind our car, waving frantically and crying real tears. In a real childlike voice he told me, "She won't give me a hug good-bye." I tried to keep a straight face and kind of played along with him, but I realized he was really too serious. I told him "Well, Tim, you don't need to cry about it." My daughter was stone faced, and I said, "Go on. Give him a hug." She did.

All of a sudden my daughter started to shy away from Tim. I would say, "Look there's Tim," and she would say, "So?" When we planned a nudist outing, she wanted to know if Tim would be attending. She would tell us over and over that she did not want to see him anymore. The only comment she would make was that she was tired of him hugging her, and she did not like having to tell

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him she didn't want to hug or be hugged. [Wilcox often wore a "Hugs" T-shirt, with no pants underneath, that mandated a hug upon greeting him.]

By that time, a lot of other children were shying away from Tim, too, saying he was weird. Tim and I had been very good friends and I would try to defend him against other people's criticisms. When my daughter would reject him, I thought maybe she just wanted to be like all the other kids and didn't want them to know that Tim was her friend. Yes, teen pressure prevails even in a nudist camp.

Now, I realize that peer pressure had nothing to do with my daughter's fear of Tim. I also recognized that Tim was so chummy with me to get to her. He took me places with the children and used me like a decoy. Knowing what I know now, I sure wish, I had been more supportive of my daughter's hesitations about Tim.

Several years after the visit by U.S. Customs, my daughter and I were coming home from the grocery store. Out of nowhere, she told me, "Tim did a lot more than you know about." I stopped the car and asked her what she was talking about. I was heartsick, shocked, and did not know what to do about it or where to turn. This has to be every mother's worst nightmare. I asked my daughter if she wanted to talk to a police officer about it and she said yes. She told her story to the investigators, and a

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full report was taken. Tim finally did plead guilty to the charge of sexual assault on my daughter. However, the judge did not accept his plea-bargain that would have reduced his sentence.

Reportedly because, due to the evidence he had examined, the judge felt Wilcox was "too dangerous" to be released with the previously established plea bargain agreement of probation.

Since this happened, there have been some very hurtful attempts by several nudists to wreck the credibility of our family so my daughter's testimony will be discredited. Even though Tim has already been convicted to two counts of felony child molestations, has been in prison, a psychiatric hospital, and was a registered sex offender, it is our daughter and our family whom Louise Flanagan turned into "the accused." There were horrible rumors, hurtful letters, and lies told about us. We were rejected and snubbed because we -- not Tim -- caused the club trouble by bringing this out in the open. And I still cannot believe that my daughter -- and not Tim -- was turned by some into the criminal.

I feel betrayed that other nudists have been uncaring about what happened to our nudist family. Basil Hugueley, the president of the Western Sunbathing Association (WSA), never even bothered to ask our side of the story. Ricc Bieber, WSA Internal Affairs Chair, never talked to us until there was such intense pressure from others that he could no longer ignore what was

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going on. He called late one-night ten months after we had pressed charges against Tim. Now, finally, Ricc seemed most supportive and said he would present a motion to add Tim to the A.S.A. Caution List. [Wilcox, to date has not been added to the A.S.A.'s Caution List.]

Now that Tim's past has been made public, we feel somewhat vindicated. I cannot begin to tell you how this has affected our lives. We never though anything like this would ever happen to us. Tim has destroyed my daughter's trust in people, which is something I can never forgive him for. Her self-confidence has been shattered. She has been running away from home since this happened because she cannot get settled, cannot feel secure anymore.

It took a long time of counseling for the full story to come out. In one session dealing with sexual assault, she was given a towel that was supposed to represent her abuser. She was so hurt and angry that she shredded it to bits before the session was over. Is this what "growing up" means for a child who once had such intense love and caring for others? I cry for my daughter.

I cry deep inside because I know it is her own face she sees in the mirror each day, and only she can bring herself completely through all this. It is such a heavy burden for a child her age to bear. At times, I wish I had a magic wand that could take away all the hurt and replace it with the love and support she

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feels she has lost.

My daughter doesn't smile anymore, not like she used to. She is no longer friendly and outgoing. She is much more reserved, almost spy-like, and very particular about who is around her. She probably will not return to the nudist lifestyle because of her pain and resentment about what happened.

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**4. Testimony by Peggy Smith: Victim of Child-Porn-Related Abuse**

"[T]he wounds and scars that pornography has left me with are not always visible, but the effect is psychological murder."

Ms. Smith. I am an adult victim of child sexual abuse. Starting at the age of 4 [in 1943], old Mr. Edwards, a neighbor and close friend of the family, enticed me to take baths at his house.... so he could watch and touch me. This went on for 5 years, during which he had me wearing his wife's clothes, and eventually having oral sex and being penetrated by him.... He used pornography, to show me how to be, and what to do. So I didn't see anything wrong with anything he did to me, or have me do to him. I became addicted to sex as a way of getting through life.

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I also became an alcoholic. I was married at the age 16. My marriage was purely sexual. I put up with more pornography because I thought it would secure my marriage, but it destroyed it. I cannot go into explicit details about the sexual abuse during that period. I can tell you it was horrendous.

The next 20 years were filled with multiple relationships with men, who were middle-class white and blue-collar workers. Although it is quite difficult for me to talk about, I can share that I was hit and punched because I refused to allow a partner to put his fist in my vagina, as in the same fashion as in one of his pornographic magazines.

Even though I was already acquainted with oral sex, from age 4, for me it was painful and terrifying. No matter how hard I would resist, men would eventually have their way with me, telling me to relax and enjoy it, like the women in the "Deep Throat" movie. This was not an act of sexual intimacy, it was forceful, degrading, and on many occasions left me bruised and gagging, with dry heaves for hours.

During these years I could not understand why the sex acts were to be performed on me, and I was expected to perform, were so painful, and left me feeling abused and battered. The confusion for me was the message that society gave, that such

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acts were performed by women called whore, bitches, and tramps. And at the same time, that all women needed to become sexually uninhibited, or they were prudish, frigid, or queer.

All this was reinforced by the pornography, that depicted total submission and enjoyment on the faces of the women in the pornography.

For years I lived with the belief that my only value as a woman and person was determined by the amount of sexual pleasure I could bring men. I was good, if they were happy.

After years of pain, and confusion, and abuse, I entered into a relationship with a man that lasted for 5 years. During this time I thought I was free of pornography, and I believed that I was protecting my children from pornography. I was hoping to find safety, security, and acceptance, for myself, as well as my 12 year-old son and 7-year old daughter.

It was not until 6 months after my leaving this relationship that my son was able to tell me that he had been molested by this man [starting when he was 14]. This man had used pornography to sexually arouse my son, so that he could molest him. He had him wear woman's underwear, so that he would resemble the [females in] pornography, while he would molest him.

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It was 18 month later that my daughter was able to talk about being molested by the same man.... She was 7 when it began for her. She also told me about being molested by her brother, and one of his friends. He was using pornographic magazines as teaching guides.

My daughter was also a victim of gang rape, by four teenage boys, who used pornographic magazines stolen from a local convenience store in the neighborhood, to threaten and terrify her. They made her pose in the same position as [the females] in the pornography magazines, and then ridiculed her because her body was not as good as those [in] the pictures. At that time she was 11 years old.

What I have just shared with you is a brief outline [of the experiences of] my children and myself. It has taken 3 years to work [through] the pain and confusion of almost 40 years, and now I am finally being able to treat myself with the love and respect that I deserve.

I have been able to achieve an emotional balance in my life. While sorting through what has happened to my children and myself, I have come to the conclusion that pornography is an insidious threat to mental and physical health. It debases the true function and meaning of sexual intimacy, [and] it incites sexual activities.

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There are those that argue that pornography does not have victims. I can tell you that the wounds and scars that pornography has left me with are not always visible, but the effect is psychological murder.

I have never been able to complete an education, or hold any productive employment. I have two children out of wedlock, and spent most of my life in aid to families with dependent children.

I wonder what my life would have been if the pornography had not happened, or if there had been a way to do something about it....

I know about pornography, because I have lived through ... hell because of it....

Senator Specter. ... [W]hat do you recall was the kind of pictures that you were shown?

Ms. Smith. A lot of it I blocked. I do remember he had a basement, a carpenter shop, and nude photos on the wall. There were never any magazines, it was always individual photos.... It started with nude women, and then partners acting out sex, and then oral sex, and there was one picture with an animal, and he very suddenly seduced me. It was not that he jumped into ... immediate sexual behavior....

Senator Specter. Did you ever talk to your mother?

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Ms. Smith. I did not realize what was happening to me. My mother was a single parent working daily. I felt lonely... and he used my vulnerability to abuse me. He passed himself off as a friend, he took me everywhere. I was able to play the grand piano. It was a careful, subtle seduction....

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5. Testimony by Ms. L. re: Porn-Related Rape<sup>2</sup>

Ms. L.: I am going to talk about being raped and how pornography was involved in that rape. When I was 13 I was camping with the Girl Scouts in Northern Wisconsin. It was 10 years ago in November. I was walking through the forest outside the camp in mid-afternoon when I came upon three deer hunters who were reading magazines and talking and joking around.

I turned to walk away and one of the men yelled, "There is a live one." I thought they meant a deer, so I ducked and tried to run away. Then I realized that there weren't any deer in sight

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<sup>2</sup> This is a slightly edited excerpt from the transcript of Public Hearings on Ordinance to Add Pornography as Discrimination Against Women, Committee on Government Operations, City Council, Minneapolis, Minnesota, December 12-13, 1983.

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and that they meant me. So I started running and they ran after me. I tripped. The forest was covered with pine needles and leaves, and they caught me.

I told them that I would go away and to please leave me alone. They said, "You are not going anywhere," and forced me to get up. They pulled my hair and started looking at me up and down, calling me a little Godiva (I had long hair then), a golden girl, and making jokes. They told me to take my clothes off, so I did. It was very cold. They told me to lie down and not to say anything; that if I made a sound, they would kill me. They would blow my head off.

All three men had hunting rifles. Two of them held their guns at my head, and the first man hit my breast with his rifle while they continued to laugh. Then the first man raped me. When he was finished they started making jokes about how I was a virgin. I didn't know how they knew that. And they made jokes about how they could use something like this when they were in boot camp and they made jokes about being in the military. Then the second man raped me.

None of the men attempted to kiss me or touch my breasts; they simply wanted to have intercourse. When the second man was finished, the third man was not able to get an erection. The other men told me to give him a blow job but I didn't know what a

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blow job was. The third man then forced his penis into my mouth and told me to do it. I didn't know what I was supposed to be doing. He started swearing at me and calling me a bitch and a slut and saying that I had better do it right and that I wasn't even trying. He started getting very angry and one of the men pulled the trigger on his gun so I tried harder. When he had an erection, he raped me.

They continued to make jokes about how lucky they were to have found me when they did and about my being a virgin. Then they started kicking me and kicking leaves and pine needles on to me, and they told me that if I wanted more I could come back the next day. When they started walking away I put my clothes back on. Then I looked down and saw that they had been reading pornographic magazines with nude women on the covers.

I walked a fair amount away and then I broke down and cried under a tree. I went back to the camp but I didn't tell anyone that I had been raped. I went to the bathroom and saw that I had bled on my underwear, so I assumed that I had gotten my period. I didn't know that virgins bleed. I didn't find that out until a few years later. I didn't seek any medical help and I didn't tell anyone that I had been raped until I was 20 years old. I didn't feel I could tolerate having anyone think it was my fault or blaming me or not understanding. And I couldn't tolerate having no control over who had the information once I told

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someone. I knew that my mother would most likely tell a great many people.

Ms. Dworkin: Had you seen pornography before?

Ms. L: Yes, my father and my older brothers all had pornography. They kept it under their mattresses and under their beds. I had looked at the pornography in my home when I was growing up.

Ms. MacKinnon: What do you remember about what you were thinking they would do to you at the time?

Ms. L: When I was being raped, I thought they were going to kill me.

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6. Testimony by Rainer Hernandez: A Male Incest Survivor

[pornogra\3testimo.rail]

Hernandez: Senator Roth, I would like to thank you for allowing me the opportunity for being here today to talk about the effects that a 4-year ordeal of child molestation at the hands of my uncle has had on both myself and my family....

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My name is Rainer Hernandez. I'm a 21-year-old college student at the University of California at Santa Barbara. I am a survivor of molestation and pornography abuse that occurred from the ages of 12 to 16. The man who committed the crime[s], my uncle, Alex Hernandez, was a law-abiding, active member of the community who committed these crimes for a number of years within the midst of those who he worked [with] and within a very closely knit family.

... Alex ... had access to hundreds of children in an official capacity. He was a former scout leader, a former Big Brother with Catholic Charities, an elementary school teacher, and a school counselor trained in child psychology. He used to take scores of boys on overnight camping trips, each one carrying a signed permission slip from their unwary parents. On some trips, the parents actually paid Alex to sponsor the activities.

He was a master of manipulation, not only with the child but with the parents as well. He would sit and talk with the parents for hours, sometimes making no reference to the child, but by the end of the evening, he had convinced the parents that their child needed special tutoring in math or English that only he could provide in his home.

We have no way of knowing how many children were molested by

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my uncle. He was convicted for molesting five children and was sentenced to 6 years in prison, but, for example, in my case, the incidents of child abuse had already passed beyond the statute of limitations. How many children were there just like myself?

When I was 12, I often spent weekends and holidays at my grandmother's house, and on the lot where she lived, there were two other houses. My uncle lived in one of them. At the age of 12, I later learned I was just entering this particular pedophile's preferred age group. He began taking an interest in me. He started taking me to ball games with other kids and with other younger family members, and then began taking me to movies by myself.

When I was at my grandmother's house, he would offer to let me spend hours over at his house playing with an assortment of toys, hobbies, and sports equipment which would have fascinated any 12-year-old kid. He let me be alone in his house also so I would become comfortable there.

The next step he took in grooming me for sexual exploitation was with photography.... At first, he took pictures of me clothed, and since everyone knew about Alex's interest and skill in photography, this seemed perfectly normal and, in fact, my family was delighted with the first photographs they received of me. Alex then coaxed me to take off more of my clothes. First

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it was my shirt. He explained how simple and easy it would be. He told me that it would be fun. Then he wanted me to try it without my jeans. Later it progressed to my changing into and out of swim suits and then without my underwear. Finally, fully naked. Then he had me pose naked in front of a camera. Methodically, always careful to make sure that he could go safely to the next step without my running out of the house, Alex led right up to the first incident of molestation, which began with fondling and then led to all the logical sexual acts that could follow.

It is almost impossible to describe to people who have never experienced this how masterfully a pedophile like Alex can control a 12-year-old child. He was able to make me feel as if it were myself suggesting what pose or what activity to do next.

He never physically threatened or coerced me, at least not at first.

It was during the first incident of molestation that I felt this appalling realization that I had done something terribly wrong, I felt shame, guilt, and sadness; that I had committed a dirty thing against my mom and dad who loved me so much and would be so disgusted with what I had done with this man. I assumed all of the guilt for what happened. I knew that it was myself that had to be responsible for this.

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Alex realized that this first incident was the pivotal point of my victimization. This was the one time when he knew that he had to act to maintain his control over the situation or I might have left the house and told someone. So my uncle, the school counselor, the man who counseled hundreds of children before me, made me stand before him naked, while he sat on a bar stool in front of me, also naked, and for 45 minutes he subjected me to a lecture about how what had happened between us was completely legal that I had nothing to be ashamed of. But he went further than that. He told me not to tell anyone and that if I ever did, not only would he go to jail, but I would get in trouble, and that my parents would hate me.

Please, just think for a moment what this can mean to a 12-year-old child who cherishes his parents. It feels that he's done something which would make them completely disgusted with him. My parents would hate me if they were to discover. They would punish me if I told them. Alex accomplished what he wanted -- I remained for six years. I was deathly afraid to confess my shame to anyone. I would go to confession, but could never bring myself to admit what had happened. I hoped the guilt would be cleansed under the guise of confessing to the priest those sins which I cannot remember.

The molestation continued for four more years, sometimes every other weekend, sometimes more or less frequently. I

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understand that the first and very understandable reaction anyone would have upon hearing this is why doesn't the child simply walk away from it all?.... I kept visiting my uncle, even after I knew that there was nothing in store for me but sexual abuse because I thought that's what I was meant to be used for. I felt guilty and horrible. I felt out of place in my clean, loving, trusting home. I didn't belong there with good people....

Finally, at age 16, I realized that I was growing out of Alex's age of sexual preference. Two years later, I finally confided my secret to a close aunt, whose child Benji and another cousin of mine, Mikey, would soon become targets of Alex's interest. I'm grateful that I went to her. She supported me in the difficult decision I had made that I had to tell my parents. Alex had to be stopped.

That evening that I spent telling my parents was the most painfully, crushing thing I had ever experienced. I never wanted to do anything that would hurt them. I was always confident that they loved me, and I know now that this is the only thing that has gotten us through all of this. Without it, I wouldn't have survived and have the healthy outlook on life which I feel that I have today. The police were contacted immediately. Los Angeles Detective Bill Dworin, who I understand testified before your subcommittee last November, interviewed me. Alex was arrested several days later. They found thousands of sexually explicit

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photos of young boys in his home and also many foreign child pornography magazines and films.... On two occasions, he showed me films of boys my age involved in sexual orgies. Several times he allowed me to see imported sexually explicit material featuring young boys my age.

Eventually he confessed to having molested five children; but it took two more agonizing years through the court system before he was finally found guilty and sentenced to only six years in the State prison.

We've tried to deal honestly and openly with what has happened to us.... Because of this, an entire extended family has strained and become splintered. We were ostracized and rejected by some of the family members who had been such a strong foundation of support throughout the years. The aunt in whom I confided also succumbed to family pressure and eventually withdrew her support from me.

My father explained to me how important it was that we sit through every single court session involving Alex. So postponement after postponement we were there. It wasn't vengeance on our part. My father explained to me that because my particular case fell beyond the statute of limitations that I would never gain real justice from the court system. We watched and listened even as years of abuse were made to sound as though

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Alex had accidentally touched me in the wrong places a few times.

My only consolation was knowing that by my coming forward, Alex has temporarily been stopped from what he was doing. As tragic as all this is, it could have been so much worse. I truly am one of the lucky ones. My parents never rejected me. They loved me then and they love me now. It's also taken us 2 years of in depth counseling to get where we are now....

Chairman Roth: .... How did your molestation affect you in school and your relationship[s] with your friends and family?

Hernandez: The very age that I was molested, which was 12 years old, was exactly the time that I began to have problems in school. First, I had problems academically, keeping my grades up, but where I think the problem surfaced most of all was with my relationship with peers of mine. I began to develop feelings of self-worthlessness, and I had a difficult time ... maintaining friendships with peers because I knew that for what has happened to me, I knew I was different. I felt that I was ugly, and I was a bad kid. So my studies were affected. I eventually became ... a loner child.... I had very few friends. It has also affected my ... social and personal relationships.... This kind of thing stays with you ... for as long as [you] live.... The memories are always there. The realization of what happened to you is always there....

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Raul Hernandez (father of Rainer): .... My whole family is shattered because of [this]. I haven't talked to my mother in two years on account of this. We are all victims of the single act.

Chairman Roth. Mr. Rainer, ... you mention in your testimony that you were on occasion shown child pornography. What do you think was the purpose of showing that to you?....

Hernandez: I believe that Alex ... showed me pornography, especially in the initial stages of the molestation, ... -- films and photographs that he had taken and also photographs in magazines, in books -- to try to convince me that ... other kids were doing [it] as well.... I think what he was trying to do was make me a little bit more comfortable with what he was trying to do with me by showing me photos of children doing it, too. He showed photos of children in sexual acts and children in playful acts to try to ... ease my fears and my inhibitions .... I think he definitely did use [the porn] to assist him in molesting me....

[7,021 words]

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[4utopia.bok]

"No single characteristic of pedophilia is more pervasive than the obsession with child pornography."

-- U.S. Senate, Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, etc etc. 1988.

"Any individual ... who collects or distributes child pornography actually perpetuates the sexual abuse or exploitation of the child portrayed. It is no different than the circulation of sexually explicit pictures taken by a rapist of his victim during the rape. Such collectors of child pornography are, in essence, child molesters"

-- Lanning, 1985.\* (\*Footnote: Cited by Crimmins in his Testimony to the Senate Judiciary Committee Hearings on Child Pornography on the Internet in ?1985/95.)

"The Internet has been responsible for resurrecting child porn from a near death. Police forces believe 10

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years ago they had all but wiped out the availability of child sex pictures and magazines in North America."

-- Delegates to the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police.\* (\*Footnote: Cited by Michael Jenkinson, Back into the bedrooms of the nation. Alberta Report/News magazine, Vol. 23, Issue 40, September 16, 1996.)

According to Amy Wells (2000; "Criminal procedure), access to child pornography was limited prior to the availability of child pornography on the Internet (p. 100). Hence, "Consumers of child pornography either had to know each other or seek out an underground network that exchanged pictures and videos through the mail or in person" (p. 100). Wells overlooks the availability of "under-the-counter" child pornography in some pornography stores that necessitated the would-be-consumer establishing trust with the pornography store manager or salesman, and perhaps offering a handsome tip as well.

Entering and exiting these pornography stores put the customers at risk of being seen by someone who knew or recognized them. Although these witnesses would have no way of knowing which customers were interested in child pornography, being observed would frequently cause embarrassment and anxiety that

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the ensuing gossip might reach the ears of family members, employees, friends, the boss, or other unwanted audiences. Indeed, if the customer was a well-known politician, teacher or priest, publicity about his frequenting the store could jeopardize his career.

In response to legislation aimed at eradicating child pornography, Jenkins (2001) maintains that it became "extremely difficult to obtain through non-electronic means," and has remained so for the last 20 years -- i.e., from about 1980 to 2000 (p. 9). However, a considerable amount of the child pornography that was originally off-line, is now available on the Internet.

Pedophiles are the focus of this chapter because it is commonly believed that a very large percentage of them are avid consumers of child pornography. However, there are also pedophiles who are ignorant about the availability of child pornography on the Internet and others who are computer illiterate and therefore unable to take advantage of its availability on the Internet. Nevertheless, I surmise that most researchers and clinicians would be surprised to find a pedophile who is familiar with child pornography but has no interest in it.

Studies of incarcerated pedophiles have found that they are

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significantly more interested than rapists of adult women in viewing pornography. For example, Carter, Prentky, Knight, Vanderveer, and Boucher (1986) found that "Less than 7% of the pedophile group reported that pornography had little importance in their lives" compared to 39% of the rapists (cited by Whetsell-Mitchell, p. 210). Furthermore, "The child sexual abuser group had double the reported incidence of using pornography before molesting, during the molestation, or to deal with the desire to molest" (p. 210).

Unfortunately, the researchers do not explain what the child molesters did with the pornography before molesting -- although it seems likely that they used it to stimulate their sexual arousal. Nor do they explain what this group of perpetrators did with the pornography during the molestation. In addition, they failed to say what they meant by "dealing" with the desire to molest. They also did not specify that the child molesters used child pornography -- although it seems reasonable to suppose that they did.

Many pedophiles are also the producers and distributors of child pornography. However, it was noted in Chapter 5 that there are also some child pornography entrepreneurs who are interested in making money -- not having sex with children. It is reasonable to assume that these child pornographers enjoy many of the same benefits by operating on the Internet as do pedophiles.

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### Some Ways in Which the Internet Facilitates Pedophiles' Child Pornography Pursuits

#### 1. The Internet Provides Pedophiles with Easy Access to Child Pornography

Nordland and Bartholet (2001, March 19, The web's) observed that pedophiles no longer "have to prowl the seedier sections of the city for [child pornography] photos or films" (p. 48); they can use their own computers to access child pornography on websites located all over the world and to make instant copies of this material (p. 46). In addition, the Internet enables them to reach "a global audience faster than any other media" (Santos in Carlos A. Arnaldo. (Ed.). (2001), p. 58).

Several other researchers emphasize "the easy access adults now have to child pornography" on the Internet (Crimmins, ?1985/95, Testimony to the Senate Judiciary Committee Hearings on Child Pornography on the Internet, p. 2; Wells, p. 100). Wells (2000) considers easy access as one of three major reasons "for the proliferation of child pornography on the Internet" (p. 100).

She provides the following examples of factors that facilitate easy access:

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"Traders in child pornography can visit electronic shops, browse through pornographic images, use their credit cards to purchase images they want and download their selections to either their hard drive or a floppy disk. There are also private networks where pedophiles share sordid stories of abuse and swap pornographic pictures. Also, electronic 'chat groups' provide easy access where child 'pornography can be exchanged more or less anonymously.'" (2000, pp. 100-101)

Jenkins (2001) also emphasizes "just how easy it is to find these materials" [child pornography] on the Internet (p. 3). "A month or so of free Web surfing could easily accumulate a child pornography library of several thousand images" (p. 3). Furthermore, Jenkins (2001) notes that "even the hardest [core] child pornography materials continue to be easily accessible for anyone with appropriate technical expertise" (p. 5; also see Santos, (in Carlos A. Arnaldo. (Ed.), 2001), p. 57). For example, Jenkins (2001) points out that

"The popularity of hel-lo\* and KX\* [\*Footnote: see Chapter xx for a detailed description of these two websites] has been achieved despite the utterly illegal nature of such collections.... Governments in most advanced countries have passed draconian prohibitory laws that often provide harsh

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prison terms for mere possession of child porn, let alone its distribution or manufacture.... And yet, not all the world's censorship laws, backed by the direst threats of prison and social ruin, have prevented these series from being readily available for anyone who wants them." (p. 3)

2. Advances in Technology have Increased the Ability of Pedophiles/Child Pornographers to Produce and Distribute Child Pornography on the Internet

There are many advances in technology that have increased the ability of pedophiles and child pornographers to produce and distribute child pornography. For example, Doyle describes the personal computer (PC) as having "revolutionized" the production and distribution of pornography, including child pornography, by providing "anonymity, privacy, and low cost" (p. 126).

Production of Child Pornography

Doyle (1999) describes how "photographic images from pictures or books can be scanned into the computer through the use of scanners" (p. 126). Scanners can then "convert images into a digital form that may be saved on a computer disk or hard drive" (pp. 126-27).

In addition, Doyle (1999) maintains that the production of

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home pornography has been enhanced by the development of "a compact digital video camera that records full color video and sound" in the production of live action (p. 127).

Doyle (1999) suggests that, "Perhaps the most insidious technological development in child pornography production is the creation of computer-generated pornography, virtual child pornography, or 'morphing'" (p. 127). He notes that "This type of child pornography is produced by the pornographer taking an innocent picture of a real child, putting it through a scanner, and converting it into an image that can be manipulated into pornography (pp. 127-28). Doyle (1999) describes how pornographers can "insert children's faces onto pornographic pictures of adult's bodies obtained from legal magazines that they scanned into a PC" (p. 128). "They can also slim down adult body parts," (Doyle, 1999, p. 128), "erase pubic hair or facial hair, and reduce and minimise breasts so as to make adult images look like children" (Healy, p. 7). These altered pictures have been transformed into computer-generated portrayals of children "engaging in any sort of sexual activity a pornographer wishes" (p. 128).

Doyle (1999) concludes that, "The ease of production of computer-generated child pornography poses an immense challenge to international efforts to stop the exploitation of children" (p. 128).

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### Distribution of Child Pornography

Prior to the Internet, child pornographers relied upon the mail or personal contact to exchange and distribute their materials, whereas now it can "be exchanged on floppy disks or ... delivered to a person's home via the Internet through newsgroups, bulletin boards, chat groups, web sites, and search engines" (Doyle, 1999, p. 128). This material can also be shared globally" (p. 129).

Although, "Both the distribution and possession of child pornography are criminal offences in most countries today," (Carlsson in Arnaldo, 2001, p. 62), Carlsson (2001) points out that, "The rapidity, economy and simplicity of the medium [internet] has expanded the distribution of child pornography immensely" (p. 62; emphasis added). Furthermore, "The Net's global reach implies unprecedented potential for effectively spreading illegal images" (p. 62).

Crimmins made a similar observation in his Testimony to the Senate Judiciary Committee Hearings on Child Pornography on the Internet in 1985/95 that

"The development and growth of the Internet and on-line service providers has enabled exploiters of children to

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distribute child pornography to the masses. Computers and modems have created an anonymous 'Pedophile Superstore.'"  
(p. 2)

### 3. Electronic Advances on the Internet Permit Inexpensive Storage of Large Collections of Child Pornography

Referring to a case in which a sexual predator was caught having "downloaded 22,000 images of young boys and girls aged between two and thirteen," and having stored "100,000 hardcore pictures on his computer disks," Jenkins (2001) notes that, "Recent developments in electronic transmission and storage make such vast collections feasible" (p. 100). Furthermore, the risks of detection are diminished because "the fact that these images are in electronic form means that they can be stored in a very small space, without the substantial libraries that would have been required if they were in magazine form" (Jenkins, 2001, p. 100).

In addition, Jenkins (2001) points out that, "Floppy disks have largely been replaced by Zip disks," and, "A normal 100 megabyte Zip disk can contain perhaps three thousand images, an entire visual library that can be slipped into a jacket pocket" (p. 101).

Storage of child pornography has become extremely

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inexpensive. Jenkins (2001) notes, for example, that "the cost of storing a megabyte of memory" has fallen "from about nine dollars in 1984 to a mere nine cents in 2000" (p. 101).

#### 4. The Internet Has Enhanced Pedophiles/Child Pornographers' Security

O'Connell (Paedophile Networking and the Internet in Von Feilitzen, Cecilia. (Ed.). (1999)) maintains that "the Internet provides a uniquely safe, easily accessible, and supportive context for posting, trading and collecting child pornography" (p. 7). Concurring on the security issue, Jenkins (2001) states that

"As long as [the child pornography] enthusiasts maintain their interests solely within the virtual realm, observing pictures but not seeking to collect or apply the electronic fantasies in the world of lived action, they appear to be safe from detection. The virtual world genuinely is protected territory." (p. 14)

In addition, the sheer number of pedophiles decreases the chances that any one of them will be caught. Presumably, it also enhances their feelings of safety, therefore making them more willing to pursue their desires.

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Jenkins (2001) also suggests that possessing pictures of child pornography collected from the Internet "has some virtues for security purposes, since one has to access the photographs online only once and can view it [them] when desired, without facing the additional risks involved in surfing perilous Web sites" (p. 101).

However, this advantage does not negate the more significant fact that large numbers of pedophiles are willing to jeopardize their safety in order to collect and store child pornography on their computers. And many act out their sexual interest in children by molesting them, often repeatedly and often in large numbers. Hence, most sexual predators cannot afford to be cavalier about their safety on the Internet. And according to O'Connell (in Arnaldo, 2001), most of them are not cavalier. He notes that members of the child pornography underworld "seem ever-vigilant and primed, not only to deal with any perceived threats posed by 'detractors' but also to avoid detection" (p. 77). Jenkins (2001) points out that, "The constant emphasis [by pedophiles] on safety and self-defense is evident from the abundance of technical information [on the Internet], which constitutes a majority of postings on the boards" (p. 110).

Lesce (May 1999) notes that

"Pedophiles breaking the law often take measures to protect

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themselves from prosecution. These techniques include hiding incriminating evidence, such as correspondence, 'kiddie porn,' and other materials that can implicate them in felonies. Physical concealment is one technique. Technologically advanced methods such as encryption is another." (p. 74; see above for more information on encryption.)

Lesce also reports that many pedophiles are very technically sophisticated on the computer. For example, they know how to "'booby-trap' their computers to destroy evidence" (p. 74). Furthermore, "With modern computer programs, it isn't difficult to generate a 'macro' that will erase the entire hard drive with the press of a single key (Lesce, p. 74-75). As officers serve a pedophile with a search warrant, they may not realize "that the evidence is vanishing in front of their eyes" (p. 75).

In addition, Lesce notes that

"voice recognition programs enable users to execute functions without touching the computer, based on a word or phrase unlikely to be uttered in normal situations. Saying a word such as 'arrest' or 'I surrender' can trigger a wiping function that will make the hard drive blank within minutes. Several disk-wiping programs are offered by reputable manufacturers to enhance computer security....

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They [these programs] remove files from disks and repeatedly over-write them with alternating 'I' and '0' symbols to make them absolutely unrecoverable."

Following are two additional factors that enhance the security for child pornography users on the Internet.

### a. Privacy and Anonymity Enhance Security

In striking contrast to the lack of privacy available to a customer who purchased child pornography magazines at an urban bookstore in the pre-Internet era (Jenkins, 2001, p. 98). The privacy possible when pedophiles send and receive child pornography is "one of [the] most popular aspects of using the Internet" (Hughes, 1999, p. 44). Furthermore, pedophiles can access child pornography in the comfort and privacy of their own homes. Jenkins (2001) notes that these mens' "sense of private space ... promotes a sense of invulnerability" (p. 97).

The risks of all those involved in child pornography on the Internet are greatly diminished by the anonymity provided them by their ability to invent different identities. (Santos, p. 58). Hughes notes that "Communication in chat rooms on the Internet leave no record, so these sites have become the haven for predators trading child pornography (p. 21). Healy (2002) states that a user who has made up an identity can "route a message from

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Pennsylvania, through Australia, to Germany and then to Kansas where it would be impossible to determine the origination.... Responses to the anonymous messages are then similarly encoded and the responder likewise remains anonymous" (p. 6).

According to Doyle (1999), anonymity "'helps explain the relatively high levels of network traffic in pornography'" (pp. 121/2). It also "makes tracking and catching producers and distributors of child pornography extremely difficult" (Doyle, 1999, p. 121). The Internet can satisfy its customers no matter how bizarre the pornography they seek "while protecting their identity" (Doyle, p. 122). Jenkins (2001) points out that "... the overwhelming majority of child pornography enthusiasts have the means of identifying literally none of their co-users, even individuals with whom they have been in electronic contact for a decade" (p. 17).

O'Connell notes that anonymity and security are greatly fostered by "private email, mailing lists, ... IRC [Internet Relay Chatroom] and an ever-evolving set of technologies that are constantly changing and reshaping the Internet at an exponential rate" (p. 78). IRCs also make it possible "to open a Direct Channel of Communication (DCC) between two users, which bypasses the need for a server and thereby raises the level of security of the communications" (O'Connell, p. 68).

**Chapter 12: The Internet: A Utopia for Pedophiles****b. Internet Servers Enhance Security**

Barry Crimmins testified to the Senate Judiciary Committee in ?1985/95 about the many ways in which America on Line (AOL) used to protect their pedophile customers. He informed the Senators about AOL's private rooms where pedophiles often used to meet with each other, and where AOL did not provide access to their other members. On coming across these rooms accidentally, Crimmins (?1985/95) reported that he located many "atrocious rooms," many of which were "created by, and for, pedophiles." He noted that "There were rooms promoting rape, incest, the exchange of child pornography, hate crimes, and every possible, and in some cases impossible, sexual activity. If one could imagine it, it was there."

Crimmins (?1985/95) also told the Senate Judiciary Committee that "When AOL closes[d] one of the particularly egregious rooms," the representative concerned frequently protected AOL's pedophile customers by suggesting that they "re-create the room as a 'private room'." Thus, AOL granted them the right to continue conducting their illegal activities, and informed them how they could do this. Crimmins noted that, "It is [was] in these private rooms that most of the trading of graphic image files or "GIFs" (computerized transmittable photographs) is [were] negotiated."

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Crimmins (?1985/95) focused on investigating the rooms where pedophiles engaged almost exclusively in child pornography exchanges, and he also "followed some of the traders of such material into adult porn rooms where they continued to solicit and exchange child pornography." In his testimony he described in great detail all the efforts he made to demand that AOL become accountable for protecting their pedophile customers, but to no avail. Crimmins testified angrily that

"AOL has had a great deal of prior knowledge as to how its service is being misused, and therefore, AOL facilitates and profiteers on these dastardly crimes. It is not hyperbolic to state that AOL is the key link in a network of child pornography traffickers that has grown exponentially over the last several months." (p. )

### c. Encryption Enhances Security

Encryption facilitates the user's security by transforming "one message into another message by using a mathematical function and a 'key'. 'Unauthorized users cannot access files or messages unless they have the key'" (Doyle, 1999, p. 121, fn 13).

Pedophiles typically use encryption to conceal their child pornography photo collections by using "a code that can only be translated with special software..." (Trebilock, (1999). Child molesters on the Internet, p. 48). According to Doyle,

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encryption "makes tracking and catching producers and distributors of child pornography extremely difficult" (1999, p. 121), thus enhancing pedophiles' ability to evade law enforcement.

One of Jenkins' sources advises child pornography collectors to save their files on encrypted CD's. This enables them to "store up to 650MB [megabytes] on a single CD" (p. 101; Citing MB: Sweetsnatch, Jan. 10, 2000). Furthermore, these CDs are "easy to hide or destroy if the worst were to happen" (p. 101). Also, when CD's are encrypted "with PGPdisk or similar, ... no one will ever know just what you have on them" (p. 101).

d. Legal Ambiguities on the Internet Enhance Security

Community standards have been a key legal criterion in determining whether or not pornography is obscene. (With regard to child pornography, this issue is only relevant in the case of computer-generated material.) However, it is unclear what constitutes "the community" on the Internet. Ladd (2000) raises this question by asking "which community would have to find a Web site obscene in order for the site to violate the law" (p. 41). The difficulty of resolving this question on the Internet makes it more difficult to determine if pedophiles and other predators on the Internet have, or have not, broken the law.

**Chapter 12: The Internet: A Utopia for Pedophiles****e. Film-Free Digital Cameras and CD-ROMS Enhance Security**

Nordland and Bartholet (2001) note that pedophiles can download "child pornography made with film-free digital cameras (no need to risk exposure at a photo store) and homemade CD-ROMS (Nordland and Bartholet, 2001, p. 46).

**f. Temporary Postings Enhance Security**

Jenkins (2001) reports that some child pornography is posted temporarily -- "sometimes for as little as a half hour" (p. ). This child pornography is usually extremely hardcore, illegal material. Pedophiles in the know are often informed through the grapevine (or "pedovine", to coin a word) about where and when these transient child pornography images will be posted. While these pedophiles are able to obtain this material, it is exceedingly difficult for members of law enforcement to be able to intercept it because it is posted for such a short time.

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Countering all the above security-enhancing aspects of the Internet for pedophiles, Jenkins (2001) contends that, "Owning a collection of child pornography seems absolutely contrary to the strict security precautions and safe surfing so frequently recommended on the boards, since, if found, the images constitute

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irrefutable evidence of criminal behavior...." (p. 102).

However, storing a small collection of child pornography is just as risky and incriminating -- if caught -- as storing a large collection.

### 5. The Internet Provides Pedophiles with Access to Many Potential Victims

Although one of the advantages of operating on the Internet for pedophiles is the access it gives them to children who are potential targets of their seductive efforts, this highly valued benefit is only relevant to pornography when pedophiles use it to try to lure victims. For example, some pedophiles "will send pornography to the child, including child pornography to convince the child that other children are sexually active" (Hughes, 1999, March, p. 28). In addition, some pedophiles attempt to "lower the child's inhibitions by talking about sex," sometimes very graphically -- and hence pornographically -- and "often under the guise of teaching the teen about sex" (Hughes, 1999, p. 28).

Hughes (1999) states that "Through the mid-1990s citizens of Western Europe and the United States observed that the problems of ... predators on the Internet were escalating rapidly and police officials were lagging far behind in their ability to detect and prosecute these criminals.... (p. 60).

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Nordland and Bartholet (2001) maintain that, "computer technology has ... become a powerful vehicle for preying on potential young victims" (p. 48; also see Carlsson (2001) (in Carlos A. Arnaldo. (Ed.), p. 62). They can pretend to be a teenager and present themselves in a fashion attractive to the youngster they are attempting to seduce.

Nordland and Bartholet note that, "Sexual predators interested in older kids no longer [have] to lurk near a school or neighborhood hangout. Via the Internet, they [can] enter a home, introduce themselves to a teenage child and carry on a long process of seduction" (p. 47). Pedophiles have much less chance of being caught trying to seduce teenagers on the Internet than near school grounds.

Debbie Mahoney (Child predators on the Web, date) notes that pedophiles meet in online chat rooms where they share "schemes about how to meet, attract and exploit children, and how to lure the parents of their victims into a false sense of security about the predator's presence within the sanctity of the family structure" (p. 81). Some of these chat rooms become online "How To" seminars in the predatory activities of pedophiles (p. 81).

O'Connell (2001) in Arnaldo) mentions several other ways in which the Internet facilitates pedophiles' access to potential victims, including the following:

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- o It gives "instant access to potential child victims worldwide";
- o It enables pedophiles to disguise their identities when "approaching children, even to the point of presenting [themselves] as ... member[s] of teen groups";
- o It gives pedophiles "Ready access to 'teen chat rooms' to find out how and who to target as potential victims";
- o It gives pedophiles the "Means to identify and track down home contact information";
- o It gives pedophiles the "Ability to build a long-term 'Internet' relationship with a potential victim, prior to attempting to engage the child in physical contact" (p. 68) (Adapted from 'Internet Pedophile Overview', Dr Nancy Faulkner and Debbie Mahoney. SOC-UM (www address)).
- o Finkelhor et al. mention "a key law-enforcement concern" as being "the anonymity the Internet gives to persons [males] who might want to sexually exploit youth."

It is impossible to know the number of sex predators online who have tried to lure children into having sexual relationships

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with them. Nordland and Bartholet (2001, March 19) provide data showing the tremendous increase within a three-year period (1998 to 2000) of pedophiles "trying to get children under 18 to meet with them" (p. 50). They start by noting that

"the FBI opened up roughly 700 cases dealing with online pedophilia, most of them for posting child pornography, and about a quarter dealing with online predators trying to get children under 18 to meet with them. By 2000 that figure had quadrupled to 2,856 cases."

### Finkelhor, Mitchell, and Wolak's National Survey of On-line Solicitations

Finkelhor et al.'s (2000) interviews with a nationally representative sample of 1,501 females and males aged 10 to 17 who regularly use the Internet was described in Chapter 6. The results of their findings on sexual solicitations will be the focus here. (Regularly was defined as "at least once a month for the past six months" [p. xi]). Finkelhor et al. defined "sexual solicitations as "Requests to engage in sexual activities or sexual talk or [to] give personal sexual information that were unwanted or, whether wanted or not, [that were] made by an adult" (p. x; emphasis in the original). Following are some of the major finding reported by these researchers:

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- o The survey "confirms that large numbers of youth get sexually propositioned while online...." p. 1
- o "Approximately one in five received a sexual solicitation or approach over the Internet in the last year" (emphasis in the original).
- o "One in thirty-three received an aggressive sexual solicitation -- a solicitor who asked to meet them somewhere, called them on the telephone; sent them regular mail, money, or gifts" (emphasis in the original).
- o "Less than 10% of sexual solicitations... were reported to authorities such as a law-enforcement agency, an Internet service provider, or a hotline."
- o "About one quarter of the youth who encountered a sexual solicitation or approach told a parent" (p. ix).

**The Gender of Victims**

- o "Girls were targeted at almost twice the rate of boys (66% versus 34%)..."
- o "More than three quarters of targeted youth (77%) were age 14 or older..."

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- o "Only 22% were ages 10 to 13, but this younger group was disproportionately distressed." (p. 2)
- o "Virtually all (97%) were persons the youth originally met online."
- o "Most of the adult solicitors were reported to be ages 18 to 25."
- o "Juveniles made 48% of the overall and 48% of the aggressive solicitations." (p. 3)

**What Happened?**

Finkelhor and his colleagues (2001) report that, "Based on the descriptions given to interviewers, many of the sexual solicitation appear to be propositions for 'cybersex'." (p. 3). They define cybersex as "a form of fantasy sex, which involves interactive chat-room sessions where the participants describe sexual acts and sometimes disrobe and masturbate" (p. 3).

Finkelhor et al., found that in almost two thirds (65%) of the incidents, "the youth met the person who solicited them in a chat room," whereas "in 24% of episodes the meeting occurred through Instant Messages" (p. 4). Hughes (1999, March) also

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maintains that chat rooms are, "The most popular forums for predators to find children" (p. 31). The "participants communicate by typing comments to each other" (p. 31). Because "exchanges in chat rooms are anonymous and no record is made of the communication," police detection is virtually impossible.

### To Whom Was the Solicitation Reported?

Finkelhor et al., note that:

- o "In almost half of [the] incidents (49%), the youth did not tell anyone about the episode. Even when the episode was aggressive, youth did not tell in 36% of [the] incidents."

- o "Only 10% were reported to an authority like a teacher, an Internet service provider, or law-enforcement agency. Even with aggressive episodes, only 18% were reported to an authority." (p. 4)

### Problems with Law Enforcement

Hughes (1999) notes that law enforcement officers have a difficult time "catching sexual predators on the Internet. One officer said, 'It takes about 30 seconds to find a hard-core conversation or full-color image and six months to build a case'"

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(p. 32). Pedophiles have to actually solicit sexual acts from a child or children in order to be arrested for this offence.

In conclusion: Finkelhor et al.'s national study along with statements by other researchers substantiates the fact that the Internet has greatly facilitated pedophiles' ability to prey on potential young victims, and to evade detection. Although the use of sting operations by law enforcement officers have been successful in many instances, the escalation in the soliciting of children on the Internet has made it difficult for them to keep up with all the work that has to go into apprehending offenders.

### 6. The Internet has Expanded the Types of Child Pornography Customers

All but the first of the following five types of new child pornography customers on the Internet have created an increasing number of males who are potential converts to becoming aroused by child pornography and motivated to commit child sexual abuse.

#### **1. Child Pornography Entrepreneurs**

There are new and growing numbers of child pornography producers who do not have a sexual preference for children but who are involved in this industry to make money.

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### **2. Child Pornography Customers Searching For More Extreme Material**

According to Margaret Healy (2002, February 27; World Congress against), there is "a new and growing segment of .... consumers ... who may not have a sexual preference for children, but who have seen the gamut of adult pornography and who are searching for more bizarre material," such as child pornography (p. 4). There are many other consumers who search for more extreme child pornography after becoming bored due to habituation to the less extreme kinds.

### **3. Child Pornography Customers Motivated by Curiosity**

Healy also refers to some males "who access child pornography on the Net out of curiosity" (p. 4).

### **4. Child Pornography Customers Unintentionally Exposed to Child Pornography on the Internet**

Adults as well as children sometimes access child pornography sites without any intention of doing so. Individuals who do a key word search can find themselves in this situation. This can occur because pornographic website operators use popular terms as key words to try "'to increase traffic to their sites (and thus advertising revenue)'" (Doyle, 1999, p. 129).

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Individuals can also receive unsolicited child pornography on their email merely by logging onto one of the computer servers like America online (AOL). This can occur when someone on the same server tries to increase their business by sending a sample of their child pornography collection to this person (Doyle, 1999, p. 130).

### 5. New Converts Due to Easy Accessibility of Child Pornography on the Internet

There are males who would not have taken the trouble or risk of trying to purchase child pornography from a pornography store, who discover their sexual arousal to this material when they take advantage of its easy accessibility on the Internet.

### 7. The Internet Provides Supportive Communities for Pedophiles

It is very easy for computer users to bring together large numbers of individuals who share deviant proclivities (p. 195). For example, the Internet gives sexual predators "instant access to other predators worldwide" (O'Connell, in Arnaldo, 2001) p. 68). According to Santos (in Carlos A. Arnaldo. (Ed.). (2001), many people believe "that the Internet has become a major factor in the development of paedophile rings" internationally (p. 57).

"The members of these rings use this medium to share experiences

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and to traffic in child pornographic images" (p. 57; Santos cites Illegal and Harmful Use of the Internet, Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, Dublin, July 1998). Sharing experiences includes:

- o giving or receiving advice on child porn-related security issues, which "constitute a majority of postings on the boards" (Jenkins, 2001, p. 101);
- o the best sources of child pornography;
- o sexually explicit child pornography that demonstrates how to sexually abuse children;
- o tips on which children to sexually abuse;
- o the best pornography to use to lower children's inhibitions;
- and so on.

Nordland and Bartholet (2001) contend that, "Men who had fantasies that they were once ashamed to admit or afraid to act upon now found a 'community' in online clubs and chat rooms devoted to preteen sex" (p. 46). This is but one example of how "the Internet enables sexual predators to obtain mutual support for their adult-child sexual desires, legitimizing philosophies

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and/or acting out behavior" (O'Connell, 2001 (in Arnaldo), p. 68). In addition, Durkin and Bryant (1995; Log on to sex: How Computers Facilitate Deviant Behavior) maintain that the Internet "can transform deviant sexual reverie into deviant reality by feeding and enriching the individual's fantasies" (p. 195). Hence, these researchers state that there is a "distinct possibility that the supportive social context afforded by the Internet may encourage some pedophiles to molest children" (p. 16). Mahoney's corroborates this point in her statement that

"It is easy to find and read messages between paedophiles supporting adult-child sex. It is also increasingly common to observe paedophiles in chat rooms, encouraging one another to move forward with advances on new victims and false alliances with the victims' families in what they define as 'loving relationships'. (p. 82)

In general, Durkin and Bryant observe that "The Internet provides an unprecedented source of support and information" for pedophiles (p. 16). For example, pedophiles advise each other about security issues, where to find cooperative children to sexually abuse while making pornography, identifying specific children to use for this purpose or parents willing to sell access to their children. Durkin also suggests that:

"Pedophiles who participate in these computer groups ... may

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conspire with each other to victimize children. For example, two Virginia men used a computer bulletin board in an attempt to locate a young boy to use in a 'snuff film' (Durkin & Bryant, 1995). "One of the two pedophiles had a supply of muriatic acid to apply to the youngster's corpse." Supportive communities of pedophiles on the Internet, as well as the massive amount of electronic child pornography available, "has a 'legitimizing effect'" that enables sexual predators to believe that their impulses are acceptable "because they are shared by so many others" (Jenkins, 2001, p. 47).

Jenkins (2001) also maintains that: "Some degree of tolerance of illegality is common to Internet culture in general" -- not just the supportive communities of pedophiles referred to above (p. 96). Moreover, he asserts that "the fervently libertarian ethos of the Internet can extend even to something as condemned as child porn" (p. 97).

### 8. The Benefits of the Policies of most Public Libraries for Pedophile Internet Users

The permissive policies of the American Library Association and most public libraries in the United States with regard to adults accessing and downloading illegal child pornography and other pornographic material was described in detail in the previous chapter. This information will not be repeated here. A

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few examples that convey the benefits for pedophiles of using public library computers to download illegal child pornography and even to run their pornography businesses will be cited in this section. The first example involves a report published in The Los Angeles Times about:

"A convicted child molester who routinely used computers at the Los Angeles Central Library to collect and distribute child pornography was arrested after planning what he thought would be a sexual liaison with six youngsters -- one as young as 3, police said Thursday... 'He would go to the library as soon as it opened up and signed up to use each computer on each floor... From there he maintained his Web site, while e-mailing and communicating with members of his club. He sent me as many as 300 images of child pornography.'" (p. 11)

In the following case, a librarian in a public library in Michigan city, Indiana, did, at least, respond to a patron's complaint by instructing a man to stop using the Internet. Perhaps her positive response to the complaint was due to the patron's assertiveness evidenced by the fact that s/he filed a complaint about the incident. This patron reported that:

I have seen a man bring up teen porn with pictures of totally naked guys on the screen and rub himself in the

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genital region while viewing this. Children from the age group of 7 on up were in the Reference Dept during this time, including my 2 daughters.... I informed the librarian at the desk and she then informed the man that he had to get off of the Internet." (p. 22)

In contrast to this case, the reaction of a supervisor at the Sonoma Public Library in California to a library staff member's report was unsympathetic and dismissive.

"There are 3 men on my shift who come in regularly, perhaps daily. One views child porn of nude boys in tubs.... These images are clearly visible.... What does it mean to have child molester posters up on our staff lounge & yet we make daily Internet appointments for someone to watch kiddy porn in the library on the library comp? Isn't this crazy?" (p. 12)

The supervisor responded:

"I don't like it either, but there is nothing we can do about it. The best thing for staff is to ignore it... please use your time in more constructive ways."

In the following case, two members of the library staff at a public library in Missouri "actively resisted police efforts to

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investigate a patron accessing child pornography. Library staff refused to cooperate, even when issued subpoenas. The county attorney explained in a letter to the library" (p. 13):

"When Fulton police received a report of a man going to the library ... and ... using the library equipment to print out child pornography at the library, an officer went to investigate. The officers and I were shocked that the library through you and Nancy resisted cooperation rather than doing everything you legally could to help." (p. 13)

Burt describes other ways in which many public library staff collude to protect pedophiles and other males who perpetrate pornography-related crimes on the premises.

"Many public libraries employ policies that would seem to encourage the illegal transmission of child pornography. Many public libraries not only have privacy screens, but also destroy patron sign-up sheets after use, and empty computer programs that delete any trace of user activity. These policies make it very difficult for law enforcement to catch pedophiles using public library Internet stations to download child pornography. Indeed, such an anonymous environment of Internet access would seem attractive to pedophiles, since there is little chance their crimes will be traced back to them." (p. 11)

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Burt's conclusion that the anonymity of Internet use in public libraries would only "seem" attractive to pedophiles is overly cautious. It contributes to the creation of a utopia for pedophiles that the Internet provides.

Given cases like the above, it is not surprising that PedoWatch, a pedophile monitoring group, has reported "that on-line pedophiles are telling each other to use public libraries to download child pornography" (p. 13).

Burt's study found that "While police more often were called for the most serious type of crimes, such as attempted molestations, nearly all other crimes went unreported" (p. 36). Table 12-1 shows Burt's findings regarding the number and percentage of crimes perpetrated in public libraries involving the accessing of child pornography and the exposure of children to pornography that were reported to the police.

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Table 12-1\*

The Number and Percentage of Crimes Relating to Child Pornography Perpetrated in Public Libraries Reported to the Police

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Crime	# Documented	# Reported to Police	% Reported to Police
Accessing Child Pornography	41	5	12%
Exposing Children to Child Pornography	106	0	0%
Total	147	5	3.4%

\*Adapted table based on Burt's (2000) chart, p. 36.

Table 12-1 shows that only 3.4 percent of the crimes involving what I presume to be adult male patrons [Burt does not identify their ages] accessing child pornography and exposing children to child pornography, are ever reported to the police. With regard to the accessing of child pornography, Burt notes that librarians had observed the child pornography in 33 out of the 41 documented incidents.

Burt noted that "Among the material librarians described seeing were 'nude pictures of young boys and girls' ...,

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'pictures of babies attempting sex' ..., 'pictures of naked little boys' ..., and a photo that 'showed a child no more than five with a man's penis in her mouth.'" (p. 12)

Hence, it is not surprising that Burt suggests that

"Sexual perpetrators who frequent public libraries probably are aware that they run a low risk of apprehension ... when 96.5 percent of the time the worst consequences they face if caught committing their criminal acts is being escorted from the library." (p. 37)

Since it appears that many library staff actively protect most of their patrons who break the law by using the libraries' computers to download child pornography, it is no wonder that PedoWatch, a pedophile monitoring group, "has confirmed that on-line pedophiles are telling each other to use public libraries to download child pornography" (p. 13). Julie Posey, the director of PedoWatch, reported as follows to Burt's study:

"I have seen cases where pedophiles on the Internet use the library to talk with children and eventually lure them to have a face-to-face meeting. These children are then molested, photos taken and further exploited when he sends the child's pictures to masses on the Internet." (p. 13)

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Burt reports that "Some urban public libraries report that their Internet stations are almost taken over by porn surfers, as this news story shows:"

"In the Los Angeles Central Library, for instance, the machines are regularly steered to online photos of naked women, digitized videos of sex acts and ribald chat-room discussions. A few patrons even use stolen or made-up credit card numbers to visit pay-per-peep porn sites.... Legitimate researchers sometimes have to wait in line because the machines are tied up by people perusing personal ads or X-rated chat rooms."

### 9. The Benefits for Pedophiles/Child Pornographers of Globalization on the Internet

Hughes notes that "The Internet has enabled globalization of the production and distribution of all types of pornography, including child pornography" (1999, March) ?p. 35). Healy (2002) refers to this development as having "revolutionized the international production and distribution of child pornography" (p. 1). An individual can now trade and/or sell homemade and commercial child pornography across state, national, and global borders (see Healy, p. 6). According to Carlsson, "The Net's global reach implies unprecedented potential for effectively spreading illegal images" (p. 62).

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The globalization of the Internet provides pedophiles with a much greater range of child pornography to choose from, thereby facilitating their ability to obtain exactly the kinds of material they most desire (Jenkins, 2001, p. 4). Similarly, pedophiles have an ever-increasing number of individuals with whom they can trade child pornography pictures in search of the particular ones missing from sequences they wish to complete, or photographs of the particular age-group of children they lust after.

Doyle (1999) maintains that, "Increased international concern over the issue of commercial sexual exploitation of the child is due to the large focus that the non-governmental community has brought to the issue" (p. 131). Healy attributes the great concern about child pornography in industrialised countries because computers are now frequently used in schools, workplaces and homes. Furthermore, access to computers is continually growing throughout the world. Healy notes that "As the computer literate population steadily rises, the use of home computers to produce and distribute child pornography will increase" (p. 7).

The globalization of child pornography on the Internet makes it possible for certain countries to service the international community in different ways. For example, the United States --

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the most advanced in Internet technology that it has developed for the production, distribution, and collection of child pornography, serves as a model for pedophiles and child molesters in other countries who can obtain this technology to meet their needs. This also applies to the many mechanisms that have been invented in the United States for enhancing the security of child pornography users on the Internet.

In some countries the laws relating to child pornography are much more permissive than others. For example, Jenkins (2001) contends that: "outside Western Europe, large areas of the world make virtually no pretense at combating underage sex or child pornography" (p. 195). He cites several former Communist countries as being lax about child pornography, noting that "much material prohibited elsewhere stems quite freely from Russia, Poland, and the Czech Republic" (p. 195). In Jenkins' (2001) opinion, "The influx of Russian and East European content has revolutionized the child porn world" (p. 196). Presumably, he is referring to the flooding of the Internet with large amounts of child pornography from these locations.

However, Jenkins (2001) singles out Japan as the "massive obstacle facing anti-pornography campaigners internationally...." (p. 198). Interpol has estimated that "most of the child pornography available on Internet sites world-wide originates in Japan" (Time Magazine (April 19, 1999) cited by Cecilia Von

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Feilitzen (Ed.) (1999): p. 13). This is because Japan had no law before April 1999 prohibiting child pornography (p. 13). "Anyone who wanted to buy, sell or produce such pictures could do so in Japan" (Jenkins, 2001, p. 13). Furthermore, only one country where child pornography is legal, can "sabotage all international arrangements" (Jenkins, 2001, p. 195). Hence, the legalization of child pornography in Japan has "frustrated global attempts to reduce child pornography (Time Magazine, 1999, cited by Cecilia Von Feilitzen (Ed.) (1999): p. 13).

As previously mentioned, "massive international pressure" was brought to bear on Japan in April 1999 culminating in legislation being passed to make child pornography illegal (Jenkins, 2001, p. 198). However, this legislation "does not make possession of child pornography illegal. It [merely] requires distributors to register with the police -- but threatens no penalties if they do not -- and asks Internet service providers to remove objectionable material voluntarily" (Time Magazine, p. 13). According to Jenkins (2001),

"Japan's real importance lies not in its production of images but in its tolerance of the pedo boards themselves, which advertise illicit materials posted on temporary and transient pages on otherwise innocuous servers. These have remained untouched by recent legislation." (p. 199)

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Jenkins (2001) describes Japanese kogal culture -- a term referring to the Japanese world of "little girls" (p. 198). These "little girls" are "often high school girls of fourteen or so, who can make large sums by responding to the sexual whims of grown-ups (sic)" p. 198). Most of the girls' behavior for sale is mild, including "phone sex and soft-core photographs" (p. 198). Pseudo-child pornography constitutes a great deal of Japanese sexual material involving "adult women posing as schoolgirls or young teenagers" (Jenkins, 2001, p. 198).

Jenkins (2001) points out that Japan "has very different standards [from Western nations] about what constitutes obscenity in the case of children" (p. 198). More specifically, he describes Japanese law on visual imagery in child pornography as

"relaxed, astonishingly so to Western eyes. Provided genitalia are not actually shown, naked children of more or less any age can be depicted, and often the concealment of the genitals can be very scanty indeed: a blade of grass concealing the vulval cleft will suffice. Nor must there be the slightest hint of sexual activity or interest by the subjects." (p. 198)

However, "While the major [child pornography] sites are based in Japan, most users are from North America and Europe," according

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to Jenkins (2001, p. 186; Emphasis added).

According to Jenkins (2001) "most 'bandit' countries are found in the third world nations of Asia and Latin America, where Westerners can readily find underage sex as well as visual depictions of such activity" (p. 199). Jenkins (2001) notes that "The child porn boards offer much advice on how to find countries where underage sex is readily available and where child pornography can easily be obtained or manufactured" (p. 196).

Doyle (1999) maintains that "Amsterdam and Manila are pedophile 'hubs' for the circulation of child pornography worldwide," and that "'the Netherlands and the United Kingdom are distribution centers'" (p. 126). According to Doyle (1999), "Most European child pornography is produced in Germany and England" (p. 126).\* [\*Footnote: For additional information on child pornography internationally, see Doyle (1999), pp. 132-137, and Healy (2002), entire article is on "Child pornography: An international perspective," Internet address).

### 10. Legal Factors that Benefit Pedophiles on the Internet

The Internet transcends jurisdictional borders, and because it is so new, laws have not yet been adapted to cover its unique qualities. In addition, Internet technology frequently advances much faster than laws to police it are being drafted and enacted.

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Furthermore, the laws on obscenity depend on an assessment of local community standards. However, it is unclear what the term community refers to regarding pornography on the Internet.

Doyle (1999) also notes that "[T]here are no international restrictions or regulations governing the Internet" (p. 132). Furthermore, "cyberspace has no physical geography," and "no territorial boundaries exist (Wells, p. 99). Largely for this reason," according to Wells, "traditional legal doctrines appear ill equipped to deal with contemporary problems that originate in cyberspace" (p. 99). Scholars and courts are giving increasing attention to "the proper legal analysis to apply to issues of jurisdiction, privacy, and intellectual property" (Wells, p. 99).

The Internet provides the opportunity for pedophiles in the United States to obtain child pornography that is illegal in this country from other countries with more permissive child pornography laws, for example, Japan and Russia.

Wells notes that, "Sweeping technological advances often force the law to adapt" (p. 99). However, changes in the law lag far behind the frequent and rapid innovations that characterize the Internet. For example, as Healy (2002) points out, "Computer alteration of images and the potential for creating computer generated pornography pose formidable challenges for courts and law enforcement officials throughout the world" (p. 1).

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Although little non-electronic child pornography has been available for the last 20 years -- according to Jenkins, when it comes to the Internet era, "regulation can, in fact, achieve remarkably little (Jenkins, 2001, p. 1). Evidence supporting Jenkins' (2001) conclusion is "suggested by the easy availability on the Internet of what is probably the most reprehensible material of all, the most stigmatized, and the most rigidly prohibited: namely, child pornography" (pp. 1-2).

Because of the inability of the law to effectively curtail child pornography on the Internet, Crimmins maintains that "There is a major crime wave taking place on America's computers (p. 1).

This reality leads him to conclude that "the de facto decriminalization of child pornography is taking place" (Testimony to the Senate Judiciary Committee, 1985/95, p. 1). Jenkins (2001) concurs with Crimmins' pessimistic conclusion (p. 15).

### 11. The Internet Enhances Pedophiles/Child Pornographers' Opportunities to Profit from Selling Child Pornography

The extent to which child pornography was, and is, freely traded and swapped or sold for profit -- both prior to the advent of the Internet and afterwards -- is a striking disagreement among scholars who write about this issue.

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Some contemporary commentators still emphasize the lack of a profit motive for the majority of pedophiles involved in various capacities on the Internet (e.g., Grant, David, & Grabosky (1999). Child, p. 178). For example, Jenkins (2001) claims that, "Prices in the child porn world have not just fallen, they have all but been eliminated" (p. 4). Healy (2002, p. 5) likewise contends that, "The majority of child pornography disseminated internationally is, in fact, exchanged between paedophiles and child molesters without any commercial motive" (p. 5). She also maintains that, "the overwhelming majority of child pornography seized in the United States has not been produced or distributed for profit (Healy, p. 5; Grant et al. (1999) and O'Connell (1999) concur with Healy's observation (p. 178).

On the other hand, Healy concedes that "there are those who continue to profit from its production and distribution" (p. 5; emphasis added). For example, she maintains that "Commercial production and consumption still exists in both Europe and the United States, as well as in Japan" (p. 5). Lanning disagrees with Healy's inclusion of the United States here (p. 63). However, he contends that "United States citizens [males] seem to be the main customers for much of this material" (p. 63).

In contrast with some of the scholars cited above, Campagna and Poffenberger (1988) maintained that "Child pornography is

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very big business" when they undertook their research (p. 123). In addition, they include interviews with two pedophiles and a child pornographer in their book who document the profitability of pornography in the 1980s (see Chapters 5 and 7 for excerpts from these interviews). In contrast to Campagna and Poffenberger, Lanning contends that because of the strict federal and state laws that were enacted in the United States in the late 1970s and early 1980s, "commercial child pornography is not openly sold anywhere in the United States today" (p. 63). In addition, he stated that when child pornography became available on the Internet, it was mostly traded, swapped, or given away to trusted pedophiles and child molesters. However, Lanning also concedes that "profit-motivated, child-pornography distribution" has resumed with the arrival of the Internet and is on the increase (p. 63).

Many other researchers and commentators stress the profit motive in the production and distribution of child pornography on the Internet. Santos (2001), for example, reports that "Selling child porn on the net can be very lucrative for producers and distributors" (p. 58). Nordland maintains that, "Today, international pedophile rings sell and trade hundreds of images" (p. 47). Hick and Halpin (2001) notes that some members of the pedophile community "seek commercial profit" for child pornography (p. 60). Furthermore, Samantha Friel (1997, Fall) maintains there are "business-oriented pornographers who are just

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in it for the money" (p. 227; emphasis added). Thomas and Janice Reedy provide an example of these kind of pornographers. I noted in Chapter 5 that they owned one of the largest child pornography enterprises on the Internet which earned them approximately \$1.4 million a month and a million dollars in fees from the web sites to which they provided access.

Money may motivate service providers to make illegal sites accessible to their customers. According to one Internet source: "The FEAR of losing users who access these illegal groups and the loss of the MONEY that these same users pay," explains why service providers do nothing to control child pornography and other illegal sites. This anonymous source concludes that "In effect, children are being exploited on the internet for profit" ([www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/5021/list.htm](http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/5021/list.htm). Version 11/06/96).

British journalist Tim Tate (Child Porn, 1990, p. 221) singles out the commercial and amateur computer-games industry as being "quick to cash in on the easy money of electronic sex" (p. 221). Although he notes that "The vast majority of such software is aimed at normal heterosexual men," he points out that some of this software "allows consumers to opt for juvenile 'partners' in the game" (p. 221).

A growing number of parents are also motivated by money to sell their daughters for use in child pornography. The testimony of a pedophile called Stewart and an interview with a child

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pornographer (see Chapters 7) provide many examples of such parents.

Finally, Healy makes the vital point that "Once child pornography enters the public sphere, even if by trade of gift, it becomes available to anyone who chooses to use it for monetary gain" (p. 5).

12. Obstacles for Law Enforcement Officers in Apprehending and/or Convicting Pedophiles/Child Pornographers on the Internet

There are many obstacles for law enforcement officers when it comes to apprehending pedophiles on the Internet. For a start, pedophiles have captured a huge lead over law enforcement officers because of their networking and greater technical expertise" (Lesce, p. 78). According to Lesce, there are now companies that

"provide special relay services to clients, 'anonymizing' them by accepting messages and forwarding them under other addresses.... Other e-mail services, such as Microsoft's 'Hotmail,' accept clients under whatever 'handles' they choose, and allow them to send and receive messages under that handle." (p. 76)

These developments "impedes law enforcement because some

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pedophiles pretend to be in foreign countries. American police officers will often pass them up because they're only interested in apprehending local molesters" (p. 76).

Lesce also notes that: "Almost never does anything directly incriminating, such as a pornographic picture of a child, appear on a web site, forum or newsgroup (p. 76). This is because the operators of Internet Service Providers ban such pictures, and sometimes expel the individual responsible for this risky behavior because they want to avoid "entanglements with the law" (p. 76). The fact that child pornography sites are constantly moving creates difficulties for law enforcement officers who "have to chase them from one site to another" (p. 76).

Lesce mentions another "time-consuming aspect of investigations" caused by the fact

"that many participants in chat rooms, forums and newsgroups are simply fantasy artists, who enjoy reading and writing about pedophilia but who do not act upon their impulses.

It's hard to separate these in person, but when all that is visible is an electronic persona ..., it becomes impossible.

Therefore many leads will evaporate because the subject does nothing overt or illegal." (pp. 76-77)

Jenkins (2001) maintains that "the vast bulk of arrests [on

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the Internet] ... involve low-level or plainly careless perpetrators" (p. 143). Elsewhere he refers to them as "naive amateurs" (p. 150). Jenkins (2001) claims that the police rarely succeed in apprehending the "hard-core dealers and traffickers" (p. 150). Apprehending these sophisticated child pornographers "is a highly expensive and time-consuming affair, requiring immense technical expertise and diplomatic skill" (Jenkins, 2001, p. 153).

For officers to be able to arrest sexual predators they "must transmit obscene images of children that are probable to be underage, or solicit sexual acts from children" (Hughes, p. 32).

Furthermore, Hughes maintains that "Even when arrests are made judges and juries do not always see the harm done by predators to children" (p. 32). Jenkins (2001) concludes that "it is just much easier to produce a hundred low-level arrests than to pursue one high-level investigation" (p. 153).

However, the police were successful in arresting and convicting members of the international hardcore Wonderland network with its "data base of more than 100,000 sexual photographs of naked boys and girls, some younger than two, some engaged in sexual acts with adults" (Jenkins, 2001, p. 154; described in Chapter XX). But according to Jenkins (2001), their success

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"did not mean that all or any of it was removed from circulation, in the way that confiscating a ton of cocaine eradicates it from the illicit drug market. For the vast majority of participants and 'loli-lovers,' even so massive an international purge was a minor hiccup in business as usual, the main effect of which was to stimulate new thinking about superior security." (p. 154)

O'Connell (in Arnaldo, 2001) suggests that there are

"Two major kinds of involvement in the collection and distribution of child pornography on the Internet, ... those passively benefiting from these activities, as collectors; and those actively engaged in the process of trading pictures, information, and so forth." (p. 77)

O'Connell maintains that:

"Passive involvement in child pornography through browsing, downloading, etc., is very difficult to detect.... For example, the 'hit' rates to a well-known site for 'girl lovers' suggest that many thousands of people (sic) regularly review that page for information on girl-sex related sites. There is a sense, therefore, in which these people constitute a passive market for child pornography and erotica, and thereby fuel the process. [However,] [T]he

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management and detection of these people (sic) presents major difficulties." (p. 77)

Jenkins (2001) contends that, "the long-term eradication of child porn is going to be extraordinarily difficult" (p. 100). Elsewhere he declares that "Even if they [the police] arrest hundreds or thousands of child porn users each year, the staggering mathematics of Internet usage imply that the traffic will continue" (p. 154). Jenkins (2001) arrives at the depressing conclusion that, "Despite all the enforcement efforts of recent years, it is still remarkably easy for any reasonably discreet person to pursue this highly illegal conduct indefinitely, as long as obvious traps are avoided" (p. 215).

Conclusion

The demand for child pornography by males who have a sexual attraction to children is at the heart of the child pornography problem. Child pornography is produced to meet this demand. The greater the demand, the greater the number of children who are sexually abused to create the child pornography. Globalization increases the demand, as also does the fact that ever-growing numbers of men the world over -- including pedophiles -- are gaining access to computers.

Because the Internet makes it so easy to obtain child

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pornography, pedophiles are able to indulge their seemingly insatiable desire for ever-larger collections of this material. Moreover, the immense and constant demand for new child pornography increases the motivation of pedophiles and child pornographers to take such pictures. And as the habituation factor leads to increasing numbers of pedophiles demanding new and often more extreme child pornography pictures (hence, Jenkins' [2001] observation that "the images now coming online are ever more explicit and hard core," [p. 4].), the more children will be subject to these more extreme forms of sexual abuse. This, of course means that these children will be more seriously harmed by being used to manufacture this material.

The more utopian the Internet becomes for pedophiles and child pornographers, the greater the prevalence and magnitude of the damage done to the ever-increasing numbers of children in the United States and the rest of the world who are sexually abused.

This chapter closes with an excerpt of Barry Crimmins' testimony to the Senate Judiciary Committee about the negative consequences for children of "the development and growth of the Internet and on-line service providers" which "has enabled exploiters of children to distribute child pornography to the masses" (Crimmins, date, p. ). Crimmins (?1985/95) continues his testimony by noting that

"Computers and modems have created an anonymous 'Pedophile

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Superstore.' The law of supply and demand is kicking in. The increased demand for child pornography directly translates into an increased number of sexually abused children. You cannot have child pornography without abused children. People, who may have never acted on such impulses before, are emboldened when they see that there are so many other individuals who have similar interests. What has recently taken place is nothing short of the de facto decriminalization of child pornography. As a result, countless innocents are being abused and having their lives destroyed. This is a full-scale emergency and if the well-being and safety of any group other than children were threatened, we would never hear the end of it. Nor, should we. Unfortunately, for the exact same reason that children are the victims of these crimes, children are not being heard. They are weak, economically powerless, and generally not taken seriously."

....In the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children's excellent report: "Child Molesters: A Behavioral Analysis," the gravity of trafficking child pornography is addressed when the author [Lanning] aptly summates, "Any individual, however, who collects or distributes child pornography actually perpetuates the sexual abuse or exploitation of the child portrayed. It is no different than the circulation of sexually explicit pictures taken by

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a rapist of his victim during the rape. Such collectors of child pornography are, in essence, child molesters." (p. )

Following is a selection from the sample of member room titles that Crimmins (?1985/95) found on AOL: "Dadsn daughters; Incest is best; Under 15; Hairless little vulvas; Preteen pic exchange; Teens 12 to 14; Momdadsisbro; Incest dau; Rape fantasies; Like em under 12; Brothers and sisters; Have hot stepdaughter; Aunts and nephews; Need mommy to teach son; Teen incest stories; Daddy and son; and Daadys lil girl". Crimmins comments that, "Some of these rooms seem innocent, but I have checked, and believe me, they are all frequented by pedophiles and traffickers in child pornography" (p. ).

[10,460 words]

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[4snuff.bok]

"I have seen some of these films and they are sickening. It was the worst thing that I have ever seen. It shows torture of the worst variety. Every single film that is made is a crime and it should be stopped."

-- Queen Silvia of Sweden.\* (\*Footnote:  
Cited by Michael Jenkinson, Back into the  
bedrooms of the nation. Alberta  
Report/Newsmagazine, Vol. 23, Issue 40,  
September 16, 1996.)

"For some paedophiles the ultimate thrill is to kill a child while having sex with him or her."

-- Ray Wyre (cited by Tate, Child Porn, 1990,  
p. 167)

"Child abuse is a sublime pleasure. All the great extremes - genital torture, forced unlubricated rape, butchering - reach their pinnacle when the victim is a

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child."

-- Peter Sotos, Pure 3, sadistic child  
pornography publication, date.

"Can you understand this moment of sheer joy? I am  
God. I decide if she lives or dies."

-- Raymond A., pornography filmmaker\*  
[\*Svoray, 1997, dedication page]

### 1. Child Snuff Pornography

#### Background

There are very different views on the authenticity of snuff films and videos with some individuals convinced that genuine snuff movies/videos exist, and others equally convinced that they do not. There is also considerable disagreement regarding the facts about the first Snuff film. The divergent accounts by journalist Beverly LaBelle and Pamela Donovan will be described in the following paragraphs.

LaBelle described the pornographic movie Snuff that was shown in the United States in 1975, as purporting to show "the actual murder and dismemberment of a young woman" (p. 272). It was believed to have been shot in Buenos Aires, Argentina, "where life is cheap" (according to the movie ad). The movie supposedly

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culminated in the actual death of a woman (p. 276).

LaBelle describes the movie's plot in great detail, but it was "the carnage of its final five-minute sequence" that made it so notorious. This segment showed the movie director having sex with one of the actresses. When she protested that they were being filmed, he picked up a dagger as he said, "'Bitch, now you're going to get what you want'" (p. 274). Then,

"He butchers her slowly, deeply, and thoroughly. The observer's gut revulsion is overwhelming at the amount of blood, chopped-up fingers, flying arms, sawed-off legs, and yet more blood oozing like a river out of her mouth before she dies. But the climax is still at hand. In a moment of undiluted evil, he cuts open her abdomen and brandishes her very insides high above his head in a scream of orgasmic conquest." (p. 274)

This misogynist film was shown in many theaters across the country "shortly after the New York City Police Department announced that they had confiscated several 'underground' South American pornographic films containing actual murder footage" (p. 272).

Feminists across the nation mobilized against the Snuff film in large numbers, protesting that the murder and dismemberment of

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a woman was an "incitement to acts of violence against women" (p. 278). To try to undercut the feminist demonstrations against the movie, the distributor declared that the murder of the woman was only simulated. However, the protests did not stop. Women denounced the fact that the depiction of the murder and dismemberment of a woman's body for men's sexual entertainment was considered appropriate commercial film material (p. 276).

Researcher Donovan (2002), on the other hand, refers to snuff films as a "crime legend." She dates the first Snuff movie as being shown in 1976, and attributes the notion that it was "a documentation of a real event," to rumors (p. 194). She maintains that "It is quite clear from all historical accounts that the film's maker, Alan Shackelton, intended to benefit from the pre-existing rumor and from the credulity of his audience" (p. 194). Donovan (2002) contends that Shackelton "even hired his own protest pickets," thus contributing to the Snuff movie's box office success. Finally, she notes that law enforcement agencies in the United States, Scotland Yard in Britain, "the FBI, and local police departments" have not been able to find a single snuff movie (p. 196).

With regard to children, it may not be so relevant that no corpse of a Snuff victim has yet been found. According to the Anti-Slavery Society, there were 100,000,000 slaves in the world who were children some time before 1991 (p. 260). This

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organization also maintained that, "At Bangkok's main railway stations, for between 70 and 100 British pounds, you can buy a child who will be yours to do with as you will" (cited by Gordon Thomas, 1991, p. 259). Investigative journalist Gordon Thomas (1991) noted that

"Every year some sixty thousand children are estimated to be sold at these stations. They are aged from three years upward. They are generally bought by agents for the fastest-growing industry in the world, the pornography industry." (p. 259)

Thomas claims that these children "are used for every kind of porno experience, including child-sex murder and snuff movies" (p. 259).

In addition, Thomas wrote that human rights workers reported that "by the mid-1990s the number of children used in the commercialized sex industries will outstrip that in the traditional child slave-labor market" (p. 261). It does not take much imagination to see how some of these vulnerable, undocumented, expendable children could be disappeared by their owners.

Furthermore, some individuals, including some feminists, are more concerned about the grotesque brutality, sadism, and

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misogyny portrayed in Snuff movies -- than whether they are authentic. These individuals are also profoundly disturbed by the demand for snuff films. This point of view is evident in my definition of child snuff movies to follow. Thomas, for example, describes the existence of Internet bulletin boards in Amsterdam, Frankfurt, and Stockholm in 1990 that offered Snuff pictures of children being murdered (p. 262). He also emphasizes that the authenticity of the pictures of child murders is beside the point. "The damage such images can do to young and impressionable minds is incalculable," Thomas concludes.

My expectation is that very few children would see these Snuff films. The damage would be to the adults who view this material.

#### Defining Child Snuff Movies

I will use the term child Snuff movies to refer to the real or simulated murder of a child on film for the purpose of sexual arousal. Murders that are simulated well enough for a viewer or viewers to believe that they are authentic, are included in my definition.

Extrapolating from my causal theory of child pornography as a cause of child molestation (explicated in Chapters 8 and 9), the effects of exposure to real or staged child Snuff films

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(corresponding to the effects of exposure to computer-generated or non-computer-generated child pornography) predisposes some males to become sexually aroused by the images portrayed in these films, as well as undermining the internal and social inhibitions of some males against acting out the behavior depicted in these films. Furthermore, the creation of a demand by some converts to Snuff pornography can be expected to result in some of the viewers simulating or perpetrating the actual murder of children to meet the demand.

Child Snuff Movies

Wyre, the clinical director of the Gracewell Clinic for convicted pedophiles in Birmingham, England, who treats "some of the most notorious sexual killers," notes that there is no information about the number or prevalence of sadistic pedophiles in the U.S. population (Tate, p. 179). However, he is adamant that "some men do derive sexual pleasure from the torture and killing of young children" (p. 179). In these cases "the murder may be a sexual act in itself" (p. 179). Wyre then asks a rhetorical question: "If the sexual torture and killing were not a turn on for some paedophiles, why do so many keep cuttings from newspapers giving details of the murder and mutilation of young children?" (cited in Tate, 1990, p. 179).

When police catalogued the child pornography collection of a

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pedophile, "they discovered a number of such newspaper cutting, including a series covering the Jason Swift killing" (Tate, p. 179). Tate quotes the pedophile as saying, "'Um, I don't know why I collected them.... Maybe it was because they had beautiful bodies and I liked looking at the photographs'" (p. 179). Both Tate and Wyre were skeptical about his explanation. Unfortunately, they do not explain how they interpreted his collection.

Wyre reports that some of his

"Clients -- abusers -- have told me of their experience of child pornography which started out as pictures of mutual masturbation and ended with them watching videos of rape, torture and death of a child." (p. 167)

John Bulloch, a British pedophile who was one of Wyre's clients described the following child Snuff video that he watched.

"It was a snuff video from America, only about twenty-five minutes long. In it there was a scene with a girl -- she was between ten and twelve years old, I would say. She was being horribly mutilated while some men were sexually abusing her.

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"Her fingernails were pulled off, then her fingers were cut off with shears. She was cut awfully and all the time she was screaming, screaming for mercy, and all the time the men were doing sexual acts against her. Eventually they did slit her throat....

"It didn't turn me on -- it sickened me. But then I don't know how far I would have gone for kicks if I hadn't had treatment. I hadn't reached that pinnacle of murder then, but I could have done;...

"I mean, how far does one go for kicks? I started off with masturbation, went on to oral sex and then intercourse. From intercourse it went to anal sex, then group sex and vibrators. It could have quite easily reached rape, and it could have reached murder." (Tate, pp. 178-79)

While there is no way of determining the authenticity of the Snuff movie that Bulloch watched, it is quite clear that he took it for the real thing. If the viewer believes it is genuine, this belief is more relevant than whether or not the movie does in fact involve a real murder or femicide (the killing of females by males because they are females).

Another example of a Snuff movie was reported in The Oakland Tribune by an unnamed reporter who described two men, Fred Berre

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Douglas, 55, and Richard Hernandez, 38, luring "two teen-age girls to a remote California desert to make 'snuff-type films'" in 1982 (p. 3). Margaret Krueger, 16, and 19-year-old Beth Jones, both of whom lived in Anaheim, California, disappeared on August 13, 1982. "Their skeletal remains were found on March 30, 1983" (p. 3). Douglas (who had previously been tried in 1978 "for allegedly plotting to torture two women to death while making pornographic films") and Hernandez were charged with murdering the girls. Each was "charged with two counts of murder, one of conspiracy to commit murder and one of conspiracy to solicit and engage in prostitution." ("Two accused of murder in 'snuff' films," Oakland Tribune, August 6, 1983, p. 3).

Durkin and Bryant (1995) describe a case that occurred several years ago in which "two Virginia men used a computer bulletin board in an attempt to locate a young boy to use in a 'snuff film'" (p. 16). Californian law enforcement officers "discovered the plot through an ad placed by the two men on a computer bulletin board," and arrested these two men (p. 188). Durkin and Bryant noted that,

"In a telephone conversation with an undercover detective, one of the men indicated that he recognized the risk involved in kidnapping a youngster and then murdering him, but that 'the pleasure of doin' it would be worth it.' When arrested, one of the men had a supply of muriatic acid to

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apply to the youngster's corpse" (p. 118).

Durkin and Bryant concluded that, "Apparently these are not isolated incidents" (p. 188). Unfortunately, these authors do not explain their basis for making this statement. Although their plot was foiled by authorities, there is no reason to believe that the men would not have carried out their plan to produce a snuff film.

San Francisco Chronicle reporter Stacy Finz (1998) described Daniel DePew and Dean Lambey's scheme to "kidnap a young boy, sexually abuse him and ultimately kill him during the making of a snuff film" (p. A21). According to Finz, "Police and FBI agents believe that the two would have carried out their scheme had it not been for several San Jose cops going undercover in cyberspace" (Finz, SFC, Dec 7, 1998, p. A21).

Yaron Svoray (1997) describes a Snuff film that he claims he was "made to watch"... "as part of my initiation into the neo-Nazi underground" which he joined in order to conduct research about them. He described the film as follows:

"Five men, faces covered, raping, torturing, and murdering a girl -- maybe eight, maybe ten years old -- on the screen. The girl's eyes are terrified beyond words, and dilated. She is lifted off the ground by her hair, her short legs

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dangling in the air. Another man plunges a knife into her chest, killing her instantly. Blood bubbles out of her mouth." (p. 19)

Elsewhere, Svoray says that the film consisted of "newsreel footage of Hitler haranguing his troops" interspersed with the Snuff film -- searing into his eyes and his memory "the images of an eight- or nine-year-old girl being brutally raped and then murdered" (p. 23).

An international team of three journalists (Jason Burke in London, Amelia Gentleman in Moscow, and Philip Willan in Rome) contributed to an article entitled "British link to 'snuff' videos," published in the Observer on October 1, 2000. The authors noted that "Britain is a key link in the biggest ever international investigation into the production and supply of paedophile 'snuff' movies - in which children are murdered on film." The most important suspect was a Russian man called Dmitri Vladimirovich Kuznetsov. He "had given up his job in 1998 to devote himself to the lucrative pornography industry." When the police raided his flat, "they found two boys in a makeshift studio" -- presumably to be abused in the making of child pornography. In addition, the officers "seized a huge quantity of films and other pornographic material as well as lists of clients in Italy, Germany, America and Britain." Many customers repeatedly ordered videos from him.

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Police in Russia and Britain believed that Kuznetsov and his associates had "been in business for more than two years in which time they [were] believed to have recruited around 100 boys -- aged between nine and 15 -- to be filmed." According to Kiril Mazurin, a police spokesman,

"'Most of the children were rounded up from railway stations. A lot of them came from the suburbs, or surrounding regions and were from deprived, problem families. Usually when children like this arrive in the capital, they've got no idea where to go and hang around in the station. It's very easy to entice this kind of teenager -- with a promise of a warm bed or a trip to the cinema.'"

Many of the children "were lured away from orphanages. 'Children are not locked in,' said Mazurin. 'Anyone can come along and promise them a meal at McDonalds. It doesn't take any more than that.'" Some of the children were paid "to find other boys willing to be filmed."

Kuznetsov was arrested and imprisoned in Moscow "for the distribution of thousands of sadistic child pornography videos and pictures." He was tracked down after these videos were found in the possession of British pedophiles. Two men were arrested and imprisoned with Kuznetsov by Moscow authorities. However,

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only Dmitri Ivanov, who "was sentenced to 11 years for actually participating in the abuse that was being filmed," remained in prison for a substantial amount of time. Kuznetsov and the other collaborator "were released under an amnesty aimed at clearing Russia's overcrowded prisons."

The Italian police intercepted 3,000 of Kuznetsov's videos that had been ordered over the Internet and were on their way by mail to clients in Italy. According to Burke et al., "This sparked an international hunt for paedophiles who [had] bought his products." The police repackaged the videos, then had them delivered by undercover police officers to the customers who had ordered them. After "the police searched more than 600 homes," they obtained "evidence against about 500 people."

The cost of Kuznetsov's videos was between 300 and 4,000 British pounds -- depending on the type of video that was ordered. Burke et al., reported that, "The most appalling category was code-named 'Necros Pedo' in which children were raped and tortured until they died." The Italian investigators confirmed that the videos included "footage of children dying during abuse." Prosecutors in Naples considered charging those who had bought the videos with complicity in murder. They said some of the customers "may have specifically requested films of killings." A newspaper in Naples "published a transcript of an alleged email exchange between a prospective client and the

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Russian vendors. 'Promise me you're not ripping me off,' says the Italian. 'Relax, I can assure you this one really dies,' the Russian responds. 'The last time I paid and I didn't get what I wanted.' 'What do you want?' 'To see them die,'" was the answer.

Burke et al., noted that "Among the suspects were businessmen, public employees and a university student. Several of them were married, with children of their own."

British authorities confirmed that scores of Kuznetsov's videos had been found in Britain. They were concerned that "'snuff' movies in which children are killed may have also been imported." British pedophiles were paying between ?50 pounds and ?100 pounds for one of Kuznetsov's tapes. Additional fees were paid for access to a website that featured child pornography involving "extremely violent abuse." Approximately twelve British men were "arrested and charged with offences alleged to be connected to the Russian tapes." "Since then there have been dozens of other finds." Hundreds of people were also under investigation in Germany.

Campagna and Poffenberger bring up the important connection between "the international trafficking in children for commercial sexual exploitation" and all manner of brutal child pornography-related sexual abuse -- a trade that is escalating astronomically including in the United States (p. 144). For example, the

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"commercial sexual exploitation involves torture, the purchase and sale of children, unlawful incarceration of children so that others may profit, the premeditated rape and mutilation of minors, and, not infrequently, the death of the underage victims." (p. 144)

About the notorious Wonderland pedophile group, Jenkins (2001) noted that according to one report, "'The only thing they banned was snuff pictures, the actual killing of somebody'" (p. 83). He quoted a member of the group claiming that, "a couple of members were barred because they trafficked in those pictures" (p. 83).

According to Calcetas-Santos: "Images of children, sometimes as young as eight or nine, depicting their rape, torture and even murder, can be downloaded easily by anyone with basic knowledge of the Internet" (p. 58). Unfortunately, Calcetas-Santos does not provide addresses for these websites. She also refrains from indicating whether or not she thinks the portrayals of murder are authentic.

More recently, M. Benecke (2002) maintains that "a growing number of short video clips have been distributed via the internet" which belong in the snuff genre (p. ). Two study groups analyzed these video clips for their authenticity and concluded that they are "fictional on the basis of technical

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details" (Benecke, p. ). Given my definition of Snuff movies, these qualify as such. They and much of the material described above, reveal that there is a demand -- presumably by pedophiles -- for this most extreme form of masturbatory material.

While the police have found videos of young girls who were raped, tortured, and murdered at the homes of killers like the notorious mass sex murderer Bernardo and Homolka -- his sex slave wife who participated in these crimes -- this material is not considered to be Snuff. Perhaps this is because the videos were not made to be distributed as Snuff films.

Wyre has been "quoted as having viewed snuff films firsthand in America" (p. 9). However, he makes it clear "that the films he saw were 'sophisticated simulations.'" (p. 9). Nevertheless, he apparently "insisted that the FBI had a number of snuff films in their possession" (p. 9). He also maintained that "snuff films were definitely available in England, but that he had never seen one" (p. 9). Tate makes it clear that he believes in the reality of Snuff movies. For example, he emphasizes that: "The fact that such material is produced and available means that not only is there a market for it, but in order to produce it children must be tortured and possibly killed" (p. 177). Tate's use of the phrase "possibly killed" suggests that he includes simulated murder in his conception of Snuff movies.

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In 1994, I interviewed two sisters who were both incestuously abused by their stepfather in Cape Town, South Africa. The younger sister, Deborah Hoffman (her real name), disclosed that,

"When I was about 10 or 11, my stepfather made me watch two movies.... In one of the movies a lot of men raped a woman, and did whatever else they wanted to her. The other movie showed a woman being cut up alive after the men had sex with her. My stepfather threatened to do the same to me if I told anyone what he was doing to me. That is why I would rather have died than tell anyone. The movies pumped into my head that 'this is my life.'" (Russell, date, page)

Judy Bester (her real name), Deborah's slightly older sister, reported the following experience with her stepfather and his close buddy.

"One of the first things Hoffie and Pieter did together was to make me watch movies when I was 9 years old. Today I know that they were videos, not television, but I didn't know that then, and I believed that whatever was shown on television must be true. The news was real, so how could these rapes not be real? I remember a young Indian girl being raped by three cowboys in one movie.

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"In the other [movie], a woman was cut up with an electric saw after she was raped. I vomited after I saw that, and I was very sick for a couple of days afterwards. I was sure that she really was cut up and that the Indian girl really was raped. I believed that these things happened in everybody's lives. If it happened in a movie and it was happening in my home, how could I say it was wrong? I became very doubtful about what was right and what was wrong, and what was allowed and what was not. Today I can still picture the way those women were raped, and how one of them was cut up after the rape." (Russell, date, page).

There is no way of knowing whether or not Hoffie's snuff movie was authentic. However, it is clear that the young girls believed it was.

Artistic portrayals of torture and death have also been used in pornographic magazines to obscure the horror of the images depicted. For example, Gucionne, owner of Penthouse, hired Japanese artist Ishigaki to do a series on bondage and death portrayals that included several pictures that appear to be of young girls under 18. The main focus of one of the photographs is on the naked buttocks and legs of a teenage girl who is lying face down, hands tied behind her back, her legs close together with the bare soles of her feet toward the viewer and her genitals partially exposed. Her lifeless-looking body lying on a

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rocky cliff by the sea conveys the impression of a corpse. The bondage element conveys that she was murdered. (get date)

Ishigaki used his excellent photography skills to glamorize and eroticize the buttocks of a teenaged girl's corpse in this photo. The effect is chilling and macabre; the frozen posture conveys the impression of rigor mortis. This photo eroticizes necrophilia and/or intensifies the erotic response to it in those males who are already sexually excited by this idea or practice.

Another photograph in this series shows a girl in a harness, her arms bound behind her back, suspended from a tall tree by a rope that is tied to the harness. She is dressed in a long Japanese outfit and short white booties, one leg exposed to her thigh, and one bare breast protruding between two tight ropes. She appears to be dead or unconscious, her body limp, her head slumped forward. Around her are many tall trees with leafless branches. The photo's ambience is bleak and menacing.

This picture evokes recollections of the lynching of African Americans who, after being tortured and murdered, were typically left hanging from trees. Two months after this issue of Penthouse magazine appeared on the stands, Jean Kar-Har Fewel, an eight-year-old Chinese girl living in North Carolina, was found raped and murdered, tied to a tree with ropes around her neck. Many feminists believe that Penthouse magazine owner Bob Guccione

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is in part responsible for her horrifying death.

### 2. Child Pornography Involving Sadistic Torture

According to Tate (1990), "As the investigation of child sexual abuse and child pornography took on an ever-increasing urgency during the late 1960s and early 1970s in America, more and more cases combining molestation and torture came to light" (pp. 171-72). He cites the case of a 48-year-old grandfather called Al who sexually abused his two granddaughters and one grandson aged six and younger:

"Al used sadomasochism with the children, including mild bondage, and photographs depicted the children simulating a great deal of pain, and featured them hung naked by their feet in a closet and from rafters in the basement. They were also pictured performing fellatio on a friend.

"The oldest granddaughter appeared in numerous pictures with a substance that seemed to be a great amount of blood covering her genitals. Agony and pain featured in the facial expression of this six-year-old. It is believed this was simulated and not real. Other photographs of the same girl depicted her in bondage, with Al holding a lighted candle near her genitals, the girl screaming in fear.

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Again, this was believed to be simulated, although the candle was real. The hanging of the children and the sexual conduct with the children was, in fact, real.

"The children had been sworn to such secrecy that, even after seeing the pictures, the children still denied the sexual abuse. Gradually and tearfully the grand-children told what their grandfather had done to them. Al was also an artist and had sketched several representations of his fantasies, which included his granddaughters.... One drawing featured her bound and gagged while rats chewed on her genitals." (footnote). (pp. 172-173)

Tate noted that sadistic child pornography was not confined to homemade material.

"During the boom days of commercial production a disturbingly large number of magazines showing children undergoing abuse combined with torture came on to the market. Common features were illustrated instructions showing 'fathers' clipping padlocks on to the labias of their pre-pubescent 'daughters', with an encouragement to 'keep them all for you'. Others, like the American-produced Child Discipline, instructed its readers on the best way of deriving sexual pleasure from beating very young boys and girls." (p. 173)

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Tate also pointed out that, "Prior to the final clean-up of child pornography in Times Square, New York, the mechanised film 'peep-show' booths contained several such films" (p. 174). He cited the example of a peep-show film called First Communion, in which

"five pre-pubescent girls[,] probably no more than eight years old[,] are shown in a church taking communion. A gang of Hell's Angels breaks in, first beating and crucifying the priest, then raping the children. The camera lingers on what appears to be blood pulsing from the girls' vaginas, and on their terrorised faces. The film has no sound-track but the children are all screaming. Silently." (p. 174)

Davies (1994) describes a video about the torture of

"a girl with her wrists and ankles chained to an iron bar in the ceiling and a grotesque dildo hanging out of her.' The pornographer who was showing the video pointed to the girl's smile as evidence of her consent" (p. 17). (Cited in Itzin, 1996: p. 185)

The personal experience of torture of a woman who reported having been sexually abused by her stepfather since infancy was cited as follows by the Attorney General's Government Commission

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on Pornography:

"That night that I was filmed for a pornographic movie my stepfather tortured me both physically and sexually because I did not perform adequately enough to be convincing."

(Gov. Comm. Vol. 1, p. 787)

Another woman, whose father had sexually abused her from the age of three, testified:

"'I have had my hands tied, my feet tied, my mouth taped to teach me big girls don't cry. He would tell me I was very fortunate to have a father that would teach me the facts of life. Many of the pictures he had were of women in bondage, with their hands tied, feet tied, and their mouths taped.'"

(Vol. 1, p. 792)

In the late 1990s, there was a notorious case in Belgium involving the starvation of young girls incarcerated for years as sex slaves and victims of child pornography in the home of Gerald Ulrich, the leader of a group of sadistic pedophiles. Several of the girls starved to death. This tragic case rocked the Belgian government because of their poor handling of the case and the collusion of some of their members in it.

According to Nordland and Bartholet (2001), when

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"activists broke up the Apollo ring of child abusers ... [in 1998], they discovered CD-ROM duplicating facilities in his [Ullrich's] home; on the first Ulrich disc alone, Dutch police identified more than 200 victims.... Many of the images on the Ulrich CD-ROMs and Wonderland computer tapes [to be described in the paragraph below] showed children as young as 3 months subjected to explicit sex acts."

Grant, David, & Grabosky (1999), describe the Wonderland Club as "an international network with members in at least 14 nations ranging from Europe, to North America, to Australia. Access to the group was password protected, and content was encrypted" (p. 179). Nordland and Bartholet (2001) report that "(S)pecialists identified 1,263 different victims, all of them under the age of puberty" (March 19, p. 47). The pictures "mostly featured American, European and Russian children" (?pp. 51-52). While rules excluded the killing of children, depictions of children being tortured were permissible.

Police investigation of the Wonderland Club "resulted in approximately 100 arrests, and the seizure of over 100,000 images in September 1998" (Grant et al., p. 179). The police "could hear little girls being sexually abused and begging for mercy" on "a sound file on the hard drive of Wonderland's key organizer" (pp. 51-52).

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Although it is not known if sadistic pedophile and pornographer Peter Sotos produced any snuff movies or photographs, he clearly supports snuff actions and tape recordings of such murders. For example, he described himself in an interview as an admirer of Ian Brady, a notorious British serial murderer, pornography collector, and child molester who bragged about his sadistic murders of several children (Birch, 1994; Cameron and Frazer, 1987). More specifically, Sotos declared that his tastes are "very similar to those of Ian Brady," and that he enjoyed his [Brady's] work "because it is 100 per cent honest and self-concerned. He fucked and tortured little Lesley Downey every way imaginable before smashing her tiny skull in half" (p. 170). (Sotos description of Brady's murderous action does not fit any of the descriptions that I have read ( ).)

At the age of 25, Sotos started publishing a magazine in Chicago which he titled Pure. The police believe Sotos started producing this publication in 1984 (Tate, p. 170). It was "distributed worldwide through agents in Sweden and Italy," and according to Sotos, "the response has been very favourable and growing... rapidly" (Tate, p. 171). More specifically, Sotos reported that the magazine has achieved a substantial market in the United States and also "does very well in Europe (Tate, p. 171).

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According to Sotos advertising, each issue contained many sexually explicit photos, as well as "reports on murderous geniuses like Josef Mengele and Ian Brady. Plus as an extra masturbatory bonus, the pleasures of kiddie torture'" (p. 169).

Following is an excerpt from the text of Pure that accompanied pornographic photos of small girls being sexually abused by a man's erect penis (Tate, p. 169). Referring to Brady's sexual murder briefly described above,\* [\*Footnote: Sotos appears to ignore the accessory role of Brady's lover, Mary Hindley] Sotos wrote:

Every time Lesley Ann Downey's mommy remembers her little dead child, her twinkling images are quickly torn to bits by Ian Brady's ingenious tortures. She hears the screams and tastes the tears that Brady wrested from her little girl's body. She sees her daughter's 10-year-old body covered with Brady's hands and cum. She tries to block the picture from her mind but can't -- it's a permanent pain that lives on, growing like a cancer with her darling daughter's memory." (Tate, 1990, pp. 169-170).

According to Tate, Sotos and others for whom he speaks, find "the combination of child sexual abuse and torture particularly erotic" (p. 170). Chat groups about Sotos ideas can be found on

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the Internet at the following addresses:

The American police were informed about Pure by British police after a copy of Pure 2 was found in the home of a man "suspected of being responsible for a series of brutal child abductions, murders and grave-robbing" (Tate, p. 171). This led to Sotos arrest. Sotos ended up receiving only two years of probation despite the fact that, according to Tate, Sotos had hinted in his interview that "he had been actively involved in the sexual abuse and torture of young children" (p. 171).

Turning to the Internet, a web site ([www.teentart.com/23/enter.html](http://www.teentart.com/23/enter.html)) opens with the statement: "Slice the Bitch to Pieces!!" Viewers are then encouraged to "visit a few of our special galleries: MURDER! DECAPITATION! RAPE! INCEST! TORTURE! AMPUTATION! GENITAL MUTILATION!" With the exception of the incest gallery, the word "teentart" in the web site address is the only indication that the other galleries focus on teens.

Viewers are then informed that: "Due to the intensively offensive nature of our pictures no previews are available ...."

Viewers are finally invited to click "to pay money to enter" the web site and informed that the price for a 3-month membership costs \$19.95.

Because I believe it is illegal to find out what paying

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customers actually see on the website, there is no way of knowing how authentic the pictures of murder, decapitation, etc. appear to be. However, it is very clear that the ad for the website is designed to attract sadistic misogynist pedophiles.

#### Conclusion

Lanning declares that, "I've not found one single documented case of a snuff film anywhere in the world. I've been searching for 20 years, [and] talked to hundreds of people [about this]" (p. 8). Many scholars and law enforcement officers concur with Lanning's statement. Perhaps some of them are still looking for replicas of the first one to be shown in mainstream theaters (described at the beginning of this chapter).

Applying a broader concept of snuff as pornographic photographs, film, or video showing the murder of a child(ren) for the purposes of sexual arousal, I believe that the material in this chapter makes a convincing case for the existence of authentic snuff media involving child victims. While of course it is vital to distinguish between snuff movies that involve the real murder of a child and those that are only simulated, the latter type of movies should not be dismissed because their impact on the viewer who perceives them as authentic, will be the same as those that are authentic.

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One of the reasons I am convinced that child snuff videos exist is the evidence provided by Wyre, among others, that some sadistic pedophiles have desires and fantasies for this kind of material. Many of the children who are used in pornography in both the national and international market place are totally vulnerable, isolated, and easy to dispose of. The risk entailed in killing some children can be very small. Although child pornography is irrelevant to the following case, it highlights the vulnerability of the child and the sadism and sense of entitlement of the would-be perpetrator. Unbeknownst to him, he was actually talking to an FBI officer who was recording the telephone call.

Sadistic pedophile Alesandro Moncini ordered "a ten-year-old Mexican girl to be made ready for him to molest during his stay" in Los Angeles (Tate, p. 166). The conversation went as follows:

Moncini: "What can I do to this little animal?"

Answer: "Everything."

Moncini: "Can I chain her?"

Answer: "Sure."

Moncini: "Whip her?"

Answer: "Yes."

Moncini: "Can I make her eat shit?"

Answer: "I don't know."

Moncini: "Can I piss in her mouth?"

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Answer: "I think so." ...

Moncini: "And if the little animal gets broken or hurt?"

Answer: "Just make the traces and the body disappear."

Moncini: "What will it cost me?"

Answer: "\$5,000." (Tate, pp. 166/7)

A New York Times reporter referred to child pornography as being "a burning issue in Europe, particularly in Belgium and France, where abused and slain children have been the focus of scandals in the last few years" ("Dutch say a sex ring used infants on Internet", July 19, 1998). Although it is known that two eight-year-old girls were starved to death in Belgium by a notorious pedophile child rapist called Marc Dutroux, and his associates in crime\* [\*Footnote: Alan Cowell, New York Times, September 8, 1996], I have been unable to find out about the cause of deaths in France. However, this and the previous case convey how far some sadistic pedophiles are willing to go to satisfy their lethal sexual desires.

Parents kill their children; strangers kill children (consider all the deaths of homeless street children in Latin America); our media are repeatedly informing us about cases of pedophiles who abduct, rape, sometimes torture and kill young children. What is the likelihood that none of these men ever videotape their acts either to keep a record of it to restimulate themselves in the future, or to sell or trade as child

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pornography?

San Francisco Chronicle reporter Stacy Finz (1998) described Daniel DePew and Dean Lambey's scheme to "kidnap a young boy, sexually abuse him and ultimately kill him during the making of a snuff film" (p. A21). According to Finz, "Police and FBI agents believe that the two would have carried out their scheme had it not been for several San Jose cops going undercover in cyberspace" (Finz, SFC, Dec 7, 1998, p. A21).

[6,242 pages]

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in Mainstream Men's Magazines

[4cartoon.bok]

"A picture is worth a thousand words." I am a firm believer in the validity of this quotation. This is why I included approximately 120 cartoons and pornographic pictures in my book, Against Pornography: The Evidence of Harm, rather than having to resort to descriptions of these materials. However, it proved impossible to obtain permission to publish most of these pictures, and, even had permissions been possible, the fees to publish these pictures would have been astronomical. Therefore, no publisher that I approached was willing to risk being sued for my failure to obtain permissions to reprint.

My determination to include the pictures no matter the lack of permissions, necessitated my having to self-publish Against Pornography -- an experience I do not wish to repeat.\*

[\*Footnote: See Russell (1998?) for an article on the trials and tribulations of this self-publishing experience.] This put me at risk of being sued. Nevertheless, this experience taught me that any attempt to obtain permissions to reprint sexual cartoons about children or child pornography pictorials in future was a futile exercise. Hence, written descriptions of this material in

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Stolen Innocence is my only option.

This chapter begins with descriptions of cartoons in pornographic publications. Cartoons do not meet the Federal government's legal definition of child pornography because they do not use minors. In addition, unlike computer-generated child pornography, the cartoons in mainstream men's pornographic magazines do not look like real children. Most of these cartoons also do not qualify as child pornography by my definition because they are not intended to sexually arouse or gratify viewers. Nevertheless, cartoons are included here because they are excellent indicators of the pornography magazine owners' or managers' attitudes to sexualized children and/or child sexual abuse. Cartoons trivialize and reinforce myths about child sexuality and/or child sexual abuse in ways typical to pornography. Humor is used to disguise the harmful consequences to children and adolescents of many of these myths.

According to Gail Dines and Elizabeth Perea (**no date provided**), who have written a fascinating analysis of "the ideological function of the cartoon in pornographic literature," research suggests "that the pictorials and the cartoons are the two most widely read [looked at] sections...." of mainstream men's pornographic magazines (p. 3). Dines and Perea also maintain that "both Flynt and Hefner see the cartoons as embodying the philosophy of the[ir] magazine[s]" (p. 9).

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Therefore, the kinds of cartoons they publish are very different.

Children are rarely featured in Playboy magazine whereas they have been a regular feature in Hustler magazine. For Hefner, cartoons are "the visual and humorous vehicle for transmitting the key element of the magazine which is the 'combination of sex with status' (Dines and Perea, p. 9), whereas Flynt "used the cartoons to promote the image of Hustler as 'outrageous' and 'provocative'" (p. 10).

One common feature between Hefner and Flynt is that they both devote considerable time to selecting the cartoons for their magazines. This indicates how important they both consider cartoons to be in their publications. Dines and Perea report that Hefner

"ran the cartoon department for over twenty years until he promoted his assistant, Michelle Urry, to cartoon editor. Urry (1990) discussed the procedure the editors use for choosing the twenty or so cartoons a month from among the thousands that are submitted by amateur and professional cartoonists. She highlights the importance that 'the cartoon speak in the same voice as the rest of the magazine...' (p. 9)

With regard to Hustler magazine, Dines and Perea maintain that

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"The cartoons play a key role in marketing Hustler since the form and comedic license allows them to depict 'outrageous' scenarios such as torture, murder, and child molestation which may, in a less humorous form such as pictorials, deny the magazine access to the mass distribution channels. Flynt, recognizing that '... we can't just rely on top-notch erotic photography to sell the magazine' (Flynt, 1984, p. 7), has marketed Dwaine Tinsley, the cartoon editor of Hustler, as the most daring cartoonist of his time. He is described as creating '... some of the most controversial and thought-provoking humor to appear in any magazine (Hustler, 1983a, p. 7). One of the marketing tactics is to suggest that Tinsley is so 'outrageous' that he is in fact out of step with the magazine's editor because some of his cartoons have been 'so tasteless that even Larry Flynt has had to think twice before running them' (Tinsley, Hustler, 1983b, p. 65).

\*\*\*\*\*

When doing slide or transparency presentations to audiences on cartoons of children and child pornography visuals in mainstream mens' pornographic magazines -- primarily Playboy, Penthouse, and Hustler -- I have been struck by how frequently the audience is overly preoccupied by the dates when the material

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was published. They are often critical of the fact that many of the visuals shown were published in the 1970s and 1980s. Were my analysis of these materials to be focused on trends in their content over time, their publication dates would of course be crucial information. But the dates and/or the age of the material are irrelevant to an analysis of the dangerous messages that are conveyed by pictorial pseudo-child pornography and cartoons in pornographic magazines.

In addition, in several instances, the dates of publication are missing or incomplete. When I sought permission to reprint visuals portraying adults in mainstream men's pornographic magazines, I discovered that the individuals responsible for granting permission were often unable to locate the publication date. Hence, I decided not to include the dates of publication in this chapter.

**I. Sexually Abusive Cartoons About Children****1. "Just Molested" - Penthouse**

This is a line drawing by a named artist of an older, balding hunched over man driving a young girl in an open-roofed convertible. Empty cans and shoes are tied to the rear bumper of the car. A large banner reading, "JUST MOLESTED," is attached to the trunk.

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Comment: "JUST MOLESTED" is a take-off of the phrase, "Just Married," that frequently announces to pedestrians and the people in passing vehicles that a couple has just tied the knot. The message of this cartoon is that being molested is cause for celebration, and that there is nothing exploitive about the enormous age disparity that exists between the couple in the car.

### 2-7. "Chester the Molester" - Hustler

The following six cartoons have been selected from the Chester the Molester cartoons -- a regular feature of Hustler magazine for many years. The cartoons in this series repeatedly joke about child molestation.

Dwaine Tinsley, the creator of Chester the Molester cartoons, was convicted of sexually abusing his young daughter in 1990. His conviction was later overturned on a technicality. Larry Flynt, the publisher of Hustler and many other pornography magazines, has also been publicly accused by one of his daughters, Tonya Vega-Flynt, of sexually abusing her from the age of 10 until she was 18. Tonya reports that her father also sexually abused her older sister.

Since it was Flynt who decided which cartoons to include in Hustler, he is responsible for these pernicious pictures. That

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Chester plans to sexually abuse the girls is implicit in all the cartoons in the Chester Molester series. By making child sexual abuse into a joke, Larry Flynt conveys approval of, and amusement with, this heinous crime.

**2. Little Red Riding Hood - Hustler**

This cartoon from the "Chester the Molester" series depicts Little Red Riding Hood walking nonchalantly down a wooded path carrying a basket to her grandmother. Ahead is an arrow sign "To Grandma's House" nailed on a tree trunk. Chester is behind this tree with a devious expression on his face and a baseball bat in his hand -- poised ready to attack. Behind Chester hangs a dazed and dying Big Bad Wolf from a tree, defecating onto the ground.

Comment: Tinsley has twisted a classic children's story with Chester replacing the frightening Big Bad Wolf as the dangerous threat to Little Red Riding Hood as she walks through the forest. It appears that Chester has strung up the wolf to a tree branch so that he can capture his prey without competition from the dangerous wolf of the story. Chester's name -- Chester the Molester" -- suggests that he is about to hit Little Red Riding Hood with his baseball bat prior to molesting her. Tinsley hereby conveys to Hustler's readers that violent assault and sexual molestation is an appropriate source of mirth. This cartoon condones these two criminal activities.

**Chapter 14: Child Pornography and Sexually Misogynist Cartoons****3. A Poor Match Seller - Hustler**

In this cartoon a poor, pitifully skinny, bedraggled girl with a bandaged arm and hand, is trying to sell matches to a leering Chester the Molester. His large erect and naked penis protrudes from his pants with a big j-shaped piece of candy hanging on it. He is offering the candy as payment for a box of the girl's matches. Chester's arms are behind his back making it evident that he requires her to remove the candy from his penis.

Whether or not he intends to go beyond copping a feel from the girl is unclear.

Comment: Here Tinsley makes a joke out of an adult man trying to take advantage of the desperate circumstances of a poor distressed-looking girl. He evidently feels his baseball bat is not needed in this case. Many men in the real world target poor, lonely, neglected, and vulnerable girls and boys to exploit sexually and also to coerce or manipulate them into being used in child pornography, prostitution and/or sexual slavery. Joking about such exploitation belittles its seriousness and destroys or undermines empathy for the victims.

**4. An Anti-Semitic Chester Cartoon - Hustler**

Another cartoon from the Chester series shows a

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stereotypically Jewish-looking mother, father, and little girl -- all with very large noses -- at the corner of a city sidewalk. The little girl, who is wearing a Star of David, eagerly chases a dollar bill that Chester is pulling towards him like a fishing line as he stands poised around a corner to attack her with his baseball bat. Little does the girl know that Chester is using the dollar bill as bait to entrap her. He has a malevolent expression on his face and sports an arm band with a swastika imprinted upon it.

Comment: This cartoon reinforces the harmful anti-Semitic myth that Jews are particularly avaricious about money. This long-lived and ubiquitous stereotype has been used to justify anti-Semitism. It has been a handy rationalization for anti-Semites to explain the disproportionate success of many Jews in many cultures -- despite the extreme discrimination to which they have so often been subjected. Besides being a manifestation of jealousy, this myth has contributed to the evil consequences of anti-Semitism, most noteworthily in Nazi Germany.

Tinsley intends his audience to laugh at this anti-Semitic cartoon as well as the violent assault and sexual molestation that Chester clearly intends to perpetrate on the little Jewish girl. The swastika is included in several Chester the Molester cartoons, thereby portraying Nazi anti-Semitism as a joke, along with violent assault, and child molestation. By publishing this

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cartoon, Flynt chooses to minimize the devastating consequences of all these dispicable violations.

**5. Peeping Tom - Hustler**

This cartoon shows Chester as a voyeur, masturbating noisily while he watches a little girl on the toilet over a partition. She looks bewildered as she wonders what the repeated "thwacking" noise is about. A flag imprinted with a Nazi swastika hangs over a large penis-shaped object above Chester's head.

Comment: Minimizing the seriousness of Peeping Tom behavior is clearly dangerous since the notion that Peeping Toms are harmless men who never perpetrate more serious sexual crimes, is a serious myth. Moreover, although the girl in this cartoon does not know that an exhibitionist is masturbating to the sight of her, many young girls find this a frightening and shocking experience.

**6. Blind Girl with Seeing-Eyed Dog - Hustler**

In another "Chester the Molester" cartoon, a young blind girl wearing dark glasses is seen running down the street with a seeing eye dog, who has spotted a large piece of meat on the sidewalk ahead of her/him. Chester, in his familiar "lying-in-wait" position, is hiding around a corner, his pants below his knees, his naked penis erect, and a smirk on his face as he holds

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the string attached to the meat, waiting to entrap his prey and get his "treat."

Comment: This cartoon makes a joke out of Chester's strategy to entrap a vulnerable young blind girl. Given the title of the cartoon and the fact that Chester's pants are down and his penis is erect, the expectation is clear that he plans to sexually assault her. This is Flynt's idea of an appropriate joke for adult men. As with all these cartoons, this minimizes the crime of child sexual abuse and the resulting trauma for the victims.

**7. Kidnapped and Bound Children - Hustler**

This cartoon takes place in the bedroom of a middle-aged, heavysset Chester. Clad only in his Jockey shorts and with a pair of girl's panties on his head, he is shown sitting on his mattress with a big smile on his face, writing in his notebook. He is flanked by two young girls on either side of him, their arms and feet bound. One girl is completely naked, the other is wearing only her panties. A third girl is seated on the floor with her arms and feet bound. Various sexual paraphernalia are strewn across the mattress and around the room, including a baseball bat and several dildos.

Comment: Chester's violence or threat of violence is implied by the presence of his baseball bat, and the immobilizing bonds on

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the girls convey an impression of violent or forcible abductions.

The three young kidnapped girls all have frightened expressions on their faces. The sexual overtones in this cartoon are communicated by the girls' nakedness, by Chester's wearing female panties on his head, by two large dildos nearby, and by the title of the cartoon. By making child kidnapping, bondage and child molestation into a joke, Flynt conveys his approval of these reprehensible crimes.

### 8. Teacher-Student Sex - Playboy

This cartoon take place in the office of a middleaged male teacher. The desk in the center of the room is piled with books.

The teacher is sitting at his desk as a young bespectacled girl with a large smile on her face, eagerly reads a copy of Paradise Lost. The teacher's pants are down to his knees and the girl's skirt is hiked up. Her left hand is between his legs, suggesting that she is either masturbating him or touching his scrotum as he penetrates her. The teacher's head is thrown back in ecstasy as he cries out, "Thank you, Milton... thank you, Keats...thank you, Shelley."

Comment: Playboy artist Raymonde's cartoon conveys that there is no victim here; the girl appears totally absorbed in her book and detached from what is happening in her and her teacher's genital areas. In contrast, the man rests his book on his chest and

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concentrates on the sexual activity. His gratitude to the authors of the books suggests that he knows he would not be engaged in sex with his young student if he wasn't able to provide her with such engrossing reading.

The sexual harassment of female high school, college, and university students, as well as other types of educational institutions, is a very serious and widespread problem in the United States. This cartoon suggests that the young girl is not being exploited; indeed, she is portrayed as indifferent to being penetrated by her much older teacher. Hence, this cartoon contributes to the delegitimization of sexual harassment -- a very common practice in institutions when they can get away with it.

**9. Puppet Show Abuse - Hustler**

This cartoon depicts a young girl with her back to the viewer and an old balding man crouched below a puppet stage performing a puppet show at "Uncle Fred's Puppet Theater." The man is working an alligator puppet while the girl works a pirate puppet confronting the alligator with one hand and the Judy puppet with the other. Behind the stage, unbeknownst to the audience, the man has his free hand up the skirt of the little girl who is not wearing any panties. The little girl, both her hands full, continues with the show," while manipulating Judy

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below the stage to swipe the molester's bald head with her club.

Comment: The little girl's lack of panties turns her into a temptress responsible for Uncle Fred sliding his free hand under her dress to feel her buttocks. Since she has to activate two puppets, and since she doesn't want to interrupt the show, she shows her anger about the old man feeling her up by manipulating an angry-looking Judy puppet to swipe his head. In contrast to the former cartoon (#8), this one at least portrays the girl as fighting her molester as best she can in a difficult predicament rather than as enjoying or being indifferent to it. Presumably the molester's taking advantage of a situation in which a young girl is helpless is supposed to be the "joke" here.

10. Tiny Girl Molests Santa - Hustler

This Erikki-created cartoon shows a little girl sitting on Santa's lap. Her right hand is underneath Santa's coat, presumably masturbating him. Santa has a dazed and ecstatic expression on his face as the little girl says, "... and then I want a new bicycle and a dollhouse and a new dress and ...."

Comment: The little girl in this cartoon is portrayed as a little prostitute, masturbating Santa in order to get the many gifts she wants. Conveying the casual attitude this young girl has toward performing this sexual act suggests that it is no big deal for

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girls to have sex with old men. In fact, making the young girl into an initiator of sexual behavior, especially with a much revered adult, is perpetuating a myth since exceedingly few young girls would ever initiate sexual behavior. The few girls who do so have typically learned to behave in this prostitute-like manner from one or more sexually abusive experience(s) in their pasts. Unfortunately, most adults misinterpret such sexually precocious behavior of previously victimized girls as indicating that they enjoy sexual encounters with older men.

**11. Blasé Molested Girl - Playboy**

This cartoon shows a young blonde girl standing outside the front door of the apartment of an older balding man. She is wearing a short red dress and red Mary Janes, and she is fastening her belt after a sexual encounter. The man is standing at the doorway smoking a cigarette in his bathrobe. His reddened face and shocked expression reveal his embarrassment and humiliation as the girl exclaims: "You call that being molested!" implying that she is disgusted by his inadequate sexual performance.

Comment: This cartoon reinforces two harmful myths: that young girls are very sexually experienced and thus, appropriate sex "partners" for men; and that young girls expect to be sexually gratified by sexual molestation. This makes a mockery of the

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reality of child sexual abuse in which girls certainly do not have the upper hand. Adults always have the real power in adult/child relationships which is why it is impossible for an adult to have a consenting sexual relationship with a child.

**12. Girl Scared by Father's Sexual Advances - Hustler**

This Dwaine Tinsley cartoon shows a teenage girl, dressed sexily and displaying a lot of cleavage, talking with a boy on the phone. Her father is standing behind her with his protruding tongue in her left ear, his left knee in her crotch, and his right hand down her pants. With a frightened expression on her face, the girl says into the phone, "Gee . . . I'd love to go to the drive-in, Tommy, but my dad has some, uh, extra household chores for me tonight."

Comment: This cartoon makes it seem as if it is the girl's duty to have sex with her dad. Father-daughter incest is one of the most prevalent and traumatic kinds of incestuous abuse. By making light of this serious crime as in this cartoon, Flynt belittles this betrayal thereby discounting the devastating consequences for the victims.

**13. Girl Denigrates Father's Performance - Hustler**

A young girl's bedroom is the setting for this cartoon. She

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and her father are standing bare-assed next to her bed with their pants down to their ankles. The girl's father is gripping her from behind by her shoulders as he penetrates her. He looks shocked and humiliated as his daughter tells him: "Daddy, not only is what you're doing illegal, it's being done badly."

Comment: This Hustler cartoon portrays a sexually experienced adolescent girl who appears to be completely blase about the fact that her father is having intercourse with her. She reprimands him only for being a "lousy fuck" -- much to her father's chagrin. Some men are drawn to young girls because they assume their lack of sexual experience will cause them to be uncritical of the men's sexual performance. This cartoon contradicts the reality that girls who are raped by their fathers are severely traumatized by this experience -- often for the rest of their lives. Instead, the cartoon provides an example of a father who is upset by the encounter. The outrageous message of this cartoon is that girls can enjoy sex with their fathers if their fathers are good sexual performers. This is an exceedingly irresponsible and dangerous message to convey.

**14. Necrophilia with a Baby - Hustler**

An obstetrician is holding a dead baby up in the air by its legs after delivering it in a hospital delivery room. To the obstetrician's left stands a heavysset man wearing only a white T-

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shirt, shoes, and socks. His penis is erect, and on the floor beside him is a book entitled Fetal Positions. The obstetrician asks this man, "Want a piece of ass, Earl? This one is stillborn!"

Comment: Here Flynt makes a joke out of an authority figure condoning the sodomizing of a dead baby (necrophilia). That this is not the first or the last time that the obstetrician will facilitate Earl's perverted behavior is conveyed by the phrase, "This one is stillborn!" This crass and repugnant cartoon grossly minimizes the serious damage resulting from penile penetration of a baby -- let alone a new born baby. It seems possible that this invitation to Hustler viewers/readers to laugh at this hideous desecration of a dead baby would engender a more callous attitude to such acts.

15. "Good Sex With Retarded Girl" - Hustler

This two-page spread includes a grotesquely caricatured drawing of the upper body of a retarded girl showing her naked up to the top of her breasts. Her blond hair is ragged, her eyes are squinting, her absurdly long tongue is sticking out exposing two crooked front teeth. A man's scrotum hangs down as his penis penetrates the girl's right ear, and semen is shooting out of her left ear. Following is an excerpt of the text accompanying this monstrously demeaning drawing of a retarded girl:

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Retarded girls say "gummp" a lot, but they also like to fuck a lot. They take off their clothes and diddle with themselves all the time. If they can get someone to do their diddling for them, they laugh and jump merrily around.... They are constantly in heat and will not put up with the usual introductory conversations and gift giving that so slow things in normal relationships."

Comment: The disabilities of many girls and women cause them to be even more vulnerable to sexual attack than other girls. Shockingly high numbers of them are preyed upon by perpetrators because of their helplessness and stigmatization. This picture-cum-text reinforces the dangerous myth that retarded girls are always eager for sex, so if men care to do it to them, it will be a sexual favor rather than sexual abuse.

**II. Pseudo-Child Pornography in Mainstream Men's Magazines**

While using children under 18 in pornography is illegal, drawings, paintings, and stories about such abuse is perfectly legal. Pseudo-child pornography is the term used for pornography that childifies adult women in order to appeal to men who are turned on to girls.

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This is a photo of a young girl called Baby Breese with minute child-like breasts, long brown hair and the number "12" on her tank-top-covered chest -- suggesting that she is only 12 years old. Baby Breese is standing with her legs apart. The length of her tank-top leaves her pubic hair-covered genitals and upper thighs exposed. The small picture is surrounded by text which begins by stating: "We are delighted with the overwhelming response to our guess-the-age-of-Baby Breese contest," and "so was the nymphal Ms. Breese" (also referred to as "Lolita"). Although Penthouse reported that she was actually 20 years old, many of their viewers/readers guessed her age to be far younger - - e.g., 11, 12, and 14 years. I guessed it to be 12.

Hustler reprinted a small cover picture of the same Baby Breese photo cropped at the waist accompanied by the heading "PENTHOUSE MODEL BABY BREESE SHOWS PINK, ER, AH, BROWN FOR HUSTLER." "Pink" typically refers to the color of her skin inside her labia majora and vagina. The suggestion is that a picture "showing pink" will be revealed inside this volume of Hustler magazine.

Comment: Presumably Penthouse and Hustler selected this example of pseudo-child pornography to grace the pages of their magazines because Baby Breese looks like a child. Naming her Baby Breese also implies that she is very young. Requiring her to expose her

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pubic hair and upper thighs was no doubt intended by Guccione and Flynt to turn viewers on to this young girl. Since men typically masturbate to pornography, this picture is likely a potent promoter of child sexual abuse.

**17. Childified Young Woman - Hustler**

This cover photo depicts a young woman who is childified (a word coined by Liz Kelly) by wearing her blonde hair in two short beribboned bunches sticking out over her ears; by having breasts that appear small and undeveloped; by her innocent facial expression; and by a pair of cotton panties accented by lace and light blue ribbon (her only item of clothing).

Comment: The ways in which this young woman is childified are common to the childification process, as also is the use of unusually young-looking adult women like Breese. Such portrayals provide a legal way to appeal to pedophiles and child molesters.

More dangerous still is the fact that pseudo-child pornography also appeals to some men who have no previous history of attraction to children. Hence, it can contribute to men who previously had no sexual interest in children, transitioning into this group of men.

**18. "Lolita Back to School" - Hustler**

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A pseudo-child pornography photograph from Hustler titled "Lolita Back to School," portrays the childified "school girl" on the cover (described in #17) now lying on her bed. Her cotton panties are pulled down over her spreadeagled legs to reveal her sparsely-haired genitals in direct view of the camera (this pose is commonly described as a "crotch shot"). Long white knee socks, black Mary Janes, and the name "Lolita" add to the childification of this young woman. The text at the top left of the picture reads:

The Lolita complex is one of the most common sexual fantasies of the heterosexual male. Many men fantasize about having sex with young girls -- which is taboo in today's society. But many wives and girlfriends gratify and fulfill their man's fantasies by dressing and acting like adolescent girls ... wearing pigtails and bobby socks. It's a harmless fantasy carried out by two adults. And, as our own Lolita reports, she too enjoys playing a little girl with her boyfriend.

This kind of pseudo-child pornography can sexually arouse males who didn't previously think of girls as erotic substitutes for women. The text encourages men to ask their wives and girlfriends to try to look and act like young girls. Men's equation of youth and sexual attractiveness is a serious problem

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in the United States and presumably many other countries. Reinforcing and justifying this equation -- as this kind of pornography does -- is sexist and destructive.

Comment: This kind of pseudo-child pornography portrays a "child" as an erotic substitute for an adult woman. In addition, as mentioned in my comments on photo #17, it can sexually arouse males who didn't previously think of girls as attractive "sex objects." The text also encourages men to find it acceptable to ask their wives and girlfriends to try to look and act like young girls. Men's equation of youth and sexual attractiveness is a serious problem in the United States; reinforcing and justifying this equation -- as this kind of pornography does -- is very sexist and destructive.

19. "The Incredible Shrinking Lady" - Penthouse

The first non-pornographic photograph in a sequence of several photos portrays a 19-year-old woman named Wendy Welles who has been shrunk to a diminutive size. She is sitting fully clothed on a regular-sized chair that highlights her small size.

She was presumably selected for these photos because she is a genuinely tiny woman measuring four feet seven inches and weighing only 75 lbs. She is also childified by two small braids and an innocent-looking girlish grin. In the text below the first picture, Wendy states that "she can look all of 12 or 13 to the casual observer."

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Comment: Although there is no nudity in this and a few of the other pictures in this sequence, Wendy is nude in some of them. She looks like a stereotype of a young non-threatening childified young woman. As Wendy states in the text of the next picture:

"I represent almost everything a man looks for in a woman! The adoring little girl that makes him feel fatherly and protective, the naive adolescent who makes him want to be a gentle and patient teacher, the ripe and womanly side that makes him all sexy and adoring.... In minutes I can become a little girl about half my age. I plait my hair.... put on frilly outfits, and use cosmetics to make myself down instead of up."

**20. Treated Like a Little Girl -- Penthouse**

In another picture in this sequence, Wendy is photographed nude except for her long knee socks. She is lying on her side with her breasts exposed and her right knee up to exhibit her genitals. She states in the text that her ideal fantasy is "to look and act and be treated like a little girl but feel like a totally grown-up woman inside."

Comment: It seems reasonable to assume that Wendy was selected for this photo sequence because Gucionne knew she would appeal to

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Penthouse's male viewers who feel threatened by adult women and who therefore seek out females who have the features, behavior, and attitudes of young innocent girls. Many males prefer to pursue the real thing -- i.e., to sexually abuse children (not childified adult women) in and out of their families. Hence this kind of pseudo-pornography is only a step away from actual incestuous and extrafamilial child sexual abuse.

**21. Thrilled to be a Sex Object - Penthouse**

In the last picture of the sequence on Wendy to be described here, she is kneeling on the seat of her huge-looking chair. Her nude buttocks face the camera revealing a backside view of her genitals. Her head is turned sideways enabling her to gaze into the eyes of the viewer. The text has her saying, "I love to display myself nude. It's thrilling, and it's fun, and I can do it proudly."

Comment: Wendy's exhibitionism adds the cherry atop the cake made especially for men. By the end of the sequence she has become the perfect little innocent childified sex object who enjoys her body being appreciated -- presumably by males. What an attractive female she is for insecure males, pedophiles and child molesters. Note how much more romantic the text is compared to the typical captions and text in Hustler.

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## 22. "Baby Doll."

This photograph shows a young girl lying on her stomach atop her bed, clutching a Raggedy Ann doll. Her bed sheets have a Disney motif, with Mickey Mouse, Goofy, and Pluto marching in a parade. The girl is wearing nothing except white knee socks, bows in her hair, and black panties. The caption accompanying the photograph reads, "BABY DOLL. It's easy to feel paternalistic toward the cuddly type above. Naturally, she digs forceful father figures, so come on strong, Big Daddy."

Comment: The very young-looking girl in this photograph is objectified by being referred to as "Babby Doll," sexualized by her nudity, and childified by her attire and her Raggedy Ann doll. The statement that she "naturally digs forceful father figures" normalizes the myth that young girls desire sex with much older men, and the phrase "Big Daddy" insinuates that it is her father who is being urged to forcefully come on to his daughter (an invitation to rape?). After all -- that is what she wants! This Freudian oedipal myth is, of course, a projection onto daughters of some fathers' sexual desires for them.

## 23. Girl With Teddy Bear.

This pseudo-child pornography photograph portrays a very young-looking woman lying naked on her back on her bed. Her eyes

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are closed, her bent knees are spread apart, as she holds a teddy bear over her genitals as if they are engaged in intercourse.

Comment: The composition of this provocative photo appears to be designed to facilitate male viewers' fantasies of placing themselves in the position of the teddybear and having intercourse with the childified young woman. Once again we see how pseudo-child pornography can foster a sexual desire for children in men who were not previously attracted to children.

**24. Young Girl with Older Man**

In this picture, a very young-looking girl/woman is sitting astride a prone man's naked torso as he squeezes one of her small breasts and penetrates her with his penis. In striking contrast to the "girl," only his naked torso from his belly button to the top of his thighs are partially visible. The "girl's" mouth is wide open and her head and body are arched back as if she is in ecstasy. As in so much pornography, the man is described as having a huge penis and as being very virile as they have repeated simultaneous orgasms. (The text has the girl/woman saying: "It amazed me that my body could take so much, as huge as he was, but it didn't even hurt. My little cunt just seemed to open right up to it." And, "Our orgasms seemed to be synchronized to arrive at the same moment.") Aside from her youthful appearance, her youthfulness is conveyed by her

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statement that she "had never dreamed it could be so sensual, so sexual, so grown up."

Comment: It is typical of both child and adult heterosexual pornography that much more naked female flesh is shown than naked male flesh -- unless the males are victims. This is evident in the picture described above. Portraying this "girl" as free of pain from penetration by an adult male with a large penis is wishful male thinking by those who pursue sex with female children. The same applies to the depiction of the "girl" as experiencing sexual ecstasy in this situation.

### 25. Merging Girl/Woman - Playboy

This Playboy cover depicts a blonde-haired childified woman sitting on a white rocking chair with a large collection of dolls and teddy bears at her feet. She is wearing a youngster's voluminous white frilly petticoat, white cotton tights, and black Mary Jane shoes. She is holding a stuffed rabbit against her bare chest, and exposing one fully-developed breast. This photograph merges the "girl's" young, innocent-looking face (which makes her look about 12 years old [endnote: according to Negley and Wamboldt, p. 1]) with her adult-looking breast and her childified lower body resulting in a sexualized girl/woman.

Comment: This picture is the only example in this chapter of this

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method of merging a girl and a woman. Her adult-looking breast can be expected to sexually arouse males who are attracted to adult women. Those who repeatedly masturbate to such a picture may also become aroused to the child portions of the girl/woman.

**III. Other Forms of Child Pornography****26. Lolita Teenage Fuck Doll**

Under the heading "Little Nymph or Teen Angel," this full-page drawing is an ad for a partially nude plastic five feet two-inched teenage blow-up doll with a "teenage body" described in the text as follows:

"Her innocent, beautifully molded teenage face is crowned with long silky golden hair.... Lolita comes complete with built in female organs, Greek features, deep throat open mouth, and soft rounded shapely hips and thighs.... Lolita, the teenage party girl, is the most life like doll sold."

The customer who buys her is encouraged to "dress her like a cheerleader, high school girl, surfer, a nymph or a lady."

Comment: "Fuck Dolls" are frequently advertized in pornographic literature. This Lolita doll was clearly created to appeal to

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males who are attracted to adolescent girls. That some males purchase these plastic substitutes for live females reveals the extent to which some males can objectify females. Not only are the dolls literally objects, but the advertizer describes them as sexual objects as well. If males were not able to objectify females, such dolls would have no appeal to them.

**27. Baby Love**

A woman introduces a new photo-illustrated magazine called Baby Love by telling her readers that she and her husband practice "a new way of child education" involving sex with their two-and-a-half-year-old daughter. "We began by stroking her body softly and we didn't leave her tiny vagina out, as so many people do," she reported.

"And she loved it from the very beginning! You should have seen her wriggling about as my husband or me caressed or kissed her soft little pussy.... On some of the photos you can also see that she isn't even a virgin anymore. I did this with my finger and it didn't hurt her one bit.... On some of the photos you see how proudly she shows me her little cunt and clitty by pulling the lips wide open. I think she's going to be a winner! She also likes to play with my cunt, mainly because it is bigger and has so much hair around it, but she prefers to play with the cock of her

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father. It's her most precious plaything. On some photos you see her sitting on my man's cock and because she isn't a virgin, she can take the head in her little cunt and she absolutely LOVES to do this and move around on it.

"I know that some people will condemn us for bringing our baby-daughter up in this fine and funloving way. Well, maybe this photoserail will give them some second thoughts, as everybody is so enjoying it and most of all our daughter.

Other already liberated people will find it a stimulant to follow the same education. This mag is meant for them!"

Comment: Unfortunately, I only have a copy of the one-page introduction to this magazine. While it seems likely that the illustrative photographs of the baby girl described would have to be real in order for this magazine to be marketable, the text was presumably concocted for male users of child pornography. Firstly, it has a familiar pornographic ring to it. For example, the use of language like "cunt," "pussy," and "cock," is typical of pornography. So is the writer's claim that the baby girl loved all the sexual acts described. The additional claim that the baby enjoyed pulling her labia wide open so as to display herself in the manner characteristic of both adult and child pornography is evidence that she has learned to please her father in this way.

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The crass sexist statement that because the baby girl enjoyed exhibiting her genitals, she will be "a winner" implies that being a sexual exhibitionist is all that it takes for a female to be successful. This demeaning male view is inherent in all heterosexual pornography. The sexually abusive behavior with the baby described in this story is attributed as much to the mother as to the father. In reality, mothers are far less inclined than fathers or other men to behave in the way described. Finally, authorship of Baby Love is attributed to the mother despite the fact that the vast majority of child pornography is produced by men.

The blatant proselytizing in "Baby Love" for parents to sexually abuse their baby girls is a dangerous piece of propaganda. The common claim of pedophiles that children enjoy sex and have a right to it ("even an old guy like Freud already told us that baby's have sexual feelings"), is validated by this woman's story. Written child pornography both on and off the Internet is legal -- no matter how abusive and harmful the material is.

### 28. Covers of Child Pornography Books

Pornographic novels are sold in many pornography stores. Child pornographic novels, such as Violent Stories of Brutal Incest, are legal. This particular book is in a series called

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"Violent Books." A small drawing of a man raping a girl appears on the cover. Another book, Daughter's Torment, sports a picture of a naked adolescent girl on her back as two men are poised to rape her.

"The Crown Report: Case Studies" is printed on the cover of S&M and the American Father conveying that it is an authentic non-fiction book. The cover drawing shows an older man clenching the wrists of a young girl kneeling on the ground. The top of her dress is completely torn off, fully exposing her breasts. She appears to be struggling to free herself from her father's grip. Runaway Teen Slaves shows a bound and gagged teenage girl on its cover. A man who is pressed up against her back has pulled off her bra to expose her breasts, and he appears to be biting her neck. Presumably, rape will be just one of the fates of all these teenagers on the pages of pornography inside the covers.

Incest Sinners: Daddy's Slave Girls and Chained Youth: Girls in Bondage also purport to be case studies in the Dr. Lamb Library. The cover picture of the first of these books depicts a naked teenage girl sprawled face down across her bed. Her father, his white shirt unbuttoned at the collar, his tie loosened, and his pants down to his knees, is holding her buttocks and forcing himself into her anus. The girl's eyes are closed and her mouth is open making it unclear whether she is in

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pain or ecstasy. The cover picture of Chained Youth: Girls in Bondage shows a young girl who is bound, gagged, and hanging from the bar in a closet. A completely naked older man is approaching the little girl who looks scared, as if she anticipates being raped by him.

Teens in Restraint is the title of a book illustrated by a photograph of a teenager with rope tied very tightly around each breast, then binding her arms firmly behind her back. Smaller pictures advertise four books on the back cover, including Nympho Mothers: Incest Obsession (showing a young girl about to suck her mother's breast), White Masters: Black Slave Girls (showing a white man leaning on the raised backside of a totally naked African American girl -- presumably prior to penetrating her), and Kidnapped Virgins: Taken by Force.

A teenage girl is shackled to a brick wall in the drawing on the cover of Chained, Tortured Schoolgirl (June 1984). Her dress is torn and disheveled, fully exposing her breasts and her underpants. On the right side of the picture is what appears to be a man's leg. On the left side is a man's hand holding a fire nozzle, hosing the shackled frightened-looking girl.

Comment: As long as sexually explicit photographs of children are not used on these book covers or inside them, this form of child pornography is legal and easily available to interested

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users at no risk to them or the sellers. There are books available for all preferences, whether rape, bondage, anal penetration, incest, or bestiality.

### 29. Covers of Pseudo-Child Pornography Magazines

Young Pussy is the title on the cover of a pseudo-child pornography magazine displaying a full frontal photographed view of a young innocent-looking blond woman with her hair in two child-like bunches. She is wearing very little makeup, her bra is unclasped at the front exposing her small breasts, and her pubic hair and genitals are in full view. The text on the cover reads: "Small Breasts & Tight Holes Eager to be Sucked and Stroked?" Then, in smaller letters: "Joni -- she loves to eat cum and have her rectum fingered!"

Nubbins #12 (presumably suggestive of the word "nubile") is another title cover with a frontal photograph of a young small-breasted childified brunette with heavy bangs and two beribboned ponytails. Baby Dolls #15 also shows a young-looking woman with the same child-like ponytails as the other two cover "girls." In contrast to the other two, she is wearing bright-red nail polish and exposing her voluptuous breasts.

Comment: Because the photos of these three magazine covers that I have in my collection unfortunately do not include the complete

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covers, information on the dates they were published is not available. I believe that they were marketed in the 1970s when child pornography was flourishing in the United States. The fact that these three cover "girls" all sport the same 2-ponytailed hairstyle -- as also have several other pseudo-child pornography pictures included above -- suggests that this was the preferred way to childify young women.

The titles of these pseudo-child pornography magazines were clearly designed to appeal to child pornography users who do not want to take the risk of purchasing illegal material. However, as with most pseudo-child pornography, they are also likely to appeal to some male pornophiles who have shown no previous interest in child pornography. Hence, these pictures can become a bridge for so-called normal male viewers from arousal to adult pornography to arousal to child pornography.

**30-34. Japanese Girls in Bondage - Penthouse**

These are five of the eleven photographs from a photo-essay entitled "Sakura" most of which appear to portray teenage girls.

A haiku (a classic Japanese poetry form) accompanies the photos. Photographer Akira Ishigaki describes the meaning of the title as follows:

Sakura is the word for the cherry blossom. From my

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childhood ... I recall the resemblance between the petals of the cherry blossom and a woman's body. In the spring of my twelve years, I caressed the petals with my fingers, kissed them gently with my lips. (p. )

**30. Girl in Bondage - Penthouse**

A girl is standing next to a wooden house with her back toward the viewer in this photograph. Her arms are tied tightly behind her back; the rope hoists up her dress to expose her bare buttocks and legs. Her buttocks protrude slightly making them the focus of the picture. A piece of rope passes between the crack of her behind and presumably through her genitals (although they cannot be seen). Another piece of rope attached to her front, exits the picture. The profile of her face is showing. With a ribbon in her long black hair and small white booties on her feet, she looks as if she could be as young as 12 years old.

Comment: Many males who have not previously been sexually aroused by the bondage genre of child pornography, can nevertheless become turned on by it if they are attracted to the body of the girl in bondage -- not the bondage per se. Viewing repeated examples of child pornography that combine these two stimuli (attractive girl's body and bondage) can result in these males acquiring a taste for child bondage (this is an example of classical conditioning).

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## 31. Frontal View of Girl in Bondage

A heavily bound girl is standing facing the viewer with an older looking female standing closely behind her with her hand resting on the younger girls shoulder. Both are bound with rope.

As with the girl in the previous photograph, rope also keeps the girl's Japanese dress up providing a very graphic view of her hairless genitals and legs. The rope appears to be very tightly tied so they divide her labia majora in what appears to be a painful manner. The girl is looking down with a passive and demure expression on her face. There is no sign of pain or discomfort in this or the previous photo #27.

Comment: This photo is much more shocking than the one just described above (in #31). Firstly, the photograph of the girl is larger and more graphic, and the view of the rope so tightly tied through her genitals is disturbing. Secondly, the view of naked hairless genitals is more taboo than a view of bare buttocks. Although the girl is not smiling, her facial expression conveys no distress -- as also is the case for the girl in the photo above. Hence, the message to the viewers of these two Penthouse pictures is that these girls are not disturbed by exposing their private parts or by being immobilized or hurt by the tight ropes.

This is a false male fantasy that can undermine some men's internal inhibitions against acting out their sexual desires for

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girls.

Comment on Series: Ishigaki's use of a haiku to accompany his exquisite pictures in this photo-essay provides them with artistic credibility thereby rendering the appeal of bondage more acceptable to middle-class consumers.\* [\*Footnote: Ishigaki included three additional photographs in this series portraying young girls/women as corpses. Two of these pictures were described in Chapter 13 on child snuff pornography.] His sensitive and subtle verbiage contrasts dramatically with his macabre photographs eroticizing the torture, bondage, hanging, and death of Japanese girls. The implicit message of this photo-essay is that it is acceptable to publish child pornography depicting extreme brutality toward girls in Penthouse -- a softcore pornography magazine -- when it meets society's artistic standards. Perhaps racism is another factor in the lack of public protest -- except from feminists\* [\*Footnote: Activist Nikki Craft organized a long-term feminist rampage in the mid-West against Penthouse magazine for publishing this sadistic child pornography] -- about these photos. Could the explanation be that the largely white readership didn't criticize Gucionne because the girls are not white? Could Gucionne, who is white, have assumed the magazine would get away with publishing child pornography for the same reason?

Ishigaki's delicate prose, beautiful photography, and the

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beautiful Japanese girls that he chose for subjects (and sex objects), contributed to making the vicious content of these pictures more acceptable, thereby serving to legitimize the sexual violence against girls implied in these scenes.

**34. Real Hardcore Child Pornography - Hustler**

This is one of many small ads on a page advertizing a large variety of pornographic videos. This ad for a 60-minute video is the only one that appears to be genuine child pornography. It consists of two photos of a prepubescent girl with tiny budding breasts and no public hair. The first shows her face, long hair and breasts and a large penis stuck in her mouth. There is a black circle covering her mouth for censorship purposes. The second photo shows a frontal view of the spread-eagled girl. A man's open thighs show his penis entering the girl's vagina. Although her vagina is covered by another black circle, it is easy to see what is going on. The text of this ad reads, "TINY CHICKY FUCKING AND SUCKING THE BIGGEST COCKS YOU'VE EVER SEEN!" and, "FLAT TOPS GIANT COCKS."

Comment: It is hard to believe that Flynt has the nerve to claim that he does not support child pornography. I believe these two photographs are illegal. Tammy Gordon undertook a one-woman campaign to try to get Law Enforcement officials to take some action against Flynt for publishing this photograph. However,

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her efforts were met with apathetic responses everywhere.

Conclusion: I have shown transparencies of the 34 pictures described and commented on in this chapter to many different audiences in the United States and abroad. They typically have a very powerful impact. Many women in particular find slide or transparency presentations on the damage caused to children by men viewing child pornography, to be far more convincing than the scientific evidence quoted in Chapters 8 and 9 (my theory). Viewing pictures of child pornography touches audiences emotionally far more effectively than hearing about experiments and studies. Furthermore, many non-academic women find the scientific evidence inaccessible to them.

I consider pictures like those described in the mainstream mens' magazines in this chapter to constitute visual evidence of harm to children. The cartoons repeatedly trivialize and normalize child sexual abuse, treating it as a harmless matter to joke about. The perpetrators in the cartoons are never shown to suffer any negative consequences for their crimes. And many of the victims are portrayed as enjoying sex with older men, including their fathers or other relatives. Hence, the cartoons perpetuate destructive myths about child sexuality and adult child sex, using humor as a cover for the damaging propaganda that it constitutes.

**Chapter 14: Child Pornography and Sexually Misogynist Cartoons**

With regard to the pictures of child pornography that show children being sexually abused, the harm to children is even more obvious. Very few people realize that certain forms of child pornography are easily available despite the fact that most forms of it are illegal.

[8,958 words]

**Chapter 14: Child Pornography and Sexually Misogynist Cartoons**Chapter 15: Child Pornography on the Internet

"The greatest single obstacle to the fight against child pornography is that too few people ever see it."

-- Tim Tate (cited by Jenkins, p. 221)

"It's fashionable on this board to proselytize about how good it would be for children to have sexual contact with a ped."

-- Farfhad, Maestro board, Sept 25, 1999, cited by Jenkins, Philip, 2001, p. 115

Since it is illegal to view child pornography based on photographs of actual children, this chapter is limited to descriptions of child models whose genitals are covered, pseudo-child pornography, pornographic drawings, written child pornography, cartoons, custom-made cartoons, interactive child pornography, computer-generated child pornography, virtual reality, and accounts by other researchers. I will follow Jenkins' (2001) example of focusing on child pornography of girls on the Internet because, as he noted, the "pedo boards ... seldom traffic in images of young boys" (p. 80).

Jenkins makes the interesting observation that "much of the

**Chapter 14: Child Pornography and Sexually Misogynist Cartoons**

content of 'child porn' sites depict poses and behaviors that would not be considered pornographic were the subjects adult" (p. 80).

A typology of many different genres of child pornography available on the Internet is described and commented on in the remainder of this chapter.

**A TYPOLOGY OF CHILD PORNOGRAPHY ON THE INTERNET**

- IA. Borderline child pornography
- IB. Borderline child pornography: Child models
- II. Soft core child pornography
- III. Pseudo-child pornography
- IV. Voyeuristic child pornography
- V. Child pornography drawings
- VI. Written child pornography
  - A. Search engines and websites
  - B. Child pornography stories of incest
- VII. Custom-made cartoons
- VIII. Art as child pornography
- IX. Computer-generated child pornography
- X. Amateur child pornography
- XI. Child pornography on chat rooms for pedophiles
- XII. Hardcore child pornography
- XIII. Interactive child pornography on the Internet

**Chapter 15: Child Pornography on the Internet**

## XIV. Virtual reality

IA. Borderline Child Pornography: Non-Sexualized Images of Children

Jenkins points out that:

"A good number of child images [on the Internet] consist of fully clothed girls in party dresses or ballet clothes, and these cater to an audience genuinely fascinated by the young female, without any overt sexual implications. Some popular sites even reproduce decades of Sears ads for panties and swimsuits or show publicity photos of young gymnasts." (p. 81)

Jenkins argues that these pictures "become 'pornographic' only through their setting and their juxtaposition to masturbatory images" (p. 81). I do not believe these pictures of children would meet the Federal Government's definition of pornography, even given the context within which they are situated. These pictures are neither sexualized nor objectified. Some men may masturbate to these photographs, but this alone is not sufficient evidence that the material is pornographic. Some pedophiles undoubtedly masturbate to pictures of children they find attractive, even if they fail to meet the broadest definition of

## **Chapter 15: Child Pornography on the Internet**

child pornography. Furthermore, pictures of children to whom males masturbate do not necessarily meet my definition of child pornography. Hence, I consider such pictures as belonging in the Borderline Child Pornography category.

### IB. Borderline Child Pornography: Female Child Models

Websites portraying pre-teen models featuring "girls as young as 6 wearing revealing clothing and striking sexually suggestive poses but display[ing] no nudity or overt sexual material that would run afoul of child pornography laws," have become very popular. There are a growing number of these sites "operating in the legal gray area between innocent imagery and child pornography" (Mike Bruner, "Legal child porn under fire," [www.msnbc.com/news/730491.asp](http://www.msnbc.com/news/730491.asp), April 17, 2002, p. 1).

A 12-year-old calling herself Lil' Amber had one of the most celebrated of these websites before she suddenly retired in December 2002. At one time her fan club boasted 9,000 members. A paid membership to her website enabled viewers to see all the photos of her and to receive a videotape of her modeling clothes costing \$25 in the first month, and \$19.95 each month thereafter. While the photos all stop well short of the Federal Government's definition of pornography (no genitalia or breasts are shown), many of the photos are quite revealing and some are clearly intended to depict her as an attractive sexual object.

## Chapter 15: Child Pornography on the Internet

Although Kenneth Lanning is quoted as saying that this material is "exciting and stimulating and arousing for people with a certain deviant interest" (Brunker, 2002, pp. 2-3), he notes that "it's not against the law (p. 2). Nevertheless, these pre-adolescent female model websites have caused concern and controversy even in the law enforcement community (Brunker, p. 2). In addition, "they have drawn the attention of the Justice Department and prompted a congressman [Rep. Mark Foley] to declare war on the 'reckless endangerment' of such kids by their parents and Web site operators" (Brunker, p. 1). Rep. Mark Foley described these models as "performing like a circus animal" (p. 2).

These sites,

"which sell photos and videotapes to members, cater primarily to adults [male adults].... Many -- if not most-customers are sexually interested in children, and some are pedophiles, according to law enforcement officials and children's advocates." (p. 2)

On the opening page of Lil' Amber's website, this tiny long-haired young model is shown seated in a modest dress with her arms folded coyly over her knees. With regard to the pictures on her website, Brunker (2002) notes that, "The photos of ... Amber

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cavorting in a swimsuit and various skimpy outfits wouldn't have raised so much as an eyebrow if they had been posted on a family home page," but on lilamber.com, they have caused quite a stir (p. 1). Brunker (2002) concurs with law enforcement officers that, "There is ample evidence that these sites, which sell photos and videotapes to members, cater primarily to [male] adults, very few of whom are in the market to hire models" (p. 2). Children's advocates also maintain that, "Many -- if not most -- customers are sexually interested in children" (p. 2).

Many of the parents of children who appear on these "model" sites have spoken out on behalf of their children. For example, the mother of a pre-teen model called "Jessi the Kid," said that the site "was created to help her daughter fulfill her dream of becoming an actress and was no more racy than ads for fashion lines ...." (Brunker, 2002, p. 3). She complained that "the media are focusing only on the revealing outfits and missing the other material on the site geared to appeal to other kids," such as games, crafts, and other pre-teen interests (p. 3).

A video entitled, "Amber Models Summer Fashions" shows the young girl frolicking about and dancing in her living room in various outfits that were apparently requested by website members. "In one scene, she lifted her skirt, giving the briefest glimpses of underwear. In another, the unidentified cameraman lay on the floor and shot up her skirt as she danced

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away unselfconsciously" (Brunker, 2002, p. 4).

Lil' Amber's mother was discovered to be a pornography performer on the Internet just a few years ago, creating even more doubt that these sites are "innocent" modeling ventures. However, Stephen Levine (2002), a professor of psychiatry who is described as an expert on sexuality, comments that, "it's reasonable to think that these sites are pandering to pedophiliac interests ... and they are unsavory ...[,] but this is America, where we tolerate lots of unsavory things for freedom of expression...." (Brunker, pp. 6-7).

However, the key issue is not unsavoriness but whether or not these sites are harmful a) to the children who participate in them; b) to the male viewers; and c) to the victims of the viewers. Clearly the adult(s) responsible for the participation of these young girls on these sites are responsible for them being sexually objectified at a very young age. This teaches them a very harmful lesson: that it is their appearance and their abilities to perform in a sexually seductive fashion that is of prime importance for obtaining approval, money, and fame or notoriety. Those who become aware that adult men are their primary audience will learn a very destructive lesson in patriarchal sexual politics. It would be interesting to know how many -- if any -- become prostituted girls or women later in life, since the performances required of these young girls

## Chapter 15: Child Pornography on the Internet

resemble training for this degrading and dangerous occupation.

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### II. Soft-core Child Pornography

Jenkins (2001) describes the content of soft-core child pornography photos and movies of young girls on the Internet that feature "nudity but no sexual activity (p. 81).

Jenkins (2001) suggests that:

"Probably the most common type of soft-core photographs involve nude young girls in innocent and non-sexual settings.... Many of these images have been taken in nudist camps or on nude beaches, and they generally picture children in groups or with their families, playing sports, or using playgrounds." (p. 81)

But for the pornographic context within which these pictures are situated on child pornography websites, "the scenes would seem remarkably wholesome" (Jenkins, 2001, p. 81). Thus, even non-sexualized pictures of children can become pornographied (to coin a word).

Jenkins (2001) maintains that these images "are the least

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harmful, since the photographs were taken without causing any harm to the subjects" (p. 82). Nikki Craft, a feminist anti-pornography activist who was also very active in the nudist movement for many years, would strongly disagree with Jenkins' statement that no harm is caused to the young girls photographed in nudist camps. Craft has exposed numerous pedophiles who have used nudist camps as a stalking ground for children to abuse and photograph for use in pornography collections and/or to trade with other pedophiles and interested buyers (see the testimony of some of these victims in Chapter 11).

### III. Pseudo-Child Pornography on the Internet

#### 1. Cover page of child pornography website

Table 15-1 shows a web site cover page with a picture of a young sweet-looking long-haired blond dressed in pink, sitting on the "U" of huge letters of the word "Pussy" below the word "Little." Her picture reveals a side view of her buttocks and legs -- naked but for a pair of white socks or boots. She holds a lollipop in her hands in order to make her appear younger than the legal age.

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**Table 15-1**

Join Now! Members

**Chapter 15: Child Pornography on the Internet**

LITTLE

YOUNGEST

TEEN GIRLS

PUSSY (enlarge writing)

ALL 18-21!

INSTANT ACCESS!

Free Pussy Tour

ENTER Little Pussy

YNOT - Click here for Links to FREE PICS

WANT

SOME...?

Your email address

(In your email)

Send me some Pussy!

All persons shown are of legal age 18 years or older. You must be 18 years of age or older and certify it is legal to view adult material in your area. Copyright c 2002 LittlyPussy. All rights reserved.

4/22/02

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Note that on the one hand, viewers of this cover page are told that the girls are the "youngest teen girls" on the

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Internet; on the other hand, viewers are reassured that they are not so young after all: 18 to 21 years old. This inconsistency is typical of many website cover pages. Needless to say, it is impossible for the site's creator to know if "his" girls are the youngest on the Internet. However, the creators of child pornography websites on the Internet appear to have no compunction about making numerous false claims.

Viewers of child pornography sites are frequently offered a "free tour" enabling them to see three examples of the pornography they can expect to find on the website once they pay the access fees required. Tragically, children have free access to these child pornography pictures as well as adults. Only paying members can know how representative the sample pictures are.

\*\*\*\*\*

### 2. "Youngest Teen Lolitas on the Net"

Legal because site claims that all "girls" are over 18  
[[www.extremelolitas.com/preview.htm](http://www.extremelolitas.com/preview.htm)]

This preview site features three pages of approximately 40 small photos of a variety of very young-looking girls (however, all are described as being over 18 years old) most of whom are engaged in various types of sexual activity alone or with a male

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or female "partner." One of the photos shows a young Japanese girl who looks like a preadolescent. Another exhibits a humiliated-looking young girl; an adult man's hand holds his penis under one of her eyes and his ejaculate is all over her face. In some cases only the girls' heads are showing. These photos would in no way meet any definition of child pornography except for the context within which they appear. There is no knowing if these young girls ever even participated in the making of child pornography. Their heads could have been taken from non-pornographic web sites.

Comments: These photos are presumably designed to try to tempt male viewers to become paid-up members of the website thereby giving them access to "over 100,000+ pix-Largest collection of private photos+more." A quip on the first page reads: "You haven't seen nothing yet!!! Your excited about this find -- so enjoy!!"

The genitals of the young girls in all of the photos in this preview site are covered by a small black circle. The reason for this concealment, combined with the small and sometimes hard-to-see photos, is probably to increase the motivation of viewers to become members of the site so they can see the girls' naked genitals in larger more visible photos.

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### 3. The Dirty Old Man

The only 2 "girls" whose pictures are shown, are identified as 18 and 19.

[[www.thedirtyoldman.com/tours/blue/index.htm](http://www.thedirtyoldman.com/tours/blue/index.htm), April 30, 2002]

The first page of this website shows a series of frames depicting two young girls named Bianca and Blue Rose engaged in various sexual acts including masturbation and oral sex. Mike, the "dirty old man" featured on this website, is described as "the charming pornographer" who "loves anal virgins and teenage cocksuckers!" (p. 1). Mike recounts how he recruits his so-called "models," describing that he

"loves to pick up young, fresh babes from the streets and tell them how beautiful they are or offer to help them out of a spot of trouble. Next thing you know they're back at his place having a shag or at his office where he's able to capture every moment on film." (p. 1)

Mike boasts that his personal goal for each encounter is "to get into their virgin assholes or get his fist into their sweet, tight cunts." Furthermore, he is described as capturing "every moment on film to share with his faithful fans."

Bianca is described as an "anal virgin" who answered Mike's

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ad "because she wants to prove she's a woman." Although she is at first doubtful about Mike's "training techniques," she "soon realizes its (sic) experience that matters!" (p. 1) Despite the fact that Blue Rose is described as being adamantly opposed to having any kind of anal sex, she is described as having "a SQUIRTING ORGASM while being anally probed" (p. 1).

Comments: Both the young girls are described as eager to have sex with Mike -- "the dirty old man." This old man's wishful fantasy is described as if it were a plausible reality.

A destructive message conveyed here is that it is reasonable to portray a young girl (Bianca) as seeking out a total stranger (a "dirty old man" to boot) for sex because this is the way to prove her womanhood. In reality, most young girls are not attracted to old men, often finding them sexually repulsive. Furthermore, most young girls do not want to engage in sex at all.

Blue Rose is described as having an intense orgasm as a result of being subjected to the kind of sex act that she is resolutely against having. The message here is that men would be wise to ignore what females tell them about the kinds of sex they dislike because they don't know what they want. When they say "No," they often mean "Yes." This destructive myth can result in sexual assault. As feminists have frequently stated:

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"Pornography tells lies about women and girls."

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### 4. Pee Teenagers

Legal because "all models (sic) are 18 years or older"

[[www.peeteenagers.com](http://www.peeteenagers.com)]

This website is described as "the number one site for beautiful peeing young teen girls," and boasts that the photos are illegal in some countries. The claim is made that, "This site will absolutely satisfy all your needs for young peeing girls." The collection of child pornography pictures, movies and "free live shows" on the website are described as "hardcore." Viewers are invited to "Join the site and get free access to 13 Megasites!"

The young women are described as "100% first-timers" with "shaved pussies." The main picture features a young girl lying on the floor with her head cocked to the side, her eyes closed, looking as if she is sexually aroused. She is stimulating her clitoris with one of her hands and exposing her genitals to provide viewers with a classic crotch shot. A large pool of what is depicted as urine is flowing from her genitals onto the floor.

The second picture, titled "teenagers: bad girls do it all,"

## **Chapter 15: Child Pornography on the Internet**

depicts a smiling nude young girl. This picture provides the background for statements such as: "52,000 Pics", "7,400 XXX movies" "Voyeurpics, Amateurpics, Chatrooms, Stories."

Near the bottom of the page, "Webmasters" are invited to "CLICK HERE FOR MONEY MAKING OPPORTUNITIES."

Comments: Girls urinating, sometimes on the face or body of a male, constitutes a particular genre of both child and adult pornography. Sometimes the male in child pornography pictures also urinates on one or more girls. Other pornography pictures show girls urinating in toilets, unaware that they are being spied on by a male voyeur who finds this a sexually exciting experience. This genre of pornography is referred to as "Golden Showers."

Pictures showing young girls defecating, often preceded by an enema, comprise another genre of child pornography. Males who are turned on by these websites and/or in real life are diagnosed as suffering from coprophilia.

The portrayal of the first young girl as masturbating while she is urinating has nothing to do with the reality of female sexuality. The description of her as a "firsttimer" is even more unrealistic. This is another example of child pornography telling lies about girls.

## Chapter 15: Child Pornography on the Internet

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### IV. Voyeuristic Child Pornography: Upskirts

The term "voyeuristic" when applied to child pornography is used to refer to photos that are taken surreptitiously without the victims' knowledge of their being violated.

"Upskirts" child pornography is a genre of voyeuristic child pornography that applies to photos taken up the skirts of girls ranging from pre-pubescents to teenagers. Some pornographers seek to make a profit by taking such photographs and placing them on their own Upskirt websites, or selling them to others. Miniature cameras the size of a quarter cent piece facilitate pornographers' abilities to take such pictures.

Victims of these non-consenting experiences often feel very upset and traumatized if they find out that these indecent photos of their crotches are circulating on the Internet. Although these girls are fully dressed, the photographs nevertheless qualify as child pornography or pseudo-child pornography -- depending on the ages of the victims -- because the view up their skirts is sexually provocative and presumably intended to be sexually arousing to heterosexual male viewers. For some men, the surreptitious manner in which these photos were taken is also sexually exciting.

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The more people become aware of the upskirt phenomenon, the more likely it is that parents will become suspicious of the sometimes odd behavior involved in taking these pictures. I recently saw a case on TV news in which a mother's misgivings were aroused by the strange behavior of a man with whom she was talking. He was taking upskirt pictures of her little daughter while chatting to her mother. When the mother confronted the pornographer, he ran out the door and she called 911. The police found the man's camera which he had thrown away when effecting his escape. Prints of the film in the camera revealed upskirt pictures of the mother's daughter, as well as similar pictures of other little girls.

### V. Child Pornography Drawings

This Japanese drawing of a little red-haired girl of about three years old shows her with a cat's ears and tail and large socks resembling a cat's paws. She is alone in the picture, nude but for being heavily bound with ropes around her torso, her knees, and with a strap around her head and a gag over her mouth.

Tears are falling out of her large sad eyes. Despite the full view of her genitals, they are brushed almost to oblivion, since it is illegal in Japan to show the genitals of children or adult women. Nevertheless, urine is pouring out of her and collecting in a pool in front of her.

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Comments: This drawing shows a little sexually objectified girl, bound and urinating, which presumably is sexually arousing for men who find any one of, or all of these features appealing. The drawing qualifies as pornography because of the degrading portrayal of the nude little girl who has been designed to be sexually arousing and used for masturbatory purposes.

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### VI. Written Child Pornography

All written forms of child pornography are legal. However, most men are far more sexually aroused by visual images.

#### A. Search Engines and Websites

1. Search Engines: Header. Animal Fuck Movies, Bestiality Pornography Video, Free Horse Sex Pictures  
([www.xxxpower.net/](http://www.xxxpower.net/); April 23, 2002)

This search engine lists three pages of very graphic pornographic titles of pornographic movies, videos, or sex pictures under headings such as "animal sex," "teenie sex," "video sex," "fetish sex," "interracial," and "cum shots." Internet surfers can click on the titles that appeal to them

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most. Although there is no child pornography heading, child pornography titles are included under most of the headings.

When clicking on a title, the pictures advertised often fail to appear. Instead, a link to a gallery site or a pop-up window advertising another pornography site emerges.

Following are a few examples of the child pornography titles listed on this search engine:

**A. Animal sex**

Horse Fucking Young Girl

Dog Fucking Schoolgirl

Animal Cock Inside Teen

Dog Fucked My Sister

Lolita Fucking Horse

**B. Teenie sex**

Masturbating schoolgirl

Teenie Pornstar

Schoolgirl's first sex

Sweet tight teen

Hardcore teen sex

Horny schoolgirl

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Shy teen stripping

Hot Lolita baby

Young pink pussy

Enjoying young pussy

C. Video sex

Teen orgy videos

Dirty horny Lolita

Lolita fucked hard

D. Fetish sex

Fisting my sister

Punish me, father!!!

Comments: Child pornography about incestuous abuse and bestiality (mostly involving adults) are among the most popular forms of sexual abuse on the Internet. The "LOLITA FUCKING HORSE" website portrays a young preadolescent girl as the initiator in "fucking" a horse. Such an act is beyond my capacity to even imagine. What does "fucking" refer to in this context?

The examples of bestiality child pornography listed above qualify as particularly deviant and denigrating toward children.

## Chapter 15: Child Pornography on the Internet

The video entitled "Dirty horny Lolita" describes a young girl as being "dirty" -- i.e., defiled -- and sexually aroused -- placing the responsibility on her for whatever abusive sex acts are perpetrated on her. The same applies to the websites entitled, "Hot Lolita baby" and "Horny schoolgirl."

Long lists of child pornography titles created for the masturbatory gratification of male adolescents and men convey the notion that it is commonplace for children to be sexually precocious and to seek adult men -- and in this case animals as well -- to gratify their sexual needs. This inaccurate portrayal reinforces a destructive pedophilic myth that is used to justify the sexual abuse of children.

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### 2. Le Little Girls

This search engine lists many websites featuring "little girls." Viewers are enticed to "just click and connect with [an] innocent world...." Examples of the sites include:

"My mum fucks my brother and me! Daddy makes pictures of that scene!!!";

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"Little Lolitas Brutally Fucked;"

"Lolita Ready to Fuck, suck, masturbate ...";

"Nooooooo Daaaaddddy, Nooooooo!";

"Very Little Gils (sic) -- from different ages!";

"Young Lolitas and Boys Fucking;"

"Perverted sex in US family! Real incest here!"

Comments: The name "Lolita" is a popular synonym for a prepubescent girl. The first title describes a form of incest which is among the most rare. Yet mother-son incest is portrayed on the Internet at a much higher rate than it actually occurs.

The title of one of these websites ("Little Lolitas Brutally Fucked") suggests violent, sadistic sex. "Nooooooo Daaaaddddy, Nooooooo!" sounds to me as if a young girl's "No" is in the process of changing into "Yes!". In the last title, the use of the phrase "Real incest here!" is often presented on websites as a particularly sexually exciting attribute for male viewers. This indicates that some males find the notion of sexually abusing a real child to be much more sexually exciting than having confronting the fact that the portrayal of child

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pornography is just a fantasy.

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### 3. Hymen.com: Young girls lose virginity

[www.hymen.ca/members](http://www.hymen.ca/members)

This site is limited to text intended to induce viewers to enter "if you are over 18 years of age." The claim is made that this website contains "ABSOLUTELY SHOCKING PICTURES AND VIDEOS!" that "only on our site will you find real unique cases of loss of virginity," and that there are free pictures of "real virgin girls hymen" (p. 1).

Additional text declares that "A virgin's hymen is the most sensitive part of her body," and comments that "it is really amazing to watch how excited these young girls get as they lose their virginity forever!" (p. 1).

Comments: This website promotes the myth that young girls are thrilled to lose their virginity. Undoubtedly some such girls exist, but the reality is that many young girls lose their virginity by being raped or coerced or sweet-talked by males with a bunch of lies. As so often in child pornography, males' desires are projected onto their young victims. In this case, males are the ones who are thrilled to "take" the virginity of

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girls, which is why this is a popular theme in child pornography.

Mens' projections serve to justify their preoccupation with such acts.

\*\*\*\*\*

### 4. Daddy's Incest/Pedo Library

(daddysgirls.com/outside/pages/storiesdiaries, April 30, 2002)

This members'-only website cover page tries to induce Internet surfers to become members by offering brief descriptions of the incest stories to be found in full by paid-up members. Following are thumbnail sketches of four of the nine stories copyrighted as "the exclusive property of Daddy's Girls Adult Entertainment." [**States that "all of these works" are for the purchasers' entertainment only and may not be reproduced or resold in any medium.**] Does this include quoting from the cover page?]

Barbara P.:

"After she sees her daddy fucking her mom and her aunt together on the same bed, 6th grader, Barbara can't get her daddy's dick out of her mind until she gets it up her tight little cunt, that is. A fond memory of sex with Daddy."

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Megan & Becky:

"Becky gets an eyeful during an overnight visit at her best friend Megan's house. After watching Megan's daddy perform his fatherly duties with his hard dick, Becky gets some of that hard Daddy cock too."

Belle T.:

"Belle is a high-school senior, trailer trash waif, working at a Mexican fast-food restaurant, when an (sic) porn producer takes an interest in her -- even attending her high school graduation with his real daughter, Stacey. He and Stacey initiate young Belle into daddy-daughter sex. She makes her first video on her 18th birthday, learns to lick pussy, suck cock and fuck her new Daddy. Very hot fuck scenes with cum-swapping."

Leslie G.:

"Leslie gets to know her daddy's dick real well when she sneaks into her parents' bed and slips under the covers next to Daddy. Her mother watches but never says a word, until one special night when she gives Leslie to her daddy and watches the girl ride her daddy's cock for the very first time. Nice 'Mommy watches Daddy fuck daughter' erotic

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angle."

Comments: In none of these thumbnail sketches are the daughters and other female children portrayed as upset or traumatized by incestuous abuse with their fathers or other perpetrators -- an outrageously inaccurate myth popular with pedophiles and other child sexual abuse perpetrators. Nor are there any negative consequences for any of the participants in the many sex acts described in these brief descriptions. Were the truth about incestuous rape and incestuous abuse to replace these myths, there would presumably be no customers for this website.

### B. Child Pornography Stories of Incest

Several fantasy stories about the joys of incest are described and analyzed in the next chapter.

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### VII. Custom-Made Cartoons

Custom-Made Incest Cartoons (no date)

([www.trueincest.com/store/cartoon/](http://www.trueincest.com/store/cartoon/))

Although most cartoons are not designed to sexually arouse viewers, those described in this section seem likely to have some arousal value.

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The creator of this website tries to attract customers who will be willing to pay for a series of cartoons portraying incestuous abuse that will be made to their preferred specifications. The cover page of this website is confined to text. The text opens by proclaiming:

Now you can order your own CUSTOM MADE INCEST CARTOONS, it is a cartoon series made by your specifications, you tell your story to our cartoonist, you tell him how the participant should look, like if you want the women with big or small tits, big or tiny asses, or how do you like to see the men in the story, big dicks? Hairy? YOU CAN DO EVERYTHING IN YOUR FANTASY! You can even send personal or family pics to our cartoonist so he can resemble the persons in the pics and put those characters into the story, once [it] is completed he will send your cartoon digitized to you by e-mail.

Potential customers are informed that they can order and purchase picture cartoon series ranging from 5 to 20 pictures, the price of which ranges from \$40 to \$100 dollars for a 20 picture series. They are given the choice of paying with a credit card or check. The final message is that customers should remember that "NO ONE ELSE ON THE NET OFFERS YOU THIS SERVICE!"

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Comments: This website, like all the other incest web sites, legitimizes and normalizes incest for the viewers and customers.

It would be interesting to know how many individuals order these custom-made incest cartoons from this website and how many send family photos for the artist to use as models for his/her work. Some individuals who request cartoons be made of children in their families or children they know, may request that cartoonists sexually objectify them, or design them engaged in sexually explicit acts to use as masturbatory material. Masturbation, after all, is the purpose of most pornography.

The quality of the cartoons must be quite inferior at the dirt cheap prices advertized. When I asked another website how much they would charge to draw cartoons that I had designed, they quoted a price of **[fill in price here]**.

As previously noted, cartoons are generally intended to engender laughter in their viewers. However, it would seem more likely that these custom-made cartoons of incestuous abuse would be constructed to sexually arouse the males to whose specifications they have been drawn. It would be interesting to know how effective the cartoons are as masturbatory material -- if at all.

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### VII. Art as Child Pornography

Child pornography that appears in the form of art typically escapes the label of pornography in favor of "art." However, some of these cases have been very controversial, and some photographers have been prosecuted for their photographs of children whose genitals are displayed, for example, Maplethorpe.

However, these men have so far been found not guilty for producing and/or distributing child pornography.

Jenkins (2001) appears to agree with these verdicts. For example, he refers to what he calls "the serious and non-pornographic work of art photographers like David Hamilton" (p.).

However, he points out that some of their photographs of children have been portrayed as child pornography on Internet websites.

Many feminists do not agree with Jenkins and others that the work of artists should be exempt from charges of being pornographic. Some gifted artists are pedophiles who use their talents to take pornographic photographs of the victims whom they find sexually appealing or believe they can sell. In **Jack Sturges**'s case, he took photographs of himself having sexual contact with children.

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Child pornography that meets whatever criteria are used for determining its artistic merits, can arguably be even more damaging to viewers and their victims than material that does not meet these criteria. For example, the artistic quality of the photos may legitimize the content of the child pornography more convincingly than non-artistic material. Furthermore, there is no objective way of determining whose work deserves the label of "artistic" and whose does not. Artists' work often improves over time. Does this mean it would be reasonable to prosecute those who are still learning their art, but automatically dismiss all charges when they have improved? In addition, some artists' creations are rejected by their contemporary peers, only to win recognition after they have died.

In conclusion, exempting artistic work from charges that they are pornographic introduces far too much subjectivity into the serious issue of determining what constitutes child pornography and what does not. In addition, the Federal Law on child pornography does not provide for such an exemption.

### IX. Computer-Generated Child Pornography

#### Virtual Child Pornography Headquarters

(virtualchildporn.takehost.com, June 15, 2002)\* [Endnote: My assistant Roberta Harmes emailed this website several times in an effort to get permission to publish the pictures in Stolen

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Innocence. However, despite her repeated efforts, she never received a reply. Several months later this website was no longer locateable on the Internet.]

On the first page of this website the claim is made that it is "the first and only source for virtual child porn" on the Internet as of June 15, 2002 (two months after the Supreme Court legalized virtual child pornography). Since computer-generated child pornography does not usually identify itself as such, it is impossible to evaluate this claim.

The site-creator invites the readers of this material to recite the website's asinine "motto to boost your morale: Give me virtual child pornography, or give me death!" A striking and bizarre feature of the six computer-generated picture sequence shown on this website is that no effort was made to make the individuals in them look at all realistic. This is surprising because realistic pictures would probably be far more appealing to pedophiles and other child predators than these totally unnatural-looking creatures.

The six-picture sequence begins with a heterosexual couple engaged in sexual intercourse. The man, who appears to be aged from 20 to 40, is penetrating a young blond pre-pubescent girl (as judged by the lack of pubic hair, her flat chest and her girlish pigtails) from behind. They are both smiling. Two

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additional portrayals of this adult-child pair show a side angle of them, and an overhead view. It appears that the man is penetrating the girl anally in at least two of the pictures.

The next three pictures are very grotesque. In addition, the positions of the individuals in the pictures are impossible to execute. The pictures show two adult men whose age is difficult to estimate, engaged in sexual activity with an infant.

In all three of these pornographic pictures the men are standing across from each other with a tiny baby (whose gender is unclear) suspended in mid-air between them and held in place only by their penises. One man is anally penetrating the baby while the other man has his penis in the baby's mouth. The face of the infant is not visible in any of the three pictures shown.

The following two pages of the site contain information prompting site-goers to submit new images to the site's growing library. Comments and suggestions by viewers are also invited and an email address provided. Viewers are requested to "Submit New Images!"

"Since virtual child pornography has only been an officially protected right for a short while, our current collection is very small. You can help us build our collection by submitting images to: [virtualchildpron@hotmail.com](mailto:virtualchildpron@hotmail.com)." ...

["pron" not a typo]

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Those who submit new images are told that if they would like credit for their pictures on the website, they should include "appropriate credit information in your email." The website ends with the slogan: "Building the future of American rights one picture at a time!"

Comments: This website is the only computer-generated child pornography that we were able to find on the Internet. Its title and the very unreal-looking pictures of the individuals on this website made it easy to identify the participants as fictitious. The impossibility of the baby being suspended in the air between two men is another very obvious illusory feature of the last three pictures.

If all computer-generated child pornography resembled these pictures, there would be little to fear from this relatively new genre of child pornography. It is precisely because computer-generated child pornography is difficult to distinguish from child pornography that uses children, that it is a serious problem for law enforcement officers to know when they need to make arrests.

On the other hand, one could also argue that the unrealistic character of the computer-generated child pornography sequence described above makes it possible to depict particularly

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horrendous acts that are physically impossible for human beings to execute.

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### X. Amateur Child Pornography

Amateur Child Pornography on the Internet refers to child pornography pictures sent by members of the public to a website on this topic. Those sending such pictures include parents or fathers who contribute pornographic photos of their children, or themselves engaged in sex with one or more child; boyfriends who send pornographic pictures of their adolescent girlfriends; and adult males who send pictures of unrelated children. Amateur child pornography pictures may be softcore or hardcore.

Comments: The existence of websites devoted to amateur child pornography indicates the acceptability of child pornography to those who make contributions to them. It would be interesting to know the prevalence of such websites, and the extent to which the female victims of amateur child pornography are cognizant of their photos circulating on the Internet. I know of no studies that have attempted to address these question.

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### XI. Child Pornography on Chat Rooms for Pedophiles

Hughes (1999) notes that because "Communications in chat rooms on the Internet leave no record, ... these sites have become the haven for predators trading child pornography" (p. 21). She cites the organization PedoWatch as reporting in 1997, "that 1,500 people each day joined the preteen erotica (sic) trading channels on Inter-Relay Chat (IRC)" (p. 21).

Hughes also refers to an investigative reporter who accessed chat rooms titled "preteen sex pics," "gayboy sex," and "preteen boy sex." The reporter also mentioned finding "nine chat rooms with about 250 users dealing in child pornography. All the users had pornographic images of boys, 13 years and under, engaged in sex acts to exchange" (p. 21).

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### XII. Hardcore Child Pornography

Hardcore child pornography on the Internet features explicit sex acts or shows children in lewd poses (Jenkins, 2001, p. 81).

According to Jenkins, hard-core child pornography "exists in abundance" on the Internet. He and others have noted that some of the child pornography published in the child pornography magazines that circulated openly in Europe and North America

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during the 1970s, were posted on the Internet and are still circulating today "decades after they were produced" (p. 82).

However, there is also "a striking amount [of child pornography] from very recent times, right up to the present day" (Jenkins, 2001, p. 82). Jenkins (2001) describes a "modern-day series of homemade hard-core" child pornography as "the worst of the breed, because they depict ongoing acts of rape and molestation by culprits who are still active and presumably still exploiting victims" (p. 82).

Some professional photographers have also taken pornographic pictures of "individual acts of molestation committed against young neighbors or family members" (Jenkins, 2001, p. 82). Jenkins (2001) notes that:

"Most of the girl subjects are aged between perhaps eight and thirteen, but others involve much smaller children, down to toddlers. Because of the age of the subjects most of the sex acts involved do not involve penetration but show the girl performing oral sex or mutual masturbation. Some images, however, do depict genital and anal penetration, as well as vibrators and other masturbatory devices. The hel-lo series [to be described shortly] ... shows actual penetration. In addition, hard-core videos and photo series continue to be produced in fair abundance, seemingly using

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underage prostitutes in Asia or Latin America." (pp. 82-83)

Jenkins (2001) also describes the contents of three very popular series of child pornography in the following passages. The first involves a seven- or eight-year old girl called Helena, who, according to Jenkins, "may be one of the best-known sex stars on the Web" (p. 2). In the late 1980s, she

"became the subject of a photo series that depicted her not only in all the familiar nude poses of hardcore pornography but also showed her in numerous sex acts with Gavin, a boy of about the same age. Both are shown having sex with an adult man, presumably Helena's father. The images are collectively known by various names but the commonest is 'hel-lo,' for Helena/lolita." (Jenkins, 2001, p. 2)

"Since their first appearance they have had an astonishing afterlife; probably not a day has passed without the hel-lo images appearing anew on some electronic server somewhere in the world, and they are cherished by thousands of collectors worldwide. ... Hel-lo itself was recently described by a child porn enthusiast as 'the greatest HC [hard-core] series ever made! She was 'acting' since she was a toddler until she was twelve years old, which means there are thousands of pics of her in action out there somewhere! No other series compares!!!" (p. 2)

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Jenkins (2001) also describes a more recent series known as the 'kindergarten' photos, or KG and KX for short, "which together represent perhaps the most prized collections currently available on the Net" (p. 2). He describes KG as "a series of hundreds (maybe thousands) of nude images of several very young girls, mainly between the ages of three and six years old," whose photographs started being posted on the Internet in the mid-1990s.

According to Jenkins (2001), the KX collection is an even "more sought-after version" that "depicts the same children in hard-core sexual situations with one or more men" (pp. 2-3). Most of these photographs show "four- and five-year-old girls performing oral sex and masturbation on adult men" (p. 3). Jenkins (2001) reports that, "The immense popularity of the KG images ensured an enthusiastic market for KX, which entered general circulation in early 2000."

Jenkins (2001) notes that, "The popularity of hel-lo and KX has been achieved despite the utterly illegal nature of such collections" (p. 3). Notwithstanding the fact that

"Governments in most advanced countries have passed draconian prohibitory laws that often provide harsh prison terms for mere possession of child porn, let alone its

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distribution or manufacture..., not all the world's censorship laws, backed by the direst threats of prison and social ruin, have prevented these series from being readily available for anyone who wants them." (Jenkins, 2001, p. 3)

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### XIII. Interactive Child Pornography on the Internet

Hughes (1999) reports that some sexual predators who "form rings to exchange child pornography sometimes transmit and view live broadcasts of the sexual abuse of children" (p. 24). Santos (in Arnaldo, 2001) describes "live video conferencing -- live audio and video transmitted over the Internet from a video camera and microphone to a computer," as "the most advanced technology on the Internet" (p. 58). According to Santos, "This development has raised child pornography to an even higher [lower] level" (pp. 58-59).

Hughes notes that now, "sex predators from around the world can witness the live sexual abuse of a child and record the broadcast for future use" (Hughes, p. 24). Furthermore, viewers can participate interactively in sexually abusing the child and giving suggestions "on how the scene should be played" (Santos, p. 59). Hughes (1999) mentions interactive video conferencing as enabling groups of men (whom she refers to as "child porn rings")

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to watch shows on the Internet. A predator can pay an additional fee for a private session (p. 44).

According to Hughes, these rings "usually set membership requirements that require the new member to implicate himself as a child sex abuser, pornographer or collector of child pornography.

The Orchid Club in San Jose, California, is "The first known example of pedophiles using the Internet for real-life abuse of a child (Trebilock, 1999, p. 50). Arnaldo (2001) quotes the following description of the Orchid Club by Ron O'Grady, Chairman of ECPAT, (ref: opening address at the Child Pornography on the Internet Experts Meeting in Lyon, France):

"The Orchid club was a group of sixteen male child sex abusers coming from several different countries united only by their paedophilia. Each of these men had a video camera attached to their screens which enabled them together to watch a girl of 10 years being sexually abused in real time.

They could directly participate in the abuse while it was taking place by offering suggestions and encouragement to the abuser." (p. 56)

These pedophiles were all arrested, ending the existence of this pernicious Club.

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Hughes (1999) describes the Orchid Club as "engaged in live Internet transmission of sexual abuse of children, ranging in age from five to ten years" (p. 24). She maintains that "In one night's activity, a 5-year-old ... was molested while at least 11 men watched and asked for specific types of abuse to be perpetrated" on her (p. 24). Presumably, Hughes' description is based on a different example of interactive child pornography than the one cited above by O'Grady.

Trebilock (1999) makes the distressing suggestion that "the Orchid Club might be a barometer of where we are headed on the Internet" (p. 50). Interactive child pornography-related child abuse like the example described above can never be transformed into a less harmful computer-generated form.

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**XIV. Virtual Reality**

Friel defines virtual reality "as a system which provides a realistic sense of being immersed in an environment.... It is a computer-generated, visual, audible and tactile multi-media experience" (fn. 160, p. 230).

Author Samuel Gelerman's article in Wired Magazine reports a

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discussion by the Supreme Court Justices of their opinions on the fact that "both Massachusetts state trial and appellate courts found that the creation, distribution, and possession" of a software program called Kiddy Porn Street that was used with new virtual reality technology, violated state law (Internet version, p. 3).

Justice Stevens' described Kiddy Porn Street as follows:

"Virtual reality mixes computers, computer animation, and human interaction. By putting on an electronic mask that covers one's eyes, ears, nose, and mouth and by slipping into a specially equipped body suit with sensors that respond to touch, a person steps into a computer-generated reality. Kiddy Porn Street was specially created for a virtual reality environment in which adults interact sexually with various computer-generated fictional children." (p. 3)

Given that computer-generated child pornornography is still legal at this time, it is surprising that this particular software program was found to be illegal. No explanation is provided for this apparent inconsistency. Perhaps pedophiles who have moral qualms about sexually abusing children are able to permit themselves to enjoy Kiddy Porn Street because the children are not real.

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### Conclusion

The 15 types of child pornography on the Internet that have been differentiated in this chapter provide some idea of the kinds of mostly legal child pornography to be found on the Internet. Since the legal material described constitutes only the tip of the iceberg, presumably many more types of illegal child pornography could be distinguished were these sites accessible.

Child pornography websites and search engines routinely portray children and their sexual desires in an extremely inaccurate and denigrating fashion and in exceedingly crude pornographic language. The non-sadistic sites reinforce numerous outrageous myths about child sexuality, maintaining that children enjoy every sex act that pedophiles might desire. They are portrayed as seductive, as orgasmic, as unhurt by intercourse with adult males, and as delighted to engage in all kinds of sex acts with their fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, grandfathers and other relatives.

The concept of victim is called into question in child pornography, since the child is typically portrayed as suffering no ill effects from having sex with adult men, even with their relatives. And as previously noted, the perpetrators also are

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free of any negative consequences.

Pedophiles whose desires have graduated to more sadistic sex acts cannot bluff themselves that children want to be tortured or killed; but according to my theory, pedophiles' experiences of repeatedly viewing such child pornography can undermine the internal and social inhibitions of some of them against acting out their sadism.

Child pornography is pedophilic propaganda, designed to sexually arouse pedophiles and other males who have a sexual interest in children, and to condone their acting out of their destructive desires on children.

[8,101 words]

## Chapter 15: Child Pornography on the Internet

### Chapter 16: Child Pornography Stories on the Internet

[4stories.bok]

The first six stories were found on [www.Fantasies.com](http://www.Fantasies.com), which was described as "the premiere website for sex stories."

#### Story 1: Daddy's Little Girl

Date of story: 4/22/02

Disclaimer: The story is fiction and only for those over 18

Summary: This story is about a 13-year-old girl called Michelle (name provided) and her stepfather, Artie -- whom she described as very handsome. The author describes Michelle as "very well-developed" for her age (size 42 D) with a perfect size 4 waist. She was accustomed to receiving attention from adult males who would "promise to leave their wives for one chance" to be with her.

Michelle got along with Artie before her mother married him but after he moved into their home she said her handsome stepfather became "my world.... I would often dream of what it would be like to feel his hands roaming the unexplored territories of my body," she said. One day she accidentally caught Artie performing oral sex with another woman. Artie was

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shocked by her discovery of his affair, but after only a few minutes he invited her into the room, telling her that, "This is what adults do when they like each other." He told her that she was now old enough to learn about sex, and that she was welcome to join in with them as long as she didn't tell her mother.

Michelle immediately became sexually excited by her stepfather's invitation. "I felt my pussy grow moist with his words alone," she said, but she told him that she felt uncomfortable with the presence of the woman. Artie told her that sometimes women have sex with other women. Then he kissed her and she was able to taste the "woman's pussy juice invading" her tongue. Artie proceeded to undress her and touch her "solid nipples." He instructed her to do "whatever he said," then told her to perform cunnilingus on the woman. After complimenting Michelle on her performance when his female lover orgasmed, Artie instructed his stepdaughter to "sit on his face" while his female partner watched. He proceeded to stimulate her sexually and she quickly had an orgasm which she "loved so much" she felt "as if her whole body would explode." Artie then entered her with his 9-inch penis, which "hurt and burned like hell." Nevertheless, Michelle asked him to "go hard and rough and he eagerly did." After all three of them simultaneously orgasmed, Michelle confessed to Artie that she had wanted to "bed" him for some time. Artie, too, confided that he had also wanted to "bed" her but was unsure how she would respond to his advances.

## Chapter 15: Child Pornography Stories In the Internet

When Michelle's mother arrived home, she and Artie shared a secret laugh -- telling her that they were laughing about a personal secret between them. The story concludes with Michelle, now 20 years old, still having sex with Artie and sometimes "a girlfriend from school."

At the end of the story, readers are asked to "Leave a comment for this story." This invitation also concludes all the stories to follow.

Comments: As will become evident from reading this sample of 12 child pornography stories, the young female victims are frequently described as having ideal bodies. Sometimes this means being large-breasted, as with Michelle (name provided); more often it is being very small breasted or flat chested as is typically preferred by pedophiles who are turned off by adult women's bodies. A very large penis -- 9 inches in this story -- appears to be important to male readers of pornography stories.

Although the author doesn't describe Michelle as a virgin, it is implicit in the story -- as it invariably is in these male fantasies. Despite this, the girls are typically described as responding like experienced lovers. Although Michelle did not initiate the sexual encounter with her stepfather, she admitted having prior longings to "bed" him and she was an enthusiastic

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participant who instantly became aroused by his advances. Although she described intercourse as hurting "like hell," she encouraged Artie to penetrate her "roughly" presumably because this is an appealing idea to many men. Despite the pain, she is portrayed as enjoying vaginal penetration. She also relished Artie's performing cunnilingus while she sat on his face (an implausible performance feat!), and had no problem performing cunnilingus for the first time on Artie's adult female sex partner. As male fantasies prescribe, Michelle rapidly achieved several powerful orgasms including the mandatory simultaneous orgasm with both Artie and the woman. Being sexually gratified by whatever sexual acts are performed is also commonplace in both adult and child pornography.

Another frequent theme in pornography stories is that there are no negative consequences for Michelle or Artie, despite the fact that their sexual relationship continues for seven more years until the end of the story. This outcome is, of course, exceedingly unlikely in reality. The story teller would have us believe that Michelle's mother remains oblivious to anything going on between her husband and daughter for all those years. It is totally unrealistic that such a bond would have no impact on the relationships between the parents and child. Finally, Michelle is not depicted as an incest victim who experiences any of the commonplace symptoms of sexual abuse; rather she is portrayed as sexually gratified and euphoric about her dream of a

## Chapter 15: Child Pornography ~~Stories~~ ~~Internet~~ ~~Internet~~

sexual relationship with her stepfather coming true. In short, incestuous statutory rape is transformed into a victimless experience. This is an extremely dangerous fantasy for pedophiles and child molesters to harbor.

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### Story 2: A Grandfather

Date of story: 4/22/02

Disclaimer: The story is fiction and only for those over 18

Summary: This story is about a grandfather who had the opportunity to look after his 10-year-old granddaughter, Molly, for a summer. He had adored her all of her life and she had always doted on him. He described the "sheer joy this child was" with "her tumble of auburn curls, the spattering of freckles across her nose, the cupid bow lips, those flashing amber eyes!"

One night, terrified by a storm, Molly begged her grandfather to let her into his bed. The grandfather started touching her "sweet little bee stings" (nipples), then sucking them. Molly is portrayed as extremely and immediately responsive ("I felt her sharp little intakes of breath"). He describes Molly's "perfect naked little vulva" as "luring" him. And when he performs cunnilingus on her ("Oh, grandpa, don't stop!"), she has a "liquid orgasm." At this point the grandfather describes his granddaughter as "a natural little harlot." Finally, he has

## Chapter 15: Child Pornography Stories In the Internet

intercourse with Molly -- which appears to be totally pain-free for this young girl. This blissful introduction to sex for Molly begins "the greatest affair of my life" for the grandfather.

After the idealic initiation, Molly "begged me to 'kiss my minnie' again and again at every opportunity," her grandfather related. He discovers that Molly also enjoys anilingus, performing fellatio, swallowing his sperm, his ejaculate on her face, being penetrated by fruit and vegetables and a dalmatian dog -- the latter described as "a treat which she found delightful"!

When the summer ends, Molly leaves her distraught grandfather to return to her parents. He is devastated by his loss, having to settle for a pair of her dirty panties.

Comments: This child pornography story fits this genre in several ways. Molly is described as a cute-looking child, who is immediately sexually excited by her grandfather's touch. Although he takes the initiative and is portrayed as the seducer at the beginning of the first sexual acts, half way through this encounter he describes Molly's "perfect ... little vulva" as "luring" him to go further. He interprets this as evidence that she is a "natural little harlot." She turns out to be the perfect little sexual partner, enjoying a great variety of sexual acts that most adult women consider degrading and/or completely

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revolting, for example, having sperm shot into their faces, being penetrated by vegetables, and having sex with a dog. For a 10-year-old presumed virgin to enjoy all these sexual acts as well as fellatio, swallowing sperm, and vaginal intercourse with an adult man is an absurd pedophilic fantasy. Moreover, in subsequent sexual acts, Molly is portrayed as the initiator who is always begging him to kiss her genitals.

Aside from the grandfather being heartbroken by the loss of his adorable "natural little harlot," there are no other negative consequences for him and none at all for Molly. The grandfather's unflattering description of Molly as a "harlot" conveys that she was the provocateur in their relationship, and therefore that she was not only consenting, but responsible for it. The only unusual features of this fantasy is that Molly wasn't specifically described as a virgin, and the grandfather's penis wasn't described as unusually large.

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### Story 3: My Lovely Brother

Date of story: 2/7/02

Disclaimer: None

Summary: This story begins with a family car ride to the mountains for a vacation. Trevor, 16, and his sister Kate, 11,

## Chapter 15: Child Pornography ~~Stories In the Internet~~

are sitting in the back seat together. Kate is asleep with her head in Trevor's lap. He describes her as looking like "an angel, fresh complexion, long mousy coloured hair, she looked good in anything she wore." He mentions often having seen her coming out of the bathroom naked, her "nubile body tall and slim, she had just started to form breasts but no sign of any hair on her pussy yet."

As the ride begins to get bumpy, Trevor places his arm around his sister "to stop her falling off the seat." While still asleep, she places his hand on her breast. As the car bumps along, Trevor "felt the nipple getting hard against my hand." He begins to rub her nipple and she draws his hand under her shirt and smiles. When she pretends to awaken a few seconds later he apologizes for his behavior, but Kate protests, "What for?" She begs him to "please do it again," and he complies until he notices his "raging hard on" and fearing he might get caught, whispers to her, "Later."

When they arrive at the cabin, Trevor and Kate go for a swim. The incident in the car continues to trouble Trevor, but he concludes, "Telling myself it was wrong was no good, I was in love with my own sister." Kate emerges from the water and asks her brother to dry her off. She places his hands on her breasts and says, "Start here." The sexual encounter progresses with Kate being the one to initiate its progression. When she slips

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her hand into his swimming trunks, she makes a typical comment in pornography text -- "It's so big my darling brother." As she begins to rub his penis, he fingers her to orgasm. Collapsing on the sand she asks, "Can a sister love her brother?" Trevor explains that what they are doing is against the law, and "if we were caught doing this we would be in big trouble."

The next morning their parents conveniently depart the house early to look at a cabin down the river, leaving Trevor and his sister alone for the day. Trevor enters Kate's bedroom where she is still asleep. When she wakes, she invites him into her bed and subsequently asks him to kiss her nipples -- making her the initiator of the sexual encounter once again. "I love you Trevor," she declares as she takes his penis into her hand. As the sex progresses, Trevor comments "I knew what I was doing with my sister was wrong. I kept telling myself this was incest, but I still carried on." As Kate performs fellatio on Trevor, he screams "I LOVE YOU SIS!" as he ejaculates into her mouth. "I LOVE YOU TOO," she says as she finishes climaxing.

The siblings' sexual encounter included cunnilingus, 69, and anal intercourse, with Kate shouting instructions like, "Push hard!", "PUSH YOUR DICK UP PLEASE!", and "Finish me off inside my cunt." As they have vaginal intercourse, Trevor discovers that Kate is indeed a virgin. Kate screams, "Break me! Fuck me please fuck me!" She screams again as he plunges into her. This

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drives him as if he is "a wild animal pumping my prick into my virgin sister." Kate orgasms wildly, thrashing out of control on the bed. "Never had she felt so much emotion." Finally, she pleads, "Give me all of your baby making cream" and Trevor collapses on top her. Then "we kissed and told each other of our undying love for each other," and "made a pact to continue to make love as much as possible."

Comments: Like many of these fantasy stories, "My Lovely Brother" describes 11-year-old Kate as a desirable sexual object with a nubile body "who looked good in anything she wore." Her preadolescent appearance is emphasized by noting that she had "no sign of any hair on her pussy yet." As in many of these stories, Kate is repeatedly portrayed as the sexual initiator with her 16-year old brother. In contrast, Trevor is depicted as reticent and often remorseful about their sexual contact, but unable to resist her persistent efforts to seduce him. Despite this, he always takes responsibility for their sexual relationship. He also tells Kate that their behavior is illegal, and they would be in "big trouble" if they were caught. He even names what they are doing as "incest."

In reality, my large scale survey of incestuous abuse in San Francisco found that in cases of sibling incest it was always the older brothers who initiated sexual encounters with their younger sisters -- never vice versa (Russell, 1986). Clearly the

## Chapter 15: Child Pornography Stories In the Internet

audience for these stories are not interested in learning the truth about incestuous relationships.

It is unusual in the fantasy stories on the website to have a main character feel guilty because of their breaking the taboo on incest. However, breaking taboos is a turn on for some perpetrators. Perhaps this story was written for them.

The inclusion in "My Lovely Brother" of the negative reality of the illegality of incest and the potential danger of engaging in it is in strikingly different from the erasure of this reality in adult pornography. Another noticeable contrast with adult pornography is the expression of love by each of the parties. This is clearly a romantic as well as a sexual story.

Trevor's large penis is emphasized ("It's so big, my darling brother") and appreciated by Kate. She tells Trevor approvingly that his penis is much bigger than her boyfriend's. Kate's virginity is also stressed. She fervently urges her brother to "Break me!" As is typical in adult and child pornography, Kate and her brother both orgasm easily and at the same time. In addition, they experience no negative consequences for their behavior.

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**Chapter 15: Child Pornography Stories In the Internet**Story 4: Wanting Daddy

Date of story: 7/18/02

Disclaimer: Story is fiction, no warning that readers must be 18

Summary: This story is about a 15-year-old girl called Nadine who forces her father to have sex with her. She and her dad live alone together since her mother's death. She often listens to, and is turned on by, the sounds of her father having sex with women in his room. "I press my ear up to the wall and finger my pussy to the low moans until I cream all over my hand," Nadine says. Stating that "He turns me on so bad!" she complains that "No matter how much I try to get my dad to notice me, he doesn't." So she decides to force her father to have sex with her.

Clad in a see-through lace nightie, Nadine makes her way into her father's bedroom and handcuffs him to the bed. He remains asleep while she straddles him and "his cock stiffened against my pussy." She describes her "young, virgin pussy" as "getting moist" as his "eight-inch cock rose to attention." As she was performing oral sex on her father, he awakened startled.

"Nadine! What are you doing?" he demands to know. Although he pleads with her to stop, his body responds to her sucking on his penis which he pushes further into her mouth. "I know you want to fuck your little girl, Daddy," Nadine tells him. He continues to protest, but she implores him to perform cunnilingus, "Taste

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this sweet pussy, Daddy. I've been saving it for you," as she presses herself on his lips. Finally, he begins to respond to Nadine's advances and she orgasms, but her "young pussy still hungered for more."

"Daddy, will you fuck me?" Nadine asked him. Her father, apparently angered by her insistent pleas and still determined to resist her advances admonishes her, but she is very persistent. "If you don't want to fuck me, I will fuck you," she said as she moved her father's penis toward her vagina. He was immediately aroused and implored her to remove the handcuffs so he could "fuck her right." He then spanked her hard on her buttocks. This made her even more excited: "I wanted to fuck my Daddy so bad, my pussy was quivering with abandonment," she said. Then her father began to have intercourse with his virgin daughter. Nadine told him "Daddy, it hurts," yet she still implored him to "Fuck your daughter's pussy, Daddy. Fill my tiny little pussy." Nadine's father engaged in rough sex with her (he is described as shoving his penis into her, forcefully slamming inside of her, and ramming his penis deep inside of her).

Father and daughter reach orgasm together, and collapse in each other's arms. "We might try it up the ass next time since now I can handle his pine (sic) inside my pussy," Nadine said.

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Comments: This story demonstrates common features of several of these child pornography stories. Fifteen-year-old Nadine, is the always-preferred virgin with a vagina described as "tight" and "little," and breasts that are "small" and "firm." She dressed seductively in a see-through nightdress for the benefit of the reader, since her father was asleep when she assaulted him. And her father was described as having the typical eight-inch penis.

Nadine, appears to be devoid of any notion of an incest taboo, whereas her father is not. This puts her into the "bad girl" guilty party role as opposed to her father. Furthermore, Nadine not only takes the sexual initiative with her father -- which is common in child pornography fantasies; she actually rapes him, which is atypical. (In many states, rape includes oral, anal, or vaginal penetration when the victim is unable to consent because they are asleep, unconscious, drugged, mentally ill, or physically helpless in some way.) Hence, Nadine is the perpetrator in this case, and her father the victim.

Despite Nadine's virginity, she acts like an experienced uninhibited woman, who needs no lessons in fellatio, cunnilingus, or anal intercourse. She orgasms easily, and she and her father have the typical simultaneous orgasm at the end. The only mention of pain -- despite her tiny vagina and his giant penis -- is when her hymen is broken. The breach of a hymen is the proof of virginity -- a classic turn on for men, whether pedophiles or

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"normal" heterosexual adults.

As usual, there are no negative consequences for either party in this story of father-daughter incest.

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### Story 5: Brothers and Sisters

Date of story: 4/22/02

Disclaimer: The story is fiction and only for those over 18

Summary: This very complex and lengthy child pornography story is about a family in which all the members are involved in incestuous relationships. Fourteen-year-old Peter has three sisters -- Linda, 16, Mandy 12, and Tessa 10. The story begins with sexily dressed Mandy asking Peter to take her to the drive-in that night. Peter is appalled by the idea, and reminds her he is too young to drive. Lisa volunteers to drive them and their mother urges Peter to go. Lisa insists that Peter sit in the back with Mandy as if the two of them are on a date and she later encourages them to make out like a couple. Peter is appalled, but Lisa says, "Oh stop fussing! Just kiss her like this." Lisa then kisses her brother passionately. Mandy begs Peter to kiss her. He gives in, becomes aroused and starts exploring her body. Mandy becomes very sexually excited. Lisa then abruptly halts their sex play and takes them home where

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Peter masturbates while imagining "how it would be to fuck his little sister."

The next night Tessa, also sexily dressed, demands to be taken to the drive-in. This time Peter doesn't wait for Lisa's coaxing; he begins to passionately kiss his sister. After caressing her nipples, Tessa orgasms. Although Peter was excited, a little voice in his head reminded him, "She is your sister and it is incest."

The following night Mandy asked Peter out again and he immediately began fondling her upon their arrival at the drive-in. Mandy yelled, "Oh yes!!! Rub my pussy!!!!" Peter started to feel ashamed about what he was doing with his sister and pulled away. Lisa, who was driving, insisted that he "finish what he started" or she would tell their parents. Peter left the car in a huff with Lisa close behind. Lisa explained to him that "Mom and dad know that Mandy wants to have a baby with you and they don't mind." She then tells Peter that their father is their mother's brother. When Mandy found this out she decided she wanted to have a baby with her brother. Lisa also tells Peter that she wants to have their father's baby.

On noticing that Peter has become aroused, Lisa pulls down his pants to reveal his large penis, then performs oral sex on him. On arriving home, Peter tells Mandy he knows about her

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desire to have a baby with him. She opens his pants and takes out his penis saying, "Oh my, it's so big!" At that moment they hear sounds coming from the master bedroom and they go to watch.

Their mother was also watching as "her husband and daughter [Lisa] fuck." "They were well on their way to a mind blowing orgasm." Seeing this, Mandy commanded Peter to "FUCK ME!" as she spread out on the bed. He mounted her and said, "Here it comes, sis." "When he hit her hymen he started to push harder, until his cock suddenly shot all the way in. Mandy yelped as a bolt of pain shot through her pussy as she lost her virginity." They continued to have sex until both orgasmed and "wave after wave of orgasmic pleasure swept over" their bodies.

All the commotion had woken Tessa who came into the room and said, "I want to as well." Her father responded: "Sure honey, but we are all a bit tired right now, so you will have to wait until tomorrow, okay?"

Comments: One unusual feature of this story is the ambiguity of who are the victims and who are the perpetrators. For example, is Lisa the perpetrator and Peter the victim in their relationship? And which roles are being played in the other sibling relationships? The answers depend on the definitions chosen. By my definition, Lisa, Peter, and their father are the perpetrators, and the mother is a colluder.

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This story has many of the features that appear in all but one of the other incest stories, six of which reverse what really happens in incestuous relationships in which older males are virtually always the initiators of the sexual relationship. So, for example, both of the younger girls dress in a sexually provocative manner, making them responsible for their sexual objectification. The three girls are all the sexual initiators with Peter. The younger two are both virgins, yet they have no inhibitions and they instantly respond sexually like seasoned lovers.

Peter starts out not seeing his sisters as sexual objects, but he succumbs to Mandy and Lisa's pressure on him to respond to their sexual advances on their first trip to the drive-in. More than once he expresses feelings of guilt about participating in incestuous relationships with his two younger sisters, although his reluctance to be sexual with them disappears rapidly after their first outing. Nevertheless, he is the only one in the family who shows any recognition of the incest taboo.

Both father and son are described as having the usual large penises. All the characters in the fantasy enjoy their sexual encounters in this world of explosive orgasms, and there are no negative consequences for any of them. Both Lisa and Mandy want to have babies with their father and Peter, respectively. In

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this utopian pedophile dream world having children with family members is treated as totally unproblematic. No concern about providing evidence of incestuous relationships for the child welfare services or law enforcement officers is evident. Reality is not allowed to intrude its ugly head in stories designed to provide ejaculatory pleasure for most pedophiles.

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### Story 6: Lactating

Date of Story: 4/22/02

Disclaimer: The story is fiction and only for those over 18

Summary: Jane (name provided), the author of this bizarre fantasy is portrayed as a mother and wife who has been married for five years and who, together with her husband Dan (name provided), "shared every possible sexual act that a couple can" (i.e., anal sex, fisting, bondage, golden showers, orgies, and public sex). Breast milk was the only bodily fluid that Jane could not provide her husband who was particularly aroused by XXX videos of pregnant, lactating women.

Jane decided to become pregnant solely to fulfill her husband's fantasy. "All I wanted to do was please him and give him everything he ever asked of me," Jane declared. "I would be his sex slave to the end of our days." When Dan learns of her

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pregnancy, he is ecstatic. "He could only thank me for giving him the last piece of my body," Jane said.

Dan would suckle on Jane's breasts every day anxiously waiting for them to produce. "He had become my little boy," Jane said. After the birth of their son, both her husband and child would suckle on her breasts. Her husband would, at time, become jealous of his son having "his breasts." He would often have intercourse with her as the baby fed and "eat" her "pussy."

When the baby turned four months, Dan taped a tube to Jane's clitoris. After stimulating it, he placed the baby between her legs to suck. Jane noted that "The baby was confused at first but then tasted his sweet nectar of milk in with new tastes." Meanwhile, Dan masturbated while watching their son suck his mother's clitoris. "It was the most intense sexual moment in our lives" Jane reported. The feedings continued in this way for months.

Then Dan got the baby to "stick his entire hand and arm up my pussy and fuck it as he suckled." Jane commented that their baby had no idea that all this bizarre behavior "was not right," but, Jane said, "My husband would not let me stop, and I would do anything and everything that he asked of me."

As their son grew older, he would put match box cars in

## Chapter 15: Child Pornography Stories In the Internet

Jane's vagina. Her husband would insist that she leave the car inside her while doing household chores until her son came for another feeding. At age two, her son began to remove her panties, which was an incredible turn-on for her husband. At age four, still suckling, their son saw his parents having oral sex.

He responded by putting his penis in Dan's mouth. Dan grew hard and quickly came again. Then, realizing that he had "the same thing as his father," their son placed his penis in his mother's mouth telling her "to suck his pee-pee."

Jane commented that "This is [how] our happy family continued on for several years. The three of us together alone and with very little outside contact for fear of being discovered in our sick little world." Jane's final word is that she "was looking forward to our son growing into a teenager and having both of my men to service and them to service me into old age!"

Comments: This macabre story reflects the author's motivation to provide his market -- pedophiles -- with an original plot to whet their appetites. However, since an adult woman plays such a central role in the story, I find it difficult to understand how this story would appeal to pedophiles. It certainly differs considerably from the previous five stories. Among other things, instead of reversing reality, the relationship between the couple is extremely patriarchal, with Jane going so far as to identify

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herself as her husband's sex slave. Jane is not described as a beautiful sex object; her large breasts may be considered a great asset to "normal" heterosexual men, but not to pedophiles who are attracted to young girls' small firm breasts or flat chests. In addition, neither Dan nor their son are described as having large penises.

Jane's description of the family's life style and sexual practices as "our sick little world" is another unusual feature of this story. This description hardly reflects a healthy, positive self image. Perhaps this qualifies as a rare example in these stories of a negative consequence. Another is that the couple have "very little outside contact for fear of being discovered ...." However, the story does not portray the couple as unhappy about their isolation. So the positive consequences outweigh the two minor negative consequences.

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Story 7: Daddy Don't

Author: Little One c

Source: All Extreme Stories [allextremesex.com]

Date of Story: 5/7/02

Disclaimer: None

Summary: This story is about a man called Jim (name provided)

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whose daughter Veronica (name provided), whose age is never revealed, "had taken her mother's place ever since the bitch left two years ago." Veronica "did a helluva better job as far as cleaning, cooking, and general companionship" Jim observed. Nevertheless, he missed his ex-wife's "sweet tight tan cunt." He got a "hard and angry" erection thinking about her "hairy wet pussy."

Jim loved his little girl more then (sic) life itself." But he also admitted that "he had wanted to fuck his little girl for three years now."

As Jim threw his shirt into the washer, he noticed a pair of his daughter's yellow panties. "Greedily, he snatched the cloth [panties] up from the washer and brought it to his face, breathing in big deep gulps of hot pussy smell." Jim found that "The scent of her cunny juice was driving him absolutely crazy," and he proceeded to lick "her cum off her soiled panties."

Jim's sexual excitement in response to these activities caused his "cock" to jut "obscenely out from his body." He reflected that "He'd wanted her for three years now.... The temptation was strong, so strong." He thought about her innocence, and her "little cotton nighties and wet bikinis and short shorts" that had enabled him to get "glimpses of her sweet panty-covered mound."

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Finally, appalled at his own desires, Jim began to gulp down whiskey. After rapidly consuming three glasses, he reminded himself that "he'd kept control of himself for the past two years, alone with her so many times. He wasn't going to just rape his little girl tonight." As he went up the stairs he "felt such love for her, and it was good, it kept his throbbing wolf cock at bay from his sweet little lamb."

Jim suddenly noticed that Veronica's bedroom door was closed. She had never done this before because "he always came in and kissed her goodnight." He tried to turn the door handle, only to discover that she had locked her door. "Hot fury filled his aching head.... He wanted to invade her space," and "to show control." When he unlocked the door with his master key, he discovered that she was sleeping naked. He realized this was why she'd locked her door.

Jim looked longingly over every inch of Veronica's body, "the round of her tits, and the little purple tips.... her sweet thighs and the triangle of dark fleece between them." "He was so horny, so hot for his little girl that it almost hurt." After seeing "her sweet, sweet nude body" for the first time, he realized that

"he couldn't resist.... It had been too long since he'd

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gotten laid. Too long that he'd fantasized about this....

He was too drunk, and too angry, and too frustrated. Too fucking horny. He knew he was going to rape her."

Jim thought about how "nasty and dirty" it was to rape his own daughter, "but he felt good because he was finally going to do it ... after wanting it so bad for so long."

Now referring to Veronica as "his sweet little slut," Jim undressed and straddled her body waking her "with a start." "She immediately started to shout" so he "shoved her face hard into her pillow" and hit "the back of her head with a sharp slap." "She was stunned, but still fought." Jim "loved" this but worried that if she fought for too long he might ejaculate before he'd had a chance to rape her. So he began to choke her. "Her cries shut off abruptly, but the flailing didn't." So "he slapped hard at her arms." "He thrilled at her so scared and trembling and beaten in his arms." As he tried to get access "to her cunt," Veronica "tried to close her thighs," so "he whacked the backs of them so hard that she stopped, frightened and bruised." For no clear reason, Jim decided "She was just asking to be raped."

Jim very much enjoyed hearing his daughter crying and "moaning into the pillow." He knew that her distress and pain were for him. To hurt her some more, "he drove two fingers deep

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into her twat. Veronica screamed, and her body was shaking." He suddenly realized that she was a virgin. "His heart swelled. His sweet little girl ... was waiting for her Daddy to rip open her little pussy." As he started to penetrate her with his penis, he thought about Veronica as "HIS little girl. HIS slut. He would make her his property. He would own her and possess her."

For Jim, raping Veronica was not enough. "He wanted her to want it ... so he brought his thumb up to her little hidden clitty and started to rub." Because Veronica resisted, he once again beat her into submission. He had never beaten her before, but "she wasn't just his little girl now.... She was his little whore." "He enjoyed her humiliation, as ... her small body betrayed her.... He knew just how to make her body do exactly what he wanted it to." "He knew he was working her body, making it truly his, making it want her Daddy's thick cock." As Jim "slammed his cock into her" tearing through her hymen, she screamed loudly. He responded by "slamming in hard again and again. He loved to rape his little girl, his little whore, she was his bitch now, HIS." Jim planned to rape Veronica every night from then on.

As Jim continues to slam violently into Veronica, she shouted "Daddy! Daddy! Help!" -- not realizing yet that it was her father raping her. "He licked her warm, soft neck lovingly,

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and said, "Yes, baby?" Veronica "froze, and he could almost see ... the absolute horror filling her every pore." Jim continued "punching" his "cock into his daughter's torn pussy." Finally, "her butt and cunt muscles tightened in one sharp spasm ... and he knew it was all over." A moment later, Jim ejaculated.

Veronica "was deathly still, ... crystal tears running down her soft, sweet face, ... and [he] whispered, 'I love you baby. Won't this be nice to do every night?'"

Comments: This is the only violent incest story in our small collection of child pornography stories. It is obviously designed as masturbatory material for sadistic pedophiles and non-pedophilic child molesters. Perhaps it is intended to have special appeal for those pedophiles who find fantasies of father-daughter incest particularly exciting. Perhaps these men have become bored with the romanitic material, and are on their descent to the more extreme fantasies of a prototypical Jekyll and Hyde character.

Interestingly, there exists a real father-daughter incest syndrome in which the oldest or only daughters in the family who take on the role of "little mother" by doing all the household chores, looking after younger siblings (if there are any) as well as their father's domestic needs. Daughters in this situation,

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are at risk of being exploited by their fathers as little wives -  
- having to meet their fathers' sexual needs as well (see Herman, 1981).

Nevertheless, in other respects this story does not hang together psychologically. A father who really doted on his daughter to the extent Jim did, could become an incest perpetrator, but would more likely use "loving," seductive techniques than suddenly metamorphosing into a brutal sadist torturer and rapist. While it is obviously foolish to look for psychological integrity in these stories, I suspect that this particular fantasy wouldn't work very well for doting fathers or sadistic fathers. However, if this reasoning is correct, so much the better!

This is also the only story in which the victim shows no sexual interest whatsoever in her father -- not even in his own twisted mind. She put up a valiant struggle throughout the rape, despite repeated beatings. In addition, the consequences for her are extremely negative, including the fact that her father, in his desire to show how much he could control her, was able to force a perfunctory orgasm out of her body.

While of course no human being ever deserves to be raped, according to popular opinion some victims "provoke" it by what they wear, by their sexually provocative behavior, by trying to

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stop a sexual engagement before their partner has ejaculated, etc. With the exception of wearing skimpy clothes, Jim's daughter was in all other respects the "blameless victim." In explaining why he decided to rape his daughter, even Jim found her mostly blameless. He said he decided to rape her because it had

"been too long since he'd gotten laid. Too long that he'd fantasized about this.... He was too drunk, and too angry, and too frustrated. Too fucking horny. He knew he was going to rape her."

However, Jim also said once that: "She was just asking to be raped." This is, of course, what many rapists believe. This story does not clarify what motivated Jim to say this. Nevertheless, even the most victim-blaming person would have no difficulty whatsoever in determining who the victim was in this story.

The author of the story appears to try to incorporate some of his knowledge about rape into this story. For example, Jim's need to depersonalize and devalue Veronica when he rapes her. From his former characterization of her as good, sweet and innocent -- "his sweet little lamb" -- he calls her instead "his sweet little slut," "his little whore," "his bitch," "his cum dumpster." The theme of possession is also a major one in this

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story. Jim spoke of his daughter as "HIS. HIS little girl. HIS slut. He would make her his property. He would own her and possess her."

In addition to the major differences between this story and all the other incest stories, there are also many shared features. Jim's daughter is both sexualized and sexually objectified by her father. He is very preoccupied with her "perfect" young body, which he claims to be irresistible to him after seeing it nude for the first time. Jim discovers during the rape that his daughter is a virgin which pleases him greatly. Jim's penis is described as "thick", not long, but presumably this qualifies as large.

Finally, there are no negative consequences for Jim. This is the most unrealistic aspect of this fantasy story. Given the portrayal of Veronica as a determined fighter and a traumatized rape and incest victim, it would be very unlikely that she would stay around for a repetition of her father's horrendous brutality. She had neither younger siblings to worry about leaving nor a mother to protect. The probable outcome would entail Veronica reporting her father's behavior to a doctor or the police. She would then be removed from her father's care and he would be arrested and incarcerated without bail to await his trial. However, negative outcomes would likely conclude many of the other stories as well -- if they covered longer periods and

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had any basis in reality. But of course, fantasies have nothing to do with reality.

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Story 8: The Babysitter (Title provided because story was untitled)

Source: Richards-realm.com

Date of Story: 5/7/02

No Disclaimer

Summary: Babysitter Stacy (no age ever mentioned) comes over to take care of Mr. and Mrs. Franks' daughter while Mrs. Franks is away on a one-week business trip. When he returned from dropping his wife off at the airport, he found Stacy curled up asleep on the couch in front of the TV set. Her short skirt had crept up over her "beautiful small ass" and Mr. Franks could see "a small patch of dark hair between her legs." Just as he was wondering "what it would be like to have sex with her," Stacy woke up and greeted him. He hoped she wouldn't see his "hard on."

While Mr. Franks went upstairs to check on his daughter, Stacy began to take a shower. Discovering she had forgotten her shampoo, she called for Mr. Franks to hand it to her. He entered the bathroom and got a glimpse of her body pressed against the shower door. "She had big tits for a girl her age," he observed,

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along with the fact that "She didn't seem to care that I could see her this way." Immediately, Mr. Franks went to his room to masturbate. As he began to "jack off thinking about the hot little body" he'd just seen, Stacy walked in holding a towel at her chest. She asked him, "Did I do that to you?" Then she sat on his bed, letting her towel drop.

Stacy then got on the bed, knelt between his legs, and began to stroke his penis. "I must admit I was shocked, but didn't try to stop her," Mr. Franks noted. "You have a much bigger dick than my dad," Stacy told him. She began to perform oral sex on him and "took all 8 inches of ... meat into her mouth." As he felt himself coming to the point of ejaculation he asked her, "Do you want me to do it in your mouth?" She answered by giving "my balls a squeeze which started me cumming," Mr. Franks related. Stacy gagged a bit because there was so much ejaculate, but she "kept sucking and swallowing as best she could." Then she licked "the rest of the cum off my skin and lick[ed] my balls and dick clean."

Stacy then lay on top of him and began kissing him "like a woman would." She mounted him again and after a few minutes of intercourse, he is about to come but tells Stacy to keep going even if he does because "I wanted Stacy to enjoy this." He began to finger her "clit", bringing her closer and closer to orgasm. As he "pounded" his cock into her, she begged, "God, don't stop,

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keeping fucking me all night, I want your cock in me. It feels so good!" They both orgasm at the same time, then Tracy collapses onto him and they fall asleep "my cock and her pussy still pumping each other."

Comments: Once again, this story exhibits many elements that are typical to the child pornography stories analyzed. Stacy, like so many of the others, is described as an ideal sex object by Mr. Franks. She also behaved seductively, deliberately exhibiting her body to Mr. Franks when in the shower. Although he was extremely stimulated by her exhibitionism, he did not intend to have sex with her. It was she, a sexually aggressive young female, who actively imposed herself on him sexually when he was masturbating alone in his bedroom. He even admitted to being shocked by her behavior, although he did nothing to stop it. She continued to take the initiative in performing oral sex and intercourse.

As usual, the sex is very exciting and satisfying for both Stacy and Mr. Franks. They experience a simultaneous orgasm. She, though a youngster, acts like a sexually experienced adult.

She is also portrayed as a beautiful sex object. Mr. Franks has a large 8-inch penis. Stacy swallows his semen and enthusiastically licks it up everywhere that it has spilled because there was so much of it.

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Birth control is not mentioned in any of these 12 stories, although many of the young girls would be fertile. Despite the fact that Mr. Franks is married, and it would no doubt cause havoc in his marital relationship were Stacy to fall pregnant, the whole issue is ignored. This is yet another demonstration of the unreality of these fantasy child pornography stories. Men typically complain about the loss of penile sensitivity caused by wearing condoms, so it would spoil these fantasies to include them in the stories.

The lack of any negative consequences for Stacy and Mr. Franks is yet another similarity with most of the other stories.

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### Story 9: My Mom

Date of Story: 4/22/02

Disclaimer: The story is fiction and only for those over 18

Summary: Fourteen-year-old Trudy (name provided) accompanied her mother to work one day. Her mother had to leave temporarily, so Trudy was alone with her mother's "attractive" boss Mr. Pollock (name provided). "Him being 35, married with children and me a 14 year old young girl made this very exciting!" Trudy said. Mr. Pollock acted fast, telling Trudy how much he liked her and how attractive she was and rubbing her thigh as he inched closer and

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closer to her "pussy".

What follows is a detailed account of their sexual encounter. Mr. Pollock "forced his tongue deep into my mouth," after which Trudy rubbed his "rock hard cock," which she described as "monstrous." After he commanded her to "Get down on your knees," she "aggressively grabbed his manhood and sucked long and hard on it." Mr. Pollock "exploded" and "his sweet white cream flowed into my mouth." After swallowing his ejaculate Trudy asked him to "return the favor." Cunnilingus ensued and she quickly reached orgasm after which her "pussy throbbed pleasurably for want of more adventure." Trudy then demanded that he "Fuck me!" He "ripped" her legs apart and penetrated "deep inside" of her as her body "shuddered with ecstasy." He then ejaculated all over her breasts and stomach.

Mr. Pollock and Trudy finished cleaning themselves up and dressing before Trudy's mother returned to the office. Her mother asked if they'd had a good time. "We just looked at each other and smiled," Trudy said. The story ends with her saying that "From now on I never look at my mom's boss the same."

Comments: Primitive plots, preoccupation with sexual acts, and absence of expressions of tenderness, romance, respect, love, or caring are all characteristics common to adult pornography. In addition, it was a one-time experience (this is revealed in the

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last sentence). This story exhibits all these features -- in striking contrast to six of the incest stories. Two other contrasting features are the minimal description of Trudy's appearance -- aside from Mr. Pollock telling her she is "cute." Nor was there any mention of her being a virgin.

However, this story also shares many of the typical attributes of child pornography. Trudy is described as easily orgasmic, and the word "monstrous" to describe Mr. Pollock's penis is an indirect way of communicating that he has a large one.

In addition, like so many of the other young "heroines," 14-year-old Trudy acts sexually like a mature, sexually experienced and uninhibited adult woman who speaks a crude language of four-letter words -- which is far more characteristic of men and decidedly unusual for young girls. In addition, like many of the other girls, Trudy is portrayed as invulnerable (e.g., she doesn't care about having a "one night stand") and amoral (e.g., she finds Mr. Pollock's marital and parental status exciting). And as usual in non-sadistic pornography, the sex is perfect and totally enjoyable to both parties.

All these examples of unreality undermine the notion of childrens' "innocence" and need for legal and parental protection from predatory older men. There is no way in which Trudy is

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portrayed as a victim -- a common fantasy of pedophiles and their defenders. Although Mr. Pollock initiates the physical contact between them, Trudy is already excited to be with this older handsome man. And after the sexual episode gets started, she makes demands (for cunnilingus and intercourse) and takes the initiative as much as he does.

Finally, like so many of the other fantasy stories, there are no negative consequences for either party to spoil the ejaculatory pleasure that this masturbatory material provides for them.

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Story 10: Sexy Gym Teachers are so much fun

Date of Story: 4/22/02

Disclaimer: The story is fiction and only for those over 18

Summary: It was Kasey's first year of high school and she had "the hugest crush" on her gym teacher, Coach Taylor. She described him as "drop dead gorgeous" specifying many of his attractive features. Kasey took his aerobics class every year and recounted that she "was always flirting with him," and that "He would flirt back alot too."

Two years later when Kasey was a Junior (neither her age or

## Chapter 15: Child Pornography Shows in the Internet

the coach's age are revealed), she asked Coach Taylor if he'd meet her after school to help her with weight lifting. He agreed to do this, and she "flirtatiously grabbed his shoulder." During the weight lifting session, when Coach Taylor was showing Kasey an exercise with his arms around her waist, she turned her head to look at him, and they shared an open mouth kiss.

"Let's go hit the showers," Coach Taylor said, then picked Kasey up and took her into the girls' locker room. They undressed and got in the shower and he started kissing, caressing, and licking her breasts and genitals. "Kasey, are you still a virgin?" he asked. When she answered "yes," he asked her, "Do you want to be?" She replied, "Chris, I want you to fuck me, right here, right now. Fuck me as hard, deep, and as fast as you can." "That's my girl!" he said approvingly.

Kasey knelt down and rubbed Coach Taylor's "huge dick," then performed fellatio on her teacher -- whom she now called Chris -- at his request. He was speechless with pleasure. Then Chris "slowly slipped his dick into my vagina," Kasey said. "It hurt a little bit, but yet it felt so good," she remarked. Chris proceeded to penetrate her "faster and faster, deeper and deeper, harder and harder." When Kasey moaned, he asked, "Does it hurt any?" "Oh my God! It hurts but it feels so good! I don't ever want you to stop," she told him. With that reassurance, he began to go "ever faster, harder, and deeper" and Kasey began to

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"scream with sexual pleasure." As he began to orgasm, he pulled out and ejaculated all over her. Kasey "made sure that some of it went into my mouth."

They dressed and he walked her to her car. "Wow," Chris said, "that's the first time I've ever done that with a student before." Kasey replied, "Wow, that's the first time I've ever done it at all before." "Well, you sure seemed pretty experienced," Chris told her. He then warned her, "You can't tell anyone what happened" because "we can both get in really big trouble." "Yeah, I know," Kasey responded. "So I'll see you there again tomorrow then?" she asked Chris. "If it's gonna be anything like today, Hell yeah I'll be there!" he answered enthusiastically.

Comments: Like many girls in child pornography stories, Kasey is portrayed as initiating the flirtation with Coach Taylor, and two years later, setting up an opportunity for sex to occur with him by requesting that he help her with weight lifting after school.

Chris only takes the lead from Kasey when the sex moves to a more serious level of sexual intimacy. This is confirmed by the fact that their flirting relationship lasted two years before Kasey initiated the next stage.

Like so many other girls, Kasey is described as a virgin, but "seemed pretty experienced," as Chris told her. In addition,

## Chapter 15: Child Pornography Stories In the Internet

she is able to achieve an intense orgasm that makes her "scream with sexual pleasure." Kasey also makes sure she gets some of Chris' semen into her mouth to swallow. In no story analyzed here are there any girls who dislike drinking semen, although in reality, many women -- to say nothing of children -- find it disgusting and refuse to do this. It's men who like it, so that's of course why it is so often mentioned in both child and adult pornography. And of course Chris has the mandatory "huge dick."

Atypically, however, on finding out that Kasey is a virgin, Chris asks her permission before he proceeds. Furthermore, her virginity does not appear to mean a great deal to him. Later he stops his penile thrusting when he becomes concerned that Kasey's moaning may indicate that she is being hurt. These examples indicate that Chris exhibits more caring, respect and sense of responsibility toward Kasey than many of the adults in the other stories. Nevertheless, the word "love" is nowhere mentioned in this story. Were pornography designed for women, this word would likely be included.

As usual, there are no negative consequences for Chris or Kasey. Unlike the other extrafamilial cases, Chris and Kasey intend to continue their sexual relationship.

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## Chapter 15: Child Pornography ~~Stories~~ ~~Internet~~ ~~Internet~~

### Story 11: The Tease

Date of Story: 4/22/02

Disclaimer: The story is fiction and only for those over 18

Summary: Handsome 27-year-old Richard was a math teacher at a girls' school. Many girls at the school had crushes on him, and his fantasies about them occasionally aroused him to masturbate.

But it was only when Diane -- a 13-year-old new girl who was smart and "stunningly beautiful" with "the blondest hair and the biggest blue eyes Richard had ever seen -- enrolled at the school that he lost control.

"Richard was taking a real shine to Diane." One afternoon, he sat at his desk staring at her shapely legs without realizing he was doing this. Diane responded by "opening her legs wide." This teasing game was repeated three times over the next few days. Richard reacted by becoming very sexually excited and getting erections.

At the end of the third "flashing session," Diane handed her teacher a note that read, "Meet me at the end of the rugby pitch at 5 pm." Diane's note put Richard in turmoil. He was fully aware that "Fraternizing with the pupils was a serious offence and certainly any sort of sexual contact was out of the question." Nevertheless, he decided to meet Diane and explain

## Chapter 15: Child Pornography ~~Stories~~ ~~Internet~~ ~~Internet~~

the situation to her in an adult manner.

After meeting at the appointed hour, Richard and Diane wandered into the nearby woods. Richard told Diane that there was something he had to tell her (he intended to explain why they shouldn't be meeting). Diane suggested sitting down, taking the opportunity to reveal her knickers as she parted her legs. Being closer to her than before, Richard could see her "plump, pouting vagina and the indentation of her girlcleft." At this sight, he felt "incapable of resisting her beauty any longer no matter what the consequences were and despite her being so young."

Without completing the statement he had prepared, Richard started making out with Diane. The story provides a blow-by-blow account of his sexual maneuvers with a lot of emphasis on her virginity, her "small young pussy," her tight vagina, and her "small virgin orifice." For example: "He began to feel her pubic area just beneath her skirt and gradually slipped his hand down the front of her panties." He fondled her "small young pussy" and began to realize that "she must be a virgin." He pushed his finger into her vagina and "she felt quite tight but very wet. She was a virgin alright...", he concluded.

While Richard intended "to deflower Diane," she didn't really know what to expect next. "It was all a bit of innocent fun and a tease to her." Diane

**Chapter 15: Child Pornography ~~Stories In the Internet~~**

"had never seen an erect adult penis before so when Richard pulled his trousers and briefs down to his ankles revealing almost nine inches of thick, uncircumcised cock accompanied by a heavy, hairy sac she suddenly felt apprehensive."

However, it was at this moment that "Richard realized that nothing would nor could stop him from fucking Diane." He parted her legs and got ready to penetrate her hymen when he noticed "fear in her eyes." "Don't worry my love," Richard responded, "every girl has a first time, there's nothing to be afraid of, but I must have you now ... after all of the upskirt knicker teasing." Diane "tried to plead with him: "No Sir, please don't Sir, please don't hurt me Sir!" Despite her pleas, Richard tried to force his way inside her because she was "too tight." Finally he succeeded, and Diane "cried out in a high pitched shrill as he finally broke through her hymen with his cock. He'd deflowered her and taken her virginity."

As Richard continued pushing and delivering "quick stabbing thrusts," Diane moaned continuously. Richard "couldn't make out whether it was because she was enjoying it or because it hurt. Probably both he thought!" "Diane was the youngest and tightest girl he had ever had sex with."

Eventually Richard orgasmed. He had never experienced "such

## Chapter 15: Child Pornography Stories In the Internet

a fulfilling orgasm in his life." At the end, his penis "felt red raw and very sore" because Diane was so tight, and he realized "that she too must be sore." He explained to her that "this has been a very special moment in my life, Diane, and I hope that you can one day value it as much as I have valued doing it just now." Then he told her, "'Don't say anything to anyone and we'll talk tomorrow.'"

The story ends with Diane seeming "to understand that it was not an attack on her[;] it was her math's (sic) teachers' expression of his love for her. And she also realized and accepted that she had a large part to play in bringing it about."

Comments: This story is far more realistic than the stories about incestuous abuse analyzed above. It portrays a young girl of 13 who is naive about sex, and shocked when she finds out what it entails. In contrast, all but one of the "victims" in the incest stories were extremely knowledgeable about sex and did not appear to have to be taught anything about it. Nor were they reticent about engaging in all manner of sexual acts; on the contrary, they often initiated them. They found all their sexual experiences exciting and often had numerous explosive orgasms.

Although some readers might see Diane as the initiator of the sexual relationship with Richard, she only started her seductive "teasing" after she caught him looking up her skirt in

## Chapter 15: Child Pornography ~~Stories In the Internet~~

class. However, she did take the initiative in proposing that they meet to talk after school.

A more significant difference between this story and the other non-violent incest stories, is that Richard ends up raping Diane. Although sexual intercourse by adult males with underage girls and boys constitutes statutory rape (which applies to all these stories), this story also describes a forcible rape. While not nearly as sadistic as the very violent rape of Veronica by her father, this story is also written for pedophiles who are aroused by sadistic child pornography.

Before Richard penetrated Diane's hymen, she begged him not to proceed and not to hurt her. However, he refused to stop, despite the fear he saw in her eyes. He used what he referred to as her prior sexual teasing to justify the rape. Many rapists blame their victims in a similar fashion. Given what a difficult time Richard had penetrating Diane with his thick nine-inch penis -- so much so that his penis was very raw and sore by the end -- it is safe to assume that it must have been agonizing for her. Her torment must have been all the more excruciating because of his repeated rough, sadistic penile thrusts into her vagina.

Richard showed massive insensitivity and callousness toward Diane and had no understanding of what his rape must have been like for her. Indeed, he referred to it as "making love." Many

## Chapter 15: Child Pornography ~~Shows In the Internet~~

rapists, like Richard, do not recognize their assaults on females as rape. After it was over, he told Diane patronizingly that he hoped she would one day value the rape as much as he had valued doing it. This remark again reveals Richard's complete inability to imagine the experience from her point of view -- despite the fact that she did not hide her feelings. A gross incapacity to empathize is characteristic of rapists. This entire paragraph is a very realistic portrayal of rape.

Many men in reality believe as Richard did, that if a female permits them to engage in some degree of sexual intimacy determined by them -- such as genital fondling -- then they (the men) have the right "to go all the way" with her -- regardless of her verbal and/or physical attempts to stop it. This misogynist perspective is, of course, completely unjustified for adult women as well.

Richard's misogyny is also manifested in his holding Diane responsible for his behavior, including his rape, because she had "teased" him. He completely fails to recognize that it is always the adults' responsibility to abstain from any sexual behavior with children, regardless of how sexually provocative they may be.

Although Diane also did not recognize Richard's assault as rape, she did experience it as "an attack on her." Nevertheless,

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she blamed herself for his behavior and accepted his twisted claim that this was his way of expressing his love for her.

Although there are only positive consequences for Richard in this story -- beyond a sore penis -- the experience was clearly very negative for Diane. This also sets this story apart from most of the others, and again, reveals it's greater realism.

However, like most of the other stories, Richard is described as having a huge 9-inch penis. Another similarity is the fixation on Diane's virginity, and Richard's pleasure in "deflowering" her.

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### Story 12: Vacation with Mr. Thompson

Date of Story: 4/22/02

Disclaimer: The story is fiction and only for those over 18

Summary: Emily is a senior in high school who "was everyone's dream girl. A cheerleader, hot, popular, and even a virgin." Mr. Thompson, her social studies teacher, "fantasized like crazy about her" when he taught the class she was in. He saw his chance to pursue his interest in Emily by selecting her for a scholarship program which entailed spending the summer studying with him.

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On the first day of the summer program -- much to Mr. Thompson's dismay -- Emily walked in with her boyfriend, Daniel.

"The majority of his fantasies was about her being a virgin, so of course he was worried about losing his virgin babe."

When Emily left her study session one day, Mr. Thompson followed her to her boyfriend's house. He saw through the bedroom window that she and Daniel were about to have sex. Mr. Thompson couldn't stand it. He ran into the bedroom "and shot Daniel right in the head." Emily hastily tried to cover her naked body, but Mr. Thompson "ripped the clothes away from her."

When she screamed at him to "Stay away from me!" he "gagged her with a sock," then tied her arms and legs to the bed. While Emily cried, he undressed and replaced the gag with his penis. At first, she refused to cooperate. Since he was already planning to kill her when he was through with sex, "he reminded her this was the last and only time she would ever experience sex to the fullest." She responded to his warning by giving him "better oral than Pam Anderson."

When he was through with the oral rape, Mr. Thompson then "thrust into her" vagina as she cried. He followed this with "some nasty fisting." Then "he called his black friend, Bob" who came over and raped her too. After having a threesome they were "done with her mutilated teenage body." "Bob decided the best

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death for her was suffocation, so he stuck his cock in her mouth and had Aaron [Mr. Thompson] hold her nose." The story ends with the statement that: "She died quickly, and so did the night."

Comment: Mr. Thompson is very attracted to Emily -- the prototypical young female victim of child pornography who was described as a hot, popular cheerleader who is "everyone's dream girl," as well as virgin. Mr. Thompson wants desperately to take her virginity. Here is where the story diverges from the typical pornographic tale involving minors. For once, the central male figure is not described as having a huge penis (is this perhaps why Emily does not fancy him? or perhaps he proves his masculinity instead by being very rough, tough, and unfeeling). Furthermore, Emily does not reciprocate Mr. Thompson's lust for her and has a boyfriend with whom she was about to lose her virginity. Mr. Thompson's rageful anxiety that he was about to lose his chance to take Emily's virginity himself, transforms him into a murderer. After killing Emily's boyfriend, he rapes her several times in the course of which he inflicts numerous physical and sexual tortures on her. Presumably, he was a sadist from the beginning.

Despite the fact that Emily is portrayed as being fearful, rejecting, and resistant to Mr. Thompson's sexual impositions, there is a very incongruous passage depicting Emily as becoming sexually responsive when he warns her that this is her only

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opportunity in her life time to experience "sex to the fullest."

This implies that Emily must already know that Mr. Thompson intends to kill her. His plan makes it all the more unbelievable that Emily would suddenly become eager to perform fellatio on Mr. Thompson. However, many rapists believe the myth that females like violence and abuse and enjoy being raped. That's why the portrayal of this myth is one of the most popular scenarios in adult pornography.

For presumably racist reasons, the author invents a black friend of Mr. Thompson's to come to the crimes scene and join in the sadistic orgy. After raping Emily, Bob is the one to decide how to kill her. He chooses to suffocate her by plugging up her mouth with his penis while Mr. Thompson assists by holding her nose. What is the author's motive for inventing a black friend to perform the murder? Why doesn't the author bother to even provide a motive for him? Does he assume that black men rape and kill whenever they get a chance, so no motive has to be established? And why does Mr. Thompson have a last name, but not Bob? I assume that the author's use of common racist stereotypes in an effort to increase the sordidness of the story for the sadistic pedophiles and child molesters this fantasy is designed to gratify.

While the negative outcome for Emily places this story in the most extremely violent category, the perpetrators are

## **Chapter 15: Child Pornography Stories on the Internet**

depicted as very nonchalant about their hideous crimes. No explanation is provided in the story regarding why Mr. Thompson decided he had to kill Emily -- though it was probably to avoid prosecution. However, neither of the rapists did anything to ensure that they would not be caught. Perhaps this would be bringing too much reality into the story -- an anathema to pedophilic fantasies.

The casual ending ("She died quickly and so did the night") to this grotesquely morbid story totally minimizes the horrible fate of an innocent young girl. This story was clearly designed for pedophiles with very sadistic desires toward young girls.

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## **ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENT OF 12 FANTASY STORIES ON THE INTERNET**

Pedophiles typically reject the notion that the children they sexually abuse are victims. They also frequently don't see themselves as perpetrators. For example, a notorious homosexual pedophile group in the United States has chosen the name "man-boy love" Association. However, despite the false portrayal of victims as the seductive initiators in many of the sexual encounters summarized above, we will refer to all the children as victims and the adults as perpetrators.

## Chapter 16: Child Pornography Stories in the Internet

The contents of the 12 child pornography stories that are summarized above were coded and tabulated on a yes-no basis. Only the content variables that reached the criterion of over 50 percent "yeses" or "nos" are included in Figure 16-1.

[Figure 16-1 here]

Despite the small number of stories, Figure 16-1 makes it abundantly clear that these child pornography narratives accord with typical wishful pedophilic fantasies. For example, there were no negative consequences for the perpetrator(s) in any of the stories, no negative consequences for the victims in 83% of the stories, and no negative sexual experiences for the victims in 75% of the stories. Pedophiles in particular typically think of themselves as child-lovers -- not abusers or rapists. This is consistent with the fact that the perpetrators in these stories are portrayed as loving and kind in 83% of the stories, as not using manipulation or force in 75% of the stories, nor causing the victim to be frightened in 75% of them.

Adult pornography tends to focus exclusively on sex devoid of love, respect, or tenderness, but many of these child pornography stories -- while mainly focused on sex -- have plots that also included love and caring. Nevertheless, the crude pornographic language that suffuses these stories does not reflect tenderness, love, and caring.

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Consistent with males' preoccupation with objectifying the persons of all ages whom they desire, the child and teen victims in these stories are commonly described as sexually attractive (in 75% of the cases), and as perfect sex objects. In contrast, large penises that are relished by the victim in 58% of the stories are the only feature of the perpetrators that are described in over half of the stories.

In 75% of the fantasies, victims' seductiveness is repeatedly portrayed throughout most of the sexual encounters. Also in three quarters of the cases, the victims are depicted as excited by the perpetrators first touch; they are portrayed as eager for sex and enjoying intercourse and fellatio (in two thirds of the stories), as well as cunnilingus in 58% of them. In 75% of the cases, the victims orgasm easily, and have more than one orgasm. In addition, 75% of the victims experience simultaneous orgasms with their perpetrators.

The mythical combination of child victims' innocence and precocious sexuality that is probably fairly rare even in adult women, appears to be effective masturbatory child pornography for perpetrators.

The most dangerous feature of these stories is that they reinforce the wishful fantasies of perpetrators and would-be

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perpetrators and undermine those who still have inhibitions against sexually victimizing children.

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### UNFINISHED INCEST STORIES ON THE INTERNET

**Incest Taboo.com** [www.incesttaboo.com]

Date: 6/1/02

Disclaimer: None

The cover page of IncestTaboo.com offers a number of story titles about incest promising viewers that purchasing membership to this website will give them access to the stories, titled as follows:

School Girls at Play (Pre-teen)

My Daddy's Birthday (Father/Daughter)

Coming Home Late (Father/Daughter)

My Mother's Sister (Aunt/Nephew)

My Granddaughter (Grandfather/Daughter)

Sister Love (Brother/Sister)

My Date with Mom (Mother/Son)

The Garage (Mother/Son)

The Private Show (Mother/Son)

This website also provides brief descriptions of the

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contents of some other stories, for example: "Little girls touching their daddies cock for the first time;" "Father[s] tasting the succulent innocence of their young daughters;" "Naughty children spying on their own parents making love;" "Dirty grandfathers who love their grandchildren enough to show them dirty old tricks."

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### The Beginnings of Incest Stories

Following are two child pornography incest fantasies which provide viewers with only the beginning of the stories. These incomplete stories are intended to entice readers to become paying members of the websites. The stories are abruptly terminated when the authors presumably believe the readers have become sexually aroused and hooked on the fantasies. At the end, readers are instructed to "Continue this story and others by getting full access to the website."

#### Story 1: My Granddaughter

Date of Story: 6/1/02

Website: IncestTaboo.com

Disclaimer: None

Summary: This story opens with young Melissa (no age specified)

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at one of her many visits to her grandfather to swim in his pool during a hot Las Vegas summer. Her grandfather watches her swim, aroused by the fact that she was "wearing only a skimpy little bathing suit that made his "pecker stiff all day long." By the end of the day, Melissa was very sunburned. Her grandfather commented that she needed something to treat it. She told him that she would put something on it when she got home. Her grandfather told her he had some aloe gel, and he placed a large towel on the floor and urged her to lie on it. Melissa agreed somewhat reluctantly, then fetched another towel from the bathroom to cover her midsection.

Melissa's grandfather begins to slowly and gently spread the aloe gel on her back. She "moans softly" and tells him, "That makes it feel so much better, Gramps," to which he replies that the lotion hasn't even had time to work yet. "I wasn't talking about the lotion," Melissa responded suggestively. Her grandfather then began rubbing her legs, then her feet, while peeking up her towel to her inner thighs and "two hairy lips between her spread legs." He pulled one of her legs sideways to make her "cunt" more visible, meanwhile noticing that "she was turned on by my touch." Melissa's grandfather becomes very aroused remarking that his erect penis "needed to get out of its prison or I was going to wet my pants."

Melissa turns over on her back, her midsection still covered

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by the towel, and after massaging her face and shoulders with the aloe gel, her grandfather gradually inches his hand beneath the towel to her breasts. She does not protest. He begins to rub her nipple. Meanwhile, he observes that "my cock was aching in my shorts, ready to explode. My balls were hurting. I needed release." Story interrupted.

Comments: Since this story is incomplete, it is impossible to do a satisfactory analysis of it. The main characteristic that it shares with the complete child pornography stories is that Melissa's grandfather sexually objectifies her. However, she isn't actually described as an attractive girl -- as is typical in these stories. More significantly, Melissa reveals no sexual interest in her grandfather prior to his touching her, and clearly does not take the initiative in turning the aloe gel treatment into a sexual encounter. On the contrary, she is reluctant to agree to her grandfather's desire to spread the gelly on the sunburned parts of her body. And she tries to hide her sexual parts with the towel as best as she can in the circumstances -- even after she has hinted to her grandfather that she is turned on by his massage.

Whether or not Melissa will turn out to be a virgin and behave like a sexually mature woman who loves sex, and the grandfather's penis will be described as huge, and there will be no negative consequences to their breach of the incest taboo,

## Chapter 15: Child Pornography Stories In the Internet

cannot be determined by the unfinished story.

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Story 2: Coming Home Late

Date of Story: 6/1/02

Website: IncestTaboo.com

Disclaimer: None

Summary: "Coming Home Late" begins with 15-year-old Claire returning home at 3 a.m. after her boyfriend and his friend "had fucked her silly." Her angry father had given her a strict midnight deadline for coming home, and was waiting up for her. Claire

"was dreading what he would do, but she could not suppress a soft tingle of excitement between her legs. Sometimes, on the rare nights that she was without a guy, she envisioned what her handsome father would do to her."

At these times, Claire masturbated as she "thought of her father spanking her for having such nasty thoughts, and then he would take out his big cock and ...." Her fantasy was interrupted by her father scolding her about how late she was. As he did so, he noticed how scantily dressed she was in a "very short skirt that certainly rode up over her ass with every step." Claire's father

## Chapter 15: Child Pornography ~~Stories~~ ~~Internet~~ ~~Internet~~

became aroused by this thought as well as by her bare stomach and her top which seemed to "cling to the curves of her firm breasts."

Claire wasn't sure "if she had maybe purposely taken the risk of getting caught" by her father, "because she could feel her pussy throbbing with excitement." Nevertheless, she behaved as if she were remorseful and apologetic, and begged her father to give her another chance. Her father refused and ordered her to come to where he was seated. She obeyed him -- feeling both afraid and excited. Meanwhile her father "was fighting with his own conscience" at the same time that his "cock was raging in his pants from seeing his own daughter this way." He felt ashamed of his desire for her. Nevertheless, "his body was longing for her, a young, beautiful girl with these petite but round breasts and certainly a tight pussy."

Claire's father removed his belt and ordered his daughter to "bend over my lap." "A shiver of excitement ran through her, and her pussy was getting wet." As he lifted her skirt, he discovered that she was not wearing panties. Though she pressed her legs together, "he could still see her pussy lips. They were swollen and peeked out of her young slit in a very inviting way."

Claire could feel her father's penis "moving against her tummy ... all hard, only for her." The story ends here.

## Chapter 15: Child Pornography Stories In the Internet

Comments: Claire is sexually objectified in this unfinished story because of her deliberate choice of provocative attire. In addition, she is described as beautiful and having a sexy body -- especially by pedophiles' standards. Although neither Claire nor her father have taken the initiative yet in acting out a sexual relationship, their relationship is extremely sexualized. Claire has a history of masturbating to sexual fantasies of being spanked by her father because of her desire for him. Her fantasy also includes his exposing his "big cock" and presumably having sex with her. Claire even wonders if she deliberately came home late in the hope that her fantasy might become reality. Claire's father, for his part, becomes sexually excited by his daughter's very seductive outfit, and also by seeing her genitals.

A sexual dynamic has been created that makes it virtually certain that this father and daughter pair will have a mutually ecstatic sexual relationship with no negative consequences.

Claire's promiscuity is one feature that is totally unique in our small sample. Presumably this means that some pedophiles are expected to be aroused by this particular fantasy rather than the more typical glorification of virginity. Claire's father's guilt about his desire for her is also unusual. However, it is obvious his conscience won't prove a stumbling block to the sexual relationship that appears to be on the verge of enactment.

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### Chapter 17: Conclusion

[4conclus.bok]

"'Silence is what allows pedophiles to win.'

-- Father Fortunato\* [\*Footnote: cited by  
Nordland & Bartholet, 2001, March 19, p. ]

"Neither moral outrage nor the fact of illegality have  
been effective in halting the production or use of  
child pornography."

-- Kelly in Itzin, 1992: p. 122:

"Because child subjects rarely have the power to look  
out for their own interests, the state's interest in  
protecting them is compelling."

-- Friel, 1997, p. 241:

Jenkins (2001) is not alone in arguing that, "The actual  
relationship between child porn and child [sexual] abuse is open  
to debate, no matter how firmly such a linkage has come to be  
viewed as a social orthodoxy. The difficulty is that solid data  
on the question are all but unobtainable..." (pp. 127-128). Linz  
& Imrich (2001) also maintain that "The assumption that exposure

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to child pornography by adults leads to child molestation" is questionable ( ).

That scholars like Jenkins, Linz, Imrich, and many others continue to deny that there is a causal relationship between child and adult pornography and child sexual abuse is totally irrational. It is widely recognized by researchers in media violence -- including Linz -- that exposure to violence on TV and in mainstream movies causes violent behavior in children. Pornography is one facet of the media. What possible logic can there be in maintaining that non-pornographic media have a very significant impact on the attitudes and behavior of children and adults, but pornographic media do not, or that this is still an open question?

Aside from the non-pornographic mainstream media, it is widely recognized that racist media/propaganda promotes racism. Therefore what sense does it make to deny that pro-child sexual abuse images (e.g., children portrayed as wanting sex with adult males) would not also promote child sexual abuse by some male viewers? If people were not influenced by what they watch, businesses would not invest large amounts of money to advertise their products. Learning theory alone is all that is needed to understand that both adults and children learn from the pornography they view -- including the distortions and lies that it tells.

## Chapter 10: Child Sexual Abuse Pornography Stories on the Internet

Pornography is a form of male propaganda that is designed as masturbatory material for men. It is also designed to denigrate women and children. Consequently, pornography endorses males using children and women sexually as they see fit. Pornography is, in fact, far more potent in influencing behavior than the non-pornographic media because the pleasure obtained from masturbatory ejaculation is such a powerful reinforcer.

Despite the obvious causal relationship between pornography and child sexual abuse, I nevertheless constructed a more elaborate theory to demonstrate the connection. To this end, I explained in detail in Chapter 9 the different causal factors -- and one contributory factor -- that substantiate how adult and juvenile males who view child pornography are significantly more likely to sexually abuse children than those who view erotica or other non-pornographic material.

The fourth contributory factor in my theory explains why children who are shown pornography by a sexual predator are more likely to submit to child sexual abuse than those who have not been shown this material. I also cited research, experts' opinions, and personal testimony that support the three causal and one contributory factors in my theory.

I fervently hope that my theory will end the unnecessary and

## **Chapter 10: Child Pornography Stories on the Internet**

harmful debate about the existence of a causal relationship between child pornography and child sexual abuse.

### Computer-Generated Child Pornography

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the Supreme Court justices struck down the Federal Government's Child Pornography Prevention Act which criminalized computer-generated child pornography on the grounds that, "Virtual child pornography is not intrinsically related to the sexual abuse of children" (SFC, April 17, 2002, p. A1). Although the Federal government's appeal has resulted in the temporary reinstatement of the Child Pornography Prevention Act while Congress attempts to revise the law, it is vitally important that the government succeeds in making a convincing case. It is my hope that this volume will provide the Federal government with the arguments needed to convince the Supreme Court that the viewing of computer-generated child pornography does cause some sexual predators to sexually abuse children.

### Other Damaging Effects of Child Pornography

Chapter 10 of this volume undertook the important task of documenting some of the numerous damaging effects of child pornography -- aside from its causal relationship with child sexual abuse. Chapter 13 focused on three particularly harmful extreme forms of child pornography: snuff, torture and sadistic

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child pornography. While many researchers insist that there are no genuine snuff movies, I believe that some of the cases I cited in Chapter 13 are authentic. In addition, I think it makes sense for the concept of snuff movies to include simulated versions, creating two categories: authentic and simulated snuff movies.

There are several characteristics of child pornography that make it particularly pernicious. For example, the escalation factor: the fact that many pornophiles (individuals who are frequent viewers of pornography) who become habituated to relatively mild depictions of child pornography, are motivated to advance to viewing more extreme forms of it. Another detrimental quality of pornography is that many pornophiles become pornography addicts, making it extremely difficult for them to stop viewing it. Child pornography and adult pornography addicts self-help and therapy groups are needed to try to cure individuals suffering from this pathology.

The desensitization of viewers to child pornography is another very damaging effect. The more child pornography viewers see, the more tolerant they become about its abusive contents. The normalization of child pornography effects viewers in a similar fashion. Both of these processes contribute to the escalation described above.

It is important to recognize that the exposure to child or

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adult pornography constitutes child sexual abuse. For example, Nancy Smith whose case was quoted in Chapter 11, was exposed to massive amounts of pornography by her father from the age of four years old through her entire childhood. Although she could not remember her father ever imposing sexual acts on her, she suffered greatly from having been forced to watch pornography.

Some children who are not forced to watch pornography by any individual, but who do become inadvertent or voluntary viewers of pornography, are also damaged by this experience. Chapter 6 provided considerable data on children who were disturbed by seeing pornography both on and off the Internet.

An unknown percentage of pedophiles, as well as other viewers of child pornography, do not actively molest children. They typically assume that they are therefore not abusing children in any way. However, Jenkins (2001) points out that "the 'lookers'" seek "pictures of children actually being abused," ... meaning that for them to get what they want, children have to be sexually abused, and have to have pictures taken of them being abused (p. 131; emphasis added).

### Vicious Circles

Kelly, et al. (1995) summarizes one kind of vicious circle as follows:

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"child pornography is itself a document of abuse...; it is then used by abusers to reinforce their will to abuse; they may in turn show it to children they wish to abuse to secure their co-operation; some of these children may, in turn, be photographed or filmed whilst being abused and/or trained to pose for pictures. The process then begins anew." (p. 34)

Another kind of vicious circle arises from the fact that many male children and a few female children who are sexually abused will become sexual abusers. Therefore the greater the prevalence of child sexual abuse, particularly of male children, the greater the increase in the number of pedophiles and other molesters.

### The Content of Child Pornography

It is vitally important to be knowledgeable about the contents of child pornography prior to evaluating its effects and developing policies to combat it. Four chapters in Stolen Innocence focus on the contents of child pornography: Chapter 13 on snuff, torture, and sadistic child porn; Chapter 14 on child porn and sexually misogynist cartoons in mainstream men's magazines; child pornography off the Internet; and written child pornography stories on the Internet.

## Chapter 17: Combating Child Pornography Stories on the Internet

However, the fact that researchers are as forbidden as everyone else -- with the exception of law enforcement officers, and attorneys who represent or prosecute pedophiles and non-pedophilic child molesters in criminal cases -- from seeing pictorial child pornography, means that these powerful images of child pornography on the Internet cannot serve as a motivator to intensify the struggle to ban all child pornography.

### Combating Child Pornography

There is an enormous literature on how to protect children from exposure to child pornography on the Internet, as well as from predators seeking children to molest or abduct. It is not the purpose of Stolen Innocence to summarize and evaluate this literature. I will confine myself to two suggestions that I have not seen mentioned elsewhere.

I understand that there are only three little-known banks in the United States that are still willing to process credit card transactions for Internet pornography. If these three banks (regrettably, I missed an announcement on the media that identified the names and locations of these banks) would close their doors to Internet sites that deal in child pornography, this would wipe out all the pay sites of the child pornography industry on the Internet.\* [\*Footnote: My thanks to Gary Luefschuetz for this idea.]

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After identifying these three banks, organizations and individuals concerned about the destructive impact of child pornography in the United States should organize lobbying efforts and customer boycotts against them until they too refuse to process all credit card transactions for child pornography sold on the Internet.

Another strategy is for mothers to form organizations to combat the child pornography industry all over the United States.

Since mothers are the primary individuals concerned about the impact of child pornography on their children as victims of pedophiles and/or as viewers of child or adult pornography, they are the ones likely to be motivated most passionately about this cause. Mothers organizations have done wonders on certain issues like Mothers Against Drunk Driving and the Moms march in Washington D.C. in (date).

\*\*\*\*\*

Having demonstrated a causal relationship between exposure to pornography and child sexual abuse, and the devastating psychological damage inflicted on child pornography victims, my hope is that Stolen Innocence will shock readers and policy makers into a greater sense of urgency in combatting child pornography on the Internet.

**Chapter 17: Childhood Biography Stories on the Internet**

[1,703 pages]

## Chapter 17: Child Sexual Pornography Stories on the Internet

### Appendix : Definitions and Terminology

[4definit.bok]

The definitions below are organized into two categories: I. Pornography-related definitions; and II. Child sexual abuse-related definitions. My preferred definitions are italicized to facilitate readers finding them while reading this book. This chapter begins with the definitions considered most important, then proceeds to the less important terms that are presented in alphabetical order.

#### I. Pornography-Related Definitions

##### 1. Child Pornography

It was only in 1978 that child pornography in the United States was "legally distinguished from other forms of pornography and obscenity and defined according to a stricter standard" (Linz and Imrich, 2001, p. 80). Currently, the legal definitions of child pornography in the United States vary from state to state and under federal law. In 1996, the Child Pornography Prevention Act expanded the federal definition of child pornography to include computer-generated material -- as follows:

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Child pornography is "... any visual depiction, including any photograph, film, video, picture, or computer or computer-generated image or picture, whether made or produced by electronic, mechanical, or other means, of sexually explicit conduct, where the production of such visual depiction involves the use of a minor engaging in sexually explicit conduct" (Linz and Imrich , 2001, p. 80. "New digital child porn law,").

This new Federal Government's definition of child pornography permits the prosecution of pornographers who produce, distribute or sell computer-generated child pornography -- despite the fact that no actual children are victimized in its production. However, in May 2002, the Supreme Court judged this law to be unconstitutional.

### Russell's Definition of Child Pornography

It would be helpful if researchers on child pornography could agree on a definition. I reviewed at least 50 different definitions of child pornography in the hope that I could find one, or adapt one, that I considered appropriate. Unfortunately, I was unable to locate even one definition that I found satisfactory. The definition I devised is as follows:

Child pornography refers to sexualized visual, written, or

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audio representations (including computer-generated visuals) of minors who are, or who appear to be, under the age of 18. These representations are produced for the primary purpose of sexually arousing and gratifying the viewer(s). This is what distinguishes them from most mainstream sexualized images of children, many of which are primarily designed to sell products.

Some innocent representations of minors become pornographic only because of the sexual context in which they are situated. For example, a photograph of a naked child in a family photo album is not pornographic unless the child's genitals are displayed so as to sexualize the child and arouse/gratify the viewer(s). However, the same non-sexually explicit\* naked photo published in Hustler magazine would qualify as child pornography. [\*Footnote: see Chapter 3, p. for a definition of sexually explicit.]

My definition of child pornography is not limited to sexually explicit material since there are many pictorial representations of children on and off the Internet that, although not sexually explicit, are designed for males who seek out visual child pornography for the purpose of sexual arousal and gratification.

Visual child pornography may be found in photographs, films, negatives, videos, movies, drawings, paintings, computers or

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computer-generated images or pictures, "whether made or produced by electronic, mechanical, or other means" (Ch. 110. Sexual exploitation and other abuse of children. §2256. Definitions for chapter, p. 1). This source also includes "undeveloped film and videotape, and data stored on computer disk or by electronic means which is capable of conversion into a visual image."

Written child pornography may be found in jokes, stories, novels, fantasies, letters, diaries, captions, titles, books, songs, poems, film scripts, etc., while audio child pornography may be heard in speech, audio-tapes, videotapes, movies, songs, etc.

The term "sexual context" when applied to child pornography refers to visual, written, or audio representations of minors which the pornography industry decides is child pornography. Their decisions are typically revealed by the setting in which the images are situated, for example, on a pornographic website, in a pornographic magazine or video, or in a pornography store.

Child pornography ranges from mild softcore material (e.g., naked, posed, sexualized or sexually objectified, seductive portrayals of children and/or sexually lewd captions/words and/or language) to the most extreme hardcore material (e.g., violent and sexually explicit depictions of the beating, rape, sexual torture, and murder of babies).

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In contrast to my definition of child pornography, most researchers and legislators, including the Federal Government, limit their definitions to pictures that are sexually explicit (i.e., the "lascivious exhibition of the genitals or pubic area," Ch. 110. Sexual exploitation and other abuse of children. §2256, p. 1). Most of them also fail to define what they mean by this term. My definition includes pictorial representations of children on and off the Internet that, although not sexually explicit, are designed for people who seek out visual child pornography for the purpose of sexual arousal and/or gratification.

In addition, most definitions of child pornography, including the Federal Government's, do not include written or audio material -- despite the fact that child pornography users also seek out these materials for sexual arousal and/or gratification.

### 2. Computer-Generated Child Pornography/Virtual Child Pornography/Simulated Child Pornography

The terms computer-generated child pornography, virtual child pornography, and simulated child pornography, are interchangeable. I tend to use the term computer-generated because its meaning is clear from the words themselves, and

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therefore the most reader-friendly. Stuart Taylor (2001, March 19) defines this genre of child pornography as "images that look exactly like children engaging in sexual conduct but are created by computers, without using real children" ( p. 51). This innovation has enabled pornographers to manufacture child pornography that is not based on the actual sexual abuse of children.

In 1996, the Federal Government defined computer-generated child pornography as any visual depiction that "'has been created, adapted, or modified to appear that an identifiable minor is engaging in sexually explicit conduct'" (Lanning, 2001, p. 65; emphasis added). This version of the Federal Government's definition still applies today. [\*Footnote: Either of these definitions seems satisfactory to me, although I have a preference for the Federal Government's delineation of three different ways in which computer-generated materials can be altered.]

### 3. Sexually Explicit

A recent government document on the Internet defined sexually explicit conduct as

"actual or simulated

(A) sexual intercourse, including genital-genital, oral-

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genital, anal-genital, or oral-anal, whether between persons of the same or opposite sex;  
(B) bestiality;  
(C) masturbation;  
(D) sadistic or masochistic abuse; or  
(E) lascivious exhibition of the genitals or pubic area of any person." (Ch. 110. Sexual exploitation and other abuse of children. §2256. Definitions for chapter. p. 1).

Hence, we see that the federal law requires at least the "lascivious exhibition of the genitals or pubic area" to qualify as sexually explicit. This means, as Lanning points out, that, "Under most state statutes and the current federal law (18 U.S.C.A. § 2256), pictures of children portraying simple nudity are not generally considered sexually explicit or obscene" (p. 76). In contrast, my definition does include pictures of nude children situated in a pornographic context. I avoid using the concept of obscenity altogether.

### 4. Pseudo-Child Pornography/Childified Pornography

Some researchers use the term "simulated child pornography" instead of "pseudo-child pornography." However, since the phrase "simulated child pornography" is also used to connote computer-generated child pornography, the term pseudo-child pornography will be used in this volume.

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Liz Kelly introduced the term childify to refer to the ways in which adult women are sometimes deliberately infantilized as for example in pseudo-child pornography "by being made to appear as if they are children" (Kelly et al., 1995, p. 41). For example, they are dressed in childish clothes, given childish hairstyles (e.g., two pony tails), impersonate child-like facial expressions and poses. They are often pictured clutching a teddy bear or doll and/or surrounded by children's toys. Frequently some or all of their pubic hair is removed. The photos or drawings usually have titles and captions that contribute to the childified portrayals.

Negley and Wamboldt note that, "Since women are frequently portrayed as young girls in sexually explicit poses, it would seem this particular pornographic theme has wide appeal" (p. 1).

These authors suggest that these portrayals give the illusion of innocence -- a desirable male fantasy "from time immemorial" (p. 2). They also make the interesting observation, "that in none of the visuals and comics are men portrayed as boys," revealing the importance to men that they remain men while "women are reduced to children" (p. 1).

Negley and Wamboldt make the plausible suggestion that men's desire to childify women could reflect their angry reaction to women gaining power in what they regard as "the men's world" (p.

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1). These authors point out that one way that threatened men can try to "put women back in their place" -- below men, is "to portray them as children, or without the capabilities and power of an adult women" (p. 1).

Pedophiles constitute another major market for pseudo-child pornography, especially those who have some reason for not wanting to access genuine child pornography, such as avoiding any risk of purchasing illegal material, or not wanting to see themselves as fans of real child pornography, or having moral or religious scruples about obtaining such material.

Some -- perhaps many -- viewers of pseudo-child pornography may not have considered accessing child pornography before. However, viewing pseudo-child pornography may be the first step toward transitioning into child pornography -- whether out of curiosity or because of developing an attraction to women who are, or who appear to be, minors. (For example, see the description of Baby Breese who looks 12 years old despite her actual age of 20 (Chapter 14, p. ). In short, pseudo-child pornography can expand the audience base for child pornography.

Adult pornography magazines, including the most widely known three -- Playboy, Penthouse, Hustler and Barely Legal -- increasingly select or require that some of their nude women "models" childify themselves by shaving off all or most of their

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pubic hair. Pedophiles have always found hairless children's genitals a turn-on. What does it mean when increasing numbers of adult males also want the pictures of women in pornography to have hairless or relatively hairless genitals? In addition, what does it mean that some young men now want the women who become their sex partners to shave their pubic hair? It presumably means that there is a growing trend for men to find child-like female genitals more arousing than adult women's hairy genitals.

Could it be that the widespread exposure of many males to child pornography on the Internet has influenced their notions of sexually attractive women? Or are there other factors in U.S. culture that are causing men to find childified women more appealing? Whatever the answer to these questions, we can be sure that with millions of males masturbating to pictures of women with little or no pubic hair, growing numbers of them are now wanting their female sex partners to follow the example of women in the pornography industry.

Consider the disturbing example described in the following testimony by Ms. S who was a member of a group of formerly prostituted women.

Ms. S was "in a room with two clients. One of the men told her that he had seen some pictures of women who had shaved their pubic hair and that it had turned him on. They [the

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two men] then proceeded with a jackknife to remove the woman's pubic hair, plucking and burning what the knife had missed. They made comments about how her hairless vagina reminded them of their young daughters' genitals. They then engaged in intercourse." (Russell, date, p. )

Some young women are complying to this new manifestation of male taste. This is a striking example of how the portrayals of women in pornography can become mainstreamized in sexual norms and practices in the culture in general. Similarly, a couple of decades ago, sadomasochistic and bondage pornography became mainstreamized in non-pornographic fashions.

Osanka and Johann (1985) identify diaper sex as a genre of pseudo-child pornography (p. 452). They report that there are magazines and videos devoted to diaper sex in which adults dress like babies, crawl around in diapers, and perform sex acts. The term infantalize is more appropriate than "childify" for this kind of material.

### 5. Amateur Pornography

"Amateur pornography" refers to members of the public (not professional photographers) who send pornography pictures they have taken to a magazine or other outlet on or off the Internet.

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### 6. Child Erotica

Lanning (2001) notes that "Many investigators had begun using the term 'child erotica' to refer only to visual images of naked children that were not considered pornography" (p. 66). In contrast, he defines child erotica as "any material, relating to children, that serves a sexual purpose for a given individual" (p. 65). Lanning includes "fantasy writings, letters, diaries, books, sexual aids, souvenirs, toys, costumes, drawings, and nonsexually explicit visual images" (pp. 66-67).

However, Lanning's definition of child erotica does not succeed in differentiating it from child pornography since child pornography also "serves a sexual purpose for a given individual."

The distinction between adult pornography and adult erotica is very important (see Russell, 1993), but in my opinion, this concept is inappropriate when applied to child pornography. The term erotica has been used by several researchers to refer to non-sexually abusive material, whether applied to children or adults. Written pornographic fantasies do not qualify by this definition. Similarly, many pedophiles obtain ejaculatory satisfaction from masturbating to nude pictures of children that Lanning considers to be erotica. I propose that scholars refrain

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from using the term erotica in connection with children.

### 7. Child Pornography Collectors

Whetsell-Mitchell (1995) defines child pornography collectors as "those individuals who acquire, amass, preserve, cherish, and value child pornography (Lanning, 1984; Tate, 1990) (p. 202).

These collectors accumulate child pornography pictures and videos for private viewing and masturbatory gratification. Pedophiles who know about the existence of child pornography, and know where to access it, are renowned for being ardent collectors. Those who can afford it typically gather enormous collections of child pornography despite the increased risk in which it places them of being apprehended by law enforcement officers.

Lanning and his colleagues Carol Hartman and Ann Burgess (Child Molesters, 2001) differentiate between the following four types of child-pornography collectors:

a. The closet collector who "keeps his collection a secret and is not actively involved in molesting children" (p. 63).

b. The isolated collector who "is actively molesting children as well as collecting child pornography or erotica [defined below].

Fear of discovery overrides his need for active validation and

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causes him to keep his activity a secret between only himself and his victims. His collection may include pictures of his victims taken by him as well as material from other sources." (p. 63)

c. The cottage collector "shares his collection and sexual activities with other individuals. This is usually done primarily to validate his behavior, and money or profit is not a significant factor. Photographs, videotapes, and 'war stories' are swapped and traded with other child molesters, and sometimes unknowingly with undercover investigators." (p. 63).

d. The commercial collector "recognizes the monetary value of his collection and sells his duplicates to other collectors. Although profit is an important motive, these individuals are usually active sexual molesters themselves" (p. 63).

Lanning emphasizes that this typology "predated widespread public use of the Internet" (p. 63). Unfortunately, he does not explain what impact this would have on the typology.

### 8. Commercial and Homemade Child Pornography

Homemade child pornography refers to child pornography that was not originally produced for commercial sale (Lanning (2000), p. 64). Lanning notes that "the Internet has tended to blur" the distinction between homemade and commercial child pornography.

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Presumably this blurring has occurred because anyone is free to include homemade material distributed on the Internet in collections that they sell.

### 9. Cottage Industry

Home-produced child pornography.

### 10. Pornography Actress/Model/Performer/Star vs Pornography Prostitute

Whereas women and children who engage in sexual activity for payment are called prostitutes -- a label that carries considerable stigma -- those who engage in sexual activity in front of a camera for payment are typically called pornography actresses, pornography models, and pornography performers. A lucky few are turned into so-called "porn stars" by the pornography industry. All these euphemistic terms contribute to the legitimization of pornography. The term pornography prostitute is a far more appropriate substitute for them.

The blatant irrationality of the flattering terms used to describe pornography prostitutes highlights a gross double standard reflecting patriarchal contempt for prostitutes as "bad women" -- including child prostitutes -- and the patriarchal delusion that women and adolescents in pornography as "just

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fantasies." Many men and some women are proud public supporters of pornography including their use of and/or their familiarity with it, whereas men who frequent prostitutes do not volunteer this information willingly or proudly for public consumption.

Every attempt should be made to avoid colluding with this double standard. We must use the term pornography prostitute instead of pornography actress, pornography model, pornography performer, and/or pornography star.

### 11. Softcore and Hardcore Child Pornography

My preferred definitions of hardcore and softcore child pornography is an adapted version of Jenkins' definitions: Softcore child pornography features nudity but no sexual activity, while hard-core child pornography features sex acts or shows children in lewd poses (2001, p. 81). Jenkins (2001) notes that "Some popular [web]sites even reproduce decades of Sears ads for panties and swimsuits or show publicity photos of young gymnasts" -- presumably for the pedophile market (p. 81). Jenkins (2001) points out that these pictures "become 'pornographic' only through their setting and their juxtaposition to masturbatory images" (p. 81). With regard to child pornography on the web, Jenkins (2001) suggests that "Probably the most common type of soft-core photographs involves nude young girls in innocent and non-sexual settings" (p. ).

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### **Homemade Hardcore Child Pornographic Pictures**

According to Jenkins (2001),

"homemade hardcore [child pornography pictures] are the worst of the breed, because they depict ongoing acts of rape and molestation by culprits who are still active and presumably still exploiting victims.... Most of the girl subjects are aged between perhaps eight and thirteen, but others involve much smaller children, down to toddlers. Because of the age of the subjects, most of the sex acts involved do not involve penetration but show the girls performing oral sex or mutual masturbation." (pp. 82-83).

## **II. Child Sexual Abuse-Related Definitions**

### **1. Pedophile and Pedophilia**

Many clinicians who treat sex offenders, law enforcement personnel, media representatives and members of the public routinely use the term pedophile to refer to all adults who sexually abuse children (see Lanning, p. 16). Indeed, Lanning maintains that even some professionals in the field use the terms pedophile and child molester as if they are synonymous (p. 19;

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e.g., Ray Wyre). This practice obscures the important differences between pedophiles and perpetrators whose primary sexual preference is for adults (further discussion of the term child molester to follow).

Lanning notes that "while pedophiles prefer to have sex with children, they can and do have sex with adults" (p. 17). This overstatement denies that there are any pedophiles who have only had sex with children. In contrast, the DSM-IV TM differentiates between nonexclusive pedophiles -- "who are sometimes attracted to adults," and exclusive pedophiles, "who are only sexually attracted to children" (p. 527).

Some researchers confine the term pedophile to adults who are primarily or exclusively attracted to prepubescent children.

For example, the American Psychological Association defines pedophilia "as a disorder in which an adult's primary sexual attraction is to prepubescent children, generally age 13 and under." (**Cited by Healy, Margaret A., 2002, February 27, p. 3). World Congress against**). Note that this definition does not require that the pedophile act out this attraction.

Other researchers and law enforcement officers (according to Margaret Healy, 2002, February 27, pp. 3-4) employ the term pedophile for adults who are attracted to both preadolescents and adolescents below the age of consent, i.e., 18 years in

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California -- as also do I, Lanning and Healy (pp. 3-4).

The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV TM) (1994) does not have a succinct definition of pedophilia, unless the opening to the lengthy summary statement about this disorder can be so considered, i.e., that "pedophilia involves sexual activity with a prepubescent child (generally age 13 years or younger)" (p. 527). However, this "definition" is inconsistent with the first of three diagnostic criteria for pedophilia described by the DSM-IV TM as involving "recurrent, intense sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviors"... that last "over a period of at least 6 months" (p. 528; emphasis added). By this criterion, pedophilia includes males who have sexual fantasies and urges toward children that they do not act out.

Furthermore, six months seems far-too-brief a period to qualify as a defining feature of pedophilia. A man whose primary erotic inclination has been toward physically mature women for all but six months of his life should rather qualify as having a primarily "normal" heterosexual orientation.

With regard to the age of pedophiles, the DSM-IV TM states that they must be 16 years or older, "and at least 5 years older than the child," whereas for pedophiles in late adolescence, "no precise age difference is specified, and clinical judgment must

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be used; both the sexual maturity of the child and the age difference must be taken into account" (p. 527).

Although researchers and official bodies like the American Psychological Association and the DSM-IV TM do not include being a collector of child pornography as a defining feature or common characteristic of pedophiles, many law enforcement investigators report that "paedophiles almost always collect child pornography" (Lanning, p. 61). For example, the Sexually Exploited Children's Unit of the Los Angeles Police Department maintains that "Those who collect child pornography are likely to be active paedophiles" (Tate, p. 109). Differentiating between regular and occasional customers of child pornography, Joyce Karlin claims that "We have to realise that a regular customer for child pornography is a paedophile" (Cited in Tate, p. 243).

However, Lanning (2001) maintains that there are pedophiles "who collect child pornography without physically molesting children" (p. 29). (Unfortunately, he provides no information on, or estimation of, the prevalence of this type of child pornography collector.) Lanning also notes that non-pedophilic child molesters also collect child pornography, although "not with the high degree of predictability" of the pedophile (p. 61).

He therefore emphasizes that "investigators should always consider the possibility that any child molester might collect child pornography," and not assume that all collectors are always

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pedophiles (p. 61).

It is also important to remember that pedophiles do not automatically know about the existence of child pornography. They have to discover it. Pedophile John Ferguson whose testimony is included in Chapter 7, describes his discovery -- first of adult pornography when he was 18, then of child pornography in his early twenties. He describe the tremendous impact it had on him and "on the offenses I've committed." There is no way of knowing how many pedophiles never find out. Presumably, increasing numbers of them discover it, and at earlier ages, as use of the Internet becomes more widespread. Nevertheless, millions of people in the United States are barely literate in English -- and many millions more are not computer-literate. Clearly, many pedophiles exist in these populations. Furthermore, no one, including law enforcement investigators, knows the child pornography practices of pedophiles who never attract attention.

Nevertheless, it is probably safe to say at this time in history, that pedophiles who are computer literate and have access to a computer are almost always avid collectors of child pornography. Those who have no access to it, are presumably potential users and/or collectors.

### Critics of the Term Pedophile

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Feminists Louise Armstrong (personal communication, date) and Liz Kelly et al., object to use of the term pedophile. Both opted instead for the term child molester. For example, Kelly et al., (date) write that

"We strongly believe that to adopt this terminology [pedophile] will foreclose much needed discussion and debate, and abandon much of the hard-won knowledge of the last decade. We list below our misgivings about the adoption of 'paedophile' as a concept." (pp. 18-19)

Following is a selection of four of the nine reasons Kelly et al., enumerate:

- o "rather than enabling recognition of abusers as 'ordinary men' -- fathers, brothers, uncles, colleagues -- we are in danger of returning to the more comfortable view of them as 'other', fundamentally different, not 'normal' men;

- o "attention shifts from issues of power and control to notions of sexual deviance, obsession and 'addiction', thus paedophilia medicalises and individualises what is clearly a social issue concerning the construction of masculinity and male sexuality ...."

- o "the view ... that paedophilia is a particular 'sexual

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orientation' prevents us seeing the commonness of 'sexual arousal' to children ....

o "separating 'paedophiles' from other men who sexually abuse means we both presume the differences between them, and fail to notice similarities -- in the kinds of acts involved, in the ways they entrap and control children." (p. 18)

Although Kelly et al.'s reasons for rejecting the term pedophile are very persuasive, there is nevertheless a serious problem with using the term child molester for the entire gamut of perpetrators of child sexual abuse. Some adult males who are sexually oriented to adult women, may sexually abuse a child once, whereas others sexually abuse hundreds of children. Furthermore, the term child molester cannot be used for males who fantasize about sex with youngsters and/or who are sexually aroused by them, but do not act out their fantasies or desires.

Because the term pedophile means child lover (or "loli-lover" in pedophile lingo), which is how pedophiles like to view themselves -- I wanted to formulate an alternative non-euphemistic word for this disorder. Following are some of the terms I and a few colleagues devised: pedopredator, pedosexual, pedoluster, pedomolester, pedolecher, and pedoexploiter (Schroder; Kheel). Three of these terms exclude pedophile fantasizers who do not act out their attraction to children.

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This leaves pedosexual, pedoluster and pedolecher as the most suitable terms. However, the concept of pedophile is so well-known and has such powerful negative connotations -- that despite the original meaning of the word -- I decided to use it after all. For the same reason, I chose to stick with the term "pornography" rather than switch to "erotomisogyny" proposed by Robert Brannon as a more appropriate term than pornography because of its inclusion of the misogynistic character of pornography.

### My Definition of Pedophiles

Pedophiles are males whose primary or exclusive sexual preference is for preadolescent and/or adolescent children.

There are pedophiles who act out their desires by molesting children and pedophiles who do not. I will use the term pedophilic fantasizers for those pedophiles who do not act out their sexual attraction to children. The term pedophile will be used to refer to those who act out their sexual attraction and/or when there is no information about whether or not they act out/or when referring to individuals with this disorder in general. Although pedophiles also fantasize about sexually abusing children and unknown numbers of pedophilic fantasizers become acting-out pedophiles, these two categories of pedophiles are nevertheless mutually exclusive.

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Many pedophiles and pedophilic fantasizers have a preference for children of a specific age range, such as eight to 10-year-olds. In addition, some pedophiles are primarily sexually attracted to prepubescent children while others are primarily sexually attracted to postpubescent adolescents. Another characteristic of pedophiles frequently noted by clinicians and researchers is the large numbers of victims that many pedophiles have molested. Faller (1990) includes this characteristic in her definition of pedophiles as "persons whose primary sexual orientation is to children and who, during the course of their sexual careers, are likely to have scores and even hundreds of victims" [p. 18?]).

### Gender and Pedophilia

Kathleen Faller (1990) reports that she has never encountered a female perpetrator who fits the definition of a pedophile (p. 18). Nor, Faller contends, have female pedophiles been described in the sexual abuse literature (p. 18) (Finkelhor makes the same observation [date]). Despite this, several researchers use gender neutral terminology in their definitions of pedophiles.

With regard to the gender choices of pedophiles, Kevin Howells notes that

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"Most substantial studies of pedophilic offenders indicate that the majority of offenders show some consistency in the sex of the child chosen and can therefore, be classified as either heterosexual or homosexual pedophiles." (p. 84)

According to the DSM-IVTM, however, some pedophiles "prefer males, other females, and some are aroused by both males and females. Those attracted to females usually prefer 8- to 10-year-olds, whereas those attracted to males usually prefer slightly older children" (p. 527).

Lanning (2001, p. 62) points out that: "In contrast to adult pornography, but consistent with the gender preference of many pedophiles, there is a high percentage of boys in child pornography" (62). Nevertheless, according to the DSM-IVTM, "Pedophilia involving female victims is reported more often than Pedophilia involving male victims" (p. 527). On the other hand, the DSM-IV TM notes that while pedophilia is usually a chronic disorder, this is especially the case in those attracted to males (p. 528). This observation is reflected in recidivism rates for pedophiles, with those having a preference for male children being "roughly twice that for those who prefer females" (p. 528).

No explanations are offered for these provocative generalities about gender. Perhaps the fact that pedophiles who prefer males have already broken one taboo by their preference, more easily

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accept continuing to violate another taboo.

### 2. Hebephile, Hebephilia and Ephebophilia

Park Dietz and Alan Sears (1987/1988) define hebephiles as "persons particularly attracted to postpubescent children (adolescents)" (p. 28, fn 47). While Kurt Freund also defines this term as, "an erotic preference for pubescents" of approximately 11 to 14 for girls and 15 or 16 for boys (p. 161).

The terms hebephile and ephebophile share the same meaning. However, Lanning (2001) notes that both of these terms "are used far less often" than pedophilia (p. 15). He also maintains that, "Although sexual attraction to pubescent children by adults has the obvious potential for criminal activity, it does not necessarily constitute a sexual perversion as defined by psychiatry" (p. 16).

Fifteen years earlier, Dietz and Sears (1987/1988) questioned:

"Whether such attraction ought to be regarded as abnormal is a debatable point, for attraction to sexually mature members of the opposite sex of the same species is biologically normal. It is not even clear that our culture, which proscribes sexual activity with those below the age of consent, condemns sexual attraction to these persons." (p. 28, footnote 47)

Like several other definitions mentioned above, my use of the term pedophile incorporates hebophilies. Both these sexual preferences are illegal.

Despite the fact that Kelly et al. (1995) criticize the use of the term pedophile, they nevertheless make the following distinction between a child molester and a pedophile:

Kelly et al.'s definitions of pedophile and child molester imply that when a pedophile sexually acts out, he becomes a child molester. This renders the term pedophile as a potentially transitory one. However, it's important that this term is defined as a stable disorder of males who have a sexual

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preference for children.

Lanning's conceptions of child molester and pedophile are problematic for the same reason as Kelly et al.'s. For example, he writes that "Many child molesters are, in fact, pedophiles, and many pedophiles are child molesters" (pp. 19-20). While Lanning's statement is undoubtedly correct, the solution to this conceptual problem is to abandon using the term "child molester" as a type of sexual abuser of children. For want of a better alternative, I advocate using the term pedophile -- which I defined above -- and the term non-pedophilic child sexual abuser/child molester for an adult who has a sexual preference for other adults but who nevertheless has sexually abused or molested a child or children. Many incest perpetrators belong in this category.

Lanning suggests the following reasons that a non-pedophilic child molester may decide to sexually abuse a child, for example, "simple availability, opportunity, curiosity, or a desire to hurt a loved one of the molested child" (p. 19).

Some researchers and clinicians use the term sexual offender against children instead of child molester. I confine my use of the term sexual offender to perpetrators who have been apprehended or incarcerated by the criminal justice system.

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### 4. Child/Minor

The terms child and minor are synonymous. Lanning (2001) points out that the "legal definition[s] of who is considered a child or minor vary from state-to-state and even statute-to-statute when dealing with adolescent victims" (p. 12). While noting that "Many people using the term sexual abuse of children have a mental image of children 12 or younger," and that "16-year-olds may be socially and physically more like 26-year-old young adults than 6-year-old children" (p. 12), Lanning nevertheless opts to define a child "as someone who has not yet reached his or her eighteenth birthday" (p. 12). This is the definition in California where I am located, and it is the definition of a "child" that I have chosen despite the fact that many more states define "child" as someone who is less than 16 years old.

### 5. Child Sex Rings/Child Sexual Abuse Rings

Lanning (2001), notes that, "Cases involving multiple child victims are sometimes referred to as child sex rings.... defined as one or more offenders simultaneously involved sexually with several child victims" (p. 47). Interestingly, "Boys are more likely to be victimized in sex rings than girls" (Faller (1990) Understanding Child Sexual) p. 46, citing Burgess et al. 1984), p. 46. The explanation for this is unclear. Perhaps it is

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because boys are allowed considerably more freedom than girls to come and go from their homes as they please. Another possibility is that boys are more sexually stimulated than girls would be by the pornography that pedophiles in sex rings typically show them for seductive and blackmail purposes. In addition, it could be that their efforts to be macho make it less likely that they will show their distress about participating in the sex ring in front of their peers and the older boys in the sex ring. Efforts to be macho may also make boys less likely than girls to disclose their distress to a friend or member of their family.

Liz Kelly et al., (1995) make the excellent recommendation that the term "child sexual abuse rings" be used instead of "child sex rings" because "the purpose of the ring is sexual abuse" (p. 19). My definition of a child sex abuse ring starts with a slight modification of Lanning's definition quoted above:

A child sexual abuse ring entails one or more pedophile simultaneously involved sexually with several child victims. Adult or child pornography is typically used to seduce the children who are frequently required to have sex with each other. The sexual episodes between the children and with the pedophile(s) are usually photographed for the production of child pornography.

## 6. Child Sexual Abuse, Child Sexual Victimization, Child Sexual

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## Exploitation, Child Sexual Maltreatment

Some researchers differentiate between the concepts of child sexual abuse, child sexual victimization, child sexual maltreatment, child sexual misuse, and child sexual exploitation, whereas others do not. The term sexual exploitation, in particular, has often been used to imply "a commercial or monetary element in the victimization" (Lanning, p. 10). For example, The Council of Europe defined sexual exploitation as "the sexual use for economic purposes of a child or a young person, which violates, directly or indirectly human dignity and sexual freedom and endangers his/her psycho-sexual development" (1991, p. 15; **check date**).

Lanning, however, disagrees that child sexual exploitation "necessarily involve[s] commercial or monetary gain" (p. 10). Many pedophiles swap or give away some of their pornographic photographs of children to their pedophile brothers. Their purpose in collecting child pornography usually has nothing to do with monetary gain.

On the other hand, Kelly (**year**, p. 71) suggests that the

"sexual exploitation of children is not easily separable from other forms of sexual abuse in childhood, since it can be an aspect of ongoing abuse by a family member/known adult

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as well as independent of this; it can occur in single and multiple offender contexts. For these reasons I regard it as dangerous to create classifications of sexual abuse which are constructed as mutually exclusive categories." (p. 71)

Kelly's point is well taken. Of all the terms cited above (child sexual abuse, child sexual victimization, child sexual maltreatment, child sexual misuse, and child sexual exploitation), I will use the term sexual abuse for the less extreme forms of sexual victimization since I believe of all the above terms, it is used most frequently. And I will use the term child sexual victimization as an umbrella term to cover all experiences of child sexual abuse including the more extreme experiences such as child rape, child abduction for sexual purposes, use of children in pornography, use of children in prostitution, the sexual torture of children, child sexual mutilation, child sexual slavery, the purchase and/or sale of children for sexual purposes, the trafficking in children for sexual purposes, the incarceration of children in private dungeons or boxes for sexual purposes, and the sexual murder of children.

Most researchers require there to be at least a five-year age difference for a sexual experience between children or juveniles or an adult and a juvenile to qualify as a case of child sexual abuse. The criterion I used in my book on

- a. the sexual encounters were not being imposed on the children by some other more powerful individual (as in sexual abuse rings and in some incest families, for example);
- b. the adult or older child takes the initiative in the sexual encounter;
- c. the older child is male and the younger child is female;
- d. the experience is unwanted by the younger child;
- e. the experience is upsetting to the younger child;
- f. the experience is described as having negative effects by the younger child, at the time or retrospectively.

"Extrafamilial child sexual abuse" is defined as unwanted sexual experiences with persons unrelated by blood or marriage, ranging from attempted or actual touching of breasts or genitals to rape, sexual torture, sexual slavery, etc., before the victim turns 18 years old.

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### 8. Incestuous Abuse vs. Incest

The term "incestuous abuse" is defined as any kind of exploitive sexual contact or attempted contact that occurs between relatives before the victim turns 18 years old. Experiences involving sexual contact with a relative that are wanted and with a peer (for example, mutual sex play between siblings or cousins of the same age) are regarded as nonexploitive and hence nonabusive. The term "incest" is reserved for these cases.

### 9. Infantophilia or infantism

This term refers to a person play-acting that they are an infant.

### 10a. Informed Consent to Adult-Child Sex

Jenkins (2001) notes

"... how desperately child porn fans wish to believe they are dealing with consenting partners. The illusion of consent is so strong that a fierce reaction greets any contradictory evidence" (p. 136).

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For example, a pedophile responded angrily to being told that he needed help by saying:

"Give me a break, what the fuck would i do if this stuff was removed. It's harmless[.] [I]f the girls are forced to have sex, than (sic) it's illegal, but if they consent to do it, and know what they are doing, then to me it's [by] fine"  
(Carolyn Downes, 1996, p. 1)

Most pedophiles have no understanding of the enormous power their adulthood connotes to children, thereby rendering their standard rationale -- that unforced adult-child sexual relations qualify as consenting -- totally inappropriate.

Abel et al. ( ) distinguishes four major issues involved in informed consent between children and adults:

1. "Does the child understand what he or she consents to?
2. "Is the child aware of the accepted sexual standards in his or her community?
3. "Does the child appreciate the eventual, possible consequences of the decision? and
4. "Are the child and the adult equally powerful so that no coercion influences the child's decision?" (p. 94)

Abel et al.'s final question is absurd because the answer is

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obviously always "No," equal power between a child and an adult is impossible. The angry pedophile also acknowledged that for a child to consent to sexual relations with an adult, s/he must know what s/he is doing. In this case, the first three of Abel et al.'s questions would have to be answered in the affirmative.

In short, informed consent to adult-child sex and/or juvenile-child sex is impossible because of the power disparity inherent in such relationships, and because the child does not appreciate the eventual negative consequences of her/his decision to obey the requests or demands of the adult. In some cases the child also does not understand what s/he is being asked to consent to and/or s/he is not aware of the accepted community standards about adult/child sex.

An example of a child being uninformed about the accepted standards about adult/child sex in her/his community often occurs when incestuous fathers tell their young daughters that all fathers have sex with their daughters to teach them how to satisfy a man when they grow up. This common manipulative rationale also constitutes an example of Abel et al.'s first three factors differentiated in the passage on informed consent above. Pedophiles are typically unaware of, or in denial about all four of these factors when they claim that children can consent to sex with adults.

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### 10b. Informed Consent to Participation in the Production of Pornography

Jenkins (2001) notes that "the subjects of child pornography cannot give any form of informed or legal consent to their involvement in this trade ...." (p. 4). This is because child pornography is illegal. However, even if it were legal, the same reasons that I enumerated with regard to the impossibility of children giving informed consent to adult-child sex would apply to children giving informed consent to participate in pornography.

An example of a young girl being unable to appreciate the eventual consequences of her decision to participate in the manufacture of child pornography is her failure to understand that the photographs taken of her can be used to bribe her to remain in an abusive sexual relationship with an adult perpetrator and/or pornographer.

A child who agrees to submit to being photographed by a perpetrator/pornographer will typically also fail to understand the negative consequences of these sexual photographs being posted on the Internet to circulate throughout the world with no possibility of ever being removed.

In addition, Jenkins (2001) surmises that, "even when

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children are just depicted nude, they are subject to actual molestation" afterwards (p. 4). I would qualify this statement by supposing that children photographed nude are at greater risk of being sexually abused by the photographer after the photography session than those who do not.

Furthermore, children are unable to understand the negative consequences of viewing pornography such as their being brainwashed to believe harmful myths about female and male sexuality and relationships (see Russell's theory in Chapter 10).

Child pornographers and/or perpetrators of child sexual abuse also typically normalize the viewing of pornography to their child victims and/or their use of children in the manufacture of child pornography thereby deceiving them about the accepted community standards regarding these forms of victimization (see Russell's theory in Chapter 10).

### 11. Male/Men

I frequently use the term "male" instead of man when I wish to include male juveniles in the same category as adult men. But I cannot claim total consistency about this usage. Sometimes when I use the term man or men I mean it to be understood that juveniles might also be included.

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### 12. Nepiofile & Nepiophilia

Nepiofile refers to someone who has a sexual attraction to infants. Nepiophilia refers to a condition characterized by the sexual attraction to infants.

### 13. Pederasty

"Anal intercourse between a man and a boy" (Jenkins (2001), p. 81).

[7,693 words]

## ~~Appendix 16 De Child Abuse and Technology on the Internet~~

### GLOSSARY OF INTERNET TERMS\*

[\*Footnote: many of the following definitions were obtained from an Internet site [www.matisse.net](http://www.matisse.net), and dated [date?]]

[4glossay.bok]

1. Bulletin Board: Bulletin boards can be found on many websites on the Internet. Users can post information on them for others to view. Illegal images of child porn are traded and posted via newsgroups and bulletin boards that are created exclusively for that purpose. [Source?]

2. CD: Compact disc for storing computer information.

3. CD-ROM: A special kind of compact disc used to store computer data. [[www.webopedia.com](http://www.webopedia.com)]

4. Chat Rooms: Hughes describes chat rooms as "online sites where people can correspond interactively [by typing messages to each other]. The transmission is instantaneous.... Chatters can take on any identity they choose," and "there is no record made of the message in chat rooms, as is the case for bulletin boards or newsgroups" (p. 27). [[www.webopedia.com](http://www.webopedia.com)] "Most chat rooms are purely for meeting other people. Other chat rooms are

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designed as elaborate 3-D environments, where you select an avatar that represents you in this virtual meeting place" (netlingo.com).

5. Commercial On-line Service (COS): "Examples of COSs are America Online, Prodigy, CompuServe and Microsoft Network, which provide access to their service for a fee. COSs generally offer limited access to the Internet as part of their total service package." (FBI Publications: A Parent's Guide to Internet Safety; [www.fbi.gov/publications/pguide/pguidee.htm](http://www.fbi.gov/publications/pguide/pguidee.htm), August 9, 2003, August 9, 2003).

6. Cybersex: Refers to intimate sexual exchanges that occur, usually between two parties in a chatroom. [Lisa Kalich]

7. Cyberspace: "The whole range of information resources available through computer networks." ([www.matisse.net](http://www.matisse.net))

8. Cyberstalking: "The use of the Internet, e-mail or other electronic communications to repeatedly threaten or harass another person." (Bill Wallace, "Stalkers find a new tool -- the Internet," SFC, 7/10/2000. p. A-1.)

9. Domain Name: "The unique name that identifies an Internet site." ([www.matisse.net](http://www.matisse.net))

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10. Download: Having an image found on a Website appear on a computer monitor, or saving an image found on the Web to a diskette or to a file on the hard drive of a computer.

([www.matisse.net](http://www.matisse.net))

11. DVDs: Compact Disks on which pornographic and mainstream movies are stored for viewing as an alternative to videotapes.

12. Encryption: "Encryption transforms one message into another message by using a mathematical function and a 'key'.

Unauthorized users cannot access [encrypted] files or messages unless they have the key" (Doyle, Mehagen (1999), p. 121, fn 13).

When porn pictures are encrypted, they are put "in a code that can only be translated with special software" (Trebilock, Robert, 1999, p. 48). Pedophiles frequently use encryption to make it difficult for law enforcement investigators and/or anyone else to access the child porn collections on their computers.

Encryption permits increased storage making it possible for pedophiles and others to store thousands of child porn images on tiny cds enabling collectors to hide their collections more easily. In addition, voice-activated computer chips enable child porn collectors to make a command that will erase the entire memory of their hard drive as a law enforcement officer knocks on their door with a search warrant to look for child porn.

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13. Information Superhighway: A popular term used to refer to the exchange of information on the Internet. (Kalich)

13. Instant Messages: "Private, real-time conversation similar to public and/or private chat rooms on COS." (FBI Publications: A Parent's Guide to Internet Safety; [www.fbi.gov/publications/pguide/pguidee.htm](http://www.fbi.gov/publications/pguide/pguidee.htm), August 9, 2003).

14. Internet: "The Internet is a worldwide network of smaller computer networks and individual computers all connected by cable, telephone lines or satellite links. It is thus a decentralized, global medium of communication that links people around the world. No single entity administers it, nor is it located anywhere. It is timeless and spaceless. There is no single point at which all the information is stored or from which it is disseminated...." (Arnaldo, 2001, p. 53)

15. Internet Relay Chat Room (IRC): IRCs "afford users the opportunity to communicate in 'real time' and most closely resemble an on-line 'conversation'. IRC also affords the option to open a Direct Channel of Communication (DCC) between two users, which bypasses the need for a server and thereby raises the level of security of the communications. IRC historically was a major forum for the exchange of child pornography, and there is clear evidence of its use to organize and orchestrate the sexual abuse of children as well as to propagate the trade in

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child pornography." (O'Connell, in Arnaldo, p. 68).

16. Internet Service Provider (ISP): "Using an Internet account, either through an Internet service provider (ISP) or an online provider, such as America Online, CompuServe or Microsoft, one can connect to the Internet through the provider's 'gateway'." (Arnaldo, 2001, p. 53)

17. Newsgroup: A newsgroup is "a discussion group operated through the Internet" in a separate server called USENET (www.matisse.net). People are able to communicate via computer and send each other pictures and text. Child porn is available through certain newsgroups. (**Source ??**)

18. Page-Jacking and Mouse-trapping: These are new techniques to "trick Web surfers into visiting porn sites from which they cannot escape without repeated clicks or restarts." More specifically, when surfers go to the pages of web sites with mainstream names to which scammers have added an extra bit of coding, the surfers get rerouted, or page-jacked to the scammer's porn sites. "Once there, the user [is] mouse-trapped at the site; efforts to escape [lead] only to new porn pages."

18. Search Engine: A search engine is a system (usually web-based) "for searching [for] information on the Web. Some search engines work by automatically searching the contents of

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other systems and creating a database of the results. Other search engines contain only material manually approved for inclusion in a database, and some combine the two approaches." (www.matisse.net) Examples of search engines include Google, Yahoo, Exite. Google is also a webpage.

19. Server/Web Server: A server or web server allows multiple users with an organization to access external information via the Internet or to extract internal information in a database. (Matisse and Kalich)

20. Spamming: The illegal sending of emails to many people at once without their permission.

22. Surfing the Web: A term coined by Internet users to refer to utilizing services on the Internet and searching for information on it. (Kalich)

23. Usenet: Usenet is a global electronic bulletin board with over 10,000 special interest bulletin boards or newsgroups (i.e., discussion groups) (Hughes, 1999, March, p. ) enabling comments to be passed between hundreds of thousands of machines.

24. Virtual Reality (VR): This term is defined "as a system which provides a realistic sense of being immersed in an environment..." that provides "a computer-generated, visual,

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audible and tactile multi-media experience" (Friel, fn 160, p. 230).

25. Webpage: these are pay-per-click banner ads linking to more pay-per-click banner ads, ad nauseum. (Gordon)

26. Web site: A unique, identifiable address on the world wide web on which a collection of related pages are stored. (Matisse and Kalich)

27. World Wide Web/WWW: The term World Wide Web is frequently used incorrectly to refer to the Internet (www.matisse.net). "When people talk about surfing the Internet, they are actually talking about surfing the Web. The Web is a section of the Internet where information is cross-linked to other related information, allowing one to jump from one Web 'site' to another. It is also rich in graphics and sound and with the introduction of new applications, the Web has become more interactive and increasingly loaded with multimedia content. The Web is the most popular and fastest growing feature of the Internet and accounts for more than 90 per cent of Internet usage." (Arnaldo, 2001, p. 56).

[1,274 pages]

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