James F. Albrecht
Garth den Heyer *Editors*

Understanding and Preventing Community Violence

Global Criminological and Sociological Perspectives

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ISBN 978-3-031-05074-9 ISBN 978-3-031-05075-6 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-05075-6

This Springer imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

This book is dedicated to police officers across the globe, who continue to make personal sacrifices to ensure that society remains safe and secure and particularly to those who have lost their lives while nobly serving their communities.

"Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God."

Matthew 5:9—King James Bible

This book is dedicated to my two children, Jimmy and Kristiana, who continue to provide me with continuous motivation through their unlimited sense of curiosity and their enthusiasm for life and learning.

James F. Albrecht

This book is dedicated to my two grandsons, Liam and Joshua.

Garth den Heyer

Preface

Essentially every documented law code has decried that violence perpetrated against others is immoral and illegal. Whether that violence is physical or sexual, or whether it results in injury or death, humanity has acknowledged that this misbehavior cannot be tolerated by individuals or by society as a whole. However, for centuries an injury caused to another could be settled through agreements between the families of the parties involved. If the respective parties could not settle the matter, then the family of the injured could invoke an injury of kind nature upon the family of the perpetrator. It is only in the most recent stages of human history that the state has taken upon the role of adjudication and punishment for violence targeting others.

Violence targeting an individual or the community at large has negatively impacted many societies across the globe and has done so for not only decades, but for centuries. Once people were drawn to areas that later developed into industrialized metropolitan centers, overpopulation created a sense of anonymity for those predisposed to criminality. Communities could no longer rely on themselves or their sense of cohesion to deter crime or hold individuals accountable. With the dawn of the nineteenth century, the responsibility for preventing violence and other criminality had fallen upon the public policing entities that evolved in the 1820s. After London developed a metropolitan police department under the guidance of Sir Robert Peel, that model was copied in Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and many other high-population centers in Europe and the United States and later was implemented in most countries, states, and cities across the globe.

For almost two centuries, the common government tactic for deterring violence and other street crime involved the presence of a uniformed police officer. And the traditional response when violence and criminality took place was to reactively respond and document the incident in a report, leaving the matter to police investigators to explore further. This was generally not effective nor efficient. It was not until 1994 that law enforcement strategies were dramatically re-engineered and took on a proactive enforcement-oriented approach. These actions could be considered revolutionary and did result in significant crime reductions in the respective jurisdictions that now relied on statistical analysis, crime mapping, enhanced intelligence gathering, the strict enforcement of quality of life and disorder infractions,

and strengthened inter- and intra-organizational cooperation and collaboration. What is now referred to as the "Compstat" era has involved the commencement of technology playing a larger and more critical role in policing and law enforcement and the more effective measurement of organizational performance.

In order to better understand community violence, it is pertinent that associated criminological theory be examined. Originally, a scientific approach concluded that criminality was based on biological or genetic factors. As such, certain individuals were considered as being genetically inferior and basically evil. Later, a more judicious approach concluded that humans acted of free will. As such, and from the perspective of the criminal justice system, most criminals act rationally and intentionally and are therefore personally and criminally liable for their actions. Rational choice theory delineated that individuals will weigh the rewards of a criminal act against the likelihood of apprehension and punishment. In more general terms, if they think that they will "get away" with it, they will engage in that criminal act.

In line with the rational choice theory, the routine activities theory proposes that three primary factors contribute to the potential commission of a crime: the location, the perpetrator, and the victim. When considering all dynamics, the perpetrator will prioritize targeting the "easiest" target in a location that offers the least likely opportunity for detection and apprehension. By introducing an option that will obstruct any of the three factors, the probability of the crime will be diminished. For example, by adding sufficient lighting or opening the area to natural surveillance, a location could be made more safe and prevent a criminal act from taking place. As such, situational crime prevention and crime prevention through environmental design are two potential options to reduce the likelihood of criminal activity.

Another plausible theoretical explanation for engaging in violent criminality relies on social learning theory, which postulates that many criminals learn from others that opting to engage in crime is acceptable and "profitable." Peer associations and family experiences may support this ideological position and both have proven to be strong influential factors in continued and recidivist illegal activities. As a result, many criminals have become convinced that engaging in crime and even committing violence have become a rewarding "career option" for them individually.

Some more sociologically inclined theories have taken a larger societal perspective and have extolled that it is civilization itself that has created discrepancies in opportunity, perhaps based on race, ethnicity, social position, and/or minority status. With this obstacle to personal and community success in mind, some individuals or similarly impacted groups have opted to participate in criminality as the only means to achieve any sense of success and even survival. This theoretical position is supported by both strain theory and criminal race theory, among other sociological explanations.

So while generally the criminal justice system globally operates under the assumption that individuals undertake illicit and violent actions of free will, attempting to prevent crime and violence appears to be a more complex endeavor. While the police and the criminal justice system are often viewed as the primary mechanisms for crime and violence control, it is obviously important that government officials

effectively address such issues as actual or perceived inequality and develop options that open sustainable opportunity for all individuals and people. This includes viable initiatives to promote and ensure stable and improved physical, mental and emotional health, education, employment, financial stability, and promotional advancement.

It should be obvious that the police and the criminal justice system play significant roles in crime and violence prevention and control. One the other hand, society in general has a larger social and interrelated set of responsibilities that must be considered and addressed in an effort to deter the desire for participation in illicit activities and the acceptance of criminal misbehavior as a societal norm. On a positive note, the incorporation of technology into crime control and suspect detection and apprehension strategies has proven to be a major development for law enforcement organizations globally. In addition, police administrators are consistently re-evaluating agency policy, procedure, and protocol to address community feedback and public criticism. As such, contemporary law enforcement and the entire sphere of criminal justice have become persistently evolving fields of public service.

The goal of this book will be to comprehensively examine the causes of community violence and serious acts of criminality and to thoroughly evaluate society's response, specifically by law enforcement and criminal justice actors, to these illicit misdeeds and often horrific acts involving misbehavior, immorality, and deviance. The global nature of the chapter contributions should provide a broad spectrum of perspectives and additionally prove to be enlightening and thought-provoking to any curious individual, but more so to criminal justice and government leaders, policymakers, researchers, academics, students, community representatives, and concerned citizens.

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Abisoye Priscilla Aremu Abisoye Aremu is a human resource professional with keen interest and professional training in security, situational awareness, profiling, and intelligence analysis. Abisoye has a rich experiential blend of a Bachelor's degree in Sociology from the University of Ibadan in Nigeria, combined with

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Chapter 1
Law Enforcement Response to Internet Crimes Against Children

Randall Synder

Introduction

The concept of violence is different for each person. For some, when the term is used, images of war are pictured. For others, it is physical injuries sustained, maybe in a fight or during the commission of some criminal act. But for others, the concept of violence may be much less noticeable, yet just as life altering. This is the reality for thousands of children each year who are sexually solicited, exploited, and abused online. These children fall victim to internet predators, men and women who obtain sexual gratification from children and seek their prey on social media, chat boards, and even online games. But what is the "violence" if the offense occurs in cyberspace rather than in person? Are these people engaging in fantasy? A harmless role play involving "chat" and "just pictures?" No. The emotional and psychological toll taken on these children is as devastating, and long lasting, as any physical marks or injuries. Children contacted by internet predators are introduced to sexual acts that are detrimental to their continuing development, often times enticed into engaging in sexual acts with others or themselves and provided sexual materials to groom them into creating sexually exploitive images of their own. Once this happens, the revictimization of knowing that their images are on the web, literally worldwide, and can never be erased or recovered leads to traumas that can last a lifetime. The violence perpetrated against them, in the mental and emotional manipulation, physical abuse, and long-term distress, is easily fit into the definition and conception of violence that online acts are neither victimless nor fantasy.

Since the beginning of time, people have committed sexual offenses against one another and have even offended against children. The oldest known criminal codes, the Code of Ur-Nammu and the Code of Hammurabi, both list sexual offenses that

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J. F. Albrecht, G. den Heyer (eds.), *Understanding and Preventing Community Violence*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-05075-6_1

would have been considered "criminal" for the times. Additionally, the Bible lists in the books of Matthew, Luke, and Mark the statement by Jesus that "But whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea" (Matthew 18:6, KJV). Throughout history, women and children were often seen as property, first of their father and then of their husbands. Sexual offenses were largely blamed on the victims, instead of the perpetrators, and even crimes against children were often blamed on the children. In several countries, this "ownership" of women and children is still an implicit, if not explicit, part of their social makeups, allowing for victimization to be unrecognized or not reported. It was not until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that this right of possession began to change, in the United States and in many industrial nations, and for society to consider women and children autonomous people. With this change in the social value of women and children, views of their sexuality also began to change and allow for sex crimes to be better recognized and addressed.

During the so-called sexual psychopath era, ranging from the 1930s until the 1960s, the increase in public outcry against sexual offenses created a public discourse on a topic previously considered "too hideous to contemplate" (Freedman, 1987). The increase in attention by the media during this era resulted in a rise in reporting, and public awareness, of this issue. Seen largely as a psychiatric issue, legislative efforts were largely focused on incapacitation in mental facilities (Freedman, 1987). Since that time the concept of sexual offending, and the perpetration of sexual crimes against children, has had to evolve through media furor, social shifts in the concepts of obscenity, sexuality and even gender identity, and women and children being considered autonomous beings rather than "property." Additionally, the age of consent, when children are legally allowed to consent to sexual activity, still varies from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, ranging from as young as 12 in Angola and the Philippines to between 16 and 18 in most countries, including the United States (World Population, 2020). Considering sexual crimes have been around as long as recorded time; it should come as no surprise that in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries sexual offenses, especially those perpetrated against children, are not only disturbingly common but increasing in complexity and more difficult to detect, investigate, and prosecute.

Where sexual crimes were, throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, largely concentrated on offenses perpetrated in person, the advent of the internet has created new and complex challenges to law enforcement. Changing social norms around sexuality, ages of consent, and the minefield which is social media only compounds the situation. Moreover, with so much attention focused on enforcing statutory rape laws, changing definitions of "rape" to be more socially inclusive, and addressing the problem of sex trafficking, sexual harassment, and sexual abuse by those in power, it is no wonder that internet sex crimes, sometimes perpetrated continents away, are largely misunderstood by the general public. Furthermore, the legislative acts that occurred prior to and in the early days of the internet were largely based upon faulty logic, misconceptions about these offenders and their victims, and a legislative process that cannot hope to keep up with the pace of

technologies used to exploit and abuse the victims of these crimes. Internet-based offenses were often made to "fit into" existing legislation or were included in broader laws for which they weren't intended. When specific legislation was drafted for cyber-based offenses, often times it was outdated by the time it was formalized, and the need for revision to modernize it to current technologies was almost instantaneous. Additionally, case law, decisions by judges during litigation, is often based upon this obsolete legislation and frequently reflects technological ignorance on the part of the judiciary. When cases are presented in light of new technology, or situations outside the knowledge or scope of the original legislation, decisions for future enforcement are made on these rulings more so than the original laws. The impetus for many of the legislative acts being applied today on internet-related offenses began well before the internet was created. The concept of "obscenity" has been argued in the US court system since Miller v. California (1973), 413 US 15, decided what was considered obscene, and this concept is still applied today in determining what does and does not constitute pornography. Most recently, the PROTECT Act of 2003 allows for depictions, even animations, of what appears to be children to be charged as "obscene." While many state statutes do not mirror this directly, it impacts the way that child obscenity and the sexual exploitation and abuse of children is viewed, especially as it pertains to these acts conducted online.

But many of these earlier cases looked at the concept of "pornography" as it applies to obscenity and the consensual recording of sexual acts between adults. When minors are introduced, the nomenclature did not change, despite the vast difference in the concepts of both age and consent. While traditionally called "child pornography," even in legislative writing, the community of investigators, child advocates, and other professionals who work with this material are trying to change the nomenclature to child sexual abuse material (CSAM) or child sexual exploitation material (CSEM), for those images in which a child is being sexually abused or is engaged in some type of sexual conduct, as a means of better explaining the horrific nature of the materials (Greijer & Doek, 2016). In this writing, the terms CSEM and CSAM will be used interchangeably, despite the significant difference between the two.

So, what is the law enforcement response to these violent acts perpetrated across the internet? How are these crimes, both virtual and in person, treated by the criminal justice system? In the following pages, an examination of the various cyber-related crimes will be conducted, with examples from actual cases to support the concepts and pinpoint the investigative and prosecutorial roadblocks that had to be overcome. Discussions about the crime types, some of the legislation surrounding the crimes, and investigative hurdles will be presented. While many consider cyber-crimes against children, especially possession of exploitive images "just pictures," it will be demonstrated that these crimes are significantly more violent and impactful to victims than the concept implies. The physical and emotional scars that victims of these crimes receive often last a lifetime. This is especially true when the victim is aware that the evidence of their victimization, the photos and videos produced and distributed online, will be forever available and utilized for the gratification of predators and their recurrent traumatization.

Sexual Exploitation of Minors

The sexual exploitation of minors is often referred to as "child pornography" and involves the possession, manufacture, and/or distribution of images and videos of a sexual nature that have a child involved. Depending on the jurisdiction, the age of consent within the jurisdiction is taken into account on whether the image is considered in a particular case, but most often any person, under the age of 18, depicted in the images or videos can be considered a minor for legal purposes. Some states, such as Arizona, have additional sentencing enhancements when the children are considered especially young, such as under the age of 15. These enhancements, dubbed "dangerous crimes against children," take the young age of the victim into account and enhance sentencing accordingly. Federal sentencing guidelines have similar enhancements. As it pertains to the charges of sexual exploitation of a minor, the US Sentencing Guidelines (USSG) § 2G2.1 indicate that the offense level severity is increased by four levels if the victim is under 12 years of age and two levels if between the ages of 12 and 16.

The first federal agency to investigate and enforce child pornography laws was the US Postal Service in 1977 (California Coalition, n.d.). At that time, child pornography was largely distributed in printed format, sometimes in "newsletters" or other publications between individuals who knew each other and, often times, had met. Because this means of distribution was slow, unreliable, and fraught with danger since the sender and recipient had to have intimate knowledge of one another to distribute these images, most child sexual abuse was perpetrated without photographic evidence or documentation. As the internet grew in size and popularity, images could now be distributed over greater distances and with greater security; however, the speed and size limitations of the early internet still made distribution difficult. The US Postal Service reports that "during the fiscal year 1997, 33 percent of child exploitation cases investigated by Postal inspectors also involved computers" (California Coalition, n.d.). By 2000, that number had grown to 77%. The US Postal Service indicates that between 1997, when they began keeping statistics, and 2000, they arrested 828 individuals and identified 370 children. Additional statistics regarding the scope of the problem are collected by the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC), who have become the national clearinghouse for child exploitation since they began collecting exploitation tips in 1998. NCMEC reports receiving nearly 75 million reports of child exploitation or other online abuses since 1998, with over 69.1 million files and over 19,000 children identified (NCMEC, n.d.). In 2019 alone, NCMEC received more than 16.9 million reports.

Today investigations into child exploitation are conducted by multiple federal agencies, including the Department of Homeland Security, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the Postal Service, just to name a few. State and local policing agencies are also involved, through the 61 Internet Crimes Against Children (ICAC) Internet crimes task forces around the country. These teams, including full- and part-time investigators, undertake both proactive and reactive investigations into the online exploitation of children. Working in both the open and dark webs,

investigators are able to coordinate between state, national, and international boundaries with the goal of rescuing children and apprehending offenders. These agencies and task forces, in conjunction with NCMEC, work through all of the tips received, plus proactive investigations started by the individual investigators, to try and curb the exploitation of children online. Examples of proactive investigations include engaging in chats with offenders posing as either a child or another offender, monitoring peer-to-peer file trading networks, and even undercover operations using offender information to infiltrate known exploitation networks. Reactive investigations include such examples as responding to CyberTips from the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children; calls for service to patrol that require additional investigation, silent witness, and other tip line contacts; and even conducting investigations into tips passed on to public information officers or similar media connected individuals.

Additionally, the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020 caused a significant increase in reports of online sexual victimization. While the prevalence of cyber-related tips had increased significantly in the 2000s, significant spikes were especially observed during the pandemic. As reported in Bourke and Hernandez (2009), "The FBI's Innocent Images Initiative, for example, reported an increase of 2,026% cases opened, and a 1,312% increase in convictions or pre-trial diversions, between 1996 and 2005" (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2006, p. 6). The pandemic made this even worse. According to a recent USA Today article, "Tips to the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, the clearinghouse for such information in the United States, nearly doubled from 6.3 million in the first half of 2019 to 12 million through June of 2020. Reports of online enticement similarly spiked during that timeframe, from 6,863 to 13,268" (Racioppi, 2020). In early March 2020, when many US states were beginning to enforce lockdowns and stay-at-home orders, an average weekly number of reports to NCMEC were about 250,000. By early April, in the midst of the lockdown restrictions, NCMEC began receiving over 1 million reports each week, for a period of approximately 3 weeks, before lockdown restrictions began to expire and numbers began to slowly subside (personal correspondence). This indicates that not only were many more children online for extended periods of time because of lockdown and being out of school, but the number or perpetrators online for longer periods of time were making contact and committing more offenses.

With this comes the increased difficulty in identifying and locating both offenders and victims, as more social media platforms move to "safer" security, such as end-to-end encryptions, anonymized profiles, lack of user information collection, and greater availability on mobile devices. Combined with this came the switch in how devices connect.

To connect to the internet, whether using a phone, computer, tablet, or other device, one must have an Internet Protocol (IP) address. This is a series of numbers, originally in a quad-dotted format (IPv4, or Internet Protocol version 4) that defined the device to the downline service, essentially an "address" that allowed the query to be routed to the correct internet location and information requested to be routed to the correct intended recipient. With the quad-dotted format (i.e., *192.0.2.235*),

there were approximately 4 billion possible addresses. In February 2011, the number of available IPv4 addresses ran out, necessitating the conversion to IPv6 (Internet Protocol version 6) format. This format uses octets, eight groupings of characters, both numbers and letters, separated by colons instead of periods (i.e., *2001:0db8:0000:0000:0000:8a2e:0370:7334*). Because of this increase in the address, the number of possible addresses increased exponentially. However, this did not mean all prior IPv4 addresses went away, merely that new addresses would be in the new format and old addresses still existed. This meant that a person connecting to the internet could have an Internet Protocol (IP) address in either or both formats and the downline application or site being accessed may or may not collect both addresses. Additionally, subscriber information may not be available from the internet service provider (ISP) for both formats, thereby anonymizing the user from law enforcement. While some of these hurdles have been overcome by law enforcement investigation tasked with identifying these suspects and victims, a few challenges still remain. Further difficulties in investigations arise with the inclusion of technologies like end-to-end encryption, where platform servers never "see" the information being passed between users. Technologies incorporated into certain platforms that automatically delete communications after a set time frame further work to obfuscate investigations and allow offenders a modicum of anonymity and deniability.

You may ask what types of crimes are being perpetrated online? While the number and types of cybercrimes are too voluminous to detail, and outside the scope of this particular text, a number of the most common internet crimes against children will be discussed. These situations of exploitation, including those who possess, distribute, and manufacture exploitive material, and the comorbidity of these offender types, and the hands-on offending that can also take place offline, are examined. Recent crimes, such as sexting and sextortion, will be explained and discussed, and the topic of sex trafficking and how this age-old crime has been affected by the cyberization of society will be reviewed.

Possession of Exploitive Materials

Case Study 1

In 2015, "D.C." was contacted by law enforcement after information was obtained that the subject was making images of child sexual exploitation materials available on peer-to-peer software. When contacted by law enforcement, "D.C." admitted to possessing over 200,000 images and videos of children being sexually exploited, which he claimed he had been collecting for at least 15 years. While D.C. was also distributing the images, because of the way that the peer-to-peer platform was designed, his primary motivation was in the collection and possession of CSEM for his own gratification. He had gone so far as to take the images and burn them onto disks so he could view them on a larger screen television in his living room, rather than the smaller monitor connected to his computer. "D.C." took a plea agreement

and was sentenced to 12 years in the Arizona Department of Corrections for Sexual Exploitation of a Minor and after release will be on lifetime probation and subject to sex offender registration.

While in some of these cases possession is independent of distribution, some aspect of distribution is also typically present, whether intentional or not. Additionally, offenders who view child exploitation materials are not exclusive to internet offenses. Studies conducted on the co-occurrence of sexual abuse of children and the viewing of abuse materials online have found that co-occurrence was more common than previously believed (Bourke & Hernandez, 2009). With the proliferation of exploitation material online, it is not uncommon to find offenders with millions of files of exploitation material in their "library." Many offenders have extensive collections that encompass terabytes of data, and some have taken to using cloud storage options to maintain their collections.

However, these voluminous collections are contrasted by those who try to avoid "possessing" any images by deleting files after use. Some offenders have found that the ease of availability online makes it "safer" to download their desired content and then delete the files after use, to re-download the next time material is desired. This has led to the necessity for computer forensic examiners to search in the unallocated spaces on devices and led to challenges in the courts whether deleted files retained in "open" space on a computer are still "possessed."

Distribution of Exploitive Materials

Case Study 2

In 2015, M.B was using peer-to-peer file sharing programs to obtain, and make available for distribution, images and videos of child sexual abuse materials. During the course of the investigation, M.B. made available dozens of images and videos for distribution. M.B. was captured by multiple agencies' investigative tools making files available. At the time a search warrant was executed on his residence, M.B. was actively downloading and trading files. When he learned of the search of his home, M.B. fled from Arizona to Texas, where he was later apprehended. M.B. accepted a plea agreement to 17 years in prison, with lifetime probation and sex offender registration upon his release from custody.

There are many methods of distribution, and one of the challenges of identifying and locating those subjects who distribute files of child exploitation materials is the wide number of means to distribute. While the electronic and internet service providers have means of locating some distribution, resulting in the CyberTips that result in reactive investigations, proactive methods are also used. Outside of the dark web, where child exploitation is rampant but anonymization is a key aspect, many social media platforms provide a means of distribution. Investigators must find methods to infiltrate the platforms, often using undercover personas and accounts. Frequently these accounts, because of the limitations that are placed on investigators, have limited ability to infiltrate and are only able to be active for short

periods of time. In some cases, the distribution of files to undercover investigators has helped net larger activities. While undercover investigations can be very successful, there are certainly difficulties in conducting these types of investigations, and the legal challenges are nearly as significant as the technical difficulties.

Peer-to-peer (P2P) platforms have provided a quick and easy method for the distribution of child exploitation materials. The platforms often allow for the transfer of hundreds, even thousands, of files, in a single transaction. Other means of distribution are through social media platforms, either individually file by file or through trading links to cloud storage sites where multiple files can be stored. Sharing links through chat rooms, social media posts, and even electronic bulletin boards like 4chan, Reddit, and 8chan becomes common and easy. Further, those who trade in these files have developed their own slang, codes, and acronyms to be able to speak to one another without broadcasting in plain language their desire and intents. Being able to read and decipher these codes, and keeping up as codes change much like modern slang language does, is one of the challenges of the investigators. Additionally, as more offenders are captured, and technology advances, more sophisticated offenders use additional safety measures to try and thwart investigations. While these methods vary from offender to offender, some commonalities are found in the investigations and must be overcome to successfully prosecute.

Notably, some offenders have compiled and share a "handbook," which instructs on the "best" means and methods of sexually exploiting and abusing children (Davey, 2020). This "handbook" helps provide information to predators on the best ways to groom their victims, platforms that are preferred for use, and even recommends ways to convince children to share images and videos of themselves online, recommending cyber exploitation over in-person meetings (ibid). The handbook, titled "How to Practice Child Love," is authored by a subject identified only as "The Mule." It is a 170-page book which states in the opening, "This is an education and a step-by-step guide for adults to engage and practice sexual relationships with underage children. The purpose of this guide is to teach adults how to safely and harmlessly practice sex with children, without hurting the child, by using advanced and well researched child psychology and pedagogy" (Mule, n.d.). The index includes such topics as "where do I find a child?" and "exploring the child's genitals" (ibid). Credits for some of the materials in the guide are given on the final page and include the source "HuntingHighNLow," which states "Extremely experienced child lover from out in the field still not caught after decades of hunting and dozens of little kiddie lovers and kiddie orgasms" (ibid). As is evident from these quotes, the individuals who engage in this behavior can be just as organized and dedicated, if not more so, than aficionados in any hobby or profession. This very dedication to engaging in the sexual abuse of children, and sharing methods to avoid detection, makes the job of law enforcement responding to these crimes that much more difficult.

Some social media platforms also lend themselves to easier distribution than others. Some platforms are better monitored internally than others. However, some

have lax oversight by the designers, or operate outside the United States, where discovery is less likely. Additionally, those which allow for "private messaging," often including end-to-end encryption to avoid detection by automated means on the platform servers or manual monitoring by administrators, become havens for this type of illicit activity. When predators find a platform that they feel is easily used for their purposes, they commonly become hot beds of activity but, like any fad, can change rapidly or be regional in their popularity. Parents regularly ask law enforcement which sites their children should avoid so that they will be safer. Unfortunately the only commonality between these sites is that if children are on them predators will be too.

Case Study 3
J.G., an offender in Kansas, was in communications with an undercover investigator in 2016 on a popular social media mobile platform, when he unknowingly distributed images of child sexual abuse material to law enforcement. In the process, he bragged about additional crimes that he had committed, including the sexual abuse of two young children, an offense for which he was on pre-trial release. J.G. provided explicit information about his abuse of one particular child and provided "tips" for the undercover officer on how he might be successful in abusing a child. When the investigator learned about the crimes J.G. was bragging about, and that he was being truthful about the incident and not just fantasizing, the information was passed on to investigators and prosecutors in Kansas. At the time, J.G. was violating the terms of his pre-trial release, not only by possessing and distributing images of CSAM but also by being on social media at all. This revelation resulted in a revocation of J.G.'s pre-trial release, additional charges for the distribution of the images, and an eventual conviction and 20-year sentence for the distribution of exploitive images.

Manufacture of Exploitive Materials

There is certainly no debate that a person viewing and distributing exploitive files is harmful to the minors involved, as concepts of "supply and demand" take place and the continual revictimization occurs as victims know that their images are exchanged over and over. The Canadian Centre for Child Protection (2017) conducted a study looking at the effects of victimization on children who had been abused and exploited. Recurring trauma was reported by many respondents, including having strangers identify them from having viewed their abuse images (ibid). Far and beyond from the trauma of knowing that people are trading and enjoying their abuse is the trauma from the abuse itself. For this reason, those offenders who are manufacturing the files, committing the abuse that is then immortalized in the files that are passed online, are among the most reviled offenders.

In some cases, the manufacturing of images is done for the sexual gratification of the abuser. In other instances, it is a means to an end, used to obtain additional images from other sources and provide "bona fides" that they are not law enforcement to further engage in communications and trades with other abusers. Others, like Peter Scully, create the videos and images purely for monetary gain. Scully, once deemed the "world's worst paedo" (Sutton, 2018), was an Australian ex-patriot living in the Philippines. Scully was convicted of sexually torturing and abusing young girls, some as young as 12 months old, on webcams for a "pay-per-view" style show, earning up to $10,000 per view (Sutton, 2018). Scully was, in part, caught when authorities found traces of the payments made to Scully from a viewer in another country, and the financial trail was followed back to Scully. Scully was given life in prison by Filipino courts, who reportedly considered "bringing back the death penalty" specifically for Scully.

Whatever the motivation, the amount of exploitive material being manufactured continues to grow at an alarming rate. Brian Rich, with the National Center for Missing & Exploited Children reports, that in 1998, there were 3000 reports of CSAM (as cited in Keller & Dance, 2019). In a paper by the US Department of Justice, Center for Problem-Oriented Policing published in 2006 and updated in 2012, it was estimated that in 2001 there were over 1 million images of exploitive materials online, with the number increasing by 200 new images a day (Wellard, 2001, as cited in Wortley & Smallbone, 2012). However, we know that the growth of the internet has been exponential, and with it, the growth of child exploitation. By 2018, that number had gone to 18.4 million containing approximately 45 million images of exploitive materials (Keller & Dance, 2019). As more children are provided technology without oversight, more images are produced, and more children are exploited and abused.

Case Study 4

In 2015, information was provided to the National Center for Missing & Exploited Children that a subject identified as R.C. was manufacturing child sexual abuse materials and distributing the images via the internet. She was also discussing the idea of having a child for the sole purpose of sexual abuse, beginning at birth with several other individuals. R.C., in her communications, traded child sexual abuse materials with these men, one of whom was already a registered sex offender for prior offenses. She also manufactured child sexual abuse materials of a child in her care and transmitted those images to a suspect in England, M.A., who, in turn, produced sexual abuse images of a child in his care and sent to R.C. Information from these communications were relayed to authorities in England to identify and locate M.A. and rescue the child from further abuse. R.C. was sentenced to 30 years' confinement, with lifetime probation and sex offender registration after her incarceration. In England, M.A. was given a 17.5-year sentence after his actions were described as "grotesque" by the judge (Thorne, 2015). Four additional suspects were arrested and convicted for various child exploitation-related offenses associated with R.C.

Co-occurrence with Hands-On Offending

As seen in the last case study, as well as in the following case study, there are sometimes co-occurrences with hands-on sexual abuse a well as online sexual abuse. While many who possess and distribute CSAM materials do so without sexually abusing children themselves, or as a precursor to that abuse, there are also those who both collect CSAM material and sexually abuse children. Those offenders who are sexually predisposed to abuse children often find that the "audience" on the internet is highly receptive to the images and videos they produce. These productions of CSAM often work as a type of currency, especially on the dark web, where they can be traded for access to other offenders' libraries of material. In the "Butner" Study, it was found that comorbidity between hands-on offenses and possession of CSEM was significantly higher than previously believed. According to Bourke and Hernandez (2009, p. 185), "the combined group of 62 child pornography and interstate travel offenders perpetrated contact sexual crimes against 55 victims. After participation in the treatment program, these offenders reported perpetrating contact sexual crimes against an additional 1,379 victims." This would indicate that many offenders who offend with "just pictures" in reality pose a significant risk to children and offend in person at a much higher rate than arrest and conviction rates would indicate (Bourke & Hernandez, 2009, p. 185). Further, offenders in the study averaged 13.56 victims per offender. This has also been observed by the author, as the offender in Case Study 2, M.B., had allegations of hands-on offending brought to light by multiple juveniles in another state during the course of the investigation; however, the statute of limitations had expired in that state, preventing any criminal proceedings on those acts.

Case Study 5

In 2016, information was obtained from the National Center for Missing & Exploited Children that a subject, identified as J.C. (not associated with R.C. from above), was distributing images of child sexual abuse. Based upon the information obtained and provided to law enforcement, it appeared that J.C. was sexually abusing a child and trading the images of the abuse to others in return for other images and videos of child sexual exploitation materials from these other parties. An undercover officer established online contact with J.C., and it was determined that he had been sexually abusing a juvenile in his control for several years. He then began attempting to locate child sexual abuse materials online and located a subject identified as E.M. in Australia. E.M. agreed to provide J.C. with the names of additional contacts around the world that traded in child sexual abuse materials and traded images with J.C. In return, J.C. began sexually abusing a second child in his control, documenting it in photographs, and sending the images to E.M. Based upon the evidence located, information was provided to authorities in New South Wales, Australia, and E.M. was also contacted. E.M. took a plea agreement with Australian authorities for 2 years' incarceration. It was also discovered in the course of the investigation that J.C.'s live-in girlfriend was aware of the sexual abuse of the first minor and