

A criminological overview of paedophilic activities on the Internet

L. Campher* and **C. Bezuidenhout**

Department of Social Work and Criminology, University of Pretoria
E-mail: laetitia.campher@up.ac.za

The purpose of this article is to focus on the emergence, as well as the nature, extent and complexity of paedophilic activities on the Internet. The necessity for scientific research designed to curb Internet paedophilia in South Africa is discussed and an overview is provided of contentious concerns arising from the use of the Internet, such as children gaining access to adult pornography, children being portrayed in child pornography, as well as the risk of children being approached by paedophiles via the Internet.

*To whom correspondence should be addressed

Research that is not conducted within a clearly articulated methodological paradigm has limited value for researchers, academics, and professionals dealing with the sexual abuse of children. Various magazine articles regarding Internet paedophilia have been published. According to Bezuidenhout (1994:43) authors of popular magazine articles usually do not have a scientific background and lack the expertise to conduct a scientific study. This gives rise to the expression of opinions that are biased and that have little or no scientific value. As a result, a dearth of scientific knowledge regarding the Internet as a contemporary avenue for paedophilic activities exists.

Statistical data regarding paedophilic activities via the Internet are not available. The reason for this is that statistics on paedophilic activities are included in the broad category of indecent assault and rape (South African Police Service, Department for Safety and Security 2005). An additional matter of concern is that no distinction is being made between 'traditional' paedophilia and paedophilic activities via the Internet. Thus, statistics on the prevalence of Internet paedophilia are not readily available.

Attempts to locate resources regarding paedophilic activities on the Internet show that limited research regarding the topic has been conducted in South Africa. As crimes against children became a priority crime in South Africa, increasingly more research has been undertaken on the sexual abuse of children. It is, however, clear that research regarding certain

aspects of child abuse, for instance Internet paedophilia, is scarce.

DEFINING CONCEPTS

In this paper the term 'Internet' refers to a global communications network of the 20th century that has made it possible for people of all ages, cultures, and orientations to communicate with one another via a computer. Paedophilia implies a condition where a person who is at least 16 years of age, and at least five years older than the child, experiences intense sexual urges, sexually arousing fantasies, or behaviours that involve sexual activities with a child that is younger than 13 years. In order to be classified as paedophilia the condition must be persistent in an individual over a period of at least six months. In addition the sexual urges, and/or sexual activities must cause distress or impairment in important areas of the individual's day-to-day existence (Bartol 1999: 295, American Psychiatric Association 2000:528).

Hebephilia is seen as sexual conduct by males and females (that are at least 16 years of age, and at least five years older than the adolescent) with adolescents between the ages of 13 and 17 years (Bartol 1999:295, Chat wise, street wise n.d.). The hebephile specifically targets children between these ages as he develops a distinct preference for secondary sexual development (e.g. breast development and pubic hair). Although the concept hebephile has been developed to refer to a specific

category of paedophile, it is not widely recognised.

On the other hand, the concept paedophile is a widely recognised term and will therefore be used in this paper to refer to any category of paedophile. Paedophilic activities on the Internet, therefore, refer to paedophiles that use the Internet as a medium or as a new avenue to pursue children for sexual purposes. The profile of an Internet paedophile is usually a white, middle-aged, technologically knowledgeable, educated, and middle to upper-class man who normally has no criminal record (Macmillan 2001). In support of this, Burke (n.d.) states that "it is only the cream of the crop that does it on the Internet".

THE EMERGENCE OF INTERNET PAEDOPHILIA

Before the existence of the Internet, paedophiles had to find their victims in various places such as schools, parks, playgrounds, or the victim's home. However, technological advances provide a contemporary avenue for paedophiles and other sex predators to gain access to potential victims. More specifically paedophiles no longer need to use traditional means of making contact with victims, as they can use the Internet to communicate with victims while remaining anonymous (Help stop paedophilia n.d.). Modern technology in the form of the Internet has made communication between paedophiles and their victims easier than in the past. The Internet has turned out to be "the greatest single advancement in the history of paedophilia" (Gado n.d.). It is estimated that approximately 20 to 60 million users worldwide had access to the Internet during 1998, and that more than 3 million South Africans were connected to the Internet in 2002 (CIA – The world factbook n.d.). This figure is increasing annually at a rapid rate.

It has been suggested (Child sex offenders on the Internet n.d.) that 1997 can be seen as the year in which the crime of child sexual exploitation in the United States of America (USA) changed dramatically. This change can be attributed to the Internet, which afforded paedophiles, and other sexual predators, relatively effortless access to unsuspecting victims. Gado (n.d.) points out that interaction between paedophiles have been facilitated by modern technology, in the form of the Internet. The Internet provides the paedophile with unique opportunities: paedophiles cannot prowl

on school grounds or playgrounds for an unlimited period without arousing suspicion, but they can remain in the virtual space of chat rooms indefinitely and with impunity. Since the Internet's worldwide connectivity was established in the mid 1990s, one can assume that the onset of Internet paedophilia in South Africa was also in the mid 1990s.

THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

One out of every six boys in the United States will be abused by a paedophile before the age of 16 years, and one in four girls is at risk of being molested before the age of 14 years, increasing to one in three by the age of 18 years (Help stop paedophilia n.d.). Between 5% and 10% of the American male population will engage in paedophilic acts during their lifetime. This may include single incidents, or may refer to ongoing sexual relationships involving children. Considering that a large dark figure (unreported crime) exists for this crime it can be speculated that the sexual abuse of children via electronic media is rampant (Bartol 2002:295).

After 1994, the South African government embarked on a long-term strategy to curb the high rate of crime in the country. The formulated strategy is known as the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) of 1996. In the NCPS (Inter-departmental strategy team 1996) crimes against children were identified as one of the priority crimes in South Africa. When looking at statistics, it becomes clear why crimes against children were identified as such. According to Scott (2001:9), South African statistics indicate that one in every three girls, and one in every five boys, will be sexually molested before the age of 13 years. In conjunction with this, Scott indicated that, in South Africa, a child is molested every eight minutes and a child is raped every 24 minutes.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

The Internet can be seen as the paedophile's playground, because it provides anonymity, chat rooms, newsgroups, and e-mailing opportunities that can be utilised to exchange information and child pornography, and to interact with children. Many sexual predators specifically set up computer bulletin boards to seduce children. Paedophiles will use games to attract children to these bulletin boards, and will gradually establish online relationships

with them. Thereafter, they may arrange to meet the child face-to-face (Just harmless fun n.d.).

Furthermore, paedophiles use the Internet to share trade secrets (e.g., how to change identities, forge passports, and smuggle children). Paedophiles use the Internet for virtual validation of their activities within their circles of fellow paedophiles, in order to feel accepted and to ensure that their sexual interest in children can be considered normal (Just harmless fun n.d.).

A further matter of concern is that adolescents might access pornography by accident while “surfing on the Internet” (Chat wise, street wise n.d.). This offers an additional avenue for paedophiles to make contact with potential victims. Sexual offenders frequently use pornography to facilitate the process of drawing children into a paedophilic network. Pornography is used in order to “normalise” sexual behaviours, to put responsibility onto the victim for becoming aroused, and to generate secrecy. Furthermore, guilt is used as a way of manipulation (Conradie 2001). When compared to adults, children are not mature and lack discernment. This often leads to a scenario where children have to deal with explicit pornography that is beyond their psychological and emotional developmental status. When children have to deal with experiences before they are emotionally ready for them, they struggle to process the stimuli cognitively and emotionally. This leads to them ‘burying’ the experience in their subconscious. If children experience something beyond their understanding, especially something traumatic, it can hamper their moral and mental development (Just harmless fun n.d.).

Du Toit (1998:10) elaborates on this by adding that scientific proof pertaining to a correlation between pornography and the sexual abuse of children does exist. The actual sexual arousal by pornography leads to distorted thinking and reinforces deviant sexual ideas and behaviours. The viewing of pornography reinforces sexual arousal and can lead to an orgasm while viewing defiant sexual practices (Conradie 2001). According to Wyre (1992: 240) “porno-graphy certainly reinforces and can also create a predisposition to carry out abuse. It feeds the fantasy, and it creates distorted thinking”.

With regards to chat rooms, the Internet Relay Chat subgroup (IRC) found that 29% of the 2,000 children they interviewed in the USA

expressed their willingness to disclose their home address on the Internet, while 14% were willing to share their e-mail address. This highlights the possibility that children may be at risk when they use the Internet. This is especially true if one considers the fact that their parents falsely believe they are safe while using the Internet. The survey also revealed that 2% of the respondents were asked to meet the paedophile personally. A significant number of respondents (65%) were targeted in chat rooms. In the age group 14 to 17 years, 75% of teenagers in the USA use the Internet. In the age group 10 to 13 years, 65% use the Internet (Chat wise, street wise n.d.). An estimated 18.8 million children under 18 years have access to home computers in the United States. It is estimated that adolescents use the Internet for an average of 8.5 hours per week for chatting and e-mailing, and only 1.8 hours for schoolwork. In the United States, 63% of children, between 9 and 17 years, who have access to the Internet prefer using it to watching television (Hughes, n.d.).

According to the San Diego Police Department (Hughes n.d.) in the United States, online sexual solicitation is growing at a rate of 1000% per month. Two in five abductions of children between the ages 15 to 17 years occur as a result of interaction via the Internet. This includes interaction via chat rooms, newsgroups, e-mail or discussion groups. One in five children receive sexual solicitations from paedophiles on the Internet, and one in 33 children is asked to meet with the paedophile in person. Instances occur where a paedophile phones a child, exchanges letters, or sends money and/or gifts to the child. Only 25% of the children who experience some form of sexual solicitation, tell their parents. However, less than 10% of children who are exposed to unwanted pornography (or associated sexual solicitations) report the incident to a parent or the authorities (Hughes n.d.).

Macmillan (2001) states that it was estimated during 2001 that approximately 30 000 paedophile websites (where paedophiles interact and exchange child pornography) existed on the Internet. In addition, paedophiles use the Internet to offer mutual support to each other. This helps them to replace their feelings of alienation with feelings of being misunderstood (Burke, n.d.). Communication with other paedophiles leads

them to falsely believe that their attraction to children is an acceptable way of life. In addition, they openly share their stories of child abuse via the Internet with each other (Sex abuse: Internet crimes n.d.).

Currently the largest known organised paedophile group on the Internet is the Man/Boy Love group with a website entitled "Free Spirits". On this website links are provided to documents that support paedophilic activities. This group has even developed a creed, namely the BoyLove Manifesto and they believe that a "boy lover" refers to a person who desires a friendly and close relationship with a boy. The relationship does not necessarily involve sexual intimacy. This group also believes that there is a mutual attraction between the adult and the boy. According to them, the boys feel attracted to adults that take them seriously and treat them with respect. According to the group, no physical or psychological pressure is placed on the children. The relationship is shaped in compliance with the desires and needs of the boy. In addition, they proclaim that they do not interfere with the autonomous development of the boy (Mahoney & Faulkner 1997). When considering that a paedophile's attraction to children cannot be suppressed, they attempt to justify their own behaviour and reinforce the idea that they do nothing wrong (Gado n.d.). One of the demands made in the BoyLove Manifesto is that paedophiles want freedom in order to have legal sexual relationships with boys. They also demand freedom of speech in the media and demand that the legal status of the child, in other words the age of sexual consent, should be reconsidered (Mahoney & Faulkner 1997).

When considering that more than 3 million South Africans were connected to the Internet during 2002, paedophilic activities via the Internet might also become a huge problem in South Africa (CIA – The world factbook n.d.). Sooner or later children have access to the Internet, either at home, school, the local library, an Internet café or via a friend's computer (Haupt 2001:21). It is thus important that children and parents know that interacting with a stranger on the Internet is as potentially dangerous as talking to a stranger on the street. The familiar, safe, and secure home environment usually provides a false sense of security, which may lead to the child communicating more openly and entering into a relationship which is more intimate than they would normally feel at ease with (Chat

wise, street wise n.d.). In the Seattle Times it was reported that by 1998, over 1,500 suspected paedophiles in 32 states were identified through various chat rooms on the United States' most popular Internet service (Gado n.d.). A possible consequence of an online contact can involve the luring of a child into meeting with a paedophile, which in turn can lead to molestation.

A further matter of concern is that if a child searches the Internet for information about toys (e.g., by typing the word "toy"), it will lead not only to toy sites, but also to sites which provide information about adult toys (Internet child protection 2001). In some instances an invitation to visit an adult toy store's chat room will also pop-up on the site. Double clicking on a specific link on the website enables the visitor to the site to enter such a chat room. In these chat rooms paedophiles will attempt to befriend a child. Paedophiles often pose as children, by sending fake photographs of children to identify themselves. After befriending the child and gaining the individual's trust the paedophile may suggest that they meet in person.

Words that are spelled incorrectly (e.g. 'Dinsey' instead of 'Disney') as well as innocent searches (e.g. for toys, boys, or pets) can also lead to unintentional access to child pornography websites. Thousands of links to pornographic sites are found when searching for popular children's characters, for instance Pokemon, My Little Pony and Action Man (Hughes n.d.). Pages with explicit and free child pornography, and children's cartoons that are manipulated in the form of child pornography are also available on the Internet. These pages usually lead to a page where credit card details are required to view more pornography (Childnet International n.d.).

Cases have been recorded where children who have access to their parents' credit cards use these cards to view the censored, undisclosed images. Some children are stimulated sexually while others are confused and disillusioned.

The risk of children being approached by paedophiles on the Internet, is difficult to establish. A growth in criminal activity of this nature has, however, been identified. Available evidence, regarding the likelihood of paedophilic contact on the Internet and the potential harm that can be suffered by children, highlights the importance of recom-

mentations regarding preventative strategies to protect children (Chat wise, street wise n.d.).

Pornography and the Internet

Haupt (2001:21) insists that one of the most contentious concerns arising from the use of the Internet has been the availability and the accessibility of pornography sites. Research undertaken in the United States during January 2002 (Hughes n.d.) indicates that 90% of children between the ages of 8 and 16 years have viewed pornography online; these viewings being predominantly unintentional (e.g., while using the Internet to do homework). During the study it was found that in the age group 15 to 17 years, 70% of teenagers viewed pornography unintentionally. When being asked about their reaction, it was found that 55% were not upset at all, while 45% were 'very' or 'somewhat' upset. In addition it was found that 59% of adolescents were of the opinion that viewing pornography on the Internet influences teenagers to have sexual intercourse before they are emotionally ready for it.

The trade in pornography is becoming more prevalent because of the relative ease with which an individual can publish any material, including pornography, on the Internet. The Internet serves as a sophisticated technological system, which makes it difficult for law enforcement agencies to trace pornography. Every computer has an Internet Protocol (IP) address that is transformed to decimal numbers and separated by dots, for example 137.215.55.53. An IP address works like a phone number and can be traced (Hardy n.d.). However, shared IP addresses as well as dial-up access with dynamically assigned IP addresses are problematic, as it may not always be possible to identify an individual machine with certainty (Chat wise, street wise n.d.). The ability of paedophiles to encrypt photographs, or put them in a code that can only be translated with special software, leads to a scenario where law enforcement agencies are not equipped to find such pornography (Sexual exploitation of children n.d.). Easy access to computer networks allows individuals to publish almost anything anonymously.

It is difficult to determine where the liability for the distribution of pornography on the Internet lies. Jurisdiction over digital distribution of pornography also poses problems as legal responsibility is contentious and it is often distributed by phantom operators. It is, for example, possible to store material on computers

in the Netherlands, while the business is based in the United States (Du Toit 2002:22). No law currently protects children from adult pornography on the Internet, and as a result anyone can provide pornography to children via the Internet without legal consequences. It needs to be pointed out that children have easy access to pornography and other material, which is unacceptable and in most cases harmful for children at their developmental stage (Just harmless fun n.d.).

An overview of Internet child pornography

According to Geiser (cited in Theron 1992:50) child pornography depicts a frightening range of perversions, for instance parents having sex with their children, adults having vaginal, oral and anal sex with children, children having sex with other children, children being raped, children who are tortured or beaten, as well as children who are masturbating or copulating with animals (bestiality).

Approximately 25,000 Internet pornography sites involving children are on the World Wide Web (www). These sites are mostly created and shared by newsgroups that have a specific interest in child pornography and sexual activities (Du Toit 2002:21). Joining a newsgroup is free of charge and one becomes a member simply by registering. It is estimated that a 345% increase in child pornography sites on the Internet occurred between February 2001 and July 2001 (Hughes n.d.). Hughes also claims that child pornography sites are established at a rate of eight sites per day. On 18 January 2002, over 100,000 child pornography websites existed on the Internet.

According to Kelly (1992:116) child pornography cannot be produced legally. In most cases the victim of child pornography is sexually abused and forced to pose for the photographer. In cases where children have consented to the sexual deed, sexual abuse is still taking place as the child doesn't have the intellectual, psychological and emotional capacity to comprehend the exploitative nature of the deeds. As a result, they are being exploited without their knowledge and are usually not informed about the true nature and reasons for the activities. Child pornography can, therefore, be seen to include documents containing data or pictures of the sexual abuse of a child.

According to Carstens (2001), explicit sexual photos of children are used by paedophiles in order to gradually break children's resistance down before indecently assaulting or molesting them. Generally, most paedophiles have child pornography on their computers at home. In this regard, it was found that "87% of all paedophiles who molested girls, and 77% of those who molested boys, used pornography as a so-called handbook for their crimes" (The Films and Publications Bill of South Africa, Second Reading Debate 1996). Paedophiles use pornography to condition and persuade their victims to engage in sexual acts (Lanning 1984:86). Pornography can stimulate certain paedophiles to such an extent that they rape or sexually molest their victims (Wyre 1992:237). In many other cases pornography can be a contributing factor to other sexual offences. Furthermore, 80% of all sex offenders use pornography before a sexual activity with a minor, or have pornography in their possession at the time of their arrest (Films and Publications Bill of South Africa, Second Reading Debate 1996).

Internet related child exploitation is a contemporary phenomenon which is the result of the resurgence of child pornography in the new millennium. Law enforcement is problematic because of the many available websites and because paedophiles encrypt photographs by using coding that can only be deciphered by means of special software, or a particular password. In other words, if one does not have access to the software, or does not possess the password, one will not be able to view the photograph. The photograph might even be presented as an innocuous image, for example as a picture of a dog. Once the image is deciphered, a picture containing child pornography might appear (Sexual exploitation n.d.).

Technological advances have facilitated the production and distribution of child pornography. The availability of home video cameras and electronic media (such as multi-media messaging [MMS's]) as well as the potential for global transmission via the Internet enables the producers to distribute child pornography worldwide and the receivers to download the material on home computers (Haupt 2001:21). In some cases, computer literate paedophiles set up their computers as file servers, which enables other paedophiles to upload or copy the child pornography files from the server (Innocence in danger n.d.).

The harm inflicted on children as a result of child pornography is multiple. Children are harmed by the production of the explicit sexual material, as well as by paedophiles who use such material in order to excite children, and to convince potential victims that sexual conduct between children and adults is acceptable (Kelly 1992:119). Children who are featured in child pornography are often forced to smile in order to show that they are having fun (Chat wise, street wise n.d.). The visual depiction of a child in a pornographic scenario causes a feeling of guilt and shame in the child, who may also fear that their family or friends will discover the exploitation. In addition, the child may be afraid of reporting the abuse and of testifying against the abuser in court.

Policing the Internet

According to Akdeniz (1997), "the Internet is not a lawless place, rather the Internet poses a fundamental challenge for effective leadership and governance". Because cases of Internet paedophilia entail so many technical aspects and require specially trained investigators, special problems are also posed for police investigation (Gado n.d.).

Haupt (2001:23) states that the prohibition of indecencies on the Internet is a complex phenomenon; especially with regards to issues relating to the rights of the adult Internet user, the question surrounding what constitutes pornography in the global society, as well as matters pertaining to censorship and freedom of speech.

CONCLUSION

When referring to paedophilic activities on the Internet, it is important to remember that offenders who target children over the Internet represent a minority of child molesters (Innocence in danger n.d.). Those close to children, in other words family members, guardians and people in their community commit the majority of sexual offences. However, with an increase in the use of personal computers the traditional method of stalking is becoming the modus operandi of an ever-growing minority. Because of the anonymity granted by the Internet it is an avenue that paedophiles will increasingly exploit, and therefore knowledge gained through research of the phenomenon is essential in order to curb or prevent

paedophilic activities. From a Criminological point of view, it is imperative that Criminologists should strive to comprehend this contemporary crime with all its complexities and far reaching consequences.

REFERENCES

- Akdeniz, Y. 1997. *The regulation of pornography and child pornography on the Internet*. Accessed on 09 July 2004 at: http://elj.warwick.ac.uk/jilt/internet/97_1akdz/akdeniz.htm
- American Psychiatric Association. 2000. *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders (IV-TR)*. (4th Ed.). Washington, DC: Author.
- Bartol, CR. 1999. *Criminal behaviour: A psychosocial approach* (5th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Bezuidenhout, C. 1994. *'n Kriminologiese ondersoek na die houdings van homoseksuele slagoffers en nie-slagoffers van anti-gay haatmisdade teenoor die Suid-Afrikaanse polisie en die regstelsel*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria. (MA Dissertation).
- Burke, L. (n.d.). Accessed on 04 August 2004 at: <http://www.wired.com/news/school/0,1383,358432,00.htm>
- Carstens, S. 2001. Stop porno-poort toe. *Die Beeld*, 5 Desember:15.
- Chat wise, street wise – Children and Internet chat services. (n.d.). Accessed on 26 February 2004 at: <http://www.internetcrimeforum.org>
- Childnet International. (n.d.). Accessed on 02 November 2002 at: <http://www.childnetint.org>
- Child sex offenders on the Internet. (n.d.). Accessed on 02 November 2002 at: <http://www.specializedtraining.com>
- CIA – *The world factbook: Communications South Africa*. (n.d.). Accessed on 21 February 2004 at: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook>
- Conradie, H. 2001. *The structure and functioning of child pornography*. Accessed on 04 August 2004 at: <http://www.crisa.org.za/downloads/cp.pdf>
- Du Toit, YA. 1998. *'n Kriminologiese ondersoek na die aard en impak van pornografie gebaseer op 'n gemeenskapstoleransiemodel*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria (PhD Thesis).
- Du Toit, P. 2002. Internet pornography: A wide focus on how it relates to children. *Child Abuse Research in South Africa* 3 (1):20-24.
- Films and Publications Bill, Second Reading Debate. 1996. Pretoria: Government Printer.
- Gado, M. (n.d.). *Paedophiles and child molesters: The slaughter of innocence*. Accessed on 39 April 2002 at: <http://www.crimelibrary.com>
- Hardy, R. (n.d.). *Using computers in human trafficking investigations*. Accessed on 16 August 2004 at: http://www.iss.co.za/SEMINARS/2004/1105human/hardy_files/frame.htm
- Haupt, L. 2001. The importance of protecting children against the dark side of the Internet: A legal perspective. *Child Abuse Research in South Africa* 2(2):21-29.
- Help stop pedophilia. (n.d.). Accessed on 16 February 2004 at: <http://www.webistry.net>
- Hughes, DR. (n.d.). *Kids online: Protecting your children in Cyberspace*. Accessed on 26 August 2003 at: <http://www.protect-kids.com>
- Innocence in danger. (n.d.). Accessed on 23 March 2003 at: <http://www.kidsap.org/ChildMolestersAndTheInternet>
- Inter-departmental strategy team consisting of the Department of Correctional Services, Defence, Intelligence, Justice, Safety and Security and Welfare. 1996. *National Crime Prevention Strategy*. Johannesburg: Secretariat for Safety and Security.
- Internet child protection. 2001. Accessed on 02 November 2002 at <http://www.allsands.com>
- Just harmless fun? *Understanding the impact of pornography*. (n.d.). Accessed on 26 August 2003 at: <http://www.enough.org>
- Kelly, L. 1992. Pornography and Child Sexual Abuse. In Itzin, C. (Ed.) *Pornography: Women, violence and civil liberties*. New York: Oxford.
- Lanning, KV. 1984. Collectors. In Burgess, A.W. (Ed.). *Child pornography and sex rings*. Toronto, MA: Lexington Books.
- Macmillan, R. 2001. *Bill aims to hammer Net child molesters*. Accessed on 23 March 2002 at: <http://www.newsbytes.com/news/01/168832.html>

- Mahoney, D & Faulkner, N. 1997. *Brief overview of paedophiles on the Web*. Accessed on 23 March 2003 at: <http://www.prevent-abuse-now.com>
- Scott, JA. 2001. *The role child sexual abuse can play in girls' involvement in prostitution*. Unpublished Masters dissertation, University of Pretoria.
- Sex abuse: *Internet crimes*. (n.d.). Accessed on 04 August 2004 at: <http://www.soc-um.org/online.html>
- Sexual exploitation of children. (n.d.). Accessed on 26 August 2003 at <http://www.Missingkids.com>
- South African Police Service & Department for Safety and Security. 2005. Accessed on 02 March 2006 at <http://www.saps.gov.za>
- Theron, A. 1992. Child pornography: Exploitation of the child, effects on the victim, and indications for therapy. *Acta Criminologica: Southern African Journal of Criminology* 5(1): 49-52.
- Wyre, R. 1992. Pornography and child sexual abuse. In Itzin, C. (Ed.) *Pornography: Women, violence and civil liberties*. New York: Oxford.