

**“Child Sexual Exploitation, Technology and Crime Prevention Education: Keeping Pace
with the Risks?”**

**A Research Report prepared by
Dr. Andrea Slane and submitted to Public Safety Canada**

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Preamble and Background to the Project

Law enforcement agencies consistently report that the incidence of sexual exploitation of children and youth has increased dramatically with the advent of digital communications technologies, and that when it comes to the use of new technologies or applications, law enforcement officers are always far behind the perpetrators. Since apprehending perpetrators is so challenging, crime prevention campaigns which are aimed at children and their parents or other caregivers are especially vital components of an effective crime reduction strategy.

The precise level of effectiveness of educational and public awareness campaigns dealing with technology-enabled child exploitation crimes is by nature elusive. The number of pornographic images of children is increasing at an exponential rate and other sorts of child and youth exploitation crimes are dramatically underreported, making it nearly impossible to quantify how many crimes of these sorts have been avoided through education or public awareness campaigns. What can be identified, however, is the degree to which the content and focus of crime prevention materials reflects what we know about the nature of crimes that come to the attention of law enforcement, child protection agencies and counselors, and youth themselves, and which behaviours place children at higher risk of being sexually victimized online.

“Child Sexual Exploitation, Technology and Crime Prevention Education: Keeping Pace with the Risks?” identifies gaps in research and coverage in crime prevention campaigns addressing online sexual exploitation of children and youth, as well as identifying topics which are well covered in the existing materials. The key objective of this analysis is to identify issues and risks that require further attention by crime prevention campaigns, and to help those who design and/or fund such campaigns to understand the reasons why such campaigns miss their mark, insofar as they indeed do.

The project commenced in May, 2008 and concluded in June, 2009, and was funded in part through a contribution agreement with Public Safety Canada. The report presents the results of the review and analysis of three key arenas of production of knowledge about online child exploitation in Canada: case law, scholarship and research (including available survey data), and existing crime prevention materials. Analysis of each area has been informed by interviews with police officers, victim services workers and counselors with expertise in online child exploitation and/or crime prevention, as well as people who develop Internet safety materials for children. A list of interview subjects willing to be identified by name is attached as Appendix A. As research into this topic will be ongoing, any suggestions for further sources of Canadian or international information or expertise are welcome and can be directed to andrea.slane@uoit.ca.¹

I could not have completed this project without the invaluable research support provided by the two research assistants to this project: Sarah Bratanek and Zannah Johnston. In addition to all of the interview subjects who generously gave their time, as well as access to Internet safety resources, I would also like to thank Pamela Matthews of Public Safety Canada for her help and patience in shepherding this project through to completion.

Andrea Slane

¹ The primary researcher on this project is Dr. Andrea Slane (biography attached as Appendix B).

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Executive Summary

Approach of this Report

This report sets out recommendations for the further development of online safety and crime prevention materials for children and youth in Canada, as well as areas where further research into the dynamics of youth online victimization is called for. These recommendations are based on a review of available law enforcement and case law information on online sexual exploitation victimization and the most recent research on risky online behaviours of youth, as well as interviews with professionals in key organizations working in various capacities on online sexual exploitation prevention. A brief summary of the available information/research, current Canadian prevention efforts, and the recommendations follows.

Summary of Available Information on Online Sexual Exploitation Victimization and Risky Online Youth Behaviour and Ensuing Recommendations for Further Research

For reasons of confidentiality and the need to protect ongoing police investigations, much of the existing information on online sexual exploitation victimization trends in Canada is understandably generally not available to the public. Reported cases provide a window on only a small fraction of the online victimization experiences of Canadian children and youth, since of course cases are only reported where an offender has been identified, charged, and either tried or pleaded guilty. To date there is little data available to truly reflect the nature and depth of exposure of Canadian children and youth to online sexual solicitation from adults. Available data shows that these incidents are grossly underreported (reported to any trusted adult at all), with another unknown portion being handled by parents/guardians and not involving police. Nonetheless, the following insights can be gleaned from the reported case law.

Conclusions from case law review of child pornography offences

The vast majority of images recovered by police in child pornography investigations are of children and youth whose identities are not known. These cases provide us with limited information about the primary victimization experience of the children pictured. Nonetheless, the case law reveals several notable trends regarding the contexts in which child pornography is produced. In cases where the offender knows at least one of the children depicted in the child pornography images in his or her possession, the primary scenario involves child pornography is made within family relationships, or secondarily is perpetrated by acquaintances or friends of the family. A separate category of cases arise from exploitative relationships outside of the family or family acquaintance circle, which can be further subdivided into two sub-categories: a) cases involving formal or informal commercial sexual exploitation; and b) cases involving manipulation of adolescent emotional vulnerabilities in the absence of commercial exploitation.

Conclusions from case law review of luring offences

The reported luring cases fall into three categories: 1) cases involving a child or youth the offender met through the Internet; 2) cases where an undercover officer posed as a child on the internet and the offender attempted to lure that fictional child; 3) cases where the offender met

the child or youth offline and used networked communications in the course of committing an age of consent offence.

Real child victims of luring through the Internet are usually young teens who meet the offender in chat rooms or through social networking sites, and then progress to private conversations. More data on complaints filed by victims that did not lead to arrests or cases in process would of course be useful in increasing the depth of available information on these experiences.

The uniform mode of engaging offenders online used by undercover police officers gives limited insight for prevention strategies, although it does give information about some offender behaviours. The primary insight for prevention gained from undercover luring cases is that young adolescents, especially girls aged 12-13, should be discouraged from talking to people unknown to them in chat rooms, especially about sex, as there are apparently always offenders willing to engage such girls and lead them into illegal sexual activities.. This message is complicated by the research data discussed below that shows that girls who are willing to talk about sex (especially to people unknown to them offline) are not so easily discouraged from doing so, since they may be seeking attention specifically from adult men.

The third category of cases where the offender met the child or youth offline and used networked communications in the course of committing an offline offence illustrates that offenders are not only people only known to youths online, but may be people they know offline who are using the technology to build intimacy and break down boundaries, and to avoid detection by parents, caregivers and other trusted adults.

Research Review: Risky Online Behaviours of Youth

Much of the available data about the online behaviours of youth is based on surveys of general youth populations where the design of the surveys often presupposed that certain online behaviours are risky (such as posting personal information or making friends online), rather than determining whether or not they are indeed risky. Some more recent research is beginning to rectify these assumptions, and places youth online risk into a more evidence-based perspective by seeking to substantiate the links between risky behaviours and victimization and acknowledging the mostly positive character of youth online social interactions. These developments are improving the messaging of prevention campaigns, and underscore the value of research conducted from a rigorous scholarly perspective.

Summary of Recommendations for Further Research:

Research should be undertaken to **identify and examine the role of protective factors in diminishing online risk** (e.g., family connectedness appears to be a protective factor that helps to counteract other risk factors offline, as does school and community connectedness); to **identify any regional differences** in risk and protective factors – including whether rural, remote and Aboriginal communities recently receiving broadband Internet service are especially vulnerable; **identify special vulnerabilities of marginalized youth** (lesbian/gay/bisexual/transsexual (LGBT) youth; youth with disabilities; new immigrant youth; impoverished youth; rural youth).

More research is needed to **unpack the dynamics of youth-to-youth exploitation, harassment and solicitation**. This includes the role of bystanders of passing on sexual photographs of peers, for instance. Research and prevention materials addressing cyber-bullying should take greater account of sexual victimization by other youth (and the relationship of online solicitation to offline assaults), and should also consider that there appears to be overlap between victims and perpetrators here (i.e., that many youth are both victims and perpetrators of youth-to-youth harassment). Consideration should also be given to the creation of problematic (sexual, violent, self-harm) content by minors, and the role that pervasive digital image and video capture devices play in minor-to-minor harassment and youth production of problematic content.

More research is needed to **assess the effectiveness of the variety of policy approaches** currently in use to deal with cyber-incidents for reducing the harm of these incidents and deterring further incidents (i.e., school discipline policies; police policies for handling complaints; youth counselor policies for encouraging and handling disclosures). This would include further research into effective policy approaches and prevention efforts directed at potential offenders.

Finally, further research is also needed to **understand offenders' use of technology to control sexually exploited youth**, including youth who are exploited through prostitution. This would include research to further **explore the links between online and offline exploitation**, given the mounting evidence that youth who have experienced offline abuse are at higher risk of various sorts of online exploitation, as well as a clear need for **longitudinal studies of youth who have experienced online exploitation** to determine the longer term effects of these experiences.

Review of Existing Canadian Internet Safety and Crime Prevention Materials

Canada is fortunate to have a vast array of organizations and individuals within those organizations working to produce Internet safety educational materials and to deliver Internet safety education to youth, parents and professional working with youth. The materials show a range of orientations to online safety education (some focus on media literacy, others on healthy relationships; some try to appeal to youth via interactive games, others via in-person delivery from either an authority figure like a police officer or a peer). The variety of approaches is encouraging, as it shows that across the country concerned professionals are trying to work out the best ways to reach children and youth. Nonetheless, there are some gaps in Canadian Internet safety education. For instance, materials and programs addressing children and youth generally focus on child luring offences, and only secondarily deal with child pornography offences, if at all. The third type of online sexual exploitation of youth – youth prostitution facilitated by the Internet – is not often addressed by safety and prevention campaigns.

Further, almost all currently available Canadian online sexual exploitation prevention efforts and Internet safety materials are aimed at the *general* youth population. This focus on general Internet safety education risks two mis-steps in affecting the incidence of online sexual exploitation: 1) the materials may overstate the risks to the general youth population who increasingly use the Internet as an integral part of their social lives, and so are in danger of being ignored by their target audiences; and 2) they fail to address the much higher likelihood of victimization associated with more specific at-risk youth sub-groups and so do not reach those

youth who most need prevention and intervention. While general Internet safety education remains important, there is clearly a need for more targeted Internet safety materials as well.

There are also still quite a few differences between the materials with respect to some of the more contentious content issues like: the effectiveness of strict rules and prohibitions, the use of worst case scenarios, and perhaps undue emphasis on the role deception plays in online luring crimes. These differences point to the need to make resources available to those who produce online safety materials to assess the effectiveness of their products – not just whether the materials are being used, not just whether students remember what they were told, but whether the materials actually help them make better choices online or when confronted with a problem situation. All the organizations participating in this report expressed a desire to secure resources to more thoroughly evaluate the effectiveness of their programs.

Summary of Recommendations for Internet Safety and Crime Prevention Programmes

The Internet should be used as a positive tool. It can be used for awareness by creating links to fact sheets about exploitation on popular websites for children and youth, including social networking sites. Professionals working with youth should have an online professional presence – including perhaps youth outreach workers and police officers on patrol in online environments where youth gather, or even where youth should not gather.

Prevention materials and education programmes should **consider developmental appropriateness**, including acknowledging the needs of teens to develop autonomy from parents and to explore their identities (including sexual identities); prevention efforts should be focused more on adolescents, less on parents, and frankly on concerns relevant to adolescents, including autonomy, romance and sex.

These materials and programmes should be **developed with the input of youth** themselves and should be part of a larger peer education strategy that would help the materials stay current and would have a greater likelihood of making an impact on youth. Where possible, personal anecdotal information from victims should be used in prevention messages.

Programmes must **recognize and validate the role of technology** in carrying on and/or initiating relationships among youth. Meeting online friends offline should not be cast as only a dangerous activity. Youth online social practices should be validated – including forming close friendships and romantic relationships online. Instead of forbidding such relationships (which is clearly ineffective), develop more nuanced messages that help youth to identify and appropriately respond to manipulation by online friends and romantic partners.

At the same time, programmes should **empower youth to be critical of the Internet as a medium**. Youth should be encouraged to consider not only the possible repercussions of posting nude or sexually suggestive images and personal information, but should also be taught critical thinking skills to help them evaluate online sexual content and interactions – including content issuing from and interactions with peers.

Internet safety education should be **integrated more fully into topics that address not just personal safety but citizenship and community building**. Internet safety education should be

part of a broader push to teaching values of dignity (including preserving the dignity of others) and respect (including self-respect), and teaching youth to engage as responsible citizens, community members and friends both online and offline. Such an approach would help ensure that more youth know not only how to help themselves avoid trouble, but also how to spot and respond to trouble befalling others in their social world.

Children and youth should also be educated about **the features of healthy relationships**, and how to identify unhealthy behaviours in relationships, which would include pressure to engage in sexual activities; taking of sexual photographs and videos (except in very limited circumstances between older youths); manipulation of emotions to convince child or youth to perform sexual acts; use of sexual information or images to coerce children or youth into further sexual activities (through fear of disclosure to parents or others; or through fear of legal repercussions for having viewed child pornography). More emphasis should be placed on appropriately problem-solving when responding to truly risky situations, and teaching strategies for extricating themselves from unhealthy relationships, how to stay protected online, consent to sex issues, and self-esteem issues, as well as educating youth about healthy sexual relationships.

Children should be encouraged to **disclose unhealthy situations** and incidents to trusted adults; encourage adults to provide appropriate intervention and support that continues to validate the centrality of technology to youth social life. Adults should also be taught not to react negatively to disclosures by youth. Promote anonymous counseling services such as Kids Help Phone and anonymous tip reporting venues like Cybertip.ca and some Crime Stoppers programs.

Youth need to be better educated about the **rationale for age-of-consent prohibitions**, including discussion with older adolescents of why they are not deemed old enough to consent to making sexual images, except in the most narrow of protected circumstances (i.e., consensual images of consensual acts kept in strict privacy by the partners involved).

There should be special programmes, or components of programmes that are **specifically addressed to higher risk youth**: for youth who have already experienced sexual abuse (offline or online); for youth experiencing conflict within families (including youth who have run away or are at risk to do so); for LGBT youth and youth exploring sexualities that may lead them to seek out adult sexual contexts online; for youth with developmental disabilities that limit their capacity to judge healthy and unhealthy relationships; for youth with perceptual disabilities or severe illnesses who may rely on the Internet more heavily for social contacts; for youth from remote or otherwise isolated communities who have recently gained access to the Internet. The approaches and modes of delivery may well need to be different for these groups, and the settings for delivery may not be classrooms but rather counseling or peer-support sessions.

Regional differences should also be taken account of, and research should be undertaken into the interplay between socioeconomic class and risk factors; including whether rural, remote and Aboriginal communities recently receiving broadband internet service are especially vulnerable.

Internet safety materials should **avoid stark prohibitions** on common online, especially as children get older, and become more nuanced about how to handle problems that may arise from these activities. In particular, materials dealing with posting personal information, online friendships and romances, and identity issues online need to address the value of protecting

personal information and the idea of degrees of sensitivity of personal information and the trust required to disclose more sensitive information; address privacy values more generally, including the value of developing adolescent autonomy from parents; acknowledge that youth commonly pretend to be someone else or to have different characteristics online, and that identity play is not necessarily negative, but should be distinguished from deception intending to cause harm.

Consideration should be given to developing prevention materials for offenders and potential offenders. No Canadian materials currently exist. The Croga Project model should be studied to assess whether a similar program should be developed and made freely and anonymously available online.

I. OVERVIEW AND HISTORY OF EFFORTS TO REDUCE THE INCIDENCE OF ONLINE CHILD SEXUAL EXPLOITATION CRIMES IN CANADA

A. Overview: Trends in Online Safety and Sexual Exploitation Crime Prevention Strategies

The dominant trends in online safety and sexual exploitation crime prevention strategies in Canada are: 1) Materials and programs generally focus primarily on child luring offences and secondarily deal with child pornography offences; 2) Materials addressing child luring have generally emphasized that children/youth can be deceived by online contacts who may turn out to be sexual predators, and so have aimed to encourage youth to avoid places where they may encounter adults online, making online friends and/or revealing any personal information online – all of which were assumed to be high risk behaviours; 3) Materials addressing child pornography have mainly focused on the kinds of situations where an adolescent participates (either willingly or through coercion) in the production of sexual images of him or herself, often at the behest of someone met online. The far more common source of child pornography images – namely child sexual abuse perpetrated by family members or adult caregivers – has only recently begun to be addressed by a subset of more comprehensive safety campaigns. Child pornography production has been only rarely integrated into child sexual abuse prevention materials that aim to prevent or intervene in offline abuse (i.e. by teaching children and youth to recognize abuse and by encouraging disclosure of such abuse at the earliest possible moment); 4) A third prominent type of online sexual exploitation of youth – sexual exploitation via youth prostitution facilitated by the Internet – is not generally addressed by safety and prevention campaigns.

These broad trends reflect the common starting point for almost all currently available Canadian online sexual exploitation prevention efforts: because they have been embedded in Internet Safety education, they have dealt only with risks that youth themselves encounter when they go online, and they have had a *general* youth focus (rather than focusing on any more specific sub-groups of youth who are at higher risk, for instance). Internet safety materials following this established model risk two mis-steps in affecting the incidence of online sexual exploitation: 1) they overstate the risks to the general youth population who increasingly use the Internet as an integral part of their social lives, and so are in danger of being ignored by their target audiences; and 2) they fail to address the much higher likelihood of victimization associated with more specific at-risk youth sub-groups and so do not reach those youth who most need prevention and intervention. This is not to say that general youth Internet safety education is not necessary – *it is* – but it is to make the following key recommendations:

PRIMARY RECOMMENDATIONS:

- General Internet safety education needs to become more evidence-based;
- More specific programs and materials need to be developed to identify and address youth at higher risk; and
- Programs dealing with prevention and intervention into offline child sexual abuse and youth commercial sexual exploitation need to integrate the ways the Internet can play a role in these crimes into their prevention and intervention materials and strategies.

We are beginning to see more awareness that some youth populations are more at risk of online sexual exploitation than others. In Canada and elsewhere research projects are emerging that support a more refined approach to risks youth face when going online, and that help to identify which youth are most vulnerable to online exploitation.

We are also beginning to see organizations and services with expertise and experience in offline child sexual abuse prevention and intervention coming to recognize the ways that Internet technologies can be involved in child sexual abuse, and incorporating that knowledge into their prevention and intervention strategies. Particularly in Western Canada, pockets of awareness appear to be emerging that the Internet sometimes plays a role in the commercial sexual exploitation of youth, both in bringing youth into the sex trade or in peddling the sexual services of youth. Organizations with expertise in dealing with youth at risk or already involved in commercial sexual exploitation also need to integrate Internet components into prevention and intervention strategies with this extremely vulnerable sub-group of Canadian youth.

These are all heartening developments, and their progress will be discussed in the course of this report. Before accounting for where we are and where we are going, however, a review of the history of efforts to combat online sexual exploitation of children and youth in Canada is in order.

B. History of Legislative and Law Enforcement related Efforts to Combat Online Child Sexual Exploitation in Canada

Specific child pornography offences were enacted in 1993, and as such precede the explosion of Internet use among the general population. The Criminal Code of Canada (hereinafter the “Code”) provisions prohibiting actions related to child pornography have been amended several times since then to adjust to the features of the crime that have been affected by new digital network technologies. The offence of child luring using a computer-based communications system was added to the Code in 2002.² In addition to these efforts to reform the law to meet new challenges to protecting children from sexual exploitation posed by the technology, Canadian organizations (both governmental and non-governmental) have been actively involved in efforts to improve policing and investigation of these crimes, as well as to provide online safety education to youth, parents and other caregivers and teachers. A brief history of these various developments is provided below.

² The third category of online sexual exploitation (use of the Internet in the commercial exploitation of youth) is to some extent addressed by the luring offence (and by child pornography offences, where photographs or video are involved) but should perhaps be considered instead as a technologically assisted variant of the offence of procuring (Criminal Code s. 212).

The story of Canada's efforts to address child pornography began before the advent of the Internet, with the 1991 ratification of the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (CRC)³, which requires signatories to take appropriate legislative action to protect minors under 18 from all forms of violence, including sexual abuse and sexual exploitation⁴, as well as participation in pornographic performances and materials.⁵ The Code was amended in 1993 to add section 163.1 (prohibitions against child pornography) in order to meet these treaty obligations. Prior to the enactment of section 163.1, child pornography was dealt with under the obscenity offence at section 163.⁶

After the ratification of the CRC, but before the enactment of section 163.1, the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) rendered its decision in a challenge to the obscenity provision on freedom of expression grounds in *R. v. Butler* [1992].⁷ In the course of that decision, the Court found that pornographic depictions of explicit sex that is not violent, dehumanizing or degrading is generally within community standards and cannot be criminalized, "unless it employs children in its production."⁸ The specific child pornography offences added at s. 163.1 build on the obscenity offences, but in addition to making, printing, publishing, distributing and circulating child pornography (which are prohibited acts under s. 163 with regard to obscenity), s. 163.1 also criminalizes possession for the purposes of publication, distribution or sale, as well as simple possession of child pornography.⁹

The s. 163.1 definition of "child pornography" includes visual representations depicting or advocating sexual activity with persons under 18 and certain visual images of the sex organs or anal region of a person under 18 ("for a sexual purpose"),¹⁰ as well as written materials advocating or counseling sexual activity with a person under 18.¹¹ The three statutory defences originally contained in s. 163.1 included: (i) artistic merit or an educational, scientific or medical purpose;¹² (ii) serving the public good;¹³ and (iii) an honest though mistaken belief that persons depicted were over 18.¹⁴ These defences have since been significantly amended, as discussed below.

Within a few years after the enactment of section 163.1, the Internet rapidly became a popular network over which an increasing amount of information could be accessed. Anyone with a

³ *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, 20 November 1989, General Assembly resolution 44/25 (entered into force 2 September 1990, accession by Canada 13 December 1991). Available at <http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/k2crc.htm>. Last accessed June 26, 2009.

⁴ *Ibid.*, article 19 (1).

⁵ *Ibid.*, article 34 (c). For an account of the history of Canada's approach to child pornography that goes into further depth regarding international obligations, see Jane Bailey, "Confronting Collective Harm: Technology's Transformative Impact on Child Pornography" (2007), 56 U.N.B.L.J. 65: 68-75.

⁶ Criminal Code of Canada, R.S., 1985, c. C-46, s. 163.1. Available online at <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/C-46/>. Last accessed June 26, 2009.

⁷ *R. v. Butler*, [1992] 1 S.C.R. 452.

⁸ *Ibid.* at para. 60.

⁹ Criminal Code, *supra*, ss. 163.1(2)-(4).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, ss. 163.1(1)(a)(i)-(ii), (b).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, s. 163.1(1)(b).

¹² *Ibid.*, s. 163.1(6).

¹³ *Ibid.*, s. 163.1(7).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, s. 163.1(5).

computer and modem could employ a vast array of applications to locate specific content, including illegal content like child pornography. In 1994, the Government of Canada established the Information Highway Advisory Council (IHAC), made up of private sector participants, to consider what should be done about illegal and offensive content newly available through these applications. IHAC released reports in 1995 and 1997¹⁵, mainly concentrating on the need for public awareness and education about online risks and available filtering technologies, industry self-regulation, and resources for law enforcement. For the most part IHAC advised that offline laws should be applied to online environments, with perhaps some fine tuning of laws to suit new technological realities, where needed.

The Government (Industry Canada) responded to the IHAC report with its own report “Building the Information Society: Moving Canada into the 21st Century” in 1996, where ‘law enforcement and offensive content’ is checked off as one of the areas where the Government has already taken action. These actions included the commissioning of another report, issued in February 1997, on liability for illegal content circulating on the Internet.¹⁶

Meanwhile, a constitutional challenge to the child pornography possession offence was making its way through the courts, initiated by the arrest of Robin Sharpe in 1995 for possession of various pornographic materials featuring underage boys. In 1999, Sharpe was successful both at trial and the Court of Appeal in challenging the possession provision as contrary to the freedom of expression guarantees of section 2(b) of the *Charter*.¹⁷ The Supreme Court of Canada ultimately allowed the appeal of these decisions in 2001¹⁸ and this decision remains the leading case on the constitutionality of restricting child pornography. The Court upheld the constitutionality of the s. 163.1 possession offence¹⁹, but read out two exceptions: (i) self-created, exclusively privately held works of the imagination; and (ii) privately and consensually created visual recordings of lawful sexual activity made by or depicting the person in possession and intended only for the mutual private use of the intimate partners involved.²⁰ The latter of these two exceptions will be discussed in greater detail below.

While *R. v. Sharpe* was not an Internet-related case, the timing coincided with heightened national and international attention to the potential of the Internet to facilitate crime. By the early 2000s, it was widely reported that the amount of child pornography images being produced, distributed and consumed with the assistance of Internet technologies was growing exponentially. The features of the digital technologies which have been thought to contribute to this increase include the advent of digital photography (eliminating the need to have film developed by a third party and the ease with which digital images are uploaded and transmitted to others), and the invention of myriad applications which enable users to trade images and connect with one

¹⁵ Information Highway Advisory Council (IHAC), “Connection, Community, Content: The Challenge of the Information Highway” (1995) and “Preparing Canada for a Digital World” (1997).

¹⁶ Michel Racicot, Mark S. Hayes, Alec R. Szibbo, and Pierre Trudel, “The Cyberspace is not a ‘No Law Land’: a Study of the Issues of Liability for Content Circulating on the Internet” (February 1997). Prepared for Industry Canada. Available for download at <http://www.ifla.org/documents/infopol/canada/icrls.pdf>. Last accessed April 3, 2009.

¹⁷ *R. v. Sharpe*, British Columbia Court of Appeal (1999), 175 D.L.R. (4th) 1; British Columbia Supreme Court (1999), 169 D.L.R. (4th) 536.

¹⁸ *R. v. Sharpe*, [2001] 1 S.C.R. 45.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.* at paras. 75-76.

another, particularly where participants are able to remain anonymous and to mask their identities in sophisticated ways.

In 2001, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) created the Integrated Child Exploitation Unit in order to coordinate nation-wide investigations relating to online child pornography.²¹ Later in 2001, Canada also signed the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography (ratified in 2005)²² and the European Union's Convention on Cybercrime.²³ Article 9 of the Convention on Cybercrime requires criminalization of the following acts related to child pornography committed through a computer system: producing for distribution, offering or making available, distributing or transmitting, procuring and possession.²⁴ In order to meet these obligations, the Code was again amended in June 2002.²⁵ An Internet luring offence was added²⁶, and the child pornography provisions were modified by further prohibiting Internet-related modes of distributing and viewing child pornography through a computer system, including transmitting and making available²⁷ and knowingly accessing or causing child pornography to be transmitted to oneself.²⁸

In addition to the establishment in 2002 of the National Child Exploitation Coordination Centre (NCECC), in 2004 the Government of Canada launched the National Strategy for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation on the Internet ("National Strategy"), which is led by Public Safety Canada. The National Strategy provides a horizontal comprehensive and coordinated approach to enhancing the protection of children on the Internet and pursuing those who use technology to prey on them.

A total of \$42 million over five years, from 2004-2005 to 2008-2009, was allocated to three partners (Public Safety Canada, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and Industry Canada) to implement the National Strategy²⁹ and to facilitate initiatives in the areas of enhancing law enforcement capacity, forging partnerships in the public and private sectors and providing public education and awareness raising.

As part of the Strategy, the RCMP received \$34.34M to expand the NCECC to:

- Develop and implement enhanced investigational tools, including a child pornography database and the Child Exploitation Tracking System (CETS);

²¹ This unit evolved into the National Child Exploitation Coordination Centre in 2002.

²² *Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography*, 25 May 2000, General Assembly resolution A/RES/54/263 (entered into force on 18 January 2002). Available at <http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu2/6/crc/treaties/opsc.htm>. Last accessed June 26, 2009.

²³ *Convention on Cybercrime*, 23 November 2001, (entered into force 1 July 2004). Available at <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/185.htm>. Last accessed June 26, 2009.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, article 9(1).

²⁵ *An Act to Amend the Criminal Code and to Amend Other Acts*, S.C. 2002, c. 13.

²⁶ Criminal Code, *supra*, s. 172.1.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, s. 163.1(3)(a).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, s. 163.1(4.1)-(4.2).

²⁹ The National Strategy itself contained five broad objectives; however, the Strategy received funding for only three objectives. The five objectives of the National Strategy are as follows: 1) enhance law enforcement capacity; 2) provide for public education and reporting; 3) forge partnerships with industry and non-governmental organizations; 4) ensure relevant legislation and public reporting; and, 5) engage in research and analysis. (objectives 4 and 5 were unfunded).

- Enhance its ability to verify triage and expedite dissemination of information and intelligence on national and international cases;
- Manage multi-jurisdictional and multi-suspect cases;
- Respond immediately to a child at risk in Canada or internationally;
- Develop and deliver leading-edge training to law enforcement;
- Strengthen the response of law enforcement within Canada and internationally through development and sharing of intelligence, techniques, training and technologies; and,
- Conduct research to advance policy and procedures, and identify legislative amendments that would be required to better address child sexual exploitation and abuse.

Canada's national tipline, Cybertip.ca, began operations as a two-year pilot project on September 26, 2002 in Manitoba as an initiative of Child Find Manitoba, a non-profit, charitable organization whose goal is to reduce child victimization by providing programs and services to the Canadian public. As part of the National Strategy, in January 2005, Public Safety entered into a contribution agreement with Child Find Manitoba for the operation of Cybertip.ca as the national tipline to report suspected cases of child sexual exploitation on the Internet. On May 25, 2006, the organization was renamed the Canadian Centre for Child Protection (C3P) to more accurately reflect its national role in the protection of children. The organizational structure of the tipline was arrived at through study of other models for such tiplines commencing in 2000. Cybertip.ca is funded via both public and private donors, including major Canadian Internet Service Providers (ISPs).³⁰

The active involvement of Canadian ISPs in combating online child exploitation was accelerated after the horrific rape and murder of 10 year old Holly Jones, who was abducted while walking down a street in Toronto in May 2003. In the course of entering a guilty plea in 2004, her killer stated that he was driven to commit the crime by watching child pornography on the Internet immediately before abducting the girl off the street in front of his home. This confession coincided with the launch in the United Kingdom of Project Cleanfeed (also in June 2004), wherein British Telecom, the UK's largest high speed Internet provider, announced it would block access to known child pornography websites. The combination of these two events put pressure on Canadian ISPs to participate more actively in helping to stem the trade in child pornography online.

The Canadian Coalition Against Internet Child Exploitation (CCAICE) was formed in the Summer of 2004 as a collaboration between ISPs, law enforcement, and government. The initiative was led by the Canadian Centre for Child Protection (then Child Find Manitoba), host to Cybertip.ca, the soon-to-be fully launched national tipline. In the wake of the Holly Jones murder, the Ontario Attorney General also formed a Working Group on Internet Crimes Against Kids, which eventually evolved into Ontario's Provincial Strategy to Protect Children from Sexual Abuse and Exploitation on the Internet.³¹ Also in 2004, the NCECC officially became

³⁰ For the range of partners, see <http://www.Cybertip.ca/app/en/support> and click through the various categories (public, private, regional). Last accessed on April 3, 2009.

³¹ This is the current name of Ontario's strategy. See <http://www.attorneygeneral.jus.gov.on.ca/english/news/2008/20080213-safe-bg.asp>. Last accessed June 26, 2009.

part of the RCMP's National Police Services (NPS), which provides services for all law enforcement agencies across Canada. Other NGOs continued to get involved in the issue, including the Centre for Innovation Law and Policy at the University of Toronto Faculty of Law, which hosted the first of two international symposia on online child exploitation in May 2005 (the second in 2007).³²

In July of 2005, more amendments to the Code received royal assent.³³ These amendments permitted the ratification of the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography.³⁴ The 2005 amendments expanded or modified some features of the child pornography and age of consent offences, including replacing the artistic merit and public good defences with the defence of legitimate purpose³⁵; adding audio recordings to included media³⁶; and enhancing protection for young people between the ages of 14 and 17 by prohibiting "exploitative" sexual relationships (at the time, the general age of consent was still 14).³⁷

The addition of exploitative relationships to those prohibited for youth under 18 is meant to capture situations that are exploitative not only by reason of the adult having authority over the youth, but also where the following factors may influence the relationship: the age difference between the parties, the evolution of the relationship (i.e., if it developed quickly and secretly over the Internet, this would indicate that the relationship is exploitative), and the level of control or influence over the young person.³⁸

A significant development in 2006 was the announcement and implementation of Project Cleanfeed Canada, built on the same model as British Telecom's Project Cleanfeed in the UK.³⁹ Project Cleanfeed Canada is a voluntary program through which all the major ISPs in Canada block access to a list of websites provided by Cybertip.ca. Only websites that contain the most egregious forms of child pornography (featuring sexual abuse of prepubescent children) are on the list, and only foreign websites are blocked so as not to impede ongoing investigations into Canadian sites.

In 2007 the Government of Canada allocated an additional \$6 million per year (ongoing) to further enhance existing initiatives to combat child sexual exploitation and trafficking. As part of this funding allocation, in January 2008 the Government increased its contribution to the Canadian Centre for Child Protection, which manages Cybertip.ca. This \$2 million increase over two years was intended to enable Cybertip.ca to handle more leads from the public about the suspected online exploitation of children, as well as to raise public awareness and develop

³² See <http://www.innovationlaw.org/projects/oce.htm> for the agendas for the two symposia. Last accessed April 3, 2009.

³³ *An Act to Amend the Criminal Code (protection of children and other vulnerable persons) and the Canada Evidence Act*, S.C. 2005, c. 32.

³⁴ The Optional Protocol was ratified by Canada in September 2005.

³⁵ Criminal Code, *supra*, ss. 163.1(6).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, s. 163.1(1)(d).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, s. 153(1).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, s. 153(1.2).

³⁹ For a description of Project Cleanfeed Canada, see <http://www.Cybertip.ca/app/en/cleanfeed>. Last accessed April 3, 2009.

educational materials.⁴⁰ Since 2004, Cybertip.ca has processed more than 30,000 reports on child sexual exploitation on the Internet.

Another amendment to the Code came into force on May 1, 2008: raising the age of consent to 16 from its previous 14.⁴¹ Among the reasons for raising the age of consent was that Canada's age of consent was lower than any U.S. state, where ages of consent range from 16-18. It was suggested that this created a situation of vulnerability for Canadian youth ages 14 and 15 who could be legally seduced by adults, especially as facilitated by computer communications. Since the luring offence only applies to using a computer to commit an otherwise illegal sexual offence against a young person, raising the age of consent captures more online facilitated sexual relationships between adults and youth.⁴²

In December 2008, the Government of Canada renewed the National Strategy on an ongoing basis, providing \$41 million over five years. With the additional \$6 million per year announced in Budget 2007 and the renewal funding, the total amount allocated to the National Strategy over five years is \$71 million.

C. History of the Development of Online Sexual Exploitation Crime Prevention Materials in Canada

Several organizations have taken the lead in developing online crime prevention programs and materials aimed at youth, and this section summarizes the founding and evolution of the most influential of these organizations and their programs. Each organization and its current and planned programs are discussed in greater detail in section IV of the report.

The starting point for addressing online youth safety in Canada was the establishment of the SchoolNet program as part of the Connecting Canadians initiative of the Government of Canada in 1995. The purpose of SchoolNet (run under the auspices of Industry Canada) was to promote the effective and safe use of communications technologies in schools and libraries across Canada. Specifically, the SchoolNet program included the CyberWise program and Cyberwise.ca web portal, which focused on online risks and safety. The National Strategy enhanced funding to the SchoolNet program, allowing it to develop new sections on its website.

In 2005, Industry Canada launched its CyberWise.ca website, which provided tips, resources and useful links for parents, teachers, youth professionals, kids and teens on how to use the Internet safely. The site included an interactive dictionary, classroom activities, kids' games, and descriptions of online dangers such as cyber-bullying, child pornography and luring. Industry Canada also built partnerships with industry and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and participated in awareness raising events across the country.

⁴⁰ <http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/media/nr/2008/nr20080129-eng.aspx?rss=true>. Last accessed April 8, 2009.

⁴¹ See *Tackling Violent Crime Act* backgrounder at http://canada.justice.gc.ca/eng/news-nouv/nr-cp/2008/doc_32252.html. Last accessed June 26, 2009.

⁴² The amendments also include close in age exceptions for youth ages 14 and 15 (who can legally consent to sexual relations with a person less than five years older), and youth ages 12 and 13 (who can legally consent to sexual relations with a person less than two years older).

In April 2007, due to administrative changes, Industry Canada could no longer sustain its activities related to CyberWise.ca and funding was re-allocated to Cybertip.ca to augment the public awareness and education components of the National Strategy. The content of the CyberWise.ca website was transferred, in early 2008, to the Cybertip.ca website (content related to child sexual exploitation) and to Internet 101.ca on the RCMP website (content related to Internet safety).⁴³ Following this transfer, Cybertip.ca launched its Respect Yourself campaign in February 2009, which involves a website for teens and an activity booklet to be distributed to grade 7 classes across Canada. These materials aim to help teens learn about how their every day online activities can put them at risk, and to encourage them to think critically about how they present themselves online.⁴⁴

In 1996, the Media Awareness Network (MNet) was incorporated as a non-governmental organization (NGO) dedicated to media literacy. MNet considered the Internet as part of the media landscape from its inception.⁴⁵ By 1999, MNet was ready to launch “Web Awareness Canada”⁴⁶, which was the first program in Canada to specifically address youths’ use of online communications. The program was designated the lead public education entity of the Government of Canada’s CyberWise Internet awareness strategy, especially with regard to illegal and offensive content. The program is ongoing, and is aimed at public libraries, educators and parent and community groups. It offers professional development workshops for librarians and teachers to keep them up to speed on what young people are doing and encountering online, including online safety issues.

1997 was an important year for the RCMP and its involvement with crime prevention education. DEAL.org was established in 1997 by the RCMP’s Drug and Organized Crime Awareness Service (DOCAS), starting with a team of four volunteer high school students from the Ottawa area. DEAL.org was conceived as a youth engagement project focalized around a website, with an initial focus on drug use prevention (“Deal” stood for Drug Education and Awareness for Life). The program expanded over the next few years into a more comprehensive crime prevention youth engagement program dealing with a broad range of issues affecting youth, including online and sexuality-related issues.⁴⁷

Also in 1997, members of the RCMP’s Computer Crimes Branch contacted Vancouver-based LiveWires Design Ltd., an educational computer games developer, to invite them to design a computer game warning Canadian children of online dangers, in response to what the officers noted as a “startling increase” in the number of children who were being lured into sexual relations by adults they met on the Internet. This invitation culminated in the launch of the “Missing” kit in 1999, which included a computer game, video, and Guide for Parents and

⁴³ The content of the Cyberwise.ca is currently in the hands of Internet 101, which is in the process of being incorporated into Deal.org. There are plans to integrate this material (with updates) into a re-vamped Deal.org website by Fall 2009, which will include an Internet 101 subpage. Interview by author with Nathan Pilbrow, Graphic Designer, Internet 101, March 26, 2009.

⁴⁴ http://www.cybertip.ca/app/en/respect_home. Last accessed July 31, 2009.

⁴⁵ Interview by author with Cathy Wing, Co-Executive Director, Media Awareness Network, December 17, 2008.

⁴⁶ http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/special_initiatives/web_awareness/index.cfm. Last accessed April 8, 2009.

⁴⁷ www.DEAL.org (French version, choix.org, is also accessible through the DEAL.org portal). Last accessed April 8, 2009.

Teachers. The Mounted Police Foundation⁴⁸ established a fund to provide kits free of charge to schools and libraries across Canada, along with the support of corporate sponsors (including the Canadian Association of Internet Providers (CAIP)). More than 10,000 “Missing” kits were distributed.⁴⁹

CAIP also launched its “Protection Portal”⁵⁰ around this time to signal the Internet Service Provider industry’s support to online child safety programs. The portal includes interviews with the Minister of Industry, MNet, LiveWires Design Ltd. and the CAIP President at the time (among others) – however, it does not appear to have been updated since 2001.

In 2000, MNet began conducting the first of two research projects (featuring focus groups and school based surveys) aiming to collect comprehensive information about the use of information and communications technologies by Canadian youth. In February of 2001, the Government of Canada, through Industry Canada’s Cyberwise program, released “Illegal and Offensive Content on the Internet: The Canadian Strategy to Promote Safe, Wise and Responsible Internet Use”⁵¹, naming MNet as the public awareness and education arm of this strategy. MNet’s first report, released October 2001 and titled *Young Canadians in a Wired World (Phase I)*, features “interviews with parents, focus groups with parents and children and a national school-based survey of 5,682 students in Grades 4 to 11”.⁵² The project was funded by Industry Canada through SchoolNet.

In 2002, the RCMP’s DEAL.org launched a Webzine, written “by youth for youth”, which features information on sexuality and/or online issues, including such topics as getting reliable sexual information online⁵³, the new voyeurism offence⁵⁴, and raising the age of consent.⁵⁵ An issue of the Webzine specifically targeted to the “Dark Side of Technology” was published in September 2008.

Also in 2002, Child Find Manitoba (renamed the Canadian Centre for Child Protection in 2006) began doing preliminary research on online safety (as part of a more general personal safety curriculum for children), resulting in the creation of Kids in the Know, which was launched

⁴⁸ For background on the Mounted Police Foundation, see <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/mr-ce/mpf-fpm-eng.htm>. Last accessed July 31, 2009.

⁴⁹ See interview with Colin Savage from LiveWires on CAIP’s Protection Portal, <http://www.caip.ca/portal/portal-main.htm>. Last accessed on April 3, 2009. According to the LiveWires website, the initial request from RCMP came as a result of their development of a game for the national science museum in Amsterdam which explored online fraud. LiveWires Design Ltd. is a Vancouver based company that produces educational computer games.

⁵⁰ CAIP’s Protection Portal is still up at <http://www.caip.ca/portal/portal-main.htm>, though the content is all related to the events around 2000/2001 and has not been updated in quite a while. Last accessed on April 3, 2009. CAIP’s role as the voice of ISPs has also waned in the interim, since the large ISPs are now acting independently (through CCAICE and other initiatives, rather than as part of an association of service providers).

⁵¹ The document is not longer available online since the CyberWise.ca website was shut down, though it is still accessible via Internet archives, such as <http://web.archive.org/web/20021216041118/http://www.connect.gc.ca/cyberwise/>. Last accessed April 8, 2009.

⁵² <http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/research/YCWW/index.cfm>. Last accessed April 7, 2009.

⁵³ July 2005 issue. All issues current and past are on the website at www.deal.org. Last accessed April 7, 2009.

⁵⁴ January 2006 issue.

⁵⁵ December 2005 issue.

provincially in Manitoba in 2004.⁵⁶ Kids in the Know is the education and prevention arm of its overall child protection programs, and is linked to Cybertip.ca. Kids in the Know launched nationally in 2005 (simultaneous to Cybertip.ca's launch as Canada's national tipline to report suspected cases of sexual exploitation on the Internet).

Also in 2004, Internet 101 was founded in the Ottawa-Gatineau region, initially as a collaborative project between police forces in the National Capital Region.⁵⁷ According to the Internet 101 website, "Police officers became concerned after seeing media reports of a local website where teenagers posted explicit photos of themselves and personal information." The first Internet 101 workshop was held in Gatineau, Quebec in November 2004, which also saw the launch of the Internet101.ca website.⁵⁸ Internet 101 is now part of DEAL.org, under the auspices of the RCMP.

Beginning in 2003, MNet conducted Phase 2 of its research project on the online behaviors and attitudes of Canadian youth. *Young Canadians in a Wired World (Phase 2)* was ultimately released in November 2005: "The Phase II research includes a national school-based survey of 5,272 children and youth in Grades 4 to 11, and qualitative research findings from focus groups with parents and young people aged 11 to 17."⁵⁹ MNet meanwhile continued to develop educational programs for youth, parents, teachers and librarians, integrating the results of this research.

As noted above, the Government of Canada's National Strategy for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation on the Internet was announced in May 2004⁶⁰, and Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada (now Public Safety Canada) is responsible for overall coordination of the National Strategy. Through the Strategy, the federal government committed resources to public education, initially to the SchoolNet program (and hence MNet) and more recently to Cybertip.ca, which includes Kids in the Know.⁶¹

⁵⁶ <http://www.kidsintheknow.ca/app/en/>. Last accessed April 8, 2009. The site is also available in French at http://www.kidsintheknow.ca/app/fr/whats_new.

⁵⁷ Members of the RCMP, Service de police de la Ville de Gatineau, Sûreté du Québec (SQ) and MRC des Collines Police. See <http://www.Internet101.ca/en/aboutus.php>. Last accessed April 7, 2009.

⁵⁸ <http://www.Internet101.ca/>. Last accessed April 8, 2009.

⁵⁹ <http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/research/YCWW/index.cfm>. Last accessed April 7, 2009.

⁶⁰ <http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/media/bk/2005/bg20050124-eng.aspx>. Last accessed April 8, 2009.

⁶¹ In 1998, the National Crime Prevention Centre (NCPC) was established to oversee the implementation of the National Crime Prevention Strategy, but this does not include Internet crime prevention, given that the NCPC is focused on preventing offending (rather than victimization) and very little crime prevention efforts in Canada have been focused on preventing Internet child exploitation from the offender side. To date, the NCPC has not funded any Internet crime related programs. The roles of various departments and ministries has changed over the intervening decade, so that now it is Public Safety Canada that has carriage over this strategy and Centre. According to the Public Safety Canada website, "The development of the National Crime Prevention Strategy began in 1994 following a recommendation of the report of the Standing Committee on Justice and the Solicitor General (*Crime Prevention in Canada: toward a National Strategy*) The National Crime Prevention Council was established to advance the coordination of crime prevention work in Canada across all levels of government. The work of the Council resulted in a framework for coordinating a range of federal initiatives that emphasized a proactive, social development model for crime prevention in Canada. See <http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/prg/cp/ncpc-about-eng.aspx>. Last accessed April 8, 2009.

In January 2006, *Mirror Image* (part one of the CyberCops game and curriculum), aimed at Grade 7 students, was distributed to Ontario schools. *Mirror Image* was created by LiveWires Design Ltd. (creators of *Missing*) and was initially intended to be launched in 2003⁶² - however, the ultimate launch in 2006 was the product of a new model for Internet safety education. The game was finally released in conjunction with Ophea (Ontario Physical and Health Education Association), the Ontario Ministry of Education and the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) as partners.⁶³ Ophea created curriculum support materials, and ensured that the program could be integrated into the Grade 7 provincial curriculum.

In December 2006, Service Canada's "Feature of the Month" was Internet Safety. Internet 101, SafeCanada.ca, the RCMP's NCECC and DEAL.org program, Cyberwise.ca and Cybertip.ca traveled across Canada to promote online safety to families through Service Canada Centres and the organizations' websites.

As noted above, the Government of Canada announced another significant investment in online child exploitation policing and prevention in January 2008, which included an additional contribution of \$2 million to the Canadian Centre for Child Protection over two years, a portion of which is going to public awareness projects and the development of educational materials on issues related to child sexual exploitation (through Kids in the Know).⁶⁴

Details on each organization's current and future programs and materials, as well as other online safety education projects, are outlined below in Section IV.

⁶² According to the LiveWires Ltd website, the trailer for *Mirror Image* says that it is coming Fall 2003 – see <http://www.livewwwires.com/MI-promo.html>. Last accessed April 7, 2009.

⁶³ Funding was provided by a grant from the Ministry of Education in partnership with the Ministry of the Attorney General's Victim Justice Fund.

⁶⁴ <http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/media/nr/2008/nr20080129-eng.aspx?rss=true>. Last accessed April 8, 2009.

II. AVAILABLE INFORMATION ON ONLINE SEXUAL EXPLOITATION VICTIMIZATION IN CANADA

This section of the report assesses the information that is available on the characteristics of online sexual exploitation victimization in Canada, including research on risk factors and/or risky behaviours engaged in by youth that increase their exposure to online sexual victimization. The materials reviewed include: Canadian law enforcement-related sources (including Statistics Canada, NCECC, and Cybertip.ca) and current Canadian case law (child pornography and luring offences).

A. *Law Enforcement and Law Enforcement Related Information*

Reported cases provide a window on only a small fraction of the online victimization experiences of Canadian children and youth, since of course cases are only reported where an offender has been identified, charged, and found guilty (by trial or plea). Further, online sexual victimization is underreported, and even where complaints are filed with police many will not lead to the identification of an offender, the laying of charges against that offender, or a resolution of the case (either through trial or guilty plea).⁶⁵

The Crimes against Children Research Center (CCRC) at the University of New Hampshire in the United States conducted two National Juvenile Online Victimization Studies (N-JOV in 2000 and N-JOV2 in 2006) in an effort to capture more information about complaints made to police that may not be reflected in reported case data. The researchers at the CCRC collected data on the characteristics of cases where arrests were made (regardless of whether conviction or guilty plea eventually resulted) through mail-in surveys and follow-up interviews with law enforcement investigators across the United States.⁶⁶ No similar study has been conducted in Canada.

Statistics Canada⁶⁷ recently released a report through the monthly publication *Juristat*⁶⁸ entitled “Child Luring Through the Internet”. This is the first publicly released Statistics Canada report

⁶⁵ Cases where a not guilty verdict was entered, or cases reporting challenges to evidence which was excluded were not included in this review.

⁶⁶ Some of the data from these surveys has been published. A list of publications arising from this survey is available at http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/national_juvenile_online_victimization_publications.html. Last accessed April 9, 2009. For N-JOV results see http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/projects/national_juvenile_online_victimization.html. Last For N-JOV2 results see http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/pdf/N-JOV2_methodology_report.pdf. Last accessed on May 25, 2009.

⁶⁷ Statistics Canada is the national statistical analysis arm of Industry Canada, and in addition to conducting the Census every five years it conducts surveys on a broad range of aspects of Canadian life, as well as analyzing government data. See <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/>.

⁶⁸ *Juristat* is produced by the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics (within Statistics Canada) and is described as a “periodical is of interest to all those who plan, establish, administer and evaluate justice programs and projects, as well as to anyone who has an interest in Canada's justice system.” <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/index-eng.htm>. Last accessed June 12, 2009.

regarding online child sexual exploitation.⁶⁹ The report is compiled from available police statistics on luring offences (s. 172.1 of the Criminal Code), including the number of cases cleared, followed by the number that resulted in findings of guilt. The analysis of the police data is limited by the fact that only 4 in 10 police-reported incidents were “cleared” by charge or otherwise (during 2006 and 2007). Given that “otherwise cleared” could have been resolved for a host of reasons (including that the complainant declined to pursue charges or that the accused was dealt with through diversion), the 4 in 10 figure means that not many complaints of child luring reported to police result in charges being laid.⁷⁰ Further research is clearly necessary to turn the information contained in the complaints into data that would be useful to prevention strategies. Indeed, the authors note that to date there is little data available to truly reflect the nature and depth of exposure of Canadian children and youth to online sexual solicitation from adults. It is also noted that available data shows that these incidents are grossly underreported (reported to any trusted adult at all), with another unknown portion being handled by parents/guardians and not involving police.

There is likely a lot of internally compiled information in Canadian police services and provincial ministries that is either not at present publicly available, or which hasn’t yet been analyzed in a systematic fashion. Information on ongoing and open cases is regularly being compiled within various police services.⁷¹ Dr. Roberta Sinclair, Manager of Research and Development at the NCECC, further reports that the NCECC is beginning to track information on cases where complaints are received and charges have not been laid or have been dropped, although this type of information tracking is in its early stages.⁷² Other sources have also noted that searches of police databases for information contained therein on victims of Internet sexual exploitation can be fruitfully analyzed to contribute to knowledge about victimization patterns. Such investigations may reveal trends such as that victims are often youth facing family disruption

⁶⁹ Jennifer Loughlin and Andrea Taylor-Butts, “Child Luring Through the Internet” (March 2009), *Juristat* Article, Vol. 29, no. 1 (Statistics Canada catalogue no. 85-002-X). Available at <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2009001/article/10783-eng.pdf>. (Last accessed June 12, 2009).

⁷⁰ The low rate of success is the main take away message that the news media picked up on following the release of this article.

⁷¹ The Internet Child Exploitation Unit of the Peel Regional Police, for instance, compiles its own data on the complaints they receive regarding the distribution of offences involved: age of consent crimes are most common (including indecent acts committed via webcam), luring is second most common (including undercover investigations), and child pornography third. Many complaints are initiated by parents of victims, and some come in through anonymous tips to Crime Stoppers (especially child pornography tips). Interestingly, most of the charges laid are for possessing or accessing child pornography, even though the initial complaints and investigation tends to start with another offence. Peel has had cases of self-exploitation, as well as some peer victimization, such as post-break up distribution of formerly consensual intimate photos where child pornography charges were laid, and one example of a cell phone filming of a sexual assault on an intoxicated female that was put up on a file sharing site. Cell phone use in offences has seen a sharp increase in the last couple of years due to the now near ubiquitous video and picture taking capability of most phones, as well as instant upload capabilities. Interview by author with Constable Brenda Pennington, Education Officer, Internet Child Exploitation Unit, Peel Regional Police, December 11, 2008.

⁷² Interview by author with Roberta Sinclair, Manager of Research and Development, NCECC, October 29, 2008. Sinclair states that the NCECC interacts with all Internet Child Exploitation (ICE) units at an investigational level through to trials (where they happen). The NCECC is therefore well positioned to collect this data on victimization that would otherwise not be public, and either analyze it or make it available for analysis by researchers.

(chaotic home environments, youth in foster care)⁷³ and that rural youth may be especially vulnerable – an impression that highlights the need for improved access to these resources for research purposes.⁷⁴ The vulnerabilities of particular cultural groups is not discernable from the information in these databases however, so separate inquiry by other means would be needed to determine whether cultural factors play a role in level and/or type of risk.⁷⁵

Cybertip.ca, Canada's national tipline for reporting suspected cases of online sexual exploitation, has also recently undertaken to analyze the content of complaints received through the tipline for insights into child luring and child pornography offences. In its 2007 Annual Report, Cybertip.ca notes that in the preceding year it processed over 600 reports per month related to the sexual exploitation of children on the Internet⁷⁶ – and these numbers have since increased. The great majority of these reports concern online child pornography where no victim or offender has been identified (e.g., child pornography received via spam email), and these reports may provide little information that can contribute to prevention strategies. Nonetheless, information regarding victimization patterns contained in even a relatively small number of reports (regarding luring offences, for instance) would surely be of value to prevention strategies. A report on child sexual abuse images is due to be completed by Cybertip.ca shortly, but was not yet available at the time of writing this report.⁷⁷

Police and those working with victims also have access to valuable information in cases where there is documented evidence of the online interactions between victims and offenders, such as chat logs or email records. This type of evidence can reveal the various ways in which offenders manipulate the emotional vulnerabilities of victims, as well as the nature of those vulnerabilities themselves. Patterns of bullying by the offender have been noted, for instance, wherein the victim is worn down by persistent and repeated demands to appear before a webcam or otherwise engage in sexual conduct with the offender. Tanya Smith, a Nurse Practitioner for the Suspected Child Abuse and Neglect (SCAN) Program at Sick Kids Hospital in Toronto, comments on the usefulness of seeing the actual chat logs to concretely illustrate the ways that offenders are accessing victims and grooming them for sexual contact. She notes that offenders skillfully latch on to the victim's vulnerabilities, quickly figuring out areas in which the young person is struggling, and honing in on those issues. The offender then gains trust by providing support and acting as a confidante, later turning to seduction. Smith uses these logs in one-on-one counseling

⁷³ Tanya Smith, also finds in the victims of luring she has treated that offline lives no doubt affect vulnerability – family stability, self esteem, mental health issues. Interview by author with Tanya Smith, Nurse Practitioner, Suspected Child Abuse and Neglect (SCAN) Program, Sick Kids Hospital, October 7, 2008.

⁷⁴ One source, who asked not to be identified in this report, noted the following types of cases: familial sexual abuse; other sexual abuse; potential familial sexual abuse (i.e. families of child pornography possession offenders); child luring; where offender poses as a photographer (4 cases with 7 victims); voyeurism; post break-up distribution of formerly consensual photographs; and identity theft (i.e. where a youth's name/face is pasted on another body).

⁷⁵ Organizations representing cultural groups – such as new immigrant groups or Aboriginal groups – appear not to be focusing on online sexual exploitation issues as yet, perhaps because these are still relatively new crimes and may not yet be prevalent in their communities, or they may be especially under-recognized and under-reported.

⁷⁶ <http://www.protectchildren.ca/app/en/whatwek>. Last accessed May 11, 2009. For the Annual Report for 2006-2007, see http://www.protectchildren.ca/pdfs/annrep_0607_en.pdf.

⁷⁷ Cybertip.ca also tracks the reports it receives through its anonymous online reporting service by type of offence and province or region of origin of the report. Cybertip.ca has been sharing more specific information gleaned from reports to the tipline in its educational projects, including the Kids in the Know curriculum reviewed in this report, but this information and analysis has not been made available to the public. Interview conducted by the author with Noni Classen, Director of Education, Kids in the Know, March 6, 2009.

with clients, aiming to help them recognize potentially risky behaviours and interactions in their future online exchanges.⁷⁸ This type of approach to prevention would surely be helpful to others who are not fortunate enough to receive such a quality clinical intervention.

For reasons of confidentiality and to protect ongoing police investigations, much of the existing information on online sexual exploitation victimization trends in Canada is understandably generally not available to the public.⁷⁹ However, the ad hoc internal compilation of information that is presently occurring could be improved, and the body of available knowledge thus enhanced, through the following suggestions.

TO ADDRESS GAPS IN KNOWLEDGE ABOUT ONLINE SEXUAL VICTIMIZATION:

- Include further information on victim characteristics and experience in police databases;
- Support internal analysis of information on online sexual exploitation from the filing of complaints onward;
- Allow access to the data to qualified academics, including chat log or email exchange evidence (redacted to protect the identity of the victims);
- Conduct interviews with convicted online sexual offenders;
- Release results of these analyses to the public in a manner that protects the integrity of open or ongoing investigations.

Better data collection capability and more systematic and varied analysis of that data would ensure that Canada has truly evidence-based responses to online sexual exploitation, including prevention initiatives.

Gaps in the publicly available data are readily apparent: for instance, while research in other jurisdictions points to the fact that young offenders are increasingly involved in child pornography offences⁸⁰, there is no available data on the extent and nature of this problem in Canada. However, there is new research underway that is investigating how young offenders come to begin looking at child pornography.⁸¹ There is also minimal available information that considers the overlap between “cyber-bullying” and sexual exploitation of young people by their

⁷⁸ Interview with Smith, supra.

⁷⁹ Some information, including chat logs, may be available in court documents related to trials. A review of how much of this information is available through this avenue is beyond the scope of this report.

⁸⁰ See for instance Ethel Quayle and Max Taylor, “Young people who sexually abuse: the role of the new technologies”, M. Erooga and H. Masson (Eds) *Children and Young People who Sexually Abuse Others* (2006) London : Routledge; and Ethel Quayle, “Assessment issues with young people who engage in problematic sexual behaviour through the Internet”, M.C. Calder (Ed) *New developments with young people who sexually abuse*. Lyme Regis: Russell House Publishing (2007).

⁸¹ Halton Trauma Centre has an assessment and treatment program for young sexual offenders, and has seen some young men whose only offences were online (viewing child pornography and/or luring), as well as some where assessments are being conducted for offline sexual offences but online offences are disclosed in the course of the assessment (i.e. viewing child pornography). Interview by author with Siegi Schuler, Consulting Clinical Director, Halton Trauma Centre. Schuler is also currently a PhD student studying this population of young offenders, focusing on how an adolescent starts looking at child pornography, and whether and how the development of sexual attitudes differs from healthy adolescent sexual development. For instance, some youth encounter child pornography as part of being victimized by luring, and then continue seeking it out; others seek out child pornography of similar aged youths to gain sexual information (such as relative penis size) and then become preoccupied with viewing these materials. Further research into this type of offender and the appropriate way to handle them is certainly needed.

peers. This information is likely to be unavailable as it may be dealt with at the school or school board level, such as through suspension or expulsion hearings. Such cases may or may not involve police, much less lead to reported trials or sentencing hearings.

Despite the foregoing caveat on the incompleteness of information contained in reported cases, a review of these cases is not without value. Since there is some overlap between cases involving child luring and those involving child pornography offences, the case law dealing with these two categories of offences will be analyzed both separately and together.

B. Case Law Review: Child Pornography Offences

Criminal Code section 163.1 prohibits making, distributing, possessing and accessing child pornography.⁸² The harms to victims addressed by these offences are discussed by the Supreme Court of Canada in *R. v. Sharpe*, and include: harms that occurred in front of the camera⁸³; ongoing knowledge that the material exists and will be used by others for sexual purposes; and loss of control of the images and the process of disclosure of abuse.⁸⁴ Images captured by child pornography offences need not depict real children⁸⁵, although for the purposes of this report, only cases where real children are pictured will be examined.

The reported case law dealing with child pornography offences provides some useful information about the victimization of children and youth that can be derived from both the relationships between offenders and victims, and the behaviours of offenders. In this review, the case law is divided into the following two categories: 1) child pornography offences where at least one victim is known to the accused; and 2) child pornography offences where the children depicted in the images are not identified and/or not known to the accused. There is often significant overlap between these categories, since offenders who make images of children known to them often also possess collections of images of children not known to them. Nonetheless, these two categories of cases tell us somewhat different things about the children's victimization, and therefore provide varying information that can assist with prevention and intervention strategies.

⁸² This report will only review cases dealing with photographic images of real children. It does not discuss, for instance, cases dealing only with written stories qualifying as child pornography, such as *R. v. Houston*, [2008] S.J. No. 355; 2008 SKQB 174; 316 Sask.R. 238 (Saskatchewan Court of Queen's Bench); *R. v. Beattie*, [2005] O.J. No. 1302; 75 O.R. (3d) 117; 196 O.A.C. 95; 201 C.C.C. (3d) 533; 64 W.C.B. (2d) 659 (Ontario Court of Appeal).

⁸³ Images featuring real children may qualify as child pornography even if they do not depict abuse per se: such as where the subject is unaware of being photographed (voyeurism) or where the meaning of an innocent family image is transformed via being placed in a pornographic context (a young child touching his own penis, for instance). The victims of such images still experience the harm of sexual objectification, and the further harms connected to distribution of these images in child pornography channels.

⁸⁴ Tink Palmer, "Behind the Screen: Children who are the Subjects of Abusive Images", Ethel Quayle and Max Taylor, eds. *Viewing Child Pornography on the Internet: Understanding the offence, managing the offender, helping the victims* (Russell House Publishing, 2005): 61-74.

⁸⁵ The definition of child pornography includes representations of persons who are "depicted as being under the age of eighteen years". It also includes representations or recordings that "advocate or counsel sexual activity with a person under the age of eighteen years" or "whose dominant characteristic is the description, for a sexual purpose, of sexual activity with a person under the age of eighteen years", see section 161.1(1).

1. Cases Where at Least One Child Pornography Victim is Known to the Offender

There are several subcategories of relationships between victim and offender that emerge from the case law dealing with offences where the offender knows at least one of the children depicted in the child pornography images in his or her possession. Usually, the offender is the maker of these images, although occasionally not. The primary category of these offences occurs where child pornography is made within family relationships, or secondarily is perpetrated by acquaintances or friends of the family. A separate category of cases arise from exploitative relationships outside of the family or family acquaintance circle, which can be further subdivided into two sub-categories: a) cases involving formal or informal commercial sexual exploitation; and b) cases involving manipulation of adolescent emotional vulnerabilities in the absence of commercial exploitation. This latter scenario is typically linked to child luring offences. The different contexts have significantly different implications for the victimization process and experience, which again should inform prevention and intervention strategies.

a) *Victimization within Families and/or by Trusted Adults*

A review of reported Canadian cases where the making of child pornography occurred within the family reveals the following characteristics of the victimization experience:

1. Father abuses own child or children⁸⁶:
 - a. Most of these cases involve children under 14;

⁸⁶ **R. v. P. (C.)** [2008] N.B.J. No. 390; 2008 NBCA 77 (New Brunswick Court of Appeal) – hundreds of images and videos on hard drives, including 28 pictures of the appellant's two daughters and a friend (aged 8-9) were discovered. At the time the images were taken, the three girls were either eight or nine years of age. One depicts the appellant sitting in between his daughter and her friend as they are lifting up their clothing to reveal their nude bodies; **R. v. M.(L.)** [2008] S.C.J. No. 31, 2008 SCC 31, [2008] 2 S.C.R. 163, [2008] 2 R.C.S. 163, EYB 2008-133843, J.E. 2008-1117, 77 W.C.B. (2d) 463, 374 N.R. 351, 231 C.C.C. (3d) 310, 293 D.L.R. (4th) 1, 56 C.R. (6th) 278, 2008 CarswellQue 4417 – offender abused own 2-4 year old daughter and another 4 year old friend and made and distributed recordings (for financial gain), also possessed other child pornography; **R. v. M.(J.A.)** [2007] S.J. No. 224, 2007 SKPC 44, 295 Sask.R. 150, 73 W.C.B. (2d) 700 (Saskatchewan Provincial Court) – luring involving an undercover officer, but after arrest also charged with transmission of assault on his own 7 year old daughter, as well as possession of other child pornography; **R. v. F.(J.)** 2006 CarswellOnt 5575 (Ontario Superior Court of Justice)– Abuse of own 7 year old son and offering him for sex online, possession of other child pornography as well; **R. v. J. (R. B.)** [2006] A.J. No. 1726, 2006 ABPC 173, 421 A.R. 216, 78 78 W.C.B. (2d) 189 (Alberta Provincial Court) – offender recorded assaults on 8 different children under 14, including two of this own daughters, using webcam, and also had a large collection of other child pornography; **R. v. P.(G.E.)** [2004] N.S.J. No. 496, 2004 NSCA 154, 229 N.S.R. (2d) 61, 192 C.C.C. (3d) 432, 26 C.R. (6th) 256, 64 W.C.B. (2d) 331 (Nova Scotia Court of Appeal) – online prostitution business included own 15 year old daughter; **R. v. W.(R.)** [2001] O.J. No. 2810, [2001] O.T.C. 537 (Ontario Superior Court of Justice) – accused abused his three children over a long period of time and created at least one written story about making one of his daughters a sex slave; also possessed other child pornography; **R. v. Morelli** [2008] S.J. No. 300, 2008 SKCA 62, 172 C.R.R. (2d) 167, 2008 CarswellSask 300, 78 W.C.B. (2d) 462, 310 Sask.R. 165, [2008] 7 W.W.R. 191, 233 C.C.C. (3d) 465 (Saskatchewan Court of Appeal) – Computer technician attended at the appellant's residence to install a high-speed Internet connection. In the spare bedroom, where the computer was located. The technician observed a webcam on a tripod, . The webcam was pointed toward the appellant's three-year-old daughter who was playing with toys on the floor. On the computer screen, the technician observed two icons entitled "Lolita Porn" and "Lolita XXX". The technician returned the following day to complete his task. He noticed that the toys were put away, the webcam was turned to the computer chair, and the computer hard drive had been formatted.

- b. Most victims are daughters, sometimes sons;
 - c. Some involve online prostitution of own child in various forms;
 - d. All involve possession of other child pornography as well.
- 2. Mother abuses her own child⁸⁷:
 - a. Relatively rare (two reported cases);
 - b. Abuse in these cases occurred at behest of the mother's online boyfriend;
 - c. One involved a daughter, one a son;
 - d. Both cases involved children under 14 (6 year old boy; 9 year old girl);
 - e. Other child pornography images sent to mother by same online boyfriend.
- 3. Step-father or boyfriend who abuses his wife/girlfriend's child⁸⁸:
 - a. Most involved teen girls;
 - b. One involved a 5 year old girl, where offender had history of sexual assault of his younger sisters;
 - c. Some involved possession of other child pornography as well.
- 4. Grandfather abuses grandchild⁸⁹;
 - a. Only one reported case;
 - b. Victim is girl between the ages of 6-14;
 - c. Offender also possessed other child pornography.
- 5. Brother abuses siblings⁹⁰
 - a. Only one reported case – although sibling incest is typically dealt with as a child protection issue and so many such cases may not result in charges being laid⁹¹;

⁸⁷ *R. v. B.(T.L.)* [2007] A.J. No. 439, 2007 ABCA 135, 72 Alta. L.R. (4th) 5, 404 A.R. 283, 218 C.C.C. (3d) 339, 73 W.C.B. (2d) 574, 2007 CarswellAlta 504 (Alberta Court of Appeal) – woman abuses own 6 year old son at request of her online male lover, who had also sent her child pornography; *R. v. W. (L.A.)* [2006] S.J. No. 689, 2006 SKPC 98, 290 Sask.R. 43, 71 W.C.B. (2d) 531 (Saskatchewan Provincial Court)– woman making and distributing child pornography of own 9 year old daughter (nude and being fondled/oral sex) at behest of man she met online.

⁸⁸ *R. v. M.(B.C.)* [2008] B.C.J. No. 1774; 2008 BCCA 365; 259 B.C.A.C. 222; 238 C.C.C. (3d) 174 (British Columbia Court of Appeal) – man and common law wife had a highly sexualized relationship, he groomed and eventually sexually assaulted two of her daughters. He also took sexually explicit photos, including of himself engaged in fondling, masturbation, and mutual oral sex with one girl, and made a video of sexual activities between him and this child. Also in possession of other child pornography; *R. v. E. (R.W.)* [2007] O.J. No. 2515, 2007 ONCA 461, 86 O.R. (3d) 259, 86 O.R. (3d) 493, 225 O.A.C. 317, 221 C.C.C. (3d) 244, 74 W.C.B. (2d) 305 (Ontario Court of Appeal)– Offender made child pornography in course of sexually assaulting his younger sisters over 11 year period (victims were age 5 when it began and he was only 13), later married a woman with a 5 year old daughter who he also assaulted for 6 years. Other child pornography also found on his computer and in his home; *R. v. B.(A.)* [2006] O.J. No. 2543 (Ontario Superior Court of Justice) – conviction on sexual exploitation and possession of child pornography of his common-law stepdaughter (complainant alleged sexual assault since age 14, but acquitted of that – convicted of making sexual photos of her when she was 16 and sexual relations with her under age 18); *R. v. L. (A.F.)* –2005 CarswellAlta 1968 (Alberta Provincial Court)– offender made child pornography of his 14 year old stepdaughter, including tapes of himself having sex with her. Also possessed other child pornography; *R. v. S. (V.P.)* [2001] B.C.J. No. 930, 2001 BCSC 619, 50 W.C.B. (2d) 34 (British Columbia Supreme Court) – offender made photographs of 13 year old stepdaughter's genitals and breasts. Negatives stored with other pornographic materials – making them “for a sexual purpose” (contextual issue).

⁸⁹ *R. v. R.(A.)* [2007] O.J. No. 4205, 2007 ONCJ 497, 75 W.C.B. (2d) 398 (Ontario Court of Justice) – photos and videos of man's granddaughter nude or semi nude in suggestive and pornographic poses (from age 6-14); also in possession of large collection of other child pornography.

⁹⁰ *R. v. E. (R.W.)* [2007] O.J. No. 2515, 2007 ONCA 461, 86 O.R. (3d) 259, 86 O.R. (3d) 493, 225 O.A.C. 317, 221 C.C.C. (3d) 244, 74 W.C.B. (2d) 305 (Ontario Court of Appeal) – offender made child pornography of sisters and later or his wife's daughter. See full description supra.

⁹¹ Interview with Schuler, supra. Schuler, Consulting Clinical Director of Halton Trauma Centre, states that 90% of sibling incest cases do not result in criminal charges being laid.

- b. Offender went on to abuse and make child pornography of step-daughter as an adult;
 - c. Also collected other child pornography.
- 6. Cases involving voyeurism⁹²
 - a. Most often involved surreptitious recording of bathroom, shower and/or bedroom of teenage daughter of offender's wife or girlfriend;
 - b. One involved surreptitious recording via webcam of assaults sometimes disguised as something else ("checking for bugs", wrestling) and involved younger children (both own children and friends of his children);
 - c. In the latter case, the offender also had a large collection of other child pornography.

While this review is derived from a limited number of cases, there are some victimization and offending trends worth noting:

- The vast majority of offenders are men and the majority of victims are girls, though boys are also sometimes targeted;
- Victims range in age from young pre-pubescent children (girls and boys) to young teenage girls (who are the more common victims when stepfather/mother's boyfriend is the offender);
- Almost all of these men also collected other child pornography;
- Abuse scenarios can be subdivided into two types:
 - Straightforward sexual abuse where power over the child is used to coerce the child or youth into sexual activity;
 - Sexual abuse involving trickery or manipulation – this includes the voyeurism cases, and cases where photographs were suggestive rather than graphic so that child is not sure whether the situation is abusive.

Reported cases featuring victimization via a family friend or acquaintance⁹³ generally contained the following characteristics;

⁹² *R. v. K.(G.)* [2007] O.J. No. 4308, 2007 ONCJ 513, 75 W.C.B. (2d) 343 (Ontario Court of Justice) – offender making surreptitious recording of his girlfriend's 15 year old daughter in bathroom/taking shower; *R. v. I. (J.E.)* [2005] B.C.J. No. 2592, 2005 BCCA 584, 219 B.C.A.C. 174, 204 C.C.C. (3d) 137, 67 W.C.B. (2d) 762 (British Columbia Court of Appeal)– offender made surreptitious bathroom tape mostly of his adult girlfriend but interspersed with nude images of his 16 year old stepdaughter and her teenage friends; *R. v. H.(M.)* [2002] B.C.J. No. 771, 2002 BCCA 248, 167 B.C.A.C. 57, 166 C.C.C. (3d) 308, 53 W.C.B. (2d) 454 (British Columbia Court of Appeal) – surreptitious video of 13 year old step daughter in bathroom and bedroom, and once fondling her breasts under her shirt on camera; *R. v. M.(D.S.)* [2001] B.C.J. No. 1913, 2001 BCSC 1295, 51 W.C.B. (2d) 401 (British Columbia Supreme Court) – surreptitious tape of 15 year old stepdaughter naked and partially clothed after shower; *R. v. J. (R. B.)* [2006] A.J. No. 1726, 2006 ABPC 173, 421 A.R. 216, 78 78 W.C.B. (2d) 189 (Alberta Provincial Court) – offender recorded assaults on 8 different children under 14, including two of this own daughters, using webcam (some did not know they were being taped) under various guises (including checking for "bugs", wrestling, bathing, but also giving alcohol), and also had a large collection of other child pornography.

⁹³ It is hard to discern the relationship between victim and offender in some of the cases that have not been included in this tally, such as *R. v. Caza* [1996] B.C.J. No. 2066, 82 B.C.A.C. 251, 32 W.C.B. (2d) 256 (British Columbia Court of Appeal) – relationships not clear, but charges include sexual assault and making child pornography, of male between ages of 12 and 14; *R. v. Loring* [2001] B.C.J. No. 2895, 2001 BCSC 200, 54 W.C.B. (2d) 617 (British Columbia Supreme Court) – relationship here unclear – but involved explicit sexual activity with 2 different girls under 18.

- Sometimes offender abuses his own children and also friends of his own children or others in the neighborhood⁹⁴;
- One case involving babysitters (an adult couple)⁹⁵;
- One case involving a victim met through friend of complainant's older sister⁹⁶.

All of the victims in these cases were under 14, and typically young (6 or younger). They appear to be similar in dynamics to the intra-familial abuse cases in that they involve adults with privileged access to younger children which affords them the opportunity to abuse them.

One further type of case of note in this category is where family or other trusted adult abusers are encouraged or counseled to commit sexual offences against the children in their care by extra-familial offenders known to the offender only online.⁹⁷ This type of case affirms a link between online sexual offending and contact offences. This shows that in at least some cases the abuse may not have occurred had the offender not been embroiled in online sexual activity.

b) Exploitative Relationships Outside of Families

Child pornography is frequently produced within exploitative relationships outside the family as well, and these relationships are generally of a different character. These cases can be subdivided into the following general categories:

- Cases involving commercial prostitution of minors⁹⁸;

⁹⁴ *R. v. P. (C.)*, supra; *R. v. M.(L.)* [2008] S.C.J. No. 31, 2008 SCC 31, [2008] 2 S.C.R. 163, [2008] 2 R.C.S. 163, EYB 2008-133843, J.E. 2008-1117, 77 W.C.B. (2d) 463, 374 N.R. 351, 231 C.C.C. (3d) 310, 293 D.L.R. (4th) 1, 56 C.R. (6th) 278, 2008 CarswellQue 4417 (SCC) – offender abused own 2-4 year old daughter and another 4 year old friend and made and distributed recordings; See *R. v. J. (R. B.)* under family above – [2006] A.J. No. 1726, 2006 ABPC 173, 421 A.R. 216, 78 W.C.B. (2d) 189 (Alberta Provincial Court) – man possess and produces child pornography (as well as sexual interference, sexual assault, invitation to sexual touching) – taping himself assaulting 8 different children under 14, including two of this own daughters, using webcam (some did not know they were being taped) under various guises (including checking for “bugs”, wrestling, bathing, but also giving alcohol).

⁹⁵ *R. v. Black* [2007] S.J. No. 141, 2007 SKPC 28, 294 Sask.R. 33, 73 W.C.B. (2d) 68 (Saskatchewan Provincial Court) – abuse and taping thereof of three girls (2, 5 and 6) who couple babysat – also showed them images of porn and child pornography; possessed other child pornography images as well.

⁹⁶ *R. v. Svennes* [2000] B.C.J. No. 2100, 2000 BCCA 554, 47 W.C.B. (2d) 566 (British Columbia Court of Appeal) – accused made 2 videos of an 11 year old girl he met through a friend of complainant's sister – first girl is clothed in showed with her soaked clothes clinging to her skin sometimes revealing breasts and public hair; second posed over a rock with a sexually explicit message written on it and instructed to be sexy and touch her breasts.

⁹⁷ *R. v. Fisher* [2007] N.B.J. No. 129; [2007] A.N.-B. no 129; 2007 NBPC 15; 2007 NBCP 15; 317 N.B.R. (2d) 317; 73 W.C.B. (2d) 570 (New Brunswick Provincial Court) – counseling undercover officer in online child sex forum to commit offence against his fictional 4 year old daughter and send him pictures and an account of what he did.

⁹⁸ *R. v. P.(G.E.)* [2004] N.S.J. No. 496, 2004 NSCA 154, 229 N.S.R. (2d) 61, 192 C.C.C. (3d) 432, 26 C.R. (6th) 256, 64 W.C.B. (2d) 331 (Nova Scotia Court of Appeal) – man ran prostitution business and website with girls under 18, including own 15 year old daughter – images and videos live streamed over Internet (other charges include procuring and sexual exploitation); *R. v. Hewlett* [2002] A.J. No. 960, 2002 ABCA 179, 312 A.R. 165, 167 C.C.C. (3d) 425, 54 W.C.B. (2d) 713 (Alberta Court of Appeal) – porn business where part owner knew before end of photo shoot that some of the models were underage (15, 16 and 17) but did not stop shoot. All models were in need of money; *R. v. Hunt* [2002] A.J. No. 831, 2002 ABCA 155, 6 Alta. L.R. (4th) 238, 303 A.R. 240, 166 C.C.C. (3d) 392, 54 W.C.B. (2d) 627 (Alberta Court of Appeal) – photographer (working for Hewlett above) for porn website pled guilty after not verifying ages of actors (relied on employer's assurances) – they turned out to be 15, 16 and 17; *R. v. Bauer* [1999] O.J. No. 5294 (Ontario Court of Justice) – five teenage girls between 14 and 17 paid to pose nude

- Cases involving troubled or impoverished youth being offered money, drugs, alcohol, shelter or other collateral in exchange for sexual acts and images⁹⁹;
- Modeling scams¹⁰⁰;
- Webcam extortion¹⁰¹;
- Distribution of intimate photographs post-break-up or as a result of other relationship dysfunction.¹⁰²

Generally speaking, this type of online sexual exploitation befalls older victims (age 13 and up) and is closely linked to other offline risk factors. The first two case clusters (involving minors exploited through more organized commercial prostitution and minors exploited through the performance of sexual acts for money or other goods in a more informal fashion) are the highest risk populations for offline exploitation as well (youths who have run away from home, who have

or perform sex acts for money – accused ran an online porn business; *R. v. McGowan* [1995] O.J. No. 5110, 102 C.C.C. (3d) 461 (Ontario Court of Justice) – two sex tapes made with 14-year old boys who were working as prostitutes at the time – at least one given money for making the tape.

⁹⁹ *R. v. L. (B.H.)* [2009] A.J. No. 163; 2009 ABPC 50 (Alberta Provincial Court) – man befriended underage boys who he encouraged to "hang out" at his residence, he provided them with alcohol, let them use his Playstation and showed material to them, also had consensual sex with 16-year old, he was found to possess some 32,517 images, mainly of boys, but also of girls, and also had possession of images taken at a local playground; *R. v. Johnson* [2008] S.J. No. 385, 2008 SKQB 244, 317 Sask.R. 123 (Saskatchewan Court of Queen's Bench) – Offender giving 15-year old male money in exchange for sexual acts, offering him to move in, where boy was from a troubled home; *R. v. Shablak* 2007 NLTD 37, 801 A.P.R. 167, 264 Nfld. & P.E.I.R. 167, 2007 CarswellNfld 56 (Newfoundland and Labrador Supreme Court (Trial Division)) – paying girls ages 13 to 16 to make sexually suggestive photos in exchange for money or drugs; *R. v. Jewell* [1995] O.J. No. 2213; 83 O.A.C. 81; 100 C.C.C. (3d) 270; 28 W.C.B. (2d) 48 (Ontario Court of Appeal) – two accused made tapes with 3 boys under 14 and 9 more under 18, victims from impoverished and broken homes and given money, gifts and cigarettes for participation; *R. v. Lee* [1998] N.W.T.J. No. 113 (Northwest Territories Supreme Court) – Accused having sex with minor girls (aged 14 to 18) and sometimes videotaping it – giving girls money in return. All girls troubled (drug/alcohol addictions); *R. v. B. (J.D.) and R. v. H. (C.D.)* 1999 CarswellBC 1203, 1999 CarswellBC 1209 (British Columbia Supreme Court) – long and sordid history of man (and wife H) getting young girls and boys to perform sex acts and be video taped, often by way of getting them drunk or slipping them drugs. Offenders and victims were generally acquaintances of some sort.

¹⁰⁰ *R. v. Fulton* [2005] A.J. No. 1714, 2005 ABCA 423, 376 A.R. 128, 68 W.C.B. (2d) 17 (Alberta Court of Appeal) – man made child pornography (erotic poses, various stages of undress) of 14-year old he met when she asked him to buy her cigarettes – then told her he was a photographer and she could make a lot of money as a model, gave her his phone number (she called, he called her in sick from school, took her to a motel, showed her other erotic images of girls he falsely claimed to have taken and took 41 photos of her).

¹⁰¹ *R. v. Innes* [2008] A.J. No. 346, 2008 ABCA 129, 429 A.R. 164, 77 W.C.B. (2d) 48, 231 C.C.C. (3d) 48 (Alberta Court of Appeal) – classic webcam exploitation with 13-year old (who claimed to be 14) befriended by fake 16-year old girl who encourages her to strip/masturbate on webcam, then reveals he's male and is persistent/aggressive in trying to get her to send more performances; second complainant is 14-year old girl who developed 5-month long romance with fake 17-year old boy and also attempting extortion of webcam footage. Also found further child pornography in his possession.

¹⁰² *R. v. Dabrowski* [2007] O.J. No. 3414; 2007 ONCA 619; 86 O.R. (3d) 721; 229 O.A.C. 20; 226 C.C.C. (3d) 536; 51 C.R. (6th) 191; 76 W.C.B. (2d) 199; 2007 CarswellOnt 5805 (Ontario Court of Appeal) – 28-year old male in consensual relationship with 14-year old girl (who he told he was 19). Sexual tapes were made in the course of the relationship. Offender threatens to show tapes to her family when she tries to break up with him. OCA rules that threats to make tapes public enough to vitiate consensual intimate photography exception created in *R. v. Sharpe*; *R. v. Walsh (and Cheyne)* Walsh: [2005] O.J. No. 620; 75 O.R. (3d) 38; 195 O.A.C. 311; 193 C.C.C. (3d) 517; 64 W.C.B. (2d) 55, and [2005] O.J. No. 621; 75 O.R. (3d) 38; 195 O.A.C. 311 (supplementary reasons) (Ontario Court of Appeal); Cheyne: 2006 CarswellOnt 1427, 206 C.C.C. (3d) 543, 208 O.A.C. 42 (Ontario Court of Appeal) – Walsh is 23-year old jilted boyfriend who passes collage of sexual photos of his 15-year old ex-girlfriend to at least one friend; Cheyne is a friend who passed the collage on to others.

a history of physical and/or sexual abuse in the home, who have mental health issues like depression or substance abuse, and youths who are neglected).

While there is only one reported modeling scam case where child pornography was actually produced in the course of a teenage girl being photographed by an offender claiming to be a professional photographer, it does appear that this is a significant type of victimization scenario. For example, another child pornography and luring case discussed below involved an attempt by an offender to lure young girls into posing for photographs under the guise of a modeling opportunity as well.¹⁰³ More cases of this sort are clearly out there, with sources noting there are more of such cases in process.¹⁰⁴

The “webcam extortion” scenario is also likely more common than the one reported case suggests, and this scenario has been the focus of some prevention education (as will be discussed below). This victimization scenario involves a young person being seduced or pressured into exposing him or herself to the offender who then uses the images in order to coerce the victim into performing more sexual acts (e.g. images captured from what the young person thought was a live-only webcam transmission). The modeling scam and webcam extortion offenders typically prey on the common emotional insecurities of younger teenage girls, although a review of the research below shows that even here offline risk factors play a role in which girls actually fall victim to these tactics (typically girls with low self-esteem seeking positive adult attention).

The “webcam extortion” scenario should perhaps be distinguished from situations where the victim and offender were in a consensual intimate relationship and consensual images were taken and then distributed. In this situation, those images are converted from legal images falling within the narrow exception created by the Supreme Court of Canada in *R. v. Sharpe* for privately held intimate photography, into illegal images that qualify as child pornography. This contrasts with the webcam extortion situation where consent is vitiated from the start. The consensual relationship situation is more complex as typically intimate images are circulated (or are threatened to be circulated) as revenge for a break up or as a means to keep the victim trapped in the relationship. However, online romances complicate the distinction between these scenarios. Further, possession and distribution of what were once consensual intimate photos by members of the victim’s broader social circle is certainly at least as harmful as distribution of such photographs to unknown people.¹⁰⁵ Nonetheless, different prevention strategies will be required to address the “webcam extortion” scenario from the “revenge distribution” scenario.

Roberta Sinclair from the NCECC notes that cases involving distribution of intimate photos among teens may not come through the NCECC but would instead more often be dealt with at the local level (by local police; school boards etc.). Data on such incidents is consequently

¹⁰³ *R. v. Gurr* [2007] B.C.J. No. 2325; 2007 BCSC 1586; 76 W.C.B. (2d) 94 (British Columbia Supreme Court) – distributing flyers to young girls (9-12year old) at mall for modeling and photo company with only an email address contact; police contact him undercover and when his motel room is searched child pornography is found (and cameras, blank modeling contracts, tape measure, body mass index chart, condoms and KY jelly).

¹⁰⁴ Informal interviews by author with personnel who asked not to be identified.

¹⁰⁵ Consider *R. v. Cole* [2008] O.J. No. 2417; 2008 ONCJ 278; 175 C.R.R. (2d) 263; 78 W.C.B. (2d) 73 (Ontario Court of Justice), [2009] O.J. No. 1755 (Ontario Superior Court of Justice)– where a teacher is convicted of possessing a photo of a grade 10 student, where the image initially fell within the consensual exception but was stolen from another student’s laptop.

currently not readily available. Similarly, while there has been a lot of recent media attention to the phenomenon of “sexting” among youths (taking and sending sexually explicit images of oneself to peers), data on the prevalence of this practice in Canada and law enforcement handling of these situations is spotty at best.¹⁰⁶ As Sinclair notes, an appropriate criminal justice response to these behaviours is still to be found, including the creation of safe places to go to disclose these behaviours, and possible refinement of our understanding of what adolescent behaviour qualifies as a child pornography offence and which does not.¹⁰⁷ This is one area where more Canadian data collection and research would be helpful.

2. Cases Where the Children Pictured in Child Pornography are Not Known to the Offender

The vast majority of images recovered by police in child pornography investigations are of children and youth whose identities are not known. In addition to or as part of the cases of identified victims above (where offenders knew some victims but also had collections of further child pornography images of children not known to them), many Canadian child pornography cases involve possession and/or distribution of only images of children and youth not known to the offender. These cases typically provide us with less information about the primary victimization experience of the children pictured than the secondary victimization experience of the consumption of images of these unidentified children by these offenders. Nonetheless, there is some relevance to prevention strategies when we look at the cases where a wider circle of harm is suspected or substantiated.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ For a United States based survey on “sexting”, see National Campaign to Prevent Teen and Unplanned Pregnancy, “Sex and Tech: Results from a Survey of Teens and Young Adults” (2008) available at <http://www.thenationalcampaign.org/sextech/>. Last accessed June 26, 2009.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Sinclair, *supra*.

¹⁰⁸ Cases where no wider circle of harm is in evidence and which are consequently not discussed in this review are: *R. v. Dolovich* [2009] M.J. No. 161; 2009 MBPC 17 (Manitoba Provincial Court) -Offender’s computer contained 547 files of girls aged three to 14 and included images of extreme sex acts and degradation; *R. v. Wilson* [2009] O.J. No. 1067 (Ontario Superior Court of Justice) – police obtained information re possession and making available child pornography through ISP, court held no reasonable expectation of privacy in account information; *R. v. F.(C.W.)* [2009] B.C.J. No. 560; 2009 BCPC 85 (British Columbia Provincial Court) – wife reported to police that the accused had child pornography on his computer; police searched the computer and found 4 video files involving very young children and teens; *R. v. Braudy* [2009] O.J. No. 347 (Ontario Superior Court of Justice) – after separation wife took computer on advice of family law lawyer (to find other information), found to contain 252 images of child pornography; *R. v. Trapp* [2009] S.J. No. 32; 2009 SKPC 5 (Saskatchewan Provincial Court) - police officer involved in an undercover monitoring of peer-to-peer file sharing for pornographic images sent a request to SaskTel for the identity of a person using a specific IP address, accused was indicated and was found to possess child pornography; *R. v. Garcia* [2009] B.C.J. No. 581; 2009 BCSC 407 (British Columbia Supreme Court) – possessed child pornography (thousands of images on computer and CDs), including for distribution or sale; *R. v. Johansson* [2008] S.J. No. 827; 2008 SKQB 451 and [2009] S.J. No. 154; 2009 SKQB 12 (Saskatchewan Court of Queen's Bench) – possession and making available child pornography through use of the LimeWire file sharing program. Found to be either aware of the file-sharing properties of the program or wilfully blind as to its properties; *R. v. Lazore* [2008] O.J. No. 4545; 2008 ONCJ 578 (Ontario Court of Justice) – possession of a wide variety of pornographic material including hundreds of photos of child pornography, nearly 150 movies of child pornography and more than 15,000 animated images of child pornography; *R. v. Traub* [2008] A.J. No. 1088; 2008 ABQB 604; 180 C.R.R. (2d) 318; 79 W.C.B. (2d) 718 (Alberta Court of Queen’s Bench) – prostitute reported to police that a “date” told her he had videos involving 2 to 5 year old children; search warrant discovered child pornography, including six photos, 16 playable videos, and a large number of non-playable videos; *R. v. Smith* [2008] O.J. No. 4558 (Ontario Superior Court of Justice) – downloading child pornography from the Internet through a peer-to-peer file-sharing network. During a search of the home of the accused, police seized a computer and a number of compact disks containing several images and movies involving graphic child pornography; *R. v. Ward* [2008] O.J. No. 3116;

Child pornography possession cases where a wider circle of harm is evident include the following situations:

- Connection between child pornography possession and contact offences where:
 - the offender was initially arrested for possession of child pornography, and his abuse of his own children and/or other neighbourhood children came to light in the course of the investigation¹⁰⁹;
 - the investigation of sexual abuse of the offender's own children turns up a collection of child pornography featuring unidentified children¹¹⁰;

2008 ONCJ 355; 176 C.R.R. (2d) 90 (Ontario Court of Justice) – information forwarded by German authorities re downloading child pornography, privacy issues dismissed; **R. v. W.(L.)** [2008] B.C.J. No. 1911; 2008 BCPC 281 (British Columbia Provincial Court) - 26,000 images and 700 videos on the accused's computer; **R. v. Decker** [2008] N.S.J. No. 386; 2008 NSPC 43; 268 N.S.R. (2d) 254; 78 W.C.B. (2d) 774 (Nova Scotia Provincial Court) – possession of images downloaded from the Internet (at least 4,910) and stories he had written and purported to copyright; **R. v. Graham** [2008] B.C.J. No. 394; 2008 BCPC 59 (British Columbia Provincial Court) – accessing child pornography on the Internet (9,924 child pornography images located), associated with use of crystal methamphetamine; **R. v. Gauthier** [2008] A.J. No. 138; 2008 ABCA 39; 425 A.R. 267; 77 W.C.B. (2d) 449 (Alberta Court of Appeal) - approximately 2,000 still images and 100 movies of child pornography found on the accused's computer and on CDs, including a series of photographs entitled "Kindergarten Sex Series" showed the sexual assault of a 4-year-old girl, together with a written narrative; **R. v. Leask** [2008] O.J. No. 329; 2008 ONCJ 25; 167 C.R.R. (2d) 267; 76 W.C.B. (2d) 385 (Ontario Court of Justice) - Images found on freight driver's computer when he crossed into Canada from US (33 videos of child pornography), unsuccessful argument re breach of s8 rights; **R. v. Chalk** [2007] O.J. No. 4627; 2007 ONCA 815; 88 O.R. (3d) 448; 231 O.A.C. 107; 227 C.C.C. (3d) 141; 52 C.R. (6th) 371; 76 W.C.B. (2d) 264; 2007 CarswellOnt 7625 (Ontario Court of Appeal) – videos found on family living room computer, the accused was arrested on another matter and asked girlfriend to delete files from computer before police search, she instead showed the files to the authorities. Accused accepted knowledge, denied control, found guilty; **R. v. Pearson** [2007] M.J. No. 376; 2007 MBPC 56; 219 Man.R. (2d) 234; 75 W.C.B. (2d) 401 (Manitoba Provincial Court) – search of email account found evidence of child pornography in deleted files; **R. v. H.(V.)** [2008] Y.J. No. 9; 2008 YKTC 21; 77 W.C.B. (2d) 332 (Yukon Territory Territorial Court) - 15-year-old girl discovered the images on her father's laptop computer, 100 CDs with at least 1000 images found; **R. v. Horvat** [2006] O.J. No. 3055; 70 W.C.B. (2d) 546 (Ontario Superior Court of Justice), [2008] O.J. No. 358; 2008 ONCA 75; 77 W.C.B. (2d) 413 (Ontario Court of Appeal) – child pornography images found on laptop by computer repairman; **R. v. Daniels** [2004] N.J. No. 406; 2004 NLCA 73; 242 Nfld. & P.E.I.R. 290; 191 C.C.C. (3d) 393; 65 W.C.B. (2d) 209 (Newfoundland & Labrador Court of Appeal) – offender downloaded child pornography from paid site but not found on search – accused said he aborted download, but convicted on basis of constructive possession; **R. v. Larocque** [2004] A.J. No. 794, 2004 ABPC 114, 366 A.R. 139, 67 W.C.B. (2d) 508 (Alberta Provincial Court) – ran IRC chat group and in possession of over 1000 images and 250 child pornography videos; **R. v. Meyer** 2004 CarswellSask 946 (Saskatchewan Provincial Court) – possession of child pornography photos and stories; **R. v. Jiggins** [2003] A.J. No. 462, 2003 ABPC 75, 338 A.R. 153, 57 W.C.B. (2d) 288 (Alberta Provincial Court) – computer repair discovery of child pornography – also lots of other images not qualifying as child pornography (nude children etc); **R. v. Elder** [2002] M.J. No. 399; 2002 MBCA 133; [2003] 5 W.W.R. 21; 170 Man.R. (2d) 14; 55 W.C.B. (2d) 425 (Manitoba Court of Appeal) – distribution of child pornography and possession of 785 images, some distributed via e-mail where he claimed he was a teenage girl (he was 39 year old man); **R. v. Nedelec** [2001] B.C.J. No. 2243; 2001 BCSC 1334; 51 W.C.B. (2d) 524 (British Columbia Supreme Court) – range of child pornography photographs; **R. v. Hertubise** [1997] B.C.J. No. 40; 33 W.C.B. (2d) 337 (British Columbia Supreme Court) – couple ran an adult content BBS (bulletin board site) and did not exercise due diligence re there being obscenity and child pornography on the board.

¹⁰⁹ **R. v. J. (R. B.)** (2006, Alberta Prov. Ct), supra.

¹¹⁰ **R. v. W.(R.)** [2001] O.J. No. 2810, [2001] O.T.C. 537 (Ontario Superior Court of Justice) – accused abused his three children over a long period of time; charged with possession of child pornography images (not his own children) and one story he wrote about making one of his daughters a sex slave.

- the exploitation of the offender's own child was part of a larger collection of child pornography¹¹¹;
- the offender brags about abuse of known children, though contact offences not verified.¹¹²
- Connection between child pornography possession and luring offences where:
 - an online luring investigation led to discovery of the offender's abuse and making of child pornography images of his own child¹¹³;
 - the offender uses child pornography images featuring unidentified children to groom a youth for sex¹¹⁴;
 - an online luring investigation leads to discovery of possession of child pornography¹¹⁵;
 - child pornography possession offences are aggravated by attempts to engage young teens in online relationships.¹¹⁶
- Connection between child pornography possession and other illegal or questionable image-making involving children and youths known to the offender, but not featuring contact offences where:
 - the offender also engages in voyeurism¹¹⁷;
 - the offender also engages in image manipulation to import a known child's image into a pornographic context¹¹⁸;
 - the offender makes sexual photographs taking advantage of a sleeping or intoxicated minor¹¹⁹;

¹¹¹ *R. v. F.(J.)* (2006, O.C.J.), supra; *R. v. M.(J.A.)* (2007, Sask Prov. Ct) supra; *R. v. M.(L.)* (2008, S.C.C.) supra.

¹¹² *R. v. Kasam* [2004] O.J. No. 3297; 2004 ONCJ 136; 62 W.C.B. (2d) 596 (Ontario Court of Justice)— severely disabled man possessed 3200 child pornography images, and had claimed to be abusing and photographing his nephew in a chats being investigated in the US, though no evidence of this was ever found.

¹¹³ *R. v. M.(J.A.)* (2007, Sask Prov. Ct) supra -- caught by undercover officer re attempted luring, but after his arrest also charged with transmission of child pornography (assault on own 7year old daughter); also in possession of other child pornography.

¹¹⁴ *R. v. Bishop* [2007] O.J. No. 3806; 2007 ONCJ 441; 75 W.C.B. (2d) 258 (Ontario Court of Justice)— offender sent child pornography images to what he thought was a 14 year old boy (undercover officer) and tried to engage him in cybersex; *R. v. Gurr* [2007] B.C.J. No. 2325; 2007 BCSC 1586; 76 W.C.B. (2d) 94 (British Columbia Supreme Court)— attempt at modeling scam, full description supra.; *R. v. Better* [2002] O.J. No. 5831 (Ontario Superior Court of Justice), Aff'd: [2003] O.J. No. 806 (Ontario Court of Appeal)— primary luring offence included sending child pornography photos to undercover officer posing as a 13 year old girl – arranged to meet and arrested upon arrival at meeting place.

¹¹⁵ *R. v. Harvey* [2004] O.J. No. 1389 (Ontario Court of Justice)— primary offence luring (undercover police officer posing as 13 year old girl) after series of sexually explicit chats and an arranged meeting (arrested at meeting place) – 6 child pornography images of children engaged in sex acts found on computer.

¹¹⁶ *R. v. Geller* [2003] O.J. No. 357; 56 W.C.B. (2d) 667 (Ontario Superior Court of Justice)— Possession aggravated by chatting with 13 and 14 year old girls indicating interest in establishing relationships (as well as other fraudulent activity re identity theft).

¹¹⁷ *R. v. Pommer* -- Search and seizure issue: *R. v. Pommer* [2008] B.C.J. No. 1054; 2008 BCSC 423; 58 C.R. (6th) 319; 77 W.C.B. (2d) 685; 2008 CarswellBC 1181 (British Columbia Supreme Court); sentencing: *R. v. Pommer* [2008] B.C.J. No. 1056; 2008 BCSC 737; 77 W.C.B. (2d) 723 (British Columbia Supreme Court) – child pornography possession aggravated by earlier investigation involving voyeurism re 18 year old stepdaughter.

¹¹⁸ *R. v. C.(W.)* [2004] O.J. No. 5985 (Ontario Superior Court of Justice) – Offender possessed 1000 child pornography images, one of which was an altered image depicting the offender with his young niece (was not charged with any contact offences).

- the offender's collection of images is augmented by images surreptitiously taken by the offender featuring children in the community that fall short of meeting the definition of child pornography¹²⁰.

Although any evidence regarding the connection between child pornography collection and contact offences is always controversial¹²¹, these cases show that the wider circle of harm should be taken into account in designing prevention strategies, as the children that a child pornography collector can access may be at higher risk of various sorts of harm.

C. Case Law Review: Luring Offences

Section 172.1 prohibits the use of a computer to facilitate the commission of sexual offences against minors, including age of consent related sexual offences. The reported cases fall into three categories: 1) cases involving a child or youth the offender met through the Internet; 2) cases where an undercover officer posed as a child on the Internet and the offender attempted to lure that fictional child; and 3) cases where the offender met the child or youth offline and used networked communications in the course of committing a sexual offence.

As with child pornography offences, the reported luring cases are only a small part of the victimization story in Canada. The NCECC's 2005 Environmental Scan on Internet sexual exploitation of children, for instance, notes that between September 2002 and December 2004 there were about 60 Canadians charged with luring offences (about half of which involved undercover police officers) – but not nearly that quantity of cases are reported even four years later.¹²² Again, the data on victimization that may be contained in these unreported or unresolved cases would be an important addition to this analysis.

¹¹⁹ *R. v. McCrady* [2003] A.J. No. 506; 2003 ABPC 69; 57 W.C.B. (2d) 370 (Alberta Provincial Court)– Took photos of his penis next to face of intoxicated sleeping minor, and posing her in sexual positions. Further child pornography also found on his computer.

¹²⁰ *R. v. Vessey* [2007] S.J. No. 383, 2007 SKPC 94, 298 Sask.R. 205, 74 W.C.B. (2d) 660 (Saskatchewan Provincial Court) – Possession of child pornography images and movies; at sentencing also considered his collection of own photos taken at girls gymnastics events (not child pornography) and videos of Vessy masturbating while wearing a female gymnastics outfit (also not an offence per se) but indicates something closer to contact offences; *R. v. Coutu* 2007 CarswellOnt 8648 (Ontario Superior Court of Justice) – possessed large collection of child pornography images and movies – surreptitious videotaping of niece and other children in the community an aggravating factor (though not a crime in itself).

¹²¹ The most recent study on this issue is Michael L. Bourke and Andres E. Hernandez, "The 'Butner Study' Redux: A Report of the Incidence of Hands-on Child Victimization by Child Pornography Offenders" (2009), 24 *Journal of Family Violence* 3: 183-191. The study has been controversial since it involves online child pornography offenders voluntarily participating in a treatment program, and the high incidence of previously undisclosed contact offences (85%) is not necessarily representative of the broader population of child pornography offenders. See also media coverage of the initial withdrawal from publication of the report by the United States Federal Bureau of Prisons: Julian Sher and Benedict Carey, "Debate on Child Pornography's Link to Molesting", *New York Times*, July 19 2007, http://www.nytimes.com/2007/07/19/us/19sex.html?_r=4&hp=&oref=slogin&pagewanted=print. Last accessed July 31, 2009.

¹²² Sinclair, R.L. (with D. Sugar). 2005. "Internet Based Child Sexual Exploitation Environmental Scan", Royal Canadian Mounted Police: At p. 63. Available at <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/ncecc-cnccce/factsheets-fichesdocu/enviroscan-analyseenviro-eng.htm>. (Last accessed April 13, 2009).

1. Real child offender met over the Internet

While there are a limited number of reported cases, the following characteristics of the victimization experience emerge from the luring case law involving actual children/youths:

- Victims are typically young teens¹²³;
- Initial contact is most often made in chat rooms, progressing to private communications (private chat, email, telephone)¹²⁴; Second most common first contact is through social networking sites¹²⁵;
- There is at least one example of meeting a teen through an online computer game¹²⁶;
- In some cases the victims had below average intelligence and/or behavioural disorders¹²⁷;
- In at least one case the accused posted photographs of the teen on the Internet after a relationship that had commenced online ended¹²⁸;

¹²³ *R. v. Armstrong* [2009] A.J. No. 141; 2009 ABPC 45 (Alberta Provincial Court) – while on release for charges including luring charges, offender breached his conditions by committing new luring offences when he used a computer at an Internet café to contact girls between the ages of 13 and 16 in an effort to meet them for sexual purposes. Police contacted by a concerned citizen (aged 19) had been posing as a 13 year old girl on TeenChat.com, also called by the mother of a 14 year old girl phoned police and told them she thought offender had been calling her daughter from the Remand Centre, daughter had met offender on teenchat.com, they had met, had sexual intercourse, and she had later run away from home; *R. v. Legare* [2008] A.J. No. 373, 2008 ABCA 138, 429 A.R. 271, 89 Alta. L.R. (4th) 1, [2008] 10 W.W.R. 90, 236 C.C.C. (3d) 380, 2008 CarswellAlta 448, 58 C.R. (6th) 155, 79 W.C.B. (2d) 887 (Alberta Court of Appeal) – important case in that it determines that an attempt to meet offline is not necessary for a charge of luring. 12 year old girl claiming to be 13 (age of consent 14 at the time) – public chat room moving to private chat, telephone. Application for leave to appeal to the Supreme Court granted, [2008] S.C.C.A. No. 406, due to be argued in October 2009; *R. v. Innes* [2007] A.J. No. 964, 2007 ABPC 237, 423 A.R. 14, 79 W.C.B. (2d) 309 (Alberta Provincial Court) – webcam extortion case – two complainants (13 and 14 year old) met over Nexopia and used fake identities (24 year old man claiming to be 16 year old girl in one case and 17 year old boy in another). Convicted of two counts luring, one counseling to make child pornography, two counts extortion. Also found further child pornography on computer; *R. v. Smith* [2007] B.C.J. No. 2923, 2007 BCSC 1955, 78 W.C.B. (2d) 507 (British Columbia Supreme Court) – man was communicating with an 11 year old, and girl's mother logged on as her daughter and engaged the man in a sexual chat (which included invitation to sexual touching) and recorded the chat. Acquitted at trial but convicted of luring on appeal; *R. v. Deck* [2006] A.J. No. 333, 2006 ABCA 92, 384 A.R. 106, 208 C.C.C. (3d) 341, 69 W.C.B. (2d) 88 (Alberta Court of Appeal) – 37 year old man met 13 year old girl in chat room, proceeds to offline meetings involving sex. Girl has below average intelligence and behavioural disorder; *R. v. Horeczy* [2006] M.J. No. 444, 209 Man.R. (2d) 311 (Manitoba Provincial Court) – 42 year old man pleads guilty to 7 counts luring (with 7 different youths) all met through chat rooms. He claimed to believe they were all over 14 (age of consent) but not relevant. Told them he was in his late teens/early 20s. One victim had fetal alcohol syndrome; *R. v. Carratt* [2005] A.J. No. 743 (Alberta Provincial Court) – accused communicated online with a 13 year old boy in a sexually suggestive manner. He sent, on several occasions, images of himself masturbating, and met the boy.

¹²⁴ *R. v. Legare*, supra; *R. v. Smith*, supra; *R. v. Deck*, supra; *R. v. Horeczy*, supra.

¹²⁵ *R. v. Innes*, supra; *R. v. Fong* [2007] O.J. No. 5243, 75 W.C.B. (2d) 294, 75 W.C.B. (2d) 791 (Ontario Superior Court of Justice) – accused acquitted of luring and sexual assault charges (complainant 16, accused 27) but found in breach of probation conditions (had prior conviction for child pornography and ordered no contact with females under 18 except with adult supervision) – met complainant via social networking site Friendster, then exchange of phone numbers – offline sex involved.

¹²⁶ *R. v. Brown* [2006] O.J. No. 1523; 69 W.C.B. (2d) 780 (Ontario Superior Court of Justice), affirmed *R. v. Brown* [2007] O.J. No. 3316; 2007 ONCA 607; 228 O.A.C. 199; 74 W.C.B. (2d) 731 (Ontario Court of Appeal) – offender met 13 year old girl while playing the game "Never Winter Nights", and they developed a romantic interest in each other which they then conducted online principally through emails and chat. Girl and her friend later ran away from home and were found in the offender's apartment.

¹²⁷ *R. v. Deck*, supra; *R. v. Horeczy*, supra.

¹²⁸ *R. v. Schultz* [2008] A.J. No. 1264; 2008 ABQB 679; 100 Alta. L.R. (4th) 70; 239 C.C.C. (3d) 535; 2008 CarswellAlta 1768 (Alberta Court of Queen's Bench) – involved in an on-line relationship with the complainant who

- Some have resulted in the victims running away from home (or attempting to run away), assisted by the offender¹²⁹;
- Offenders often had multiple victims¹³⁰;
- Some offenders have used more than one online identity to lure a victim¹³¹.

More data on complaints filed by victims that did not lead to arrests or cases in process would of course be useful in increasing the depth of available information on these experiences.

2. Undercover officer met offender over the Internet

The cases where an offender attempts to lure an undercover officer posing as a child potentially offer some insights into high risk behaviors that lead to victimization.¹³² These cases should not be understood to portray risks experienced by all youths who go online, however, since the undercover officers typically deliberately engage in high risk behavior fairly soon after being approached by an adult online. Nonetheless, the following characteristics emerge from the reported case law:

- Officers typically pose as 12-13 year old girls in chat rooms¹³³;

was 16 at the time, but told the accused she was over 18. The relationship progressed to dating and eventually the couple engaged in consensual sex. They photographed themselves in sex acts, and after a break up the accused posted the photographs on a social networking community, with details about the complainant and their relationship and offered her full name and nude photographs of her to anyone that wanted them.

¹²⁹ *R. v. Armstrong*, supra; *R. v. Brown*, supra; *R. v. Okipnak* [2005] A.J. No. 1953 (Alberta Provincial Court) – accused engaged in online sexual chats with a girl who initially claimed to be 18, but later told him she was 15, they exchanged nude photos of themselves and accused sent a movie of himself masturbating. One day the victim left home to live in a motel that the accused agreed to pay for, the mother discovered what occurred and contacted the police;

¹³⁰ *R. v. Innes*, supra; *R. v. Deck*, supra; *R. v. Horecny*, supra.

¹³¹ *R. v. Bono* [2008] O.J. No. 4516; 79 W.C.B. (2d) 697 (Ontario Superior Court of Justice) – man aged 52, commenced an on-line relationship with the complainant, age 14, over a three year period. He was aware of her age at all times, the complainant was not aware of the offender's age until police became involved. The offender utilized a variety of aliases in communicating with the complainant. Their relationship was conducted primarily through two identities, a teenage boy, age 16, and his older relative, age 38. Communication initially took place via email and on-line chat. After a month, they began to converse regularly by telephone. There was also a strong emotional component that greatly affected the complainant. As the relationship progressed, the offender convinced the complainant to create and mail explicit nude and masturbation videos. Five such tapes were sent to the offender's aliases. Following investigation by the FBI, a search warrant was executed at the accused's residence. The videos, now digitized, and 145 digital explicit photographs of the complainant were seized; *R. v. J. (C.)* [2005] O.J. No. 5732 (Ontario Court of Justice) – step-grandfather of a girl who was then 13 lured her into a fictitious relationship with a 17 or 18 year old boy who lived next door who she had a crush on, by pretending to be the boy online. And then he started making sexual suggestions to her and asked whether she would give him "blow job" or "hand job", and suggested that she should have some sort of sexual relationship in the form of a blow job or hand job with her grandfather; that is himself. Got her to expose her breasts via webcam. Also some physical offending (placing his penis against her bottom, near the anus, digitally penetrated her vagina). Also sexual discussions with a 11-12 year old family friend who he baby sat, agreeing to arrange a date with the same neighbourhood boy if she let him touch her breasts, she refused this, but did agree to expose her breasts.

¹³² Some of the insights listed here were confirmed in an interview conducted by the author with Jeff Degan, Detective Constable, Ontario Provincial Police. Degan was a Senior Investigator in charge of Undercover Online Investigations within the OPP Child Pornography and Child Exploitation Section.

¹³³ *R. v. Alicandro* [2009] O.J. No. 571, 2009 ONCA 133, 63 C.R. (6th) 330, 245 O.A.C. 357, 2009 CarswellOnt 727 (Ontario Court of Appeal) – man communicates with an undercover officer posing as a young girl in chat room,

- Offenders engage in public chat, then move on to private communications (private chat, email, instant messaging)¹³⁴;
- There is one example of an offender inviting emails in graffiti¹³⁵;

he quickly made provocative and sexual comments and requested a picture, stated that he was naked and asked if she would like him to activate his web-camera. Officer expressed concern about a parent being nearby and she was only 13, offender transmitted a video of himself masturbating. Offender claimed he thought she was 18, rejected; **R. v. Bergeron** [2009] O.J. No. 1081; 2009 ONCJ 104 (Ontario Court of Justice) - engaged in sexually explicit chats online with an undercover police officer posing as a 12-year-old girl, sent child pornography to the "girl" and videos of himself masturbating, attempted to meet the "girl" for sexual activity. He was arrested and denied that he actually would have had sex with the girl.; **R. v. Pengelley** [2009] O.J. No. 1682 (Ontario Superior Court of Justice) – accused had 17 on-line conversations with a police officer who represented himself as Stephania, a 12-year-old girl. The accused suggested that he and Stephania get a hotel room and, using graphic descriptors, have sexual relations; **R. v. Nichol** [2009] B.C.J. No. 776; 2009 BCPC 124 (British Columbia Provincial Court) – online conversations with an undercover officer posing as a 13 year old (including sending explicit pictures of himself partially naked, sending her child pornography and explicit chat), told her he wanted to show her his penis and take her virginity, he was arrested at arranged meeting; **R. v. Arrojado** [2008] O.J. No. 4228; 2008 ONCJ 499; 79 W.C.B. (2d) 570 (Ontario Court of Justice) – sexually explicit chats with an undercover officer posing as a 13 year old girl, he sent her pictures of his genital area and offered to pay her for sexual activities. He arranged two physical meetings, but he never actually showed up for the meetings; **R. v. Dhandhukia** [2007] O.J. No. 592, 73 W.C.B. (2d) 146; sentencing: [2007] O.J. No. 1846, 73 W.C.B. (2d) 656 (Ontario Superior Court of Justice – officer posing at 12 year old girl. There were interesting defences that were rejected (i.e. that he believed chat rooms to be places where people generally lie about identity, and that he played along to see if the person was really an adult or male – claimed to be unsure about identity even after being sent a picture and even when going to the arranged meeting). No child pornography found; **R. v. M.(J.A.)** 2007 CarswellSask 233, 2007 SKPC 44, 295 Sask. R. 150 (Saskatchewan Provincial Court) - U.S. police officer posing as 13year old, accused exchanging IM messages, then exposes self on webcam and masturbates. Admits to having a 7year old daughter. After arrest, admits to abusing daughter live over webcam, also child pornography on his computer; **R. v. Ross** [2007] O.J. No. 2697, 2007 ONCJ 286, 157 C.R.R. (2d) 270, 74 W.C.B. (2d) 337 (Ontario Court of Justice) -- accused communicating over chat and email with undercover officer posing as 13 year old girl, discussing sex acts he'd like to perform on her and arranging meetings (though he never showed up to meetings); **R. v. Starratt** [2007] N.S.J. No. 59, 2007 NSCA 21, 251 N.S.R. (2d) 318, 72 W.C.B. (2d) 715 (Nova Scotia Court of Appeal) -- guilty plea of man exposing himself online to undercover officer posing as a 13year old girl in a chat room; **R. v. Jarvis** [2006] O.J. No. 3241, 214 O.A.C. 189, 211 C.C.C. (3d) 20, 41 C.R. (6th) 190, 2006 CarswellOnt 4863 (Ontario Court of Appeal) - 22 year old accused had sexual conversations with undercover officer posing as a 13year old girl. Accused sent picture of his head and penis, then later images of himself masturbating. Some sex talk involved "teaching" girl how to do various things. Arranged a meeting and went (brought condoms along). No child pornography found; **R. v. Randall** [2006] N.S.J. No. 180, 2006 NSPC 19, 247 N.S.R. (2d) 29, 69 W.C.B. (2d) 467 (Nova Scotia Provincial Court) – 31 year old accused had sexual conversations with undercover officer posing as a 13year old girl in adult chat room, including invitation to meet for sexual acts. Arrested at arranged meeting place. Tried to claim he was trying to scare the girl when they met so she would not talk to any other strangers online – not accepted; **R. v. Folino** [2005] O.J. No. 4737, 77 O.R. (3d) 641 (Ontario Court of Appeal) -- 35 year old male pleads guilty after having sexual conversations with undercover officer posing as a 13year old girl. Arranges meeting and arrested at the meeting place. No child pornography found; **R. v. Harvey** [2004] O.J. No. 1389 (Ontario Court of Justice) - 61 year old male pleads guilty after having sexual conversations with undercover officer posing as 13year old girl in chat room. Contact in chat room and over email. Arranged a meeting and arrested at the meeting. child pornography found on computer; **R. v. Jepson** [2004] O.J. No. 5521 (Ontario Superior Court of Justice) – 44 year old man having sexual chat with police officer posing as 13 year old girl. Meeting arranged and arrested at the meeting place. Child pornography found on computer; **R. v. Blanchard** [2003] O.J. No. 5510 (Ontario Superior Court of Justice) - communicated via Internet chat with an undercover officer posing as a 12-year-old girl, sent photos to the girl over the Internet chat channel, and invited her to touch herself sexually. Child porn found on his computer. This was the first known sentencing under Criminal Code s. 172.1.

¹³⁴ **R. v. Dhandhukia**, supra; **R. v. Ross**, supra; **R. v. Starratt**, supra.

¹³⁵ **R. v. Daniels** [2008] A.J. No. 1230; 2008 ABPC 252 (Alberta Provincial Court) - undercover officers, posing as a 16-year-old girl, contacted the accused via email after learning of graffiti offering 13 to 16-year-old girls \$500 per

- Offenders often arrange or attempt to arrange meetings¹³⁶;
- Offenders sometimes send images of themselves exposed and/or masturbating¹³⁷;
- Child pornography is sometimes found on offender's computer upon search¹³⁸.

Undercover police officers have what appears to be a fairly uniform mode of engaging offenders online, and so the limited insight these cases afford for prevention strategies is that young adolescents, especially girls aged 12-13, should be discouraged from talking to people unknown to them in chat rooms, especially about sex. This message is complicated by the research data discussed below that shows that girls who are willing to talk about sex (especially to people unknown to them offline) are not so easily discouraged from doing so, since they may be seeking attention specifically from adult men. This phenomenon will be discussed further below.

3. Offender met underage youth offline, used the Internet as part of seduction

A few cases do not fit the classic model of luring exhibited in the above two categories, in that they occur where the offender and victim met one another offline, but the Internet is used to facilitate a sexual offence between them. The characteristics of these few reported cases can be summarized as follows:

- Offenders' commission or intent to commit contact offences are clear¹³⁹;
- Offenders met (or attempted to meet) the victims in typical places that youth gather (fast food restaurants and pizza shops, malls, at school, through friends)¹⁴⁰;
- Two cases involved a trust relationship (a teacher¹⁴¹ and a step grandfather¹⁴²).

hour, in online conversations the accused offered money in exchange for sex. He also promised drink, "smokes" or drugs, and more money with increased time in addition to gifts such as jewellery and clothing.

¹³⁶ *R. v. Pengelley*, supra; *R. v. Bergeron*, supra; *R. v. Nichol*, supra; *R. v. Arrojado*, supra; *R. v. Daniels*, supra; *R. v. Dhandhukia*, supra; *R. v. Ross*, supra; *R. v. Jarvis*, supra; *R. v. Randall*, supra; *R. v. Folino*, supra; *R. v. Harvey*, supra; *R. v. Jepson*, supra.

¹³⁷ *R. v. Alicandro*, supra; *R. v. Bergeron*, supra; *R. v. Nichol*, supra; *R. v. Arrojado*, supra; *R. v. M.(J.A.)*, supra; *R. v. Starratt*, supra; *R. v. Jarvis*, supra.

¹³⁸ *R. v. M.(J.A.)*, supra; *R. v. Harvey*, supra; *R. v. Jepson*, supra.

¹³⁹ ***R. v. Haddon*** [2007] O.J. No. 2186, 74 W.C.B. (2d) 260 (Ontario Superior Court of Justice) – 43year old man met 15year old girl at school pizza shop and again at school (claimed to be 28), girl adds him to her MSN where they chat. Also chats with another friend age 13. 15 and 13year old girls go for ride with him in car. 15 year old assaulted on one occasion, 13year old on another. Tried to claim the chat logs were jokes, but that defence rejected re luring charge. Convicted of two counts sexual assault; one count luring; one count touching for sexual purpose; *R. v. Gurr* [2007] B.C.J. No. 1480, 2007 BCSC 979, 74 W.C.B. (2d) 86 (British Columbia Supreme Court) – attempted modelling scam, full description supra; ***R. v. C.(D.)*** [2003] B.C.J. No. 1655, 2003 BCPC 237 (British Columbia Provincial Court) – 20 year old man with history of juvenile sex offending exchanging emails and online chat with a 13 year old boy he met through friends at a McDonald's restaurant; content of chats and emails becoming increasingly sexual, boy tells his mother who monitors the chats and calls police. Accused admitted to molesting another boy in the course of the chats. Plead guilty to sexual touching and luring.

¹⁴⁰ *R. v. Haddon*, supra; *R. v. Gurr*, supra; ***R. v. Lithgow*** [2007] O.J. No. 4448, 2007 ONCJ 534, 75 W.C.B. (2d) 464 (Ontario Court of Justice) – accused (in early 50s) was complainant's teacher in grades 9 and 10 – they chatted via email and chat programs, discussions became sexual and evolved into lunch hour visits where touching occurred. Became her math tutor in grade 11 and continued electronic communication, which led to full on sexual relationship. Convicted of sexual exploitation (trust relationship) and luring.

¹⁴¹ *R. v. Lithgow*, supra.

¹⁴² *R. v. J. (C.)*, supra.

These cases may be helpful for prevention efforts in that they illustrate that offenders are not only people only known to youths online, but may be people they know offline who are using the technology to build intimacy and break down boundaries, and to avoid detection by parents, caregivers and other trusted adults.

D. Summary

The following points emerge from the above summary of cases, and should be kept in mind through the next two sections:

- Child pornography is produced in a variety of contexts:
 - The great majority of cases with known victims involve two types of victimization contexts:
 - Recording sexual abuse within families or by adults with trusted access, mainly to younger children;
 - Creating sexual images of older children and adolescents through formal or informal commercial exploitation (e.g. in exchange for money, alcohol, drugs, shelter, etc.);
 - A smaller subgroup of cases involves:
 - emotional manipulation (pressuring a youth to make sexual images – online or offline);
 - using consensually made images of older adolescents to inflict harm on the victim after a relationship turns sour.
- Child luring offences are generally of two types:
 - The great majority of cases occur where a youth displays willingness to engage with a not previously known adult online:
 - Victims are then either quickly or over time seduced into trusting the offender and engaging in sexual talk, image exchange and sometimes offline meetings for sex (undercover police operations often follow this model);
 - Victims mostly feel attachment to the offender;
 - Some victims are deceived as to some characteristic of the person with whom they are engaging online;
 - Some victims specifically seek out adults online for sexual engagement;
 - A smaller subgroup deals with an adult meeting a youth offline, where the relationship is facilitated by technology (e.g. how it progresses to intimacy).

Judging from these characteristics gleaned from Canadian case law and other sources on Canadian online crimes, prevention materials should:

- Address healthy and unhealthy relationships and the role that technology can play in making a relationship unhealthy (taking pictures of abusive acts; taking pictures against your will; pressuring you to take pictures of acts you didn't want to do; pressuring you to take pictures you didn't want to have taken; abusing trust by using pictures to harm you);
- Address online relationships and offline relationships with online components as healthy or unhealthy on the same continuum as offline relationships, while recognizing and teaching youth how to:
 - be aware of the ways that technology may facilitate intimacy more quickly without proper trust building;
 - spot warning signs;
 - extricate from an unhealthy relationship;
- Address the age of consent and the harm meant to be averted by making sexual relationships with adults illegal.
 - This message should include discussion with older adolescents of why they are not deemed old enough to consent to making sexual images, except in the most narrow of protected circumstances (i.e. consensual images of consensual acts kept in strict privacy by the partners involved).

III. RESEARCH REVIEW: RISKY ONLINE BEHAVIOURS OF YOUTH

This section of the report sets out available research and data gathered on risky online youth behaviours. This is an evolving and complex area of research. Much of the data gathered is based on surveys of general youth populations where the design of the survey often presupposed that certain online behaviours are risky, rather than determining whether or not they are indeed risky. Some more recent research is beginning to rectify these assumptions, and places youth online risk into a more evidence-based perspective.

Much of the motivation for correcting assumptions about risky online behaviours is to encourage those who produce online safety and crime prevention materials to more actively recognize the positive or mostly positive dynamics of youth online social life which centrally includes sharing personal information, photographs and videos, and making friends online. Recent studies stress that there are behaviours empirically identified as especially risky – such as visiting adult chat rooms, and talking about sex to people known only online – and that other behaviours previously assumed to be risky (such as posting personal information or images; making online friends; meeting online friends offline) while not without risk, are not in themselves as risky as was previously assumed. The risk of these behaviours can be and clearly is mitigated by most youths who engage in them without incident or without escalation of harm – although for some youths these behaviours do lead to victimization.¹⁴³

Since these studies focus on youth online behaviour, it should be noted that these studies typically do not address the most common forms of online sexual exploitation of youth (namely child pornography made either by family or trusted adults; or formal or informal commercial sexual exploitation). Instead, they focus on how youth behave when they go online, rather than on how youth may be victimized by others using technologies. Most prevention materials in the past have focused exclusively on changing youth online behaviours and have ignored these other prominent forms of online sexual exploitation. Further, most prevention materials have made use of data on risky online youth behaviours in order to perpetuate the same assumptions about which behaviours are risky and to address these risks by telling youth to avoid risky behaviours entirely (don't post personal information, don't ever meet online friends offline).

The research is becoming more sophisticated regarding the need to substantiate the links between risky behaviours and victimization. As a result, the messages from such research have softened and come to focus more on safer ways to post personal information (such as using privacy settings correctly) or to meet online friends offline (by bringing a parent or other trusted adults along). These developments are improving the messaging of prevention campaigns, and underscore the value of research conducted from a rigorous scholarly perspective.

¹⁴³ One study found that “while 54% of adults are concerned about children or youth communicating with unknown persons online, this concern is shared by only 33% of the youth sample (39% of youth feel confident that this is not a problem).” Charles Zamaria and Fred Fletcher, “Canada Online! The Internet, Media and Emerging Technologies: Uses, Attitudes, Trends and International Comparisons 2007” available at http://www.worldInternetproject.net/publishedarchive/CIP07_CANADA_ONLINE-REPORT-FINAL.pdf (at p.218).

There has been significant research and data gathering activity in Canada, in particular as conducted by government entities and non-governmental organizations, with academic research playing a smaller role. However, the most in-depth and sophisticated research on youth online risky behaviours is currently being undertaken in other jurisdictions, especially in the United States and Europe. As much of this research is relevant to the experiences of Canadian youth, the American and European research will be reviewed first, before setting out the available Canadian research.

A. United States Research

The primary U.S. hub of research on online sexual victimization of children and youth and risky online youth behaviours is the Crimes Against Children Research Center (CCRC) at the University of New Hampshire. Most of the research conducted there is available at the CCRC website, including published versions.¹⁴⁴ Much of this research is relevant to prevention and intervention strategies. A second important hub of U.S. based research is the National Centre for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC)¹⁴⁵, but since researchers from the CCRC actually spearhead most of the research conducted in collaboration with NCMEC, NCMEC will not be reviewed separately. Another significant source of original U.S. data on risky online youth behaviours can be gleaned from surveys and reports produced by the Pew Internet and American Life Project.¹⁴⁶ Finally, a comprehensive literature review of existing data and research on online risks to youth was recently conducted by the Internet Safety Technical Task Force housed at the Berkman Centre for Internet and Society at Harvard University.¹⁴⁷ While there are many other U.S. based sources of data and research, only these major ones will be reviewed below.

1. Crimes Against Children Research Center, University New Hampshire

A wealth of data on online child victimization and risky online behaviours has been collected by the CCRC.¹⁴⁸ The CCRC has conducted two major telephone surveys of a national sample of youth ages 10 to 17 and their parents. The first Youth Internet Safety Survey (YISS-1) was conducted in 1999-2000¹⁴⁹, and a second similar survey (YISS-2) was conducted in 2005.¹⁵⁰ The CCRC has also conducted two major studies examining the incidence and characteristics of juvenile online victimization cases, which featured a mail-in survey and follow up interviews with a national sample of law enforcement investigators, focusing on cases resulting in arrests. The first National Juvenile Online Victimization Study (N-JOV) analyzed cases resulting in arrest between July 1, 2000 and June 30, 2001.¹⁵¹ The second study (N-JOV2) analyzed such cases from the calendar year 2006.¹⁵² And finally the 2003 Survey of Internet Mental Health Issues (SIMHI) involved a nationwide mail-in survey of mental health professionals to assess

¹⁴⁴ Crimes Against Children Research Center, <http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/>. Last accessed May 25, 2009.

¹⁴⁵ www.missingkids.com. Last accessed on May 25, 2009.

¹⁴⁶ <http://www.pewInternet.org/>. Last accessed on May 25, 2009.

¹⁴⁷ <http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/research/isttf>. Last accessed on May 25, 2009.

¹⁴⁸ See <http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/Internet-crimes/>. Last accessed on May 25, 2009.

¹⁴⁹ http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/projects/youth_Internet_safety_survey.html. Last accessed on May 25, 2009.

¹⁵⁰ http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/projects/second_youth_Internet_safety.html. Last accessed on May 25, 2009.

¹⁵¹ http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/projects/national_juvenile_online_victimization.html. Last accessed on May 25, 2009.

¹⁵² http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/pdf/N-JOV2_methodology_report.pdf. Last accessed on May 25, 2009.

their encounters with clients having problematic Internet experiences.¹⁵³ Each of these surveys has resulted in numerous publications by researchers at the CCRC.

The major findings most relevant to online child and youth sexual exploitation prevention and intervention strategies can be classified into the following categories:

- Misdirection in existing prevention strategies and suggestions for future directions more in line with the data on youth online victimization and risk;
- Empirical data on risk factors for online youth victimization and as associated with specific youth online activities;
- Empirical data on the variety of contexts in which online victimization occurs.

These categories are inter-related and arise from the CCRC's overall orientation towards the research conducted there, which aims to provide accurate empirical data on risks of online youth victimization and to dispel misconceptions about risky online activities. CCRC thereby aims to improve prevention and intervention strategies by encouraging those who develop them to base their messages and strategies on empirical data rather than on assumptions about youth behaviour.

Each of these categories will be explored in turn below.

*a) Misdirection in existing prevention strategies*¹⁵⁴

One of the most persistent concerns expressed in the CCRC publications is with the misdirections that existing prevention strategies have taken and continue to take, which the researchers hope to rectify with solid empirical data. A sampling of papers falling into this category are: "Online 'Predators' and Their Victims: Myths, Realities, and Implications for Prevention and Treatment"(2008)¹⁵⁵; "Internet prevention messages: Targeting the right online behaviors"(2007)¹⁵⁶; and "Internet-initiated sex crimes against minors: Implications for prevention based on findings from a national study" (2004).¹⁵⁷

The main arguments of these papers are that prevention materials dealing with "Internet initiated sex crime" place too much emphasis on being wary of "predators" who use violence and trickery to prey on naïve children over the Internet – a scenario that is largely inaccurate. Instead, the authors argue, "child luring" crimes are more consistent with offline forms of age-of-consent

¹⁵³ http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/projects/survey_Internet_mental_health.html. Last accessed on May 25, 2009.

¹⁵⁴ See also the transcript of the panel discussion "Just the Facts About Online Youth Victimization: Researchers Present the Facts and Debunk Myths" hosted by the Advisory Committee to the Congressional Internet Caucus on May 3, 2007. Panelists included Dr. David Finkelhor, Director of the CCRC, and Michele Ybarra (President of Internet Solutions for Kids and frequent co-author with CCRC researchers). Transcript available from <http://www.netcaucus.org/events/2007/youth>. Last accessed on May 26, 2009. Other panellists included danah boyd (whose work is discussed below in relation to the Internet Safety Technical Task Force) and Amanda Lenhart from the Pew Internet and American Life Project, also discussed below.

¹⁵⁵ Wolak, J., Finkelhor, D., Mitchell, K., and Ybarra, M. (2008). Online "Predators" and Their Victims: Myths, Realities, and Implications for Prevention and Treatment. *American Psychologist*, 63(2), 111-128.

¹⁵⁶ Ybarra, M., Mitchell, K., Finkelhor, D., and Wolak, J. (2007). Internet prevention messages: Targeting the right online behaviors. *Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine*, 161: 138-145.

¹⁵⁷ Wolak, J., Finkelhor, D. and Mitchell, K.J. (2004). Internet-initiated sex crimes against minors: Implications for prevention based on findings from a national study. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 35(5), 424-433.

sexual offences, where adults form relationships with vulnerable underage youths (generally younger teenagers) and seduce them into sexual activity without trickery or deception as to the offenders age or sexual intent (deception may be present with regard to the genuine romantic interest of the offender, however).¹⁵⁸

The authors suggest that current prevention messages emphasizing parental control over youth Internet activities and over-emphasis on the dangers of divulging personal information do not effectively address this most common form of online child luring dynamic. They suggest that instead, prevention materials should target youth directly and acknowledge normal adolescent interests in romance and sex and the increasing integration of technology into these spheres of life, in developmentally appropriate ways. Younger adolescents should be made aware of seduction tactics, and older youth should be educated about the criminal nature of relationships with adults, and the rationale for these relationships being criminalized.

The authors also suggest that more attention should be paid to higher risk youth rather than the youth population in general. Higher risk youth include youth with histories of sexual abuse; lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered youth or youth questioning their sexual identities; and youth displaying patterns of offline and online risk taking behavior, which may be related to other offline contextual factors (relationships with family for instance) and/or mental health issues (such as depression).

b) Empirical data on risk factors for online youth victimization

A great deal of the research conducted by the CCRC focuses on collecting and analyzing data regarding risk factors that increase the chances of a youth being victimized online. The following papers are a sample of those falling into this category: “Online victimization of youth: Five years later”(2006)¹⁵⁹; “Online requests for sexual pictures from youth: Risk factors and incident characteristics” (2007)¹⁶⁰; “Trends in youth reports of unwanted sexual solicitations, harassment and unwanted exposure to pornography on the Internet” (2007).¹⁶¹

A related category explores the Internet use patterns of high risk youth. Papers falling into this category include: “Online behavior of youth who engage in self-harm provides clues for preventive intervention”(2007)¹⁶²; “How do High Risk Youth Use the Internet? Characteristics

¹⁵⁸ Wolak *et al.* (2008), at p. 7 of online version available at <http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/pdf/Am%20Psy%202-08.pdf>. Last accessed May 25, 2009. The authors report that 95% of Internet-initiated sex crimes against minors were non-violent age of consent crimes.

¹⁵⁹ Wolak, J., Mitchell, K., and Finkelhor, D. (2006). Online victimization of youth: Five years later. *National Center for Missing & Exploited Children Bulletin* - #07-06-025. Alexandria, VA.

¹⁶⁰ Mitchell, K. J., Finkelhor, D., and Wolak, J. (2007). Online requests for sexual pictures from youth: Risk factors and incident characteristics. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 41, 196-203. Available for download from <http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/pdf/CV155.pdf>. Last accessed on May 26, 2009.

¹⁶¹ Mitchell, K., Wolak, J., and Finkelhor, D. (2007). Trends in youth reports of unwanted sexual solicitations, harassment and unwanted exposure to pornography on the Internet. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 40: 116-126.

¹⁶² Mitchell, K. & Ybarra, M. (2007). Online behavior of youth who engage in self-harm provides clues for preventive intervention. *Preventive Medicine*, 45: 392-396.

& Implications for Prevention” (2008)¹⁶³; “Linking youth Internet and conventional problems: Findings from a clinical perspective” (2007)¹⁶⁴; “Youth sexual exploitation on the Internet: DSM-IV diagnoses and gender differences in co-occurring mental health issues” (2007)¹⁶⁵; and “The relative importance of online victimization in understanding depression, delinquency, & substance use” (2007)¹⁶⁶.

“Online victimization of youth: Five years Later” (2006) describes the general findings in YISS-2. With regard to child luring (or the somewhat more vague “sexual solicitation” online), approximately 1 in 7 (13%) was solicited in YISS-2, compared to approximately 1 in 5 (19%) in YISS-1; aggressive solicitations, in which solicitors made or attempted to make offline contact with youth, did not decline (4%). The same percentage (4%) said online solicitors asked them for nude or sexually explicit photographs of themselves. Of these 4%, only one youth actually complied.¹⁶⁷

The overall decline in reported incidents of sexual solicitation can be deceiving however. The study also notes that people known offline played a greater role in unwanted sexual solicitations, with 14% coming from offline friends or acquaintances as opposed to 3% in the first study. With regard to requests for sexual pictures, the following characteristics or behaviours increased the incidence of receiving such a request: being female, being of Black ethnicity, having a close online relationship, engaging in sexual behaviour online, and experiencing physical or sexual abuse offline.¹⁶⁸ The authors suggest that targeted prevention education should be directed at youths who have experienced offline abuse and at Black female youth – although clearly more research is required to understand why Black females appear to be more vulnerable online.¹⁶⁹

Further, the authors note that the decrease in sexual solicitation is mainly due to a decrease among White youths and youths from more affluent households. Sexual solicitations did not decrease among non-White youths and youths from less affluent households. The authors suggest that prevention messages about not engaging people only known online may have had an impact (fewer youth reported forming close relationships with people met online, going into chat rooms, and communicating with people only known online), but that these messages are not reaching youth from ethnic minorities and lower income households as effectively.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶³ Wells, M. & Mitchell, K. (2008). How do High Risk Youth Use the Internet? Characteristics & Implications for Prevention. *Child Maltreatment*, online (<http://cmx.sagepub.com/cgi/rapidpdf/1077559507312962v1>). Available at http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/pdf/CV178_online%20first.pdf. Last accessed on May 26, 2009.

¹⁶⁴ Mitchell, K.J., Finkelhor, D., & Becker-Blease, K. (2007). Linking youth Internet and conventional problems: Findings from a clinical perspective. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, 15(2): 39-58.

¹⁶⁵ Wells, M. and Mitchell, K., (2007). Youth sexual exploitation on the Internet: DSM-IV diagnoses and gender differences in co-occurring mental health issues. *Child & Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 24(3): 235-260.

¹⁶⁶ Mitchell, K., Ybarra, M., & Finkelhor, D. (2007). The relative importance of online victimization in understanding depression, delinquency, & substance use. *Child Maltreatment*, 12(4), 314-324.

¹⁶⁷ “Online Requests for Sexual Pictures from Youth”, at p. 199.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.* at p. 196.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* at p. 202: “To date, it is unclear exactly why this is the case. One hypothesis is that those corresponding with these youth do not know the youth is Black and may be asking for pictures to ascertain this. Another possibility is that Black youth are not as self-protective when it comes to their Internet use. Some exploratory findings suggest that Black youth differ from non-Black youth on a variety of Internet use characteristics including being more likely to go to chat rooms and talk with people they meet online; both risk factors for online sexual solicitation.”

¹⁷⁰ “Trends in youth reports” at p. 122. Available for download from <http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/pdf/CV135.pdf>. Last accessed May 26, 2009.

The papers produced by the CCRC researchers relating to youth with mental health issues or experiencing family or other social troubles also expand upon the available data on especially vulnerable populations. Their research shows that youth who self-harm, for instance, are significantly more likely to engage in risky online behaviours (such as using a sexual screen name, talking to people known only online about sex, using chat rooms, and forming close online relationships).¹⁷¹ The authors note that the use of chat rooms and forming close online relationships may be support-seeking among self-harming or otherwise troubled youths, and so are not always or even predominantly negative. However, the correlation with risky online sexual behaviour is still cause for concern.¹⁷² Youth who are experiencing stressful life events (such as parental divorce), offline victimization, or depression were more likely to be targets of sexual solicitation. Youth who were alienated from parents were also more likely to form close online relationships, again putting them at greater risk.¹⁷³

All of this data indicates that online safety education would be well served by understanding online risk as related to offline factors, rather than only on whether or not a youth engages in particular online activities. In other words, what makes certain online activities risky is not necessarily the activity per se (such as forming a close online relationship), but rather whether the youth is vulnerable to emotional manipulation due to offline factors.

CCRC research suggests that prevention programs should therefore:

- include information on more appropriate avenues for seeking support for offline issues
- as well as educating youth about the red flags of manipulative online relationships (e.g. “don’t tell your parents”).

c) Empirical data on the contexts within which online victimization occurs

In keeping with the overall aim of the CCRC to both provide empirical data (and analysis of that data) about online risks to youth and to dispel misconceptions about such risks, some of the papers produced by CCRC researchers consider specific online contexts that have been popularly thought to put youth at risk, for instance: “Are blogs putting youth at risk for online sexual solicitation or harassment?” (2008)¹⁷⁴ and “How Risky Social Networking Sites: A Comparison of Places Online Where Youth Sexual Solicitation and Harassment Occurs” (2008)¹⁷⁵.

As for blogging, the researchers note that while youth who blog are more likely than other youth to post personal information online, they were not more likely to interact with people they met online and did not know in person and showed no increased risk for sexual solicitation. Youth

¹⁷¹ “Online behaviour of youth who engage in self-harm”, at p. 394. Available at <http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/pdf/CV160.pdf>. Last accessed May 26, 2009.

¹⁷² Wolak, J., Mitchell, K.J., and Finkelhor, D. (2003). Escaping or connecting? Characteristics of youth who form close online relationships. *Journal of Adolescence*, 26(1), 105-119: at p. 105.

¹⁷³ How do High-Risk Youth Use the Internet?” at p. 1.

¹⁷⁴ Mitchell, K.J., Wolak, J., & Finkelhor, D. (2008). Are blogs putting youth at risk for online sexual solicitation or harassment? *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 32:277-294. Available at <http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/pdf/CV149.pdf>. Last accessed May 26, 2009.

¹⁷⁵ Ybarra, M., Mitchell, K., & Wolak, J. (2008). How Risky Social Networking Sites: A Comparison of Places Online Where Youth Sexual Solicitation and Harassment Occurs. *Pediatrics*. 121:e350-e357. Available at <http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/pdf/CV167.pdf>. Last accessed May 26, 2009.

who did interact with persons they met online were more likely to receive online sexual solicitations, regardless of whether they blogged. The researchers conclude that blogging, and the resulting higher incidence of posting personal information, did not increase the risk of sexual solicitation – though it did increase the incidence of online harassment.¹⁷⁶ Similarly, the researchers did not find there to be a significant increase in risk on social networking sites.¹⁷⁷

Youth do show increasing risk of unwanted exposure to sexually explicit material online, and the researchers at the CCRC urge that more research is called for to assess the impact of this exposure. They note that parental use of blocking or filtering software only produced a modest decrease in risk of exposure, and other parental control measures had no significant effect.¹⁷⁸

Finally, another significant intervention by the CCRC researchers explores the use of the Internet by family members and offline acquaintances to commit sex crimes against minors. They note that the Internet is being used increasingly as a tool in the perpetration of family and acquaintance abuse in two ways: 1) increasing ease with which sexual photographs and videos are taken and distributed online; and 2) increasing access to vulnerable youth by acquaintances who are able to form abusive relationships they may not have achieved offline.¹⁷⁹ This data suggests that prevention education should not focus exclusively on being wary of people met only online, as abusive relationships frequently are initiated offline and carried further online.

d) *Conclusions*

Ultimately, the CCRC research points to the following recommendations¹⁸⁰:

CCRC RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING PREVENTION MESSAGES:

- Avoid characterizing victims only as younger children or emphasizing violence and deception.
- Be clear about why sex with underage adolescents is wrong.
- Focus more on adolescents, less on parents, and frankly on concerns relevant to adolescents, including autonomy, romance and sex.
- Focus more on interactive aspects of Internet use and less on posting personal information.
- Educate youth about criminal behavior and child pornography.
- Develop targeted prevention approaches for the most at risk youth populations.
- Assess youth for patterns of risky online behavior.

¹⁷⁶ “Are blogs putting youth at risk”, at p. 277.

¹⁷⁷ “How Risky are Social Networking Sites?” (2008) at p. 350.

¹⁷⁸ Mitchell, K.J., Finkelhor, D., and Wolak, J. (2003). The exposure of youth to unwanted sexual material on the Internet: A national survey of risk, impact and prevention. *Youth & Society*, 34(3), 330-358. Available at <http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/pdf/jvq/CV51.pdf>. Last accessed on May 26, 2009.

¹⁷⁹ Mitchell, K.J., Finkelhor, D. and Wolak, J. (2005). The Internet and family and acquaintance sexual abuse. *Child Maltreatment*, 10(1), 49-60. Available at <http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/pdf/jvq/CV93.pdf>. Last accessed on May 26, 2009.

¹⁸⁰ <http://www.unh.edu/ccrc/Internet-crimes/>. Last accessed on May 26, 2009.

2. Pew Internet and American Life Project

The Pew Internet and American Life Project¹⁸¹ is another major source of data on youth Internet use¹⁸², and a subset of this research concerns online safety issues.¹⁸³ The most relevant reports released by Pew regarding online sexual exploitation of youth are: “Teens, Privacy and Online Social Networks”(2007)¹⁸⁴, and “Teens and Online Stranger Contact” (2007).¹⁸⁵

Online contact with a “stranger” is defined as contact with someone “who has no connection at all to you or any of your friends”, the Pew studies reveal the following:

- 32% of online teens have been contacted online by a stranger, and of those who had been so contacted 23% said they felt scared or uncomfortable as a result of this contact. This translates into 7% of online teens experiencing disturbing stranger contact;
- Girls were more likely to experience such disturbing stranger contact with 11% of online girls and only 4% of online boys reporting such incidents – girls are also more likely to be contacted by stranger (39%, as compared to 24% of boys)¹⁸⁶;
- Of those teens that post photos online, 49% reported stranger contact; of those who have a profile online, 44% reported stranger contact, and of those flirting via social networks, 53% reported stranger contact¹⁸⁷;
- However, most teens ignored or deleted stranger contact (65%), while 21% responded to the contact to find out more about the person. 8% responded and asked to be left alone, and 3% told an adult or someone in authority.
- While social network users were more likely to be contacted by strangers, they were not more likely to find this contact disturbing.¹⁸⁸
- Of those who posted photos, as noted above, 49% were contacted by strangers and 10% had been contacted by a stranger who made them feel scared or uncomfortable, while only 16% of teens who have not posted photos online had been contacted by strangers and only 4% had been disturbed by stranger contact.

The survey results indicate that most online contact from “strangers” is not disturbing to youth and that mostly youth are able to deflect the contact without incident.

Pew research suggests that prevention education therefore needs to be able to:

- address how to handle uncomfortable contacts, while acknowledging that most youth are able to safely deflect such advances;
- acknowledge that some uncomfortable contacts will be coming not from “strangers” but rather from people they know offline.

¹⁸¹ <http://www.pewInternet.org/>. Last accessed on May 26, 2009.

¹⁸² <http://www.pewInternet.org/topics/Teens.aspx>. Last accessed on May 26, 2009.

¹⁸³ <http://www.pewInternet.org/topics/Safety.aspx>. Last accessed on May 26, 2009.

¹⁸⁴ <http://www.pewInternet.org/Reports/2007/Teens-Privacy-and-Online-Social-Networks.aspx>. Last accessed May 26, 2009.

¹⁸⁵ <http://www.pewInternet.org/Reports/2007/Teens-and-Online-Stranger-Contact.aspx>. Last accessed May 26, 2009.

¹⁸⁶ “Stranger Contact” at p. 1.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.* at p. 1.

¹⁸⁸ These findings are summarized in Amanda Lenhart’s presentation “Teens, Online Stranger Contact and Cyberbullying: What the research is telling us” (June 30, 2008), presented at the Internet Safety Town Hall at the National Education Computing Conference. Available at <http://www.pewInternet.org/Presentations/2008/Teens-Online-Stranger-Contact--Cyberbullying.aspx>. Last accessed May 26, 2009.

The Pew studies also show that teens are making strides toward protecting their privacy on social networking sites, with 66% reporting that they restrict access to their profiles, and 46% saying that their publicly accessible profiles contain false information that would make it difficult for the youth to be located by someone not known to them offline. At the same time 63% of teens believed that a motivated person could eventually identify them from information they publicly provide on their profiles.¹⁸⁹

When combined with the CCRC data discussed above (that determined that posting personal information, by hosting a blog for instance, does not in itself lead to increased risk), prevention strategies clearly need to become more sophisticated in the messaging for youth regarding personal information protection.

The Pew studies suggest that when addressing posting personal information online, prevention materials should:

- Recognize that simply telling youth not to post personal information is missing the mark with youth: both because sharing personal information is an integral part of social life online and so should not be discouraged out of hand, and because youth feel that they can be located anyway if someone really wants to find them.
- Emphasize appropriate problem-solving when responding to truly risky situations:
 - encouraging youth to seek support from trusted sources, and
 - to tell trusted adults when situations become uncomfortable online.

3. Internet Safety Technical Task Force

The Internet Safety Technical Task Force (ISTTF)¹⁹⁰ was created in February 2008 in accordance with the *Joint Statement on Key Principles of Social Networking Safety* announced in January 2008 by the Attorneys General Multi-State Working Group on Social Networking and MySpace, and was directed by the Berkman Center for Internet and Society at Harvard University. The scope of the Task Force's inquiry was to consider those technologies that industry and end users - including parents - can use to help keep minors safer on the Internet.¹⁹¹ Part of the report, which was released on December 31, 2008, consists of a literature review from the ISTTF Research Advisory Board, outlining the relevant research in the field of youth online safety in the U.S. (hereinafter "ISTTF Literature Review"). The ISTTF Literature Review aims to document what is known and what remains to be studied regarding youth online risks and safety.¹⁹² It is organized around the three most prevalent risks youth face online: harassment, solicitation, and

¹⁸⁹ "Teens, Privacy and Online Social Networks", at p. 2

¹⁹⁰ <http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/research/isttf>. Last accessed on May 26, 2009.

¹⁹¹ The full report, "Enhancing Child Safety and Online Technologies" can be downloaded from <http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/pubrelease/isttf/>. Last accessed May 26, 2009. The Literature Review can be cited as Schrock, A., & Boyd, D (2008). Online threats to youth: Solicitation, harassment, and problematic content: Literature review prepared for the Internet Safety Technical Task Force. Retrieved March 25, 2009 online at http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/sites/cyber.law.harvard.edu/files/RAB_Lit_Review_121808_0.pdf

¹⁹² "Enhancing Child Safety", at p.4.

exposure to problematic content.¹⁹³ Only the sexual exploitation related risks will be reviewed here.

The ISTTF Literature Review is careful to contextualize its findings and to guard against misinterpretation of data. For instance, the ISTTF Literature Review notes the work of the CCRC cited above regarding sexual solicitations and notes that the numbers alone (e.g. that 1 in 7 youths have experienced unwanted sexual solicitations online) may give the appearance of unknown older males soliciting teens, when actually 90-94% of those solicitations come from peers or young adults where the approximate age is known, and 69% of solicitations involve no attempt at offline contact.¹⁹⁴ The ISTTF Literature Review also notes that the term “solicitation” is very broad in these studies, and includes far more than luring attempts – it also includes sexual harassment and flirting, for instance. The vast majority of such solicitations are deflected by youth (92% of solicitations in a Los Angeles based study).¹⁹⁵ Further, most Internet-initiated sex crimes reported to police were committed by family members (44%) and people known to the youth offline (56%). The ISTTF Literature Review concludes that “the threat of Internet-initiated sex crimes committed by strangers appears to be extremely exaggerated”¹⁹⁶ but that within this relatively rare crime, the population at the most risk continues to be adolescents¹⁹⁷ who are engaging in sexual talk or other engagement online, especially those with offline troubles (family problems, depression).¹⁹⁸

The ISTTF Literature Review findings suggest the following for prevention campaigns:

- Less emphasis should be placed on forbidding “stranger” contact with people known only online: the review lambasts the characterization of making friends online as inherently dangerous, and notes that of the minority of American youth who have made connections online that lead to an in-person meeting (10-16%), these meetings are typically friendship-related, non-sexual, between peers, and known to parents¹⁹⁹;
- More emphasis should be placed on sexual manipulation and exploitation regardless of the origin point of the relationship between offender and victim, since most sexual exploitation continues to be perpetrated by people the victim knows offline. Further, while the incidence of stranger cyber-stalking (where offenders locate youth offline using information found online) is very rare, the use of communications technologies in offline stalking originating from an offline connection (or perceived connection) between the victim and offender is more common;
- More research and prevention education needs to focus on age of consent crimes committed using the Internet: the authors stress that very few of the online luring crimes involve violence – and that this data has policy implications in that such relationships should perhaps not always be assumed to “start with a predatory or criminally inclined adult”²⁰⁰;

¹⁹³ “Enhancing Child Safety: Appendix C” at p.6.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.* at p.9.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* at p.14.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.* at p.15.

¹⁹⁷ 99% of victims of Internet-initiated sex crime arrests in the CCRC’s NJOV-1 study were aged 13-17, with 76% being high school aged (14-17) and the rest aged 13. No victims in this study were under 12. *Ibid.* at p.19.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.* at p.20.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.* at p.15.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.* at p.18.

- More research and prevention education needs to focus on youth-to-youth harassment and solicitation. Research and prevention materials addressing cyber-bullying should take greater account of sexual victimization by other youth, and should also consider that there appears to be overlap between victims and perpetrators here (i.e. that many youth are both victims and perpetrators of youth-to-youth harassment).²⁰¹

The ISTTF Literature Review notes that more research needs to be done regarding:

- 1) unwanted sexual solicitation of minors by other minors, and the relationship of these solicitations to offline assault (such as “date rape”)²⁰²;
- 2) the relationship between bullies and victims, reciprocal bullying, and cross-medium shifts between bullies and victims and the relationship between bullying and sexual victimization of various sorts²⁰³.

Areas identified as “critically under-researched” include:

- (1) minor–minor solicitation;
- (2) the creation of problematic (sexual, violent, self-harm) content by minors;
- (3) less-visible groups, such as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender (LBGT) youth and youth with disabilities who may be particularly vulnerable;
- (4) the interplay between socioeconomic class and risk factors;
- (5) the role that pervasive digital image and video capture devices play in minor-to-minor harassment and youth production of problematic content;
- (6) the intersection of different mobile and Internet-based technologies; and
- (7) the online activities of registered sex offenders.²⁰⁴

The authors state that “Finally, because these risks to youth are rapidly developing, there is a dire need for ongoing large-scale national surveys to synchronously track and quickly report these complex dynamics as they unfold.”²⁰⁵

B. European Research

There is a significant amount of research being carried out in Europe, much of it under the auspices of the EU Kids Online project²⁰⁶, some major findings of which are reviewed below. A further hub of research is the COPINE Project (Combating Paedophile Information Networks in Europe) at the University of Cork in Ireland. COPINE research is focused on online sexual offenders, including some work on youths who collect child pornography. It also includes work by Dr. Ethel Quayle on a prevention/intervention project aimed at offenders or would-be offenders with “problematic Internet use” issues (the Croga Project).²⁰⁷ The Croga Project is the only prevention program available online addressed to offenders or potential offenders looking to

²⁰¹ *Ibid.* at p.12.

²⁰² “Enhancing Child Safety”, at p.4 and “Enhancing Child Safety: Appendix C” at p.21.

²⁰³ “Enhancing Child Safety: Appendix C” at pp. 27, 28.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.* at p.52.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁶ <http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/EUKidsOnline/Default.htm>. Last accessed June 2, 2009.

²⁰⁷ For a description of the CROGA project, which is aimed at early intervention for online sex offenders, see http://www.unicef.org/protection/ireland_46482.html.

deal with their problematic Internet use. As such it is a novel model and its effectiveness should be studied to see if a similar program should be developed in Canada.

Recommendation regarding prevention materials for offenders:

- Since no Canadian online sexual exploitation prevention materials are currently geared toward offenders or potential offenders, the Croga Project model should be studied to assess whether a similar program should be developed and made freely and anonymously available online.

1. EU Kids Online

The EU Kids Online project is a tremendously ambitious three year project (2006-2009) funded by the European Commission's Safer Internet Plus Programme.²⁰⁸ The project consists of research carried out in 21 member states into how people, especially children and young people, use new media, and features collaborations between researchers from different EU countries aiming to identify, compare and evaluate the available evidence about youth new media use, including safety related issues. The project is wrapping up as this report goes to print, and culminated in a conference held June 11, 2009.²⁰⁹ Key questions guiding the project that are relevant to this report include: 1) What risks exist, for which technologies, and in relation to which (sub)populations?; and 2) How do social, cultural and regulatory influences affect the incidence and experience of, and the responses to, different risks?

The amount of data that has been collected is immense, and much of it is available to the public via a public online repository.²¹⁰ A snapshot of some of this research is compiled into a 2008 report entitled "Comparing children's online opportunities and risks across Europe"²¹¹, which includes the following summary of online risks:

Thus, across Europe, notwithstanding considerable cross-national variation, it appears that **giving out personal information** is the most common risk (approximately half of online teenagers), that **seeing pornography** is the second most common risk at around 4 in 10 across Europe, that **seeing violent or hateful content** is third most common risk (at approx one third of teens), that being **bullied/harassed/stalked** affects around 1 in 5 or 6 teens online, that **receiving unwanted sexual comments** is experienced by between 1 in 10 teens (Germany, Ireland, Portugal) but closer to 1 in 3 or 4 teens in Iceland, Norway, UK and Sweden, rising 1 in 2 in Poland. Last, as regards **meeting an online contact offline**, this is the least common but arguably most dangerous risk, showing considerable

²⁰⁸ http://ec.europa.eu/information_society/activities/sip/index_en.htm. Last accessed June 2, 2009.

²⁰⁹ Research papers and abstracts available at <http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/EUKidsOnline/Conference%20papers.htm>.

²¹⁰ The searchable repository can be accessed via <http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/EUKidsOnline/repository.htm>. Last accessed June 2, 2009.

²¹¹ Hasebrink, U., Livingstone, S., Haddon, L. (2008) *Comparing children's online opportunities and risks across Europe: Cross-national comparisons for EU Kids Online*. London: EU Kids Online. Available at http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/EUKidsOnline/Reports/D3.2_ISBN.pdf. Last accessed June 2, 2009.

consistency in the figures across Europe at around 9% (1 in 11) online teens going to such meetings, rising to 1 in 5 in Poland, Sweden and the Czech Republic.²¹²

Compared with the ISTTF Literature Review, this report appears to oscillate between different understandings of “risks”, and this clouds the conclusions that the data supports. There are at least three different types of “risks” summarized in this paragraph:

- Some of the “risks” are potentially risky behaviors by youth that may lead to higher incidence of Internet-facilitated victimization (though the ISTTF Literature Review contests even this conclusion): “giving out personal information” and “meeting on online contact offline”;
- Some of the “risks” are in themselves victimization experiences, and their relationship to youth online behavior is unclear: “being bullies/harassed/stalked” and “receiving unwanted sexual comments”;
- Some of the “risks” are experiences theorized to have detrimental effects on youth, though the nature of those effects are not known: “Seeing pornography” and “seeing violent or hateful content”.

These different types of “risks”, which may not even be properly called “risks” in all cases, at the very least require different types of prevention and intervention responses.

Further, it is apparent from this project that further research and engagement with theory are needed to come to terms with the data on harm or level of distress experienced by youth. The authors note, for instance, that “[i]n several countries, a degree of distress or feeling uncomfortable or threatened was reported by 15%-20% of online teens, suggesting, perhaps, the proportion for whom risk poses a degree of harm” – although clearly such a correlation between harm and feelings of distress requires further study. Further the authors note that “[i]ndeed, though there is growing evidence of the array of coping strategies children employ when faced with online risk, these are not yet systematically studied and nor is their effectiveness evaluated.”²¹³ The results of such further research would contribute to a better understanding of how children and youth can be taught or encouraged to adopt effective coping and other problem solving strategies when faced with online risks of various sorts.²¹⁴

The report is rife with other relevant findings, a complete review of which is beyond the scope of this report.²¹⁵ Of particular note in the Canadian context is the finding that there are some countries where high risk arises because Internet access (and especially high speed access) is relatively new. This may have implications for rural and remote regions of Canada that are just now gaining access to broadband Internet.²¹⁶

²¹² “Comparing children’s online opportunities and risks” at p.117. Emphasis original.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ *Ibid.* at p.120.

²¹⁵ Cathy Wing, Co-Executive Director of Media Awareness Network (which is on the international advisory board for EU Kids Online), for instance, notes that “One of the more compelling findings [from EU Kids Online] from our point of view was the role that positive, high quality online content for children played in mitigating risk. From a policy perspective it shows the need to support the development of age-appropriate, high quality online content for kids. MNet’s research showed that only 1% of Canadian children’s favourite websites contained content specifically developed for children or families.” Email from Wing to author, dated July 2, 2009.

²¹⁶ “Comparing children’s online opportunities and risks” at p.119.

Overall, the EU Kids Online Project provides a useful a model for future research in Canada as it helps to pinpoint the role of differences in culture and national policy in online risks to youth, as well as helping to identify more universal risks.²¹⁷

Recommendations arising from EU Kids Online include:

- Further research and theory are needed to understand the correlation between feelings of distress or discomfort and harm;
- Further research and theory are needed to understand how children and youth currently cope with online risk, and how effective these strategies are in reducing harm;
- Canadian research is needed which addresses regional differences in access to broadband Internet service relative to online risks to youth;
- More Canadian research is needed that examines the impact of cultural differences and policy differences on online risks to youth.

C. Canadian Research

In light of the above overview of the most recently published research in the United States and Europe, much of the available Canadian research is somewhat dated. Nonetheless, the following Canadian organizations (or individuals within those organizations) have conducted primary research (such as surveys or other empirical data collection) related to online sexual exploitation of children and youth: Statistics Canada; Media Awareness Network; University of Toronto Faculty of Social Work; and surveys conducted by the Government of Alberta, the McCreary Adolescent Health Survey (British Columbia), and Ipsos-Reid (Microsoft sponsored). Other pockets of Canadian primary research, such as research focused on offender treatment, have not been included in this review.²¹⁸ Related academic research that is not directly applicable to online sexual exploitation prevention strategies has also not been reviewed, such as law review articles or research on cyber-bullying that is not focused on sexual exploitation.

²¹⁷ Other such projects beyond the scope of this report include the World Internet Project. See <http://www.worldinternetproject.net/>. Canada participates in this project, and the 2007 Canadian report is “Canada Online! The Internet, Media and Emerging Technologies: Uses, Attitudes, Trends and International Comparisons 2007” written by Charles Zamaria (Ryerson University) and Fred Fletcher (York University, emeritus), *supra*. The report focuses on Canadian Internet use and attitudes toward Internet use generally, and only a very small part of it is dedicated to online risks and perceptions of risk. Relevant findings include that “85% of the youth sample believes they have the skills to safely browse the Internet, while only 74% of adults agree with that sentiment. Among parents, 13% are concerned that their child may be lacking the necessary skills to be online, a position held by only 3% of the youth sample. Similarly, while 54% of adults are concerned about children or youth communicating with unknown persons online, this concern is shared by only 33% of the youth sample (39% of youth feel confident that this is not a problem).” (at p.218). Another relevant finding is that parents feel they are monitoring their teenage children’s activities more than the teenagers themselves perceive they are monitored (51% of parents say they monitor their 12-17 year old’s online activities often and only 26% of parents say they monitor seldom or never, whereas only 17% of youths believe that adults monitor their activities often and 54% of youth say monitoring happens seldom or never)., (see pages 218-219). This is likely a reflection of the finding elsewhere in the report that parents grossly underestimate the amount of time that their children spend online.

²¹⁸ See for instance the work of Michael Seto, Associate Professor, Department of Psychiatry, University of Toronto: Seto, M. C. (2008). *Understanding pedophilia and sexual offending against children: Theory, assessment, and intervention*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

The Canadian institutions and organizations conducting secondary research (such as literature reviews, analysis of findings of other researchers, reports making policy recommendations) reviewed below are: National Child Exploitation Coordination Centre (NCECC); Boost Child Abuse Prevention and Intervention; and Safe Online Outreach Society (SOLOS).

1. Canadian Primary Research

a) *Statistics Canada*

As discussed in the course of the case law review above, Statistics Canada recently released a report through the monthly publication *Juristat* entitled “Child Luring Through the Internet”, which is the first publicly released Statistics Canada report regarding online child sexual exploitation.²¹⁹ In that report, the authors note that research shows that children and youth are avid users of technology, and that Canadian youth are engaging in behaviors that “may raise their risk of online sexual exploitation”.²²⁰ The use of the phrase “may raise the risk” here indicates the authors’ awareness that hard data on this issue is not currently available in Canada.

“Potentially risky behaviours” identified in the report are: sharing personal information over the Internet, emailing or posting photographs online, chatting online with “strangers” (people met only on the Internet), and visiting adult-content sites and chat rooms. However, as the review of the U.S. literature above shows, some of these behaviours are not in themselves strong indicators of risk: posting personal information, emailing or posting photographs, and making friends online are not in fact good indicators of heightened risk because they are extremely common practices among youth, with no corresponding increase in victimization. Instead, data needs to be collected about more specifically risky behaviours, such as talking to people met only online about sex. Clearly, the primary lesson from *Juristat*’s “Child Luring Through the Internet” is the need for much better data on risks to Canadian children and youth, and a willingness to dismantle some of the assumptions about online risk that have guided most of the research so far.²²¹

One fruitful avenue would be to incorporate inquiries about Internet crime into other crime data. The Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics regularly releases analyses of crime trends in Canada. This includes a valuable study by Josée Savoie entitled “Analysis of the Spatial Distribution of Crime in Canada” that analyzes offline violent and property crime, and shows differences in crime rates in specific urban, suburban and rural areas and neighbourhoods. So far these analyses

²¹⁹ Jennifer Loughlin and Andrea Taylor-Butts, “Child Luring Through the Internet” (March 2009), *Juristat* Article, Vol. 29, no. 1 (Statistics Canada catalogue no. 85-002-X). Available at <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2009001/article/10783-eng.pdf>. (Last accessed June 12, 2009).

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, at p.6.

²²¹ As Roberta Sinclair et al note “Canadian victimization statistics in respect to Internet based child sexual exploitation are difficult to generate for many reasons including, but not limited to, underreporting by victims, fear of embarrassment, retaliation or revoking of privileges, and lack of knowledge on what constitutes sexual exploitation on the Internet. Currently official Canadian statistics on this crime are also scarce.” Sinclair, R.L. (with D. Sugar). 2005. “Internet Based Child Sexual Exploitation Environmental Scan”, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/ncecc-cncc/factsheets-fichesdocu/enviroscan-analyseenviro-eng.htm> at pp. 16-17. (Last accessed April 13, 2009).

have not attempted to shed light on whether there are any geographic or other risk/protective factor features to online crime or victimization rates.²²²

Some of the reluctance to integrate online crime with offline crime analyses comes from the following trends and assumptions in the nascent field of Internet crime risk assessment: 1) anecdotally supported belief that online sexual exploitation crimes are committed by basically all types of people, and that any child anywhere in Canada can be victimized; 2) that the “borderless” nature of the Internet means that geographical mapping of online crimes does not make sense; and 3) that online offending/victimization does not correlate with offline offending/victimization.

Some of these assumptions are being questioned as a more sophisticated understanding of online child exploitation develops. For instance, it is increasingly becoming clear that not all children are at the same degree of risk for online exploitation, and research is showing that offline factors play an instrumental role in identifying children and youths most at risk for online exploitation. Second, while the Internet does create a global network and facilitate exchange of child pornography images (for instance) across national boundaries, much of the harm caused by online sexual exploitation of children and youth is more local and likely follows similar patterns to offline abuse with victims and perpetrators physically located in the same communities.

Savoie stresses the need to supplement police data with victim and offender surveys in her spatial crime distribution study, in order to help define more clearly the role of community participation, and social inclusion/exclusion in crime prevention at the neighbourhood level – insights of this sort would be useful for informing online crime prevention strategies as well, including online sexual exploitation of children and youth, since protective factors clearly also play a role in online crimes.

Recommendations arising from Statistics Canada research:

- More Canadian-specific data needs to be collected that follows up on the direction that U.S. and E.U. research is taking, instead of perpetuating assumptions about risky online behaviour that is not borne out in empirical evidence;
- More varied approaches should be taken to analyzing online sexual exploitation as part of a broader spectrum of crime (e.g. as related to offline sexual abuse, for instance) and how the incidence of these crimes is informed by other contextual factors.

b) Media Awareness Network (MNet)

To date, the most comprehensive national survey of Canadian youth and online practices and behaviours was conducted by MNet under the title *Young Canadians in a Wired World*. The project was carried out in two phases, the first phase was completed in 2001 and the most recent phase was completed in 2005. MNet is slated to do a new survey to update this information, with the same or similar model as the previous project (i.e. a two phase model – beginning with focus

²²² Josée Savoie, “Analysis of the Spatial Distribution of Crime in Canada: Summary of Major Trends 1999, 2001, 2003 and 2006” (October 2008), Crime and Justice Research Paper Series, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Catalogue No. 85-561-M (No. 015).

groups, then a broad school-based survey in each province and territory). According to Cathy Wing, Co-Executive Director of MNet, MNet aims to have the new survey done in 2010.²²³

In the meantime, the 2001 and 2005 data remains the most current information available on Canadian youth practices online. According to Wing, the focus groups in particular provided rich information about exposure to sexual content online and other sexual issues. As a school-based survey, the second phase was more restricted and questions regarding sexual issues could only be asked of youths in grades 7-11, not the younger grades (grades 4-6).²²⁴ Wing notes that the study did not reveal significant differences between what children and youths were doing across regions, nor between urban and rural populations. The only statistically significant difference found was that youths in Quebec were generally more likely to be exposed to more sexually explicit materials, although the meaning of this difference for online victimization risks has not been explored.

Key findings²²⁵ in *Young Canadians in a Wired World Phase II: Trends and Recommendations*²²⁶ (hereinafter “Trends and Recommendations”) relevant to online sexual exploitation can be grouped into several topic areas: exposure to sexual or other inappropriate content; offline meetings with people met online; cyber-bullying and harassment; and online privacy and identity.

Regarding exposure to sexually explicit materials, the key findings include:

- 32% of the 50 favourite websites listed by the youths surveyed incorporate material that is highly sexualized, and children in Grades 8 and 9 included these sites in their list of favourites most frequently.
 - Two sites that appear in the top four most popular sites with students in Grades 8 to 11 – Newgrounds and eBaumsWorld – contain mature content. These sites also appear on the list of favourites for Grade 6 and 7 students.
 - In Quebec, the top site for girls in Grades 8 to 11 is Doyoulookgood.²²⁷ On this Montreal-based site, users post photos, videos and information about themselves so others can vote on their looks. Members can search the site for people by age, starting as young as 13.
- There is a link between visiting offensive Web sites and having negative experiences in the real world. Young people who report being bullied and sexually harassed in the past school year also report the most visits to offensive Web sites.

Interviews with youth in focus groups revealed a central concern regarding the pervasiveness of sexualized images in the media environment. MNet suggest that more research is needed to gain a better understanding of how this content affects young people. MNet also supports the

²²³ Interview with Wing, supra.

²²⁴ Interview with Wing, supra. The restriction on questions of a sexual nature was required by the research ethics review at the University of Ottawa, as the second phase of the study was conducted by Professor Valerie Steeves at the University of Ottawa.

²²⁵ http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/research/YCWW/phaseII/key_findings.cfm. Last accessed on May 13, 2009.

²²⁶ http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/research/YCWW/phaseII/upload/YCWWII_trends_recomm.pdf. Last accessed on June 17, 2009.

²²⁷ See www.doyoulookgood.com. Last accessed on May 13, 2009. Profiles contain a picture (usually a headshot where the person tries to look good, obviously – good meaning pretty, sexy, hot), what town they live in, height and body type, whether they are in a relationship, and interests.

development of ways to provide youth with more information about content, so they can make informed choices about the media they consume, a focus in keeping with MNet's origins in media literacy education.²²⁸

Regarding offline meeting of online friends:

- A growing number of homes have rules about meeting an online acquaintance in the real world – 75 percent in 2005, compared with 54 percent in 2001 – and the presence of such rules does affect behaviour, especially among younger children.
- 79 percent have never met an online acquaintance face to face.
- Of those youths who have done so, 72 percent report that it was a “good experience.”²²⁹
- Of the 29 percent who said the offline meeting was a “bad experience”, two-thirds said they did not enjoy the experience because the person they met was “fat” or “ugly” or a “moron,” or the young person simply didn't like them.
- A small proportion of bad experiences involved unwanted sexual interaction or vulgar sexual language (three percent of all meetings) or getting into fights (two percent of all meetings).²³⁰
- Sexual interaction is not, by itself, a marker for a bad experience. Four percent of teens who reported that they had had a good real-world experience with an online acquaintance said it was good because they had had sex.

Regarding cyber-bullying and sexual harassment, key findings include:

- Thirty-four per cent of students in Grades 7 to 11 report being bullied, while 12 per cent report having been sexually harassed;
- Among those who report being bullied, 74 per cent were bullied at school and 27 per cent over the Internet. For those who report sexual harassment, the situation is reversed. 47 per cent say they were harassed at school, while 70 per cent were harassed over the Internet.
- Of those young people who report being sexually harassed over the Internet, over half (52 per cent) say it was someone they knew in the real world.
- Likelihood that a young person will be sexually harassed offline doubles if that person has intentionally visited adult chat rooms, gambling sites or sites that contain pornography, hate speech, violence or gore in the past year.
- Youths who live in homes that have no rules about meeting online acquaintances or visiting sites with offensive content are more likely to be sexually harassed than kids who have rules.²³¹

Regarding online privacy and identity exploration, the key findings include:

- Only seven per cent of students would reveal their name and address in a chat room or in a profile on a dating site. However, one-third (34 per cent) of kids would give their email address in a chat room.
- Almost 60 percent pretended to be someone else online at some point, and half of them did so to see what it would be like to be older, to talk to older youth or to flirt with older people.²³²

²²⁸ Trends and Recommendations at p.24.

²²⁹ *Ibid.* at p.12.

²³⁰ *Ibid.* at p.13.

²³¹ *Ibid.*

- Youths interviewed in focus groups all expressed indignation that they could be “lied to” on the Internet, even though most of them admitted that they had assumed false online identities in the past.²³³
- Youth interviewed in focus groups also stated that they valued their online privacy, especially their privacy from parents and teachers, and so privacy-invasive solutions like extensive parental monitoring may be counterproductive.²³⁴

MNet concludes from these findings that prevention strategies need to validate and take into account the realities of youth social interactions and experiences online.²³⁵ In keeping with MNet’s philosophy more generally and its roots in media literacy, MNet endorses prevention strategies that provide youth with tools to “wisely navigate the online world”.²³⁶

Recommendations arising from MNet research:

- Prevention materials should recognize and validate the role of technology in carrying on and/or initiating relationships among youth;
- Meeting online friends offline should not be cast as only a dangerous activity – again, youth positive social experiences online should be validated;
- More Canadian research is needed on the links between sexual harassment, bullying, and online sexual exploitation;
- More nuanced messages are needed regarding personal information online, including:
 - addressing the value of protecting personal information and the idea of degrees of sensitivity of personal information and the trust required to disclose more sensitive information;
 - addressing privacy values more generally (including the value of developing adolescent autonomy from parents);
- More nuanced messages are also needed with regard to identity issues online:
 - Acknowledging that youth commonly pretend to be someone else or to have different characteristics online;
 - That identity play is not necessarily negative, but should be distinguished from deception intending to cause harm.

c) *University of Toronto, Faculty of Social Work*

There are several pockets of academic research in Canada dedicated to the problem of cyber-bullying, but for the most part this research does not deal directly with online sexual

²³² From Trends and Recommendations at p.12. Available at http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/research/YCWW/phaseII/key_findings.cfm. Last accessed May 13, 2009.

²³³ Trends and Recommendations at p.12.

²³⁴ *Ibid.* at p.14.

²³⁵ *Ibid.* at p.13.

²³⁶ *Ibid.* at p.14.

exploitation.²³⁷ Some of this research touches on peer sexual victimization, but clearly more specifically focused academic research on online sexual exploitation, or even sexual forms of cyber-bullying would be useful. The Faculty of Social Work at the University of Toronto has several researchers, led by Professors Faye Mishna and Michael Saini, who have turned their attention to the problem of cyber-bullying and sexual exploitation. Their article “*Real World Dangers in an Online Reality: A Qualitative Study Examining Online Relationships and Cyber Abuse*” is reviewed here (hereinafter “Mishna, *et al.*”).²³⁸

Mishna *et al.*’s article analyzes posts on the Kids Help Phone²³⁹ website, with particular attention to what children and youth (ages 11-24, with a median age of 14) say about their involvement with online interactions and their experiences with cyber-abuse. The authors define “cyber abuse” as encompassing “a wide range of aggressive online activities including bullying, stalking, sexual solicitation, and [exposure to] pornography.”²⁴⁰ Kids Help Phone is an anonymous online counseling service, so the posts are by youth seeking support or help with problems. It must therefore be noted that these posts provide information about how youth are describing and dealing with these problems, rather than about youth online experiences generally.

Mishna *et al.* found that youths that posted on Kids Help Phone had readily developed online relationships, “despite showing awareness of the dangers inherent to the Internet”.²⁴¹ Five major themes emerged through analysis of the posts: extent and importance of online interactions/relationships; online dating; awareness of potential online dangers; cyber abuse (bullying, stalking, solicitation, and exposure to online pornography), and not telling parents about problems encountered online.

Mishna *et al.* also found that many youths posting on Kids Help Phone are carrying on existing friendships and relationships online, as well as initiating and maintaining friendships and relationships online. They see the Internet as “a legitimate forum through which to make and maintain both friendships and romantic relationships.”²⁴² The authors note that:

For many of the children and youth the Internet is an integral component of their romantic and sexual experiences. In addition to forming online friendships, many of the youth, as young as 13 years, depicted being involved in intense online sexual and romantic relationships, ranging from brief online sexual encounters (“cybering”) to long term

²³⁷ See for instance, Beran, T., & Li, Q. (2005). Cyber-harassment: A study of a new method for an old behavior. *Journal of Educational Computing Research*, 32(3), 265-277; Blais, J.J., Craig, W.M., Pepler, D., & Connolly, J. (2008). Adolescents online: The importance of Internet activity choices to salient relationships. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 37(5), 522-536; Li, Q. (2007). New bottle but old wine: A research of cyberbullying in schools. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 23, 1777-1791; Shariff, S. (2009). *Confronting cyber-bullying: What schools need to know to control misconduct and avoid legal consequences*. New York: Cambridge University Press; Shariff, S., & Johnny, L. (2007). Cyber-libel and cyber bullying: Can schools protect student reputations and free expression in virtual environments? *McGill Journal of Education*, 16, 307-342.

²³⁸ Mishna, F., McLuckie, A., & Saini, M. (2009). *Real World Dangers in an Online Reality: A Qualitative Study Examining Online Relationships and Cyber Abuse*. *Social Work Research*, 33(2), 107-118.

²³⁹ Kids Help Phone is Canada’s 24 hour, free, anonymous online and telephone counselling service for youth. See <http://www.kidshelpphone.ca/>. Last accessed June 17, 2009.

²⁴⁰ Mishna *et al.*, at pp. 3-4.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.* at p. 5.

²⁴² *Ibid.* at p. 6.

monogamous relationships that either progressed to actual meetings or that remained within a cyber context.²⁴³

The authors note that a minority of these relationships involve age discrepancies (which could potentially fall under luring offences), but most of these online romances are between youth. Girls sometimes revealed that they pretended to be older online in order to attract older males.²⁴⁴ Some expressed doubts about how genuine their feelings were, given the cyber context, but most displayed the same range of emotional attachments as offline romances.

These findings are significant for prevention strategies because they signal that the traditional admonition not to engage with people known only online is unrealistic. Forming friendships and romantic relationships online is by now fairly common practice among youth, and needs to be recognized as such. A more appropriate strategy is to develop more nuanced messages that help youth to identify and appropriately respond to manipulation by online friends and romantic partners that would make them vulnerable to sexual exploitation.

Mishna *et al.* also found that youth posting on Kids Help Phone are generally aware of the ease with which online contacts can lie about their identities or intentions, but that youth nonetheless invest high levels of trust in their online friendships and romances.²⁴⁵ These high levels of trust often led teens to quickly share all of their secrets, fears and problems with online friends and romantic partners, a finding that contrasts with the common claim among teenagers that they were “being safe and haven’t given him any personal info.”²⁴⁶ This finding is also significant for prevention messages, as it shows that the common warning not to share personal information online is missing the mark in two ways: 1) sharing personal information is often very narrowly understood to mean identifying and locating information, such as a full name, address and telephone number, while 2) sharing personal information about one’s problems and insecurities is actually more likely to expose a young person to manipulation and exploitation. Again, more nuanced prevention messages are needed that acknowledge the intensity of online romances and friendships and help youth to extricate themselves and seek help from trusted adults when these relationships become exploitative.

The authors also discuss authentication strategies used by youth: revealing that youth find older people misrepresenting themselves to be a red flag, and so rely on strategies like webcams, telephone conversations, mutual offline acquaintances and online pictures to validate that the online romantic partner is not a middle aged or older man.²⁴⁷ The significance of this finding for prevention strategies is that stress placed in many prevention campaigns on deception by predators (i.e. that the online friend they believe to be a peer is actually a middle-aged sexual predator) is only translating into youth protecting themselves from gross deceptions – it does little to protect them from more common and subtle forms of emotional manipulation. Further, as the CCRC research showed, most youths who do form sexual relationships with older men online are actually aware of the age discrepancy, and deception as to age is not a major feature of the vast majority of luring crimes.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.* at p. 7.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.* at p. 8.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

Mishna *et al.* examine the various forms of cyber-abuse named in the study: stalking, solicitation, distribution of images, offline meetings with older men met online, and exposure to online pornography.

Stalking

Stalking incidents involved either a person known offline or met online, and typically started with the stalker being friendly or nice and escalating to unwanted and persistent contact and demands. Analysis showed that the children and youth were frightened by the amount of information the stalker was able to gain about them – whether this information was inadvertently provided by the youth him or herself (through usernames, Web pages, social networking sites, and blogs, for instance), or through obtaining information from the youth or his or her friendship group.²⁴⁸ Youth rarely reported engaging professional support (other than Kids Help Phone itself, of course), except when threats became particularly serious. The significance of this finding for prevention strategies is that youth need to be encouraged to seek help from trusted adults for these situations. It appears that most young people have gotten the message that they should guard against posting locating and identifying information online, and this message is still important. Awareness also needs to be raised about the ease with which a potential stalker can gain sufficient information to find someone, through information that youth might not regard as ‘personal’. This will become increasingly important as the Internet is ever more fully integrated into our lives.

Solicitation

In this study, solicitation to engage in online sexual acts most commonly came from older males (both men met online and men known to them offline) and was directed at females and gay or bisexual males. Sometimes youth reported being pressured to engage in cyber-sex or to “flash” on a webcam or other digital device. Some reported being offered rewards and enticements, others were subject to persistence/pressure, and others reported threats.²⁴⁹ Prevention strategies should therefore educate youth about these strategies to pressure them into performing sexual acts or providing pictures online.

Distribution of images

Another type of scenario revealed in the Kids Help Phone posts was where sexual images were willingly taken by youths, and later distributed to others. Mishna *et al.* report that several posts dealt with the distribution of photos meant for private viewing by a boyfriend/girlfriend – with deep feelings of remorse and depression by the victims.²⁵⁰ Prevention messages typically advise youth not to take such pictures in the first place. However, since the practice is fairly common (especially among older teens), strategies for seeking help with these situations, including instilling a sense of accountability for the “bystanders” who pass these pictures around, is called for.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.* at p. 10.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.* at p. 11.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.* at p. 12.

Offline meetings with older men met online

Mishna *et al.* report that those youths who wrote about going to offline meetings with older men often recounted the use of illicit substances (offered by the older man), clearly used to groom youth for the sexual encounter. The authors note that it appeared that “the children and youth who were vulnerable to these situations were those who struggled with issues such as serious family or school problems or with significant emotional problems or substance use.”²⁵¹ Youth expressed shame and confusion, but typically preferred not to go to parents or police about these incidents.

Exposure to online pornography

Exposure to online pornography was also widespread in the posts examined by Mishna *et al.* – some of it voluntary (including youth expressing concerns about addiction) and some of it not (such as being sent pornography by an online contact – including child pornography). Many of the youths who posted about frequently accessing online pornography were savvy about covering their tracks and preventing their parents from finding out, although they were concerned about the impact so much porn viewing was having on them.²⁵²

Parent/trusted adult involvement

Mishna *et al.* found that the vast majority of youths posting on Kids Help Phone did not contact parents or other trusted adults about their issues prior to contacting Kids Help Phone:

Even when the children were in deep trouble and frightened, very few reached out to their parents for help. The children depicted their parents as providing them with Internet safety information and they described even ‘great parents’ as becoming ‘ballistic’ upon discovering that their child was involved in online relationships.²⁵³

This led to youth cutting their parents out of the process of decision making regarding online relationships. Indeed the study found that youths were especially reluctant to tell parents about abuse because their parents had discussed Internet safety and set rules about Internet use that the youth had broken, and were afraid that their Internet privileges would be taken away.²⁵⁴

The significance of this finding for prevention messages runs deep: it means that unrealistic messages like “don’t post personal information” or “don’t make friends with people you know only online” are backfiring in that youth who violate these prohibitions (as most youth do) and then run into trouble feel they are barred from seeking help.²⁵⁵ The authors further note that several youth in the study did not disclose their abuse because they understood the illegal nature of the behaviours (such as having viewed child pornography) and despite having been victimized, feared they would be punished by the law.²⁵⁶ The authors therefore conclude that:

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² *Ibid.* at p. 13.

²⁵³ *Ibid.* at p. 14.

²⁵⁴ This finding comports with other research by Mishna that found in a school-based survey that fear of losing computer privileges is a main reason why children and youth do not report cyberbullying incidents to their parents. Mishna, F., Saini, M. and Solomon, S. “Ongoing and Online: Children and Youth’s Perceptions of Cyber Bullying”, *Children & Youth Services Review* (in press).

²⁵⁵ Mishna *et al.* (2009) at p. 17.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.* at p. 18.

Prevention and intervention programs that inform children of safety and risks are critical but insufficient as children and youth require help to decrease their risky behaviours. It is essential to develop and evaluate education and prevention/intervention programs to determine their effect in changing children's and adolescents' online behaviours. A focus must be on facilitating the ability of children and youth to seek help with cyber abuse and concerns from their parents, teachers and other authorities. This means for example, that parents must not automatically respond with such actions as revoking Internet privileges, which to the child or youth may feel like a disconnection from their social world. Rather, parents and other adults must be prepared to listen to the children and youth's cyber predicaments and to help them problem solve their situation.²⁵⁷

Recommendations arising from Mishna et al. research:

- Validate youth online social practices – including forming close friendships and romantic relationships online. Instead of forbidding such relationships (which is clearly ineffective), develop more nuanced messages that help youth to identify and appropriately respond to manipulation by online friends and romantic partners;
- Similarly with online disclosure of personal information:
 - Rather than merely admonishing youth not to post personal information (typically restricted to full name, address, and telephone number in prevention materials), recognize that personal information sharing is happening *in relationships* and that consequently trust, and misuse of trust, should be key themes;
 - Stress strategies for dealing with harassment and stalking online that empower youth to seek help from trusted adults, rather than despairing that the offender has been able to find a lot of information about them;
- The persistent message in prevention campaigns that “predators” are using deception to trick youth into situations where they can be sexually exploited should be replaced with messages that stress resistance to emotional manipulation, as well as the rationale for age-of-consent laws;
- Youth-to-youth sexual exploitation should be addressed, including the role of bystanders of passing on sexual photographs of peers, for instance;
- Stress the need in general to go to trusted adults for help when things go wrong online (and teaching adults not to react negatively to disclosures by youth);
- Engage in more substantial evaluation of prevention and intervention programs to determine their effect on changing children's and adolescents' online behaviours. Emphasis is needed on enhancing youth's ability to recognize problem situations and deal with them in ways that reduce the harm caused, rather than simply focusing on reducing their engagement in “risky” behaviours.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.* at p. 19.

d) *Government of Alberta*

The Government of Alberta has conducted research on the online sexual exploitation of children and youth, as part of a larger strategy to combat sexual exploitation of children and youth wherever it occurs. Alberta has produced both original research and original Internet safety materials as part of this strategy. Three research-based documents will be reviewed here: the OmniAlberta survey conducted in 2006, “Protection of Sexually Exploited Children and Youth” (2004), and “Under the Radar: The Sexual Exploitation of Young Men” (2005).

The **OmniAlberta survey** findings released in January 2006 (conducted by Leger Marketing) were compiled from 369 telephone interviews with Albertan heads of households or joint heads of households with children under the age of 18 living at home – in other words, parents.²⁵⁸ The survey consisted of six questions assessing perception of level of risk (respondents were asked to rate their opinions on a five point scale, with 1 meaning no risk at all and 5 meaning extremely high risk). Results were grouped according to three levels of perceived risk (low, medium, and high).

Parents surveyed perceived levels of risk of children being sexually exploited on the Internet as high (21%) to extremely high (53%). 17% said medium and only 6% said low or no. Despite this high level of perceived risk to “children” generally, respondents had a very different perception of the risk of sexual exploitation faced by their own children (51% said low or no risk). 24% said their children face a high risk (17% extremely high, 7% high). This is a very interesting contrast, given how difficult it is to reach parents with educational materials. The results beg the question of what makes parents so sure of the high risk to children more generally (perhaps due to the influence of media reporting on risks?) and what makes them relatively sure that their own children are safe. Possibly this confidence comes from the further survey results that showed that 72% of respondent parents had personally had discussions about Internet safety with their children. 72% also had formal but unwritten rules about Internet use and safety, and 23% had written rules. However, given the findings in the Mishna *et al.* study above, these parents should not necessarily feel that simply because they have had these discussions their children are following the rules, or more significantly, that they are able to come to the parents for help if something goes wrong.

One of the survey questions asked parents how they would respond following their child’s “exposure to sexual exploitation on the Internet”. Unfortunately, it is not clear from the report how “exposure to sexual exploitation on the Internet” was defined for respondents. About half of the parents (49%) said they would call the police – but other possible responses reflect some differences in what respondents (and the survey designers) had in mind – so that “Delete it/Block it” (20%) obviously only works for spam email or a website, versus “tell the person to stop” (10%) which appears to involve an actual person, or “contact the school” (4%) which seems to have another scenario in mind. Only 19% said they would “educate/talk to the child” – and only 5% said they would take Internet privileges away (though again, this may depend on what scenario the responding parent had in mind).

²⁵⁸ OmniAlberta January 2006 Survey Summary of Findings can be downloaded from <http://www.child.gov.ab.ca/home/794.cfm>. (Last accessed May 21, 2009).

“Protection of Sexually Exploited Children and Youth” is a 2004 report issued by the Alberta Children and Youth Initiative within the Government of Alberta dealing with the issue of children and youth sexually exploited in the sex trade.²⁵⁹ Among the “realities of sexual exploitation” is a brief discussion of the use of technology to control sexually exploited youth, to connect them with customers, to lure them into the sex trade, and to peddle their images or services online.²⁶⁰ The report is valuable in that it discusses the youth population that is already sexually exploited and the role of technology in that exploitation, whereas most discussions of online sexual exploitation of youth ignore this most extreme end of the exploitation spectrum.

“Under the Radar: The Sexual Exploitation of Young Men” is a study released in 2005 and conducted by Dr. Sue McIntyre that looks at young men who are sexually exploited in the sex trade.²⁶¹ The study was supported in part by the Government of Alberta, Ministry of Children and Youth Services. The study examines the specific experiences of young men in the sex trade industries, and the ways that these experiences in some ways differ substantially from those of young women in the sex trade. The use of technology in the sexual exploitation of young men is not explored in the report. However, the report does offer valuable insights into this highly vulnerable sub-population and the dynamics that get them there, keep them there, and allow them to exit, as well as their experience of sexual exploitation itself.

Recommendations arising from Government of Alberta research:

- Parent surveys, like surveys of youth, need to be designed to avoid replicating assumptions about online risks to youth and instead seek neutral data;
- Links between offline and online commercial sexual exploitation should be included in examinations of online sexual exploitation;
- Gender differences in online sexual exploitation, including online commercial sexual exploitation, should be studied.

e) *McCreary Adolescent Health Survey (British Columbia) 2008*

In 2009, the McCreary Centre Society (a British Columbia based non-government not-for-profit organization) released a report entitled “A Picture of Health: Highlights from the 2008 British Columbia Adolescent Health Survey”²⁶² (hereinafter “Picture of Health”). This is the fourth Adolescent Health Survey conducted by McCreary, and questions about Internet safety were

²⁵⁹ Government of Alberta, “Protection of Sexually Exploited Children and Youth”, 2004. http://child.alberta.ca/home/documents/childsexualexploitation/Sexually_exploited_report_dec04.pdf. Last accessed June 18, 2009.

²⁶⁰ “Protection of Sexually Exploited Children and Youth”, at p.17.

²⁶¹ Dr. Sue McIntyre, “Under the Radar: The Sexual Exploitation of Young Men”, 2005. <http://www.child.gov.ab.ca/home/documents/childintervention/undertheradar.pdf>. Last accessed June 18, 2009.

²⁶² Smith, A., Stewart D., Peled, M., Poon, C., Saewyc, E. and the McCreary Centre Society (2009). *A Picture of Health: Highlights from the 2008 BC Adolescent Health Survey*. Vancouver, BC: McCreary Centre Society. Available for download at http://www.mcs.bc.ca/rs_new.htm. Last accessed May 22, 2009.

included in the 2008 survey for the first time.²⁶³ These surveys are largely funded by the Province of British Columbia.²⁶⁴

The survey is school-based, and was conducted by public health nurses in 1,760 classrooms across 50 of British Columbia's 59 school districts ("the largest survey of its kind in Canada"²⁶⁵). It aims to provide a comprehensive picture of the physical and emotional health of British Columbia youth, including risk and protective factors. The data is intended to inform policy making and program design for adolescent health programs.

The bottom line findings are that most British Columbia youth are physically and emotionally healthy, but that some youth are more vulnerable than others. Among the relevant overall findings are that youth are generally more aware of the risks of sexual activities than in the 2003 survey and are making decision accordingly. However, 6% reported signs of depression (feeling so much despair that they wondered if anything was worthwhile), with females twice as likely as males to report feeling this way (this translates into 1 in 8 adolescent girls).²⁶⁶ While this number is not much changed over the 2003 data, if combined with mounting evidence that youth suffering from depression are especially vulnerable to online sexual exploitation, these figures are highly relevant to prevention strategies.

Another concerning finding was that fewer youth reported that they could seek support from an adult when they faced a serious problem in 2008 than in 2003 – but the majority (75%) still said they could seek support from adults in their family when faced with a serious problem (56% said they could seek help from an adult outside the family) – students could choose more than one answer, so these could be the same youths.²⁶⁷ 81% said they asked friends for assistance.²⁶⁸

Internet safety is separately considered the "Picture of Health" report. Key findings include:

- 13% of respondents "had been in contact with someone on the Internet who made them feel unsafe";
- females are three times more likely than males to report an encounter that made them feel unsafe (18% of girls, vs. 6% of boys);
- 17% reported having been bullied or picked on through the Internet in the past year (with 7% more than once);²⁶⁹
- Those who had been bullied suffered emotional and mental health consequences (more likely to feel depressed, dislike school, consider suicide).
- 1 in 10 youths gave "personal information such as their address, phone number, or last name to someone they met on the Internet".²⁷⁰

²⁶³ The previous surveys were conducted in 2003, 1998, and 1992. See http://www.mcs.bc.ca/rs_pprojects.htm. Last accessed May 22, 2009.

²⁶⁴ Funding is provided by the Province of British Columbia, Ministry of Children and Family Development; Child Health BC; Northern Health Authority; and Centre for Addictions Research BC, University of Victoria.

²⁶⁵ Picture of Health at p. 8.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.* at p. 5.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.* at p. 29.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.* at p. 43.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.* This is stated in a side-bar to the report, but no further information or details are given in the report.

The survey explores protective factors (factors that reduce risk), though none directly relate to Internet issues. In general terms, family and school connectedness both rank highly as protective factors, even in the face of other risk factors. This emphasizes the need, highlighted in the other reports, to be aware that dis-connected or otherwise at-risk youths can be vulnerable to online exploitation and abuse.

The survey extensively explores risk factors, though again, none directly relating to Internet issues. However, by inference, the following findings may assist in identifying high risk youth:

- 10% girls and 8% boys had run away from home in the past year (although note that the respondents are students in school – so students who had run away and subsequently left school are not represented in this survey);²⁷¹
- Youth with unstable home life (moving three or more times in the past year, running away, and/or having been in government care) reported a much higher incidence of binge drinking, and considered or attempted suicide;
- 12 and 13 year olds reported feeling more connected to family (feelings of closeness, caregivers as warm and loving towards them, and satisfaction with family relationships) than 14-18 year olds, and boys felt more connected than girls;
- 18% females and 7% males did not seek help from mental health services when they felt they needed it (citing not wanting parents to know (43%), in addition to not knowing where to go (30%);²⁷²
- 22% of total respondents reported having ever had sexual intercourse, with increases with age (of course). The most common age of first “having sex” (which appears to mean intercourse) is age 15, with 19% of sexually active youth saying they had sex before age 14. Those who had sex early reported lower connectedness with family. Of those sexually active youth, 8% males and 10% females reported sex with a same-sex partner.²⁷³ 26% overall report having had oral sex (again, rising with age – so that by age 17 it is 47%). Note that there is no data regarding Internet use and sex in this section of the report.
- 13% of females and 3% of males reported having been sexually abused.²⁷⁴ Emotional health consequences of having been abused are high (8 times more likely to skip school on 11 or more occasions in the past month, less likely to think they would graduate from college or university).²⁷⁵ Youths with disabilities are particularly vulnerable to both physical and sexual abuse (19%).²⁷⁶

Recommendations arising from McCreary survey:

- Considering Internet use as part of adolescent health is a significant step forward in placing online child sexual exploitation in context, and this practice should be continued;
- However, Internet use issues should be integrated into other sections of the survey, especially those sections considering sexual activity, mental health, help seeking, and interpersonal relationships.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.* at p. 13.

²⁷² *Ibid.* at, p. 17.

²⁷³ *Ibid.* at p. 38.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.* at p. 41.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.* at p. 42.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

f) Ipsos-Reid Polls and Surveys

Microsoft Canada has sponsored two polls conducted by Ipsos-Reid dealing with youth online behaviours and Internet safety. Reports based on these surveys were released as “Untangling the Web: the FACTS about Kids and the Internet” (released January 25, 2006) and “Children Misunderstand Public Nature of the Internet” (released January 24th 2007).²⁷⁷

“Untangling the Web: the FACTS about Kids and the Internet” reports the results of an online poll of parents of children aged 5-17 and teens aged 12-17 with Internet access at home.²⁷⁸ The parent sample and the teen sample are unrelated, so these are general not specific findings. The poll does reveal that parents appear not to have a very good understanding of what youth are doing online. The authors of the report also conclude that a lot of teens are encountering dangerous situations online.

The manner in which some questions were asked in the poll is problematic. The questions reveal underlying assumptions about risky online behaviour, and make the results flawed. For instance, 34% of youth stated that they had come across someone asking for their personal information online, and 16% reported sharing personal information. The youths that reported being asked for their personal information chose the option “someone asking for your personal information such as your last name, home address or home telephone number”; and when asked about actually sharing, the question was “Have you ever shared personal information such as last name, home address or phone number with someone online?” These questions are problematic because that “someone” is not specified, so the request for personal information and/or the sharing of personal information could have come from a friend, relative or commercial website, with some teens answering the question including these possibilities and others only including incidents where someone not known to them asked for that information. Further, the questions reveal a narrow interpretation of “personal information” as information that could directly identify the youth, and thus precludes consideration of youth who give out more general personal information that could still potentially lead to their identification or reveal emotional vulnerabilities.

The second Ipsos-Reid report, “Children Misunderstand Public Nature of the Internet” again pursues how often youth²⁷⁹ are asked for personal information online. However this survey

²⁷⁷ “Untangling the Web: the FACTS about Kids and the Internet”, Ipsos-Reid online poll, press release January 25, 2006, available at <http://www.ipsos-na.com/news/pressrelease.cfm?id=2954>. Last accessed June 29, 2009; “Children Misunderstand Public Nature of the Internet”, Ipsos-Reid telephone survey, press release January 24, 2007, available at <http://www.ipsos-na.com/news/pressrelease.cfm?id=3337>. Last accessed June 29, 2009.

²⁷⁸ The online poll of a random sample of parents and teens was conducted between December 15th to December 20th, 2005. The parent poll is based on 676 adult Canadian parents of children aged 5 to 17 who have access to the Internet in the home. The teen poll is based on 534 Canadian children aged 12 to 17 with access to the Internet in the home. *Ibid.*

²⁷⁹ According to the press release, the Microsoft Canada and Ipsos Reid report surveyed a nationally representative sample of 1,000 children from age 10 to 14 who have Internet access at home, and 600 parents of children age 10 to 14 who have Internet access at home. It is not clear how the survey was conducted.

asked about requests from a “stranger”, and 11% of the respondents answered yes to having been “asked by a stranger for personal information while online such as their full name, home address and phone number”.. The survey also reveals that only one in 10 youth said they do not “know” all the people on their friends/messaging lists.

These results, and the disparity between them and the previous survey, may indicate that youth interpret concepts such as “stranger” and whether they “know” someone differently from the way the researchers expected. It appears that youth may not understand the word “stranger” to include friends of friends or people they have been interacting with only online. For this reason, the CCRC and the organizations making recommendations reviewed below (Boost and SOLOS) all recommend that the word “stranger” not be used when talking to children and youth about their online contacts, given how narrowly that word is understood in youth online social practices.

It appears that youth do not consider their online friends to be strangers – and as Mishna *et al.* argue, nor should they be forced to use “stranger” language to discuss online friends since these are in fact relationships. Instead, safer offline meeting practices should be addressed, rather than assuming that every online friend is a potential predator.

Given that 25 percent of children surveyed “would feel safe getting together with a person they have only met online and talked to for a long time online”, it is more important that safety strategies focus on the ways in which children make decisions about these online friendships, rather than trying to prevent the inevitable.

Similarly, “Children Misunderstand Public Nature of the Internet” found that 37 per cent of girls and 22 per cent of boys aged 10-14 have “emailed their picture to someone”. The report again casts these results as alarming, but this assumes that to email a picture of yourself to “someone” is always a risky activity regardless of the recipient (after all, “someone” could be a relative, for instance).

Recommendations arising from Ipsos-Reid polls and surveys:

- There is a need for general polls and surveys of Canadian populations of parents and youth;
- However, surveys should be designed to neutrally collect information about online behaviours that are able to take into account common youth online social practices.

2. Canadian Secondary Source Research:

Canadian government, non-governmental organizations, and government/NGO collaborations are engaged in secondary source research that involves analysis of available sources of information, and the collection of input from professionals who are working to combat online child sexual exploitation. Some of these organizations have also issued recommendations for better combating online child sexual exploitation. The extensive and valuable nature of the recommendations contained in the research reports makes them difficult to condense. The organizations whose work is reviewed are: National Child Exploitation Coordination Centre

(NCECC), Boost Child Abuse Prevention and Intervention, and Safe Online Outreach Society (SOLOS). The NCECC has a national focus, while Boost and SOLOS are provincially focused (Ontario and British Columbia, respectively).

a) National Child Exploitation Coordination Centre (NCECC)

The NCECC primarily provides services to law enforcement, including “operationally relevant research”.²⁸⁰ Much of this is primary research derived from NCECC member police services. The research most relevant to prevention strategies is secondary research, including two reports and one article:

- 1) “Internet Based Child Sexual Exploitation Environmental Scan (2005)”²⁸¹;
- 2) “Technology: Shaping Young People’s Global World”(2008 -- draft)²⁸²; and
- 3) “Identifying International Research Gaps in Internet Child Sexual Exploitation” (2007).²⁸³

This research is summarized in greater detail below. Other research is in the works, although according to Roberta Sinclair, Manager of Research and Development at the NCECC, its concentration at the moment is not particularly victim-focused. As noted in section II of this report, there is potential for valuable primary research that would be highly relevant to prevention strategies to be conducted through or in collaboration with the NCECC. This is due to the privileged access law enforcement has to chat logs and other documentation that can directly reveal the processes of manipulation in which offenders engage.²⁸⁴

The 2005 “**Internet Based Child Sexual Exploitation Environmental Scan**” (hereinafter “2005 Environmental Scan”) examined “the situation facing Canadian law enforcement in both the short- and long-term”, which includes some information relevant to prevention strategies.²⁸⁵ However, the scan is dated, and a new scan is now planned.²⁸⁶

The 2005 Environmental Scan helpfully explores a key question for online child sexual exploitation prevention strategies: namely, how does the Internet change the context/nature of sexual crimes? The report reveals three ways the Internet influences these crimes:

²⁸⁰ The NCECC was established in 2003 as the law enforcement component of Canada’s National Strategy to Protect Children from Sexual Exploitation on the Internet. See <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/ncecc-cnccc/index-accueil-eng.htm>. Last accessed June 12, 2009.

²⁸¹ Sinclair, R.L. (with D. Sugar). (2005). “Internet Based Child Sexual Exploitation Environmental Scan”, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/ncecc-cnccc/factsheets-fichesdocu/enviroscan-analyseenviro-eng.htm> Last accessed April 13, 2009.

²⁸² Wittreich, A., Grewal, M., and Sinclair, R. (2008). “Technology: Shaping Young People’s Global World”. Research Report, 2009-02. National Child Exploitation Coordination Centre, Ottawa, Canada. This paper is still being updated and so this is not the final version.

²⁸³ Roberta Sinclair, Ethel Quayle, Merlyn Horton and Tink Palmer, (2007). “Identifying International Research Gaps in Internet Child Sexual Exploitation”, *Gazette* 69:2,. Available at <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/gazette/archiv-eng.htm#2007>. Last accessed April 13, 2009.

²⁸⁴ Interview with Sinclair, supra.

²⁸⁵ 2005 Environmental Scan at p.5.

²⁸⁶ Interview with Sinclair, supra.

1. The Internet creates a means to sell/exchange exploitation images or other exploitation of youth – including prostitution of minors;
2. The Internet provides access to vulnerable children/youth to victimize; and
3. The Internet plays a key role in the sexualization and eroticization of children and youth (in Canada and internationally) through the increased exposure of children and youth to sexually explicit material, which may contribute to the phenomenon of “compliant victims”, various forms of “self-exploitation”, and youth-to-youth victimization (including youth accessing child pornography), all of which have complicated enforcement activities.²⁸⁷

It is helpful to draw these distinctions between the ways the Internet affects child sexual exploitation, as each requires different types of prevention (or harm reduction) strategies.²⁸⁸ For instance, among the technologies that are flagged as adding new dimensions to sexual exploitation of youth are camera phones (which can be used both for voyeurism offences and child pornography offences); and web cams (which can be used for the purpose of live abuse, grooming, extortion, and “self-exploitation”).²⁸⁹ These technologies are therefore used in all three of the above categories. This shows that a focus on prevention strategies may be more useful than focus on the nature of the technology itself. Instead, new technology should be addressed within each of the above three areas of concern: where adults use the technology to abuse and exploit minors (by trading or selling images or sexual services); where adults use the technology to lure vulnerable youth; and where youth use the technology to exploit themselves or others, and/or to put themselves or others at risk of exploitation.

The 2005 Environmental Scan suggests that further research collecting Canadian-specific data would be helpful in the following areas (cutting across the three ways in which technology affects the nature and context of these offences):

- *offence related information* - background characteristics: online grooming techniques; access to children (through occupation, lifestyle, caregiver); reaction to arrest (freely admit offence; partially; complete denial; shift of blame; ignorance); the nature of child abuse images;
- *offender demographics* - sex; residence - rural, urban; ethnicity; age (at time of detection and at time of offence), occupation, criminal history;
- *victim characteristics* - age, sex; location; unique characteristics (social isolation, depression, activities that increase risk of victimization).²⁹⁰

The 2005 Environmental Scan stresses that there is a need for further research on the methods that offenders utilize to victimize children and youth, such as whether different patterns of use (for example, chat, web cams) by a victim introduce different harms. The 2005 Environmental Scan suggests that research into victimization patterns and trends could be useful for efforts to reduce the under-reporting of online sexual exploitation crimes.²⁹¹

²⁸⁷ 2005 Environmental Scan at p.6.

²⁸⁸ The 2005 Environmental Scan proceeds to review existing research regarding the technological impact on child/youth exploitation and on the pornography industry; on child pornography; on offender typologies; and on prevention, education and awareness. Those aspects of the scan relevant to prevention strategies are reviewed below.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.* at p.20.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.* at p. 59.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.* at p. 61.

The 2005 Environmental Scan also helpfully makes the following observations about the specific crimes and related phenomena:

- Luring: The online grooming process for luring “can last from a brief encounter to a few days to several years, may involve tactics such as interacting with a child in a chat room, convincing the child to move to a private chat area, exchanging e-mail addresses, mobile or telephone numbers, introducing the child to sexual abuse images with the intent of lowering his/her inhibitions, and last, trying to arrange an offline meeting with the intention of sexually abusing the child.”²⁹² This description is supported by the review of the case law above as well as research on the stages of online grooming process by O’Connell (2003) summarized in the 2005 Environmental Scan and attached as Appendix C. The 2005 Environmental Scan recommends that more comprehensive research be done on the disposition of Canadian cases of child luring, as well as further study of luring victim typologies, so as to better understand “the conditions that can increase the vulnerability of some children and youth to being lured.”²⁹³
- Child Pornography Offences: Research suggests that child abuse images are used to entrap children in exploitative online relationships²⁹⁴, by convincing the child that he or she has now committed an illegal offence by viewing the images and so must be sworn to secrecy.²⁹⁵ Such tactics heighten the isolation of the child who is then vulnerable to further victimization.²⁹⁶ Prevention strategies should therefore make clear that the law is intended to protect children from exploitation, not facilitate their exploitation, and law enforcement responses to such cases should reflect that principle.
- Early Sexualization of Youth, Exposure to Sexually Explicit Materials, and Developmentally Appropriate Sexuality: There is a strong need for more attention to the issues that may arise from youth having greater exposure to sexually explicit materials at a younger age via the Internet. The authors note that “Preliminary research in Australia suggests a link between children under the age of ten, exposure to sexually exploitive material, and future use of such materials and abuse of other children.”²⁹⁷ Some research also indicates that young girls hoping to have modeling careers are being enticed and/or coerced into pornography.²⁹⁸ Prevention strategies should not only make young girls aware of the pitfalls of modeling scams (as supported by the case law review above), but

²⁹² *Ibid.* at p. 37.

²⁹³ *Ibid.* at p. 63.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.* at p. 38, citing Carr, J. (2001). Theme Paper on Child Pornography. *Second World Conference on Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children*, Yokohama, Japan.

²⁹⁵ 2005 Environmental Scan at p. 38, citing Healy, M. (2004). Child Pornography: An International Perspective. *World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children*. Available at <http://www.crime-research.org/articles/536/>. Last accessed August 7, 2009.

²⁹⁶ 2005 Environmental Scan at p. 38.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.* at p. 60, citing Stanley, J., and Kovacs, K. (Nov. 25, 2003). Child Abuse and the Internet. *Ninth Australasian Conference on Child Abuse and Neglect*. Sydney, Australia.

²⁹⁸ 2005 Environmental Scan at p. 42. The scan notes, for instance, that the Russian mob uses ‘schools for future models’ to coerce some young girls into the pornography industry.

also integrate this message into education aiming to reduce the harms of early sexualization of younger adolescent girls.²⁹⁹

The 2005 Environmental Scan singles out youth-to-youth victimization as particularly troubling for law enforcement, and likely requiring special handling. This observation holds equally true of prevention strategies: “The sexual development of both youth (victims and offenders) is underway and if these incidents are not handled appropriately both the victim and offender may be harmed, developmentally or otherwise, and this could generate more damage to themselves and others in future interactions.”³⁰⁰ Integration of support services for youth victims and offenders is therefore to be encouraged to mitigate any harm from the handling of the situation itself.

Similarly, the 2005 Environmental Scan cautions that “compliant victims” are often convinced that they are in love, and that insensitive handling of these cases by law enforcement may exacerbate the negative impact of the incident on the child.³⁰¹ Further, the authors note that Canadian culture has difficulty sympathizing with victims as they get older and more sexually mature.³⁰² This issue needs to be addressed in prevention strategies that relate to older adolescents in the course of the discussion of age of consent crimes.

As for “self-exploitation” (where minors may exchange sexual services or images online for money or other gifts), the 2005 Environmental Scan suggests that education efforts should be directed at teaching youth the repercussions of participating in these activities. These efforts should engage youth-to-youth strategies to deliver these messages, and that youth (and law enforcement investigators) should be educated as to the “power, gender, and patriarchal social structures that contribute to a young person offering their own personal web cam experiences to older people.”³⁰³

Finally, the 2005 Environmental Scan recommends that prevention, awareness and education initiatives be coordinated across Canada (and internationally): “The development of effective and productive partnerships with groups across various levels would facilitate the implementation of an integrated, national approach to prevention, awareness, and education in respect to Internet based child sexual exploitation.”³⁰⁴

“Technology: Shaping Young People’s Global World” (hereinafter “NCECC Technology Report”) reviews many of the available studies in Canada, the U.S. and other countries that

²⁹⁹ See for instance the YWCA project discussed below.

³⁰⁰ 2005 Environmental Scan at p.25. The report also notes the discretion afforded by the Youth Criminal Justice Act regarding youth offenders: “It is important to note the implications of the new Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA) on the above issues. First, no child under 12 years of age can be charged with a criminal offence in Canada. Child pornography is not listed as a presumptive or a serious violent offence within Canada at this time. The philosophy underlying the YCJA is to have less youth processed through the criminal justice system. Therefore, each province in Canada has been legislated with the authority to use their discretion in terms of assigning a warning, cautions, referrals, extra-judicial measures or incarceration. It would be the discretion of each province as to the disposition of the above cases.” (p. 25)

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*

³⁰² *Ibid.* at p. 26. Notes Lanning (2002:8).

³⁰³ 2005 Environmental Scan at p. 62.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.* at p. 56.

consider youth technology use. The objective was for this review to be of use by NCECC and its partners.³⁰⁵ In general, the report is a scaled down version of the ISTTF Literature Review described above.

According to the NCECC Technology Report, current research shows that the rate of Internet use by youth is high everywhere. Internet use is somewhat affected by economics (i.e. family income, education) but even among youth from less-affluent families with parents with less than a high school education, Internet use is high. Most families now have a computer at home – and wealthier families often have more than one.

The NCECC Technology Report found that Internet use in general increases with age (more time spent online and engaging in networked communications in later teen years). Many activities are common across ages and gender, although some are more specific:

- Instant Messaging – number of friends increases with age (including online friends), use also increases with age, and IM is used more by girls;
- Online Gaming – most popular among boys and younger youth;
- Chat rooms – girls use chat rooms somewhat more than boys, and older youth more than younger;
- Personal websites/social networking sites – again, use increases with age, and girls use these sites more than boys;
- E-mail – all kids use e-mail, and the quantity of e-mail use increases with age, but older youth more likely to have a “secret” account;
- Search – older youth spend more time searching the Internet;
- Entertainment (i.e. music downloading) – increases with age;
- Webcam use – there is no breakdown available, but the latest data is that about 33% of youths use them;
- Mobile phone – use is increasing generally and increases with age.

The significance of these trends for online risk of sexual exploitation, and consequently online safety education requires further study. However, it is clear that prevention education should be up to date on the use of these technologies and applications by different age groups in order to credibly talk to youth about safety issues.

The NCECC Technology Report also reviews available research on risky behaviours (though not to the extent of the 2005 Environmental Scan). One of the relevant observations is that in general, older children and teen risk-taking behaviour increases with age – though this in itself is not surprising and mirrors offline teen behaviour as well. The NCECC Technology Report is not as critical of assumptions underlying much of the research on risky online behaviour as the Harvard ISTTF report discussed above. Thus, risky behaviours are uncritically noted to include: communicating online with someone never met offline, emailing photos of self to others, visiting websites not approved of by parents, sharing personal information, and making ‘friends’ with strangers.

³⁰⁵ Wittreich, A., Grewal, M., and Sinclair, R. (2008). “Technology: Shaping Young People’s Global World”. Research Report, 2009-02. National Child Exploitation Coordination Centre, Ottawa, Canada.

Finally, the NCECC Technology Report notes that exposure to online pornography is common (much of it voluntary, especially among boys), as is sexual solicitation, though here too the data has not been critically unpacked to the extent that it is in the ISTTF Literature Review.

The article **“Identifying International Research Gaps in Internet Child Sexual Exploitation”** was authored by a combination of Canadian and European authors, including Roberta Sinclair from the NCECC and Merlyn Horton from SOLOS.³⁰⁶ The article identifies the following areas requiring further research that are relevant to online sexual exploitation prevention strategies:

- Research to better understand how offenders identify and groom victims;
 - This includes the study of effective methods to reduce these crimes (presumably via education and prevention strategies directed at youth; though perhaps also regarding management of offenders);
- Research that “further explores the various interconnections that increase or decrease the levels of victim risk” (including via counseling and risk assessment practices, which need to incorporate questions regarding online activities of children and youth who have been sexually abused or are otherwise seeking counseling).³⁰⁷
 - Included in this category are the effects of early and sustained exposure to sexually explicit materials online (in some cases including child pornography).

Taken together, these three publications show a significant need for further Canadian-specific research regarding youth risk of online sexual exploitation, a finding that is supported by the findings of this report.

b) Boost Child Abuse Prevention and Intervention

In 2008, Boost Child Abuse Prevention and Intervention³⁰⁸ released a report, “Responding to Child and Youth Victims of Sexual Exploitation on the Internet: Best Practice Guidelines.”³⁰⁹ The report follows up on the 2007 “Responding to Child and Youth Victims of Sexual Exploitation on the Internet” training session staged through the Ontario Provincial Strategy to Protect Children from Sexual Abuse and Exploitation on the Internet.³¹⁰ Disciplines represented at this training session and discussed in the report (hereinafter “Boost Report”) included counseling and education services. Extensive recommendations are made with regard to prevention strategies. These recommendations are derived from discussions held at the training session, and it can be said that the report is based on primary research (i.e. collection of accounts of experiences of police and people working with youths in various capacities). However, the

³⁰⁶ Roberta Sinclair, Ethel Quayle, Merlyn Horton and Tink Palmer, (2007). “Identifying International Research Gaps in Internet Child Sexual Exploitation”, *Gazette* Vol 69:, No. 2, 2007. Available at <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/gazette/archiv-eng.htm#2007>. Last accessed April 13, 2009.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.* at p.24.

³⁰⁸ The website for Boost is www.boostforkids.org.

³⁰⁹ Available for download at <http://www.boostforkids.org/pdf/BestPracticeGuidelines.pdf>. Last accessed May 14, 2009.

³¹⁰ The Ontario Provincial Strategy is a multi-disciplinary effort to coordinate investigation, prosecution and victim service provision related to online child sexual exploitation. The strategy involves coordination between the Ontario Victims Services Secretariat and Crown Law Division, Ministry of the Attorney General and Ministry of Community Safety and Correctional Services.

report itself is not written in a way that would convey that primary research and so may be more properly understood as secondary research.

Some of the major issues identified as common across the regions of Ontario are especially relevant to prevention strategies. These include:

- lack of funding (which, while common across regions, is especially acute in rural areas);
- confusion as to legal definitions and misconceptions created by terminology (i.e. “self-exploitation” and “predator”); and
- lack of awareness of the nature and extent of online safety problems among adults in general, including among parents and professionals who deal with youth.

Barriers to education and prevention efforts include low levels of parental involvement and resistance by school systems to dealing frankly with sexual issues. Many crime prevention educators complain of low attendance levels whenever parent information sessions are held, despite the fact that surveys show that parents are generally aware of the fact that they are less knowledgeable about the Internet than their children.³¹¹ Another barrier to Internet-specific sexual exploitation prevention education is its sexual nature, which has met with documented resistance from both public and religious school systems.³¹² Institutions that resist often say that parents are the parties who should teach their children about these issues – this is problematic, given the above noted difficulty in reaching parents with these messages.

The Boost Report also identifies some key areas of concern regarding the identification/assessment and treatment of victims of Internet related sexual exploitation. These issues compound another gap in prevention materials: namely that prevention materials often do not acknowledge that there will be children and youth receiving these materials who have already been victims of sexual abuse (offline or online).

Some issues regarding assessment and treatment of victims are regionally specific – for instance, the scarcity of support services in Northern Ontario and the vast distances between cities where more services can be accessed; and cultural and language diversity within cities and between Aboriginal bands.³¹³

The primary issue identified in the report specific to educators is difficulty in finding an appropriate avenue to relay prevention messages (to parents, to children/youth, and to professionals working in fields dealing with online child exploitation). Some suggest that there should be less emphasis on extreme examples of exploitation and more on the more common, less extreme cases of victimization (as well as everyday risks) “in order to create prevention messages to which children and parents can relate.”³¹⁴ However, the report also stresses the need to educate counselors and victim service workers about the impact of child abuse imagery on victims (namely, “knowing how to work with children in long-term counseling where child abuse imagery exists...how to respond to the permanency of the images, while also taking into

³¹¹ Boost Report at p.10.

³¹² *Ibid.*

³¹³ *Ibid.* at pp. 22-24.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.* at p.35.

consideration the initial shock victims experience when they realize that images are permanent, and incorporating both of these aspects into a long-term healing process”³¹⁵). This sort of information may also be useful to include in materials for youth, especially where counseling resources are not readily available for victims of these crimes.

Many thorough and insightful best practice recommendations for education and prevention programs are set out in the Boost Report, including the following:

- 1) Young people should be incorporated into prevention and education programs.³¹⁶
 - Use school and university programs to recruit interested students into the field (e.g., through graduate school work).
 - Incorporate young people in conferences and multidisciplinary training.
 - Utilize cooperative education programs and opportunities.
- 2) Youth input should be incorporated into a coordinated, victim-centered response to Internet child sexual exploitation.³¹⁷
 - Include youth as vital parts of advisory and coordination committees.
 - Create and increase youth-educating-youth prevention programs.
 - Create surveys, focus groups, and similar forums for interested youth to relay input and suggestions.
 - Increase research efforts involving youth.
 - Listen to the input and feedback from victims and incorporate it into existing programs and policies.
- 3) Communities need multi-level prevention strategies addressing varying levels of risk in youth populations.³¹⁸
 - On the primary level, attempt to increase public knowledge through public service announcements on the radio, television, Internet campaigns, and in local community projects, with some public service announcements directed at adults and some at youth/children.
 - On the secondary level, focus existing prevention programs in youth centres, drop-in centres, sports and recreation facilities, schools, and peer-to-peer education to at-risk groups.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.* at p 36.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.* at p. 38.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.* at p. 40

³¹⁸ *Ibid.* Each prevention level is defined in relation to existing notions of prevention activity for offline child abuse as follows: Primary prevention is the development of policies, procedures and interventions to promote healthy parenting styles and parent-child relationships, and healthy environments for children and families so that child abuse and family violence do not occur. Child abuse and family violence are approached from an education and information perspective (e.g., drop-in centres, community information services, prenatal care, affordable, quality child care and education). Secondary prevention is aimed at those vulnerable to being abused, and those at risk of committing abusive acts. Early identification and early intervention help to stop abuse and violence from escalating and may prevent further problems (e.g., home visitation, extended school programs, investigation of reported suspicions of abuse). Tertiary prevention takes the form of intervention and/or rehabilitation in situations where child abuse or family violence has occurred, to prevent recurrence and to reduce the severity and effects of the problem (e.g., individual/group/family therapy, foster care, emergency response systems).

- On the tertiary level, create specialized treatment, specialized safety-planning, and specialized future outreach program for families of youth and children who have been victimized.

4) Primary level prevention: Increase public awareness of Internet sexual exploitation, its prevalence, how it can affect children and youth, and avenues for reporting suspicions.³¹⁹

- Utilize the Internet as a positive tool for awareness by creating links to fact sheets about exploitation on popular websites for children and youth, including social networking sites.
- Focus on reporting and avenues for youth and parents to report suspicious activity.
- Ensure that there is both a qualification process and a “train the trainer” process for those involved in delivering public awareness campaigns.

5) Primary level prevention: programs for youth should include:

- A focus on the possible repercussions of posting nude or sexually suggestive images and personal information on social networking sites such as Facebook and MySpace, healthy sexuality education, how to identify grooming online, how to stay protected online, consent to sex issues, and self-esteem issues;
- An element that outlines healthy relationships, both offline and online;
- Efforts to empower youth to be critical of the Internet as a medium;
- Where possible, the use of personal anecdotal information from victims in prevention messages;
- Peer-to-peer education utilized as much as possible;
- A system that is able to support victims who disclose Internet sexual exploitation as a result of education and prevention campaigns; and
- Attempts to instill prevention programs in the public and private school systems as part of the core curriculum, as well as and other community organizations such as churches and community centres. The eventual goal of such a *Ministry-based* core curriculum is to have Internet education as a mandatory aspect of sexual education and computer courses in elementary and high schools.³²⁰

6) Primary level prevention: programs for parents should include:

- Basic Internet technical and vocabulary education, protection education, and child self-esteem education in order to make parents more aware of children’s actions on the Internet.

7) Secondary level prevention: Identify high-risk youth and tailor prevention strategies to their needs.

- Identify especially vulnerable groups of children (e.g., special-needs children, Aboriginals, children with mental health concerns, and gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgendered, and transsexual children and youth) and ensure that prevention messages meet their specific needs.³²¹

³¹⁹ *Ibid.* at pp. 44-45.

³²⁰ *Ibid.* at pp. 45-46.

³²¹ BOOST runs a program called RSVP (Relationship Skills for Violence Prevention), which targets adolescents at risk, and features a peer-to-peer model of violence prevention. The group has gone in to schools to talk to girls who

8) Tertiary level prevention: Attempt to establish a complex and flexible definition of a “victim”, which would include families of offenders and victims.³²²

- Recognize the diversity of victims and the fact that the needs of victims will not be generalized; they will depend on the circumstances of victimization and the child.
- Recognize that some victims may not acknowledge they have been victimized.

9) Tertiary level prevention: Increase awareness of Internet sexual exploitation among youth-serving professionals.³²³

- Include an Internet component to existing basic child abuse training programs for those involved with children and youth.
- Explain the need for changing the definition of terms such as “stranger,” and the ever-changing social reality of the current online generation.

The Boost Report also contains recommendations for future research. Relevantly, it recommends support of research initiatives that evaluate the effectiveness of prevention messages for children and youth, in order to assist in the creation of effective future prevention campaigns and strategies.³²⁴ The Report also recommends support of research into effective means to encourage reporting and disclosure, and empowering bystanders to report and disclose:

Children and youth must be educated about the risks of and protective factors for exploitation of their own peers, friends, and family members; a vital part of this is research into the effectiveness of current advertising of reporting venues. Once youth understand the risk and protective factors associated with Internet use, and are empowered to implement proven strategies including telling a trusted adult when they have suspicions or knowledge of exploitation over the Internet, a true milestone will have been reached.³²⁵

have been identified as at risk of relationship violence. Interview by author with Helen Vozinidis, Acting Manager, Assessment and Treatment Program, Boost Child Abuse Prevention and Intervention, October 16, 2008.

³²² Boost Report at p. 41.

³²³ *Ibid.* at pp. 44-45.

³²⁴ *Ibid.* at pp. 50-51. The authors note in particular the following research by members of the CCRC in New Hampshire, reviewed above: “Currently, research in the United States by Mitchell, Wolak, Finkelhor, & Ybarra has found that a large majority of youth who are solicited online are teenagers and older youth (Mitchell, Finkelhor, & Wolak, 2001; Ybarra, Mitchell, Finkelhor, & Wolak, 2007). As such, the researchers believe that prevention programs will be more effective if delivered to peers by peers, in order to increase credibility among potential youth victims (Mitchell, Finkelhor, & Wolak, 2001, p. 3014). In addition, they believe that prevention and education programs should not focus on messages such as “don’t talk to strangers;” instead, they suggest that messages should reflect the reality that youth will form online relationships, and should focus on statements such as, “I know many young people your age are meeting people online. You probably know how easy it is to hide your identity. Be careful and know that you can discontinue a relationship at any time by changing your login name or blocking someone” (Ybarra, Mitchell, Finkelhor, & Wolak, 2007, p. 142). Also, they suggest acknowledging the potential positive outcomes of Internet relationships, which will reflect the reality in which many youth live (Ybarra, Mitchell, Finkelhor, & Wolak, 2007, p. 142). Further research such as this is incredibly important in forming the prevention messages given to children and youth.”

³²⁵ Boost Report at p. 51.

c) *Safe Online Outreach Society (SOLOS)*

Safe Online Outreach Society (SOLOS) is a British Columbia NGO whose mission is specifically to “increase the capacity of youth, parents and professionals to effectively respond to online exploitation, whether sexual, emotional or societal, through non-punitive, educational based approaches.”³²⁶ SOLOS primary activity is conducting live presentations in schools, community centres and friendship centres in British Columbia. SOLOS also conducts research, much of which is done by SOLOS staff members (especially its Executive Director, Merlyn Horton) to keep their presentations up to date, and is mostly not available in published form, except through a research report SOLOS produced for the Ministry of Public Safety and Solicitor General of British Columbia entitled “Bridging the Gap: Best Practices and Policies to Address the Online High-Risk Activities of Youth in BC” (hereinafter “Bridging the Gap”).³²⁷ This report is summarized here. “Bridging the Gap” is partly based on primary research (interviews conducted by Horton), but for the most part is based on research derived from secondary sources.³²⁸

“Bridging the Gap” takes a nuanced and contextual approach to understanding online sexual exploitation of children. Rather than limiting its analysis to the broad categories of child pornography and luring offences, the report considers a more inclusive range of situations and contexts in which interactions may be exploitative, including:

- Those involving sexual abuse images of pre-pubescent youth;
- Adolescents experimenting with sexuality in online settings;
- Sexual exploitation of youth in online environments (which could include abuse images of pubescent and post-pubescent youth);
- Advertising of child sexual services online; and
- Use of online environments to identify, engage and lure youth into sexually exploitative situations.³²⁹

The primary recommendation of “Bridging the Gap” is that British Columbia should implement a provincial strategy to combat online sexual exploitation of youth “based on a human service approach” that favors “cooperation and coordination amongst industry, government, NGOs and

³²⁶ SOLOS mission statement, May 2007. Also in the annual report 2007-2008.

³²⁷ M. Horton, L. Stoneman and J. Wheeldon, “Bridging the Gap: Best Practices and Policies to Address the Online High-Risk Activities of Youth in BC”, November 2007. Available at <http://www.safeonlineoutreach.com/bridgingGap.php> (last accessed May 15, 2009).

³²⁸ Bridging the Gap at pp. 14-15. Some of the examples provided in the report are gleaned from interviews conducted by Merlyn Horton (Executive Director of SOLOS). These examples include scenarios such as: a minor “cam girl” accumulating \$5000 worth of gifts for performing in front of her webcam, youth being threatened with offline violence (to self or family) if they don’t comply with requests for sexual images, alteration of online profile photos for blackmail purposes (to illicit sexual photos), street youth being further exploited to perform in front of webcams for the profit of others, and youth advertising themselves online for sexual services. Her interviews also uncovered an incident (reported by youth workers) involving the recruitment of youth into commercial sexual exploitation (a different variant of luring than is commonly addressed). She notes that rural/isolated and aboriginal youth are particularly vulnerable to this new form of recruiting (featuring such tricks as paying the youth’s way to the city, engaging the youth in partying/alcohol/drugs, etc) and the report includes an example of youth counsellors in an aboriginal community in BC tracking down a girl at the local airport trying to pick up a pre-paid ticket for Vancouver where the online recruiter promised to get her started in a modelling career. The formalization of this type of research would be useful, since many of these cases do not enter the justice system.

³²⁹ *Ibid.* at p. 8.

the public” with a strong focus on education, awareness, research and training.³³⁰ The specific recommendations regarding education and awareness are extensive, as this is SOLOS’ primary area of expertise.

The recommendations fall into the following categories:

- 1) Education and awareness campaigns should focus on increasing the resilience and capacity of Internet users³³¹;
- 2) Education and awareness campaigns need to be culturally sensitive, reflecting the diversity of Canada’s youth populations³³²;
- 3) Along with general awareness campaigns, more specific campaigns should target rural communities; and
- 4) More targeted curricula and resources also need to be developed for high-risk youth, including training sessions for community experts.³³³

Like the Ontario report by Boost, “Bridging the Gap” sets out some considerations specific to British Columbia’s geography and culture – although some of these considerations would also apply to other provinces, or at least to other provinces likely to face equivalent concerns. Most of these recommendations are related to the features of non-urban British Columbia – where differences in culture, access (to resources, education, services) and community risk factors will require tailored approaches.³³⁴ Particular concerns include:

- Rapid introduction of broadband Internet access to rural and First Nations communities, where youth have, until then, had limited exposure to sexual exploitation recruitment and luring;
- Youth taking up positive possibilities of broadband rapidly, while adults in these communities may lag even farther behind than the general adult population;
- Residual effects of residential school system and sexual abuse, creating a need to address sexual abuse issues with sensitivity to this history;
- Limited counselors and other support providers, which means that existing service providers in rural areas especially need training on Internet issues; and
- The training of members of these communities to carry out prevention activities, as they will be better educators of local populations than people from outside.

“Bridging the Gap” takes the view that adolescent development has not changed (adolescents need to establish identity, autonomy, intimacy, and to become comfortable with their sexuality and achievements) – but now it is possible for the audience (including adults) to directly hear the conversations, see the pictures and otherwise observe the activities of teens as they go through these processes.³³⁵ The authors counsel against overreaction to teen behaviour which would clamp down on youth privacy and autonomy.³³⁶ They prefer an approach that responds to the

³³⁰ *Ibid.* at p. 4.

³³¹ *Ibid.* at p. 17.

³³² *Ibid.* at p. 5.

³³³ *Ibid.* at, p. 6.

³³⁴ *Ibid.* at p. 18.

³³⁵ *Ibid.* at p. 24.

³³⁶ *Ibid.* at, p. 25.

high-risk activities of youth online in a way that acknowledges and accommodates the positive as well as negative (and neutral) effects of technology on youth culture and communication.³³⁷

Key ways that technology has affected youth culture noted in the report include:

- Youth can connect with people outside their geographic area (to both positive and negative effect – especially for youth from rural and isolated communities);
- Consequences for actions are different online than off (information/image permanence; taken out of context);
- Experimental behaviours are amplified (with sometimes unforeseen effects) – e.g. due to perceived anonymity;
- Adolescents often do not see the long term implications of their actions;
- Technology enables multiple representations of self, identity experimentation (both for youth and those who seek to manipulate them) – again to both positive and sometimes negative effects;
- Constant engagement with technologies creates difficulties for monitoring, mentoring and supporting youth.³³⁸

With respect to this last point, “Bridging the Gap” cautions that prevention education for parents should educate parents not only about the technology but also about respecting youth’s age appropriate need for personal autonomy/privacy. The authors suggest that involvement of youth in the development of prevention strategies would help ensure that concerns for youth safety do not excessively trench on youth efforts to achieve responsible independence and autonomy.³³⁹

“Bridging the Gap” relies on published research, primarily that produced by the CCRC in New Hampshire, to stress the need for evidence-based prevention strategies that:

- Keep up to date with youth technology use;³⁴⁰
- Realistically reflect which online behaviours are most risky (talking to many unknown people online, talking about sex with people known only online, visiting adult chat rooms);
- Address youth who are most at risk (youth from dysfunctional homes, youth engaged in substance abuse, youth disenfranchised from their families and communities, youth who have experienced sexual abuse or are questioning their sexuality) – especially via youth workers and other professionals who counsel youth;³⁴¹
- Use “digital street outreach” to reach some of the at-risk kids in online environments (e.g. in adult chat rooms);³⁴²
- Address multiple cyber-risks together, not just sexual exploitation (i.e. cyber-bullying, exposure to harmful content).³⁴³

³³⁷ *Ibid.*

³³⁸ *Ibid.* at p. 26.

³³⁹ *Ibid.* at p. 29.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.* at p. 33.

³⁴¹ Finklehor, D. (2007, May 3). Just the facts about online youth victimization: Researchers present the facts and debunk myths. Transcripts from The Congressional Internet Caucus Advisory Committee Forum. Washington, DC. From <http://www.netcaucus.org/events/2007/youth/>. Cited at Bridging the Gap, p. 31.

³⁴² Bridging the Gap at p. 32.

³⁴³ *Ibid.* at p. 34. The authors include the following descriptions of cyber-risks. Sexual exploitation online includes sexual assault via webcam, encouraging youth to create explicit sexual images of themselves, youth advertising

The authors discuss the recommended approach for each stakeholder group (youth, parents, professionals in public and private sectors, industry partners and researchers):

- Youth focus:
 - utilize dialogue with youth about their online experiences;
 - acknowledge the positive elements of online communications;
 - promote critical thinking about their online experiences and the role that technology plays in their lives;³⁴⁴
 - reject the “scared straight” model in favour of encouraging responsible cyber-citizenship;
 - prefer youth participation models over programs delivered by professionals (such as police officers);³⁴⁵
 - create programs not only for mainstream youth populations but also for specific at-risk populations.³⁴⁶
 - Address youth in a variety of setting (schools, community centres, youth groups).
- Parent/adult focus:
 - Motivate parents and other caregivers to learn about the activities of their children online;
 - Encourage parents to embrace educational approaches rather than relying on monitoring or filtering software that do little to enhance or improve the capacity of young people to deal with online issues or address online activities carried outside of the home;³⁴⁷
 - Address parents not only as parents but as “watchful witnesses” who can help report abuse (in their own families as well as in the community);
 - Some prevention messages should be directed at individuals at risk of exploiting youth directly online or viewing child pornography.
- Professional focus:
 - As with youth and parents, stress problem solving rather than monitoring or filtering;

sexual services in online classifieds. Online luring includes both for purposes of sexual assault and also “grooming and recruitment into offline sexual exploitation” (i.e. prostitution). Posting material harmful to youths’ future reputation and/or opportunities includes: images of self engaged in illegal activities, and creation of images of youth engaged in sexual activities. Gang recruitment mentioned, as well as access to material harmful to youth emotional, mental or physical health: such as pro-suicide/slashing/anorexia sites and exposure to extreme explicit violence or sexual images. Child pornography is listed as a separate complex of high risk activities: visual depictions of children being sexually assaulted, youth creating/viewing/distributing child pornography. Cyberbullying includes: slander, impersonating others, threats, morphing photographs causing ridicule. (Contained in a chart in Bridging the Gap at p. 34.)

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.* at p. 36.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.* at p. 36.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.* at p. 37. Targeting at-risk youth seen as key. This would include: youth questioning their sexuality (and GLBT youth), youth with absent parents, “latch-key” children, isolated/adventurous youth, youth with mental illness, youth with developmental challenges, youth at risk of sexually offending, youth who have been sexually abused, hearing impaired youth, disenfranchised youth, young children just beginning to engage online, and youth addicted to online gaming.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.* at p. 40.

- Prefer dialogue and discussion with youth over admonitions;
- Include training on identifying youth at risk of engaging in dangerous online activities, engage youth in their online environments, and train on the specific needs of victims of online exploitation, pornography and luring;
- Target audiences include those in education (teachers, administrators, counselors), law enforcement, social services and relevant government ministries. Aim is also to “decentralize” expertise, so that more local professionals can serve needs of members of their communities.³⁴⁸

D. Conclusions: Gaps in Research

The review of available Canadian research (in combination with the United States and European research) reveals that we do know a fair deal about the sexual victimization of children and youth online, although some gaps are also apparent. It also reveals that there are many professionals deeply engaging with the problem of online child sexual exploitation, and a consensus on recommendations for future research and design of prevention strategies is emerging. A summary of recommendations that reflect this consensus and the results of the review conducted in this report is included below in Section V.

What we know:

- Youth are regularly engaging in some activities that have been identified as risky in the past (posting personal information, making online friends) and so the correlation between these activities and increased vulnerability is no longer supportable -- Instead, youth need to be equipped with strategies to wisely and responsibly conduct themselves online (including when and with whom to share personal information; how to conduct healthy relationships online, regardless of whether they initiated online or offline) as well as needing strategies for dealing with problem situations when they arise;
- Other online activities are emerging as requiring attention in prevention messages: visiting adult online spaces; pretending to be older online to engage in sexual conversations with older people; talking about sex with people met only online; and talking to large numbers of people known only online;
- Youth continue to be reluctant to go to adults for help with online issues, and the reasons for this include unrealistic rules regarding Internet use, especially for teens, that lead youth to fear that because they broke the rules they will be punished rather than supported when something goes wrong;
- Some youth are more at risk for sexual exploitation than others, such as youth experiencing family instability, mental health issues, and who have been sexually abused offline.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.* at p. 47.

Recommendations for where further research is needed:

- Identify any regional differences in risk and protective factors – including whether rural, remote and Aboriginal communities recently receiving broadband Internet service are especially vulnerable;
- Explore potential for special vulnerabilities of marginalized youth (LGBT youth; youth with disabilities; new immigrant youth; impoverished youth; rural youth);
- Identify and examine the role of protective factors in diminishing online risk (e.g. family connectedness appears to be a protective factor that helps to counteract other risk factors offline, as does school and community connectedness);
- Assess the effectiveness of the variety of policy approaches currently in use to deal with cyber-incidents for reducing the harm of these incidents and deterring further incidents (i.e. school discipline policies; police policies for handling complaints; youth counselor policies for encouraging and handling disclosures);
- Examine offenders' use of technology to control sexually exploited youth, including youth who are exploited through prostitution;
- Explore the links between online and offline exploitation, including longitudinal studies of youth who have experienced online exploitation;
- Assess the effectiveness of existing prevention materials and strategies;
- Explore avenues for prevention strategies aimed at potential offenders and assess their effectiveness.

Canada is fortunate to have such a wealth of knowledge and expertise: a primary recommendation of this report is to create means to support research to fill the above noted gaps, which would further inform efforts to reduce the incidence of and harm associated with online sexual exploitation of children and youth.

IV. REVIEW OF EXISTING CANADIAN SAFETY MATERIALS AND PROGRAMS

Canada is also fortunate to have a vast array of organizations and individuals within those organizations working to produce Internet safety educational materials and to deliver Internet safety education to youth, parents and professional working with youth. These organizations have been at the forefront of Internet safety education in Canada and have produced some very high quality education materials. This section of the report reviews the materials produced by Canada's leading Internet safety organizations, including several provincially oriented programs.

Some of the materials are becoming outdated and have not yet taken the most recent research on cyber risk into account. By and large the organizations are aware of these shortcomings, but lack funding to update the materials or to deploy them via new strategies.³⁴⁹ It is also evident that most of the online safety materials currently available in Canada are aimed at a general youth population (broken down by age groupings), and very few address more specific populations or higher risk youth. Again, a lack of funding appears to be the cause for this focus, rather than lack of knowledge or desire on the part of the organizations. Some organizations have already begun developing resources for higher risk youth.³⁵⁰

Materials produced by the following national organizations are reviewed below: Media Awareness Network; Canadian Centre for Child Protection (Cybertip.ca and Kids in the Know); DEAL.org and Internet 101; and Kids Internet Safety Alliance (KINSA).

Materials produced or spearheaded by the following provincial organizations are also reviewed below: Ontario Physical and Health Education Association (Ophea); Safe Online Outreach Society (SOLOS); the Government of Alberta (Children's Services), and the YWCA Montreal. Information on the work of crime prevention officers in local and regional police forces is also discussed at the end of this section.

While a review of resources available from organizations outside of Canada is beyond the scope of this report, a list of the most prominent of these resources and relevant links are included in Appendix D.

A. *National Organizations*

1. Media Awareness Network

Media Awareness Network (MNet) was the first Canadian organization to conduct research on Canadian children's Internet use, and also one of the first to produce programs about safe and responsible Internet use, initially primarily for parents, teachers and librarians, and more recently

³⁴⁹ All of these organizations are continually involved in updating materials and/or producing new ones. The pace at which updating and production occurs is of course dependent on funding.

³⁵⁰ Kids in the Know is developing variations on its curriculum for higher risk populations, and SOLOS provides presentations to professionals serving higher risk youth, for instance.

for youth themselves. The organization's mandate is much broader than Internet safety per se and this is reflected in the materials. MNet is Canada's primary provider of media literacy and education resources and awareness programs for educators, librarians, parents and youth.

Two MNet programs directly address online sexual exploitation of youth: 1) *Be Web Aware* and associated workshops for parents, such as *Parenting the Net Generation*; and 2) *Passport to the Internet*, an interactive educational tool for children in grades 4-8, with a Teacher's Guide and associated training workshops.

Be Web Aware is anchored by a website that provides tools and resources for parents to understand the safety issues facing their children online.³⁵¹ The website is periodically accompanied by a series of Public Service Announcements played or published in offline media directing parents to the Be Web Aware site.³⁵² The website contains safety tips in five age groupings (2-4, 5-7, 8-10, 11-13, and 14-17) and a series of "Know the Risk" pages on various types of risk (including exposure to pornography, cyber-bullying, privacy invasions, and "online predators"). The site is going to be updated in the Fall of 2009.³⁵³

The "online predators" page³⁵⁴ and the "privacy invasions" pages are most directly relevant to online sexual exploitation prevention. These pages provide descriptions of the types of hazards young people face online, along with suggestions of ways to reduce the risk of victimization, how to spot trouble, and what to do about it. The pages are text based, without any bells and whistles.

The "online predators" page provides a description of: how the online luring process typically works; which young people are most at risk; what parents and kids can do to minimize the risk of becoming a victim; behaviours to look out for that may indicate the child is in trouble online; and what to do if your child is being targeted. The suggestions for parents are generally in keeping with the latest research surveyed above: advising parents to keep lines of communication open with their children; to establish rules for Internet use; and to support their children if something goes wrong. The suggestions directed at children themselves are not well developed in this section, though there is more information on how to avoid victimization elsewhere in MNet's materials, especially the safety tip sheets which are more tailored to age-appropriate strategies (i.e. acknowledging that children need more autonomy as they get older).

As is evident with the "privacy invasions" page³⁵⁵, MNet approaches online sexual exploitation hazards as part of a continuum of other online practices MNet considers objectionable, especially commercial websites that require children to register with real names, email addresses and so forth in order to play games. This reflects MNet's approach to online privacy more generally, in

³⁵¹ <http://www.bewebaware.ca/>. Last accessed June 18, 2009.

³⁵² In 2006, a series of PSA's in print publications called "Chat Room Chums" warned parents of the possibility of adult men misrepresenting themselves as children online and directed parents to the Be Web Aware website for more information. This strategy plays on parents fears, and is certainly one strategy for getting parents to pay attention, but as the CCRC research shows, misrepresentation of online identities (such as middle aged men pretending to be young teens) is not a major feature of luring crimes.

³⁵³ Funding to updated Be Web Aware is being provided by Bell Canada. Email from Wing, Co-Executive Director of Media Awareness Network, to author, dated July 2, 2009.

³⁵⁴ <http://www.bewebaware.ca/english/OnlinePredators.aspx>. Last accessed June 18, 2009.

³⁵⁵ <http://www.bewebaware.ca/english/PrivacyInvasions.aspx>. Last accessed June 19, 2009.

that all MNet material puts a high premium on personal information protection. While this approach is consistent with MNet's mandate to consider a broader set of Internet issues, it may not be in keeping with the latest research on youth online practices and sexual exploitation more specifically. As discussed above, research suggests that strict prohibitions such as "never revealing personal information (including age and gender) to anyone online and not filling out online personal profiles"³⁵⁶ may actually backfire as a sexual exploitation prevention strategy, since most youth will violate this prohibition and then feel even less inclined to seek adult help when something goes wrong. Further, CCRC research shows that there is not a meaningful correlation between posting or sharing personal information and sexual victimization online, although posting personal information is correlated with other online risks, like cyber-bullying and harassment. Strict prohibitions are of course easier to convey, especially to younger children who may not yet be mature enough to understand more complex problem solving strategies regarding healthy and unhealthy relationships (both online and offline). Further, there is clearly an independent value in teaching young people to value privacy and protect their personal information. More attention should be given to the nuances required to make these values meaningful in different contexts (i.e. commercial versus interpersonal). As with all online safety strategies, the effectiveness of MNet's approach to these issues should be more rigorously assessed for effectiveness.

Safe Passage: Teaching Kids to be Safe and Responsible Online is another resource for parents from MNet.³⁵⁷ This online resource features information pages on specific online applications, such as e-mail, instant messaging, and social networking sites, and the various issues that may arise in each context. There are links to tools such as checklists, fact sheets, and tip sheets (including information on how to report trouble).

The *Be Web Aware* and *Safe Passage* websites are only part of MNet's resources for parents, and other resources include workshops that provide an opportunity for discussion and interaction with the presenter. ***Parenting the Net Generation***, for instance, is a workshop that can be licensed from MNet, including a PowerPoint presentation, speaking notes, and a workshop guide with handouts for participants.³⁵⁸ As such it is designed to be delivered locally by a variety of school or community organizations, including parent councils.

Passport to the Internet is an interactive program aimed at students in grades 4-8 available by license to individual schools and school boards, in both English and French.³⁵⁹ As with other MNet materials, online safety is integrated into a broader "Internet literacy" program dealing with a range of Internet related issues, such as authenticating online information, protecting privacy and dealing with cyber-bullying. The program has been licensed to schools and school boards across most of the provinces and territories.³⁶⁰ The program is designed to tie in to

³⁵⁶ <http://www.bewebaware.ca/english/OnlinePredators.aspx>. Last accessed June 19, 2009.

³⁵⁷ http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/parents/Internet/safe_passage_parents/. Last accessed June 19, 2009.

³⁵⁸ http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/catalogue/products/descriptions/parenting_net_generation.cfm. Last accessed June 19, 2009.

³⁵⁹ <http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/catalogue/products/descriptions/passport.cfm>. Last accessed June 19, 2009.

³⁶⁰ http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/resources/special_initiatives/wa_resources/licencees/2008_09/passport_licensees_08_09.cfm. Last accessed June 19, 2009.

provincial and territorial teaching outcomes, and is accompanied by a Teaching Guide, which can complement the Web Awareness professional development workshops MNet offers for teachers.³⁶¹

Passport consists of a series of interactive modules that simulate environments youth encounter online. The modules that simulate social networking sites (“MyFace”) and instant messaging (“Instant Pigeon”) are the most relevant for online sexual exploitation. The “MyFace” module aims to guide students into creating a privacy protective profile (including managing photos and videos, and the permanence of materials posted online), and the “Instant Pigeon” module aims to teach ethical and safe online relationships conduct, including dealing with stranger contact and cyber-bullying. Both stress the need to seek help from parents or trusted adults when things go wrong. Elsewhere in the program (Web Café) students are further advised to notify a parent, teacher or school administrator if they encounter a dangerous online situation or offensive or illegal content online, and to contact police and Cybertip.ca for incidents involving luring, stalking or child pornography.

The “Instant Pigeon” module contains several conversation threads for students to pursue, each with different issues and different possible outcomes depending on how the student responds. In “RU4reel”, an online friend is trying to elicit personal information from the student (to send a music CD – either by mail or email) and student is encouraged in the answer options not to give out this information. In “NEBuddy” the issue is stranger contact, and the online friend invites the student to a party, and if he/she declines asks him/her to turn on webcam or send a photo. In both cases, giving the “wrong” answer (giving out information, photos, or agreeing to a meeting) can be mitigated by telling a parent.

The Teacher’s Guide provides more insight into these issues, and hopefully teachers using this program will be in a position to have a more in depth discussion with students about why meeting people met online should only be done when accompanied by an adult:

While many feel that the threat of online predators has been exaggerated, young people still need to know how to deal with stranger contact. Communicating online can create an illusion of intimacy in students, a sense that they know someone much better than they actually do, and an unearned trust can be the result. Young people should always tell their parents when an online Friend has asked to meet them in person, and if the parents agree to the meeting, one of them should accompany the child.³⁶²

In other words, the *Passport* program does not directly contain lessons regarding luring techniques, and relies instead on teachers to convey this information in discussions.

MNet is currently seeking funding for a similar program to *Passport* for students in grades 9-12.³⁶³ Other projects underway include a series of lessons on hyper-sexualization of youth in the media (classroom lessons, tip sheets for parents). This latter project presents an opportunity to integrate online sexual behaviour into a broader media context.

³⁶¹ MNet has been producing Web Awareness professional development workshops for teachers and librarians for 10 years. These, which come with a facilitators guide, and can be delivered locally. Interview with Wing, *supra*.

³⁶² “Passport to the Internet Teacher’s Guide”.

³⁶³ Interview with Wing, *supra*.

Other MNet resources for youth (and teachers) include *Privacy and Internet Life*³⁶⁴ (a lesson plan for Grades 7 and 8 that deals primarily with decision making around giving out personal information on social networking sites), and *The Privacy Dilemma*³⁶⁵ (for grades 9-12), along with the recently updated professional development resource for teachers *Kids for Sale: Online Privacy and Marketing*, which was recently reviewed and updated through the support of the Office of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada. These resources are really about privacy vis-à-vis commercial enterprises rather than about personal safety online, although there are points where some links are made to safety issues that could benefit from further study: namely, *Kids for Sale* links children getting accustomed to submitting personal information in exchange for access to games or rewards to be a possible source of trouble later on, where youth may trade privacy for attention once they become teens. It is not clear whether this link is supported by research or merely an extension of MNet's overall concern about privacy and personal information protection, in particular in relation to online marketing to children. More research and assessment is required to determine whether these connections bear out.

According to Jane Tallim, Co-Executive Director of MNet, the philosophy is to foster

the critical skill of being able to contextualize situations, motivations (commercial or otherwise) where they are being asked to provide personal information -- and possible consequences. We see understanding and valuing personal information just one of the multiple skills that are needed by today's citizens. With younger children, strategies are more prescriptive and we recommend they check with parents or adults before submitting/sharing personal information to foster dialogue and help them better contextualize these situations. For older youth, our own research and that of others reiterates the importance of giving them skills for informed decision-making online, rather than prescriptive rules – this will be reflected in our secondary version of Passport, to be produced next year.³⁶⁶

Overall, MNet's materials for parents (and teachers) and youth are based on MNet's research into youth online practices (the *Young Canadians in a Wired World* surveys) as well as the research of others (such as the CCRC and Pew Internet and American Life Project), and are developed with input from other experts.³⁶⁷ They address parents and youth as a general audience, and do not currently have any materials that are designed to address parents or youth facing any special circumstance (such as non-offending parents of children who have been abused, LGBT youth and their parents, children with learning disabilities and their parents, etc).³⁶⁸ Of the range of types of online sexual exploitation of children, only online luring is dealt with directly, and to some extent "self-exploitation" (child pornography issues regarding youth making and sending photographs -

³⁶⁴ http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/resources/educational/lessons/elementary/privacy/privacy_Internet_life.cfm. Last accessed June 19, 2009.

³⁶⁵ http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/resources/educational/lessons/secondary/privacy/privacy_dilemma.cfm. Last accessed June 19, 2009.

³⁶⁶ Email from Jane Tallim, Co-Executive Director, Media Awareness Network, to author, dated July 18, 2009.

³⁶⁷ Interview with Wing, *supra*.

³⁶⁸ According to Tallim, workshops for parents and educators stress that youth who are particularly vulnerable to Internet luring represent a small percentage of youth online, and tend to be at risk for a variety of (offline) reasons, which is in keeping with the above reviewed research. Email from Tallim, July 18, 2009, *supra*.

although recommended prohibitions on sending photographs are broader than merely sexual photographs). In other words, MNet's safety materials primarily address the sexual exploitation issues that children and youth encounter when they go online – when they send information about themselves over the Internet and when they meet people not known to them offline. MNet materials do not address the way the Internet is involved in family based sexual abuse or formal or informal commercial sexual exploitation, nor in unhealthy relationships that may be carried on both online and offline.

As with all Internet safety programs currently available, MNet's materials could benefit from more rigorous evaluation of effectiveness.³⁶⁹ This would require funding to do assessment of student behaviour before and after exposure to MNet programs to really assess impact of the program on students and the effectiveness of their messages.³⁷⁰ An evaluation of this sort for *Passport to the Internet* is scheduled to be undertaken by a PhD student beginning in the Fall of 2009.³⁷¹

2. Canadian Centre for Child Protection (Cybertip.ca and Kids in the Know)

The Canadian Centre for Child Protection (CCCCP, formerly Child Find Manitoba) is dedicated to reducing child victimization, and has worked towards that goal in the following ways:

- public awareness activities;
- a personal safety education program (Kids in the Know³⁷²);
- a national tipline for reporting online sexual abuse of children (Cybertip.ca³⁷³); and
- a new program called Commit to Kids³⁷⁴, which helps child-serving organizations create safe environments for children and prevent abuse from occurring within their organizations.

Kids in the Know and Cybertip.ca both have materials for parents and youth regarding online safety. The primary focus of these materials is on preventing online sexual exploitation, and encouraging disclosure of abuse and reporting to authorities. Kids in the Know has a full personal safety curriculum for grades K-12; Cybertip.ca runs public awareness campaigns and has some materials for youth on its website. These two divisions of CCCC were launched simultaneously on a provincial level in 2004, and nationally in 2005, although development of the Kids in the Know curriculum (hereinafter "KIK Curriculum") began in 2002. The lines between these divisions of the CCCC are not rigid, and there is overlap between them.

Kids in the Know's prevention programs address child and youth personal safety in general, although a significant focus of these programs is sexual abuse prevention and encouraging

³⁶⁹ The materials have been reviewed and recommended by various provincial Ministries of Education, but pre- and post- testing regarding not only ability to relay the information contained in the program but also impact of that content on youth behaviour has yet to be undertaken, mainly due to lack of funding. In keeping with the above research review, such an evaluation should also not so much measure whether youth continue to engage in "risky" behaviours but rather whether they are equipped with tools to recognize and deal with problems if they arise.

³⁷⁰ Interview with Wing, supra.

³⁷¹ Email from Jane Tallim, Co-Executive Director, Media Awareness Network, to author, dated July 17, 2009.

³⁷² <http://www.kidsintheknow.ca/app/en/>. Last accessed June 19, 2009.

³⁷³ <http://www.protectchildren.ca/app/en/ctip>. and <http://www.Cybertip.ca/app/en/>. Last accessed June 19, 2009.

³⁷⁴ http://www.protectchildren.ca/app/en/prevent_abuse. Last accessed June 19, 2009.

disclosure, and this includes online sexual exploitation. As Noni Classen, Director of Education for Kids in the Know and the CCCP puts it, the focus is on “building resistance skills in kids”, both offline and online. The issues are not so much about technology as about children’s age-related capacities to recognize and influence healthy and unhealthy relationships.³⁷⁵ Kids in the Know programs are informed by the data collected by the Cybertip.ca tipline, as well as the CCCP’s expertise in offline child abuse and sexual exploitation prevention and intervention strategies.³⁷⁶ CCCP has an advisory group of experts as well as a student advisory group consisting of Manitoba students in grades 4, 6, and 8. There are plans to expand these advisory groups out to other provinces as well.³⁷⁷ The curriculum itself was written by Classen, whose background is in special needs education and adolescents at risk.

The KIK Curriculum is purchased by schools, and is available in French and English. Kids in the Know staff provide training for schools and school systems aimed at enhancing teachers’ capacities to deliver the program (online training will also soon be available, and will be licensed to schools that have purchased the program). The program has been reviewed and recommended by Ministers of Education across Canada, so it is able to be utilized within existing curriculum mandates in each province.³⁷⁸ There are some free materials on the Kids in the Know website as well, including “Zoe and Molly Online”³⁷⁹, a comic book and interactive game for Grade 4 students that follows the same strategies as the licensed KIK Curriculum. “Zoe and Molly Online” addresses the risks associated with sharing personal information and sending pictures online.

Throughout the KIK Curriculum, emphasis is placed on children’s relationship skills, emotions and ability to keep in touch with feelings, as well as recognizing and rejecting luring tactics (initially offline abduction, and then in later grades online luring). The educational philosophy is to build self-esteem, and teach assertiveness and critical thinking skills as a means to reduce chances of being victimized. Each year reiterates and builds on previous years, repeating the “seven root safety strategies” (with some modifications for developmental appropriateness) across the “four root safety environments” (Internet safety, public place safety, street safety, and home alone safety). The Seven Root Safety Strategies are: “Shout No! Run – Tell Someone”; “Keep and Speak Secrets”; “Buddy System”; “Trust your Instincts”; “Dignity and Respect”; “If asked to go and your parents don’t know SHOUT NO!”; and “If asked to share and your parents aren’t aware, SAY NO!”

Across the grades, the KIK Curriculum provides a variety of in-class activities and lesson plans, most of them involving students’ active participation. These activities typically do not require technology, but are instead able to be implemented in any school, regardless of resources.

³⁷⁵ Interview with Classen, *supra*.

³⁷⁶ CCCP was incorporated in 1985 as Child Find Manitoba, and renamed the Canadian Centre for Child Protection in 2006.

³⁷⁷ Interview with Classen, *supra*.

³⁷⁸ The KIK Curriculum has been approved and recommended by the Ontario Physical and Health Education Association (Ophea), Curriculum Services Canada, and by Departments of Education in the following jurisdictions: British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut. Email to author from Noni Classen, Director of Education for Kids in the Know, dated July 10, 2009.

³⁷⁹ http://www.kidsintheknow.ca/app/en/zoe_molly. Last accessed June 19, 2009.

Puppets and books are provided for some of the younger grade activities, and older grades typically only need large sheets of paper and markers, or photocopies of worksheets provided in the curriculum. Website activities are sometimes included, but need not be performed in the classroom (they can either be omitted or assigned as homework).

In the younger grades (K-2), the KIK Curriculum focuses mainly on child abuse prevention (including child pornography production prevention) and encouraging disclosure of child abuse. Internet specific issues and Internet contexts for abuse are introduced in grade 3 and up. In grades K-6, each year also contains units about identifying trusted adults to go to when something happens, acknowledging that parents might not be trusted adults. Internet specific issues are woven into a larger fabric of offline safety issues (such as common lures and healthy vs. unhealthy relationships). In Grade 5, three units deal with Internet-specific issues: 1) Identifying Internet risks and how to deal with them, including exposure to sexually explicit material, the public and permanent “nature” of the Internet, building relationships online, and complying with threats; 2) Internet awareness, which deals with credibility of information and critical thinking skills; and 3) the risks involved in creating personal profiles, email addresses, user names and so forth. By Grade 7, the materials also address sending revealing images of yourself online.

The high school portion of the KIK Curriculum is very similar to the grade 8 materials and is relatively underdeveloped compared to the K-8 materials. According to Classen this is because it is more difficult to integrate personal safety education into mandated high school curricula, and therefore strategies for reaching youth and parents other than through the mandatory curriculum are required.³⁸⁰

While the KIK Curriculum incorporates most of the recommendations for sound online safety education set out by NCECC, Boost and SOLOS above, there are some specific strategies within the KIK Curriculum that do not recognize some of the current research/consensus around recommendations. For instance, like the MNet materials, the KIK Curriculum still is very draconian about prohibitions against sharing any personal information online, a strategy that has questionable efficacy, especially for older youths. Classen defends this strategy as effective for younger children who need clear rules. To keep the messaging consistent, the rules are not changed for older grades, although by grade 7 and 8 students Classen suggests that teachers should acknowledge that students probably will not follow such strict rules and instead use the rules as a starting point for discussion.³⁸¹ Whether or not this strategy is indeed effective with these older students, or if it reduces their willingness to discuss matters with adults even further (as Mishna *et al.*'s research suggests) should be the subject of further study and evaluation.

The KIK Curriculum also persistently tells students that there is really no privacy online and that the Internet is by nature public. This approach is clearly meant to dissuade youth from posting information or images they do not want to share with the general public. However it also undermines the otherwise solid footing of teaching about healthy relationships, which one would hope would include the entrusting of personal information to others in a healthy relationship. The program appears to fail to recognize that the Internet does not have an inherent nature, and

³⁸⁰ Interview with Classen, *supra*.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*

instead is shaped only by the ways that people use the tools created for it. While there may be a higher risk of exposure of personal details when they can be easily duplicated and disseminated, this does not mean that the Internet is by “nature” public, only that it has made the consequences of violating the trust invested in people who hold personal information potentially more severe.

The KIK Curriculum also includes some scenarios, especially in grade 5 and up, that could be described as scare tactics (e.g., sharing personal information with an online friend could get you abducted and murdered). Classen explains this strategy as arising from teachers’ feedback that otherwise youths were not taking the dangers seriously – and that the training for teachers surrounding these scenarios emphasizes that such situations are extremely rare and the worst case scenario. These scenarios are therefore meant to be a starting point for discussion with youths that is embedded in the larger Kids in the Know philosophy of empowering youth to be resilient and resourceful.³⁸² It also meant, however, that these units in particular are only as effective as the teachers delivering them and do not stand very well alone.

The material for teachers stresses that the aim at each grade level is to disrupt the process of abuse, hopefully before it becomes a contact offence or before a sexual picture is sent. The materials remind teachers to be sensitive to the likelihood that some students have been victims of abuse. Training for teachers also stresses that the safety strategies should be conveyed as not foolproof, but rather as a way to help them build resistance skills. Teachers are to emphasize to children that if they are victimized it is never their fault, but rather the adult’s responsibility, even if smart safety strategies were not followed.

Plans are in the works to create materials for use by victim services counselors and resource teachers, as well as others who deal with high risk youths. These materials will stress dignity, self-respect, and re-building boundaries to youth who are often suffering from low self-esteem and damaged dignity. Lesson plans are also being developed for students with cognitive disabilities (where the content is appropriate to the students cognitive age but looks like the student’s chronological age).

The curriculum has been licensed across the country, although at present there is no consistency in implementation – while the program is ideally designed to be used throughout grades K-12 (or at least K-8), some schools use the 4-8 curriculum only, some use K-3, and some use isolated portions. This inconsistency makes it difficult to assess the effectiveness of the program at achieving its goal of reducing child and youth sexual victimization.

Kids in the Know also has a program called “Respect Yourself”³⁸³ for grade 7 and 8 students, which is a website focused on problems that may arise from sharing photographs and other personal information online. The program was launched in February 2009, and includes a feature where students can share their own stories (via a moderator) in order to supplement the “True Stories” segment of the website with true stories reported in youths’ own words.³⁸⁴ Kids in the Know also has a new program coming out that is aimed at grade 5 and 6 students called “Smart Strong and Safe”, which focuses on adult sexual attention, maintaining boundaries, and healthy

³⁸² *Ibid.*

³⁸³ http://www.Cybertip.ca/app/en/respect_home. Last accessed June 19, 2009.

³⁸⁴ Since the website was only recently launched, it is not yet clear how well this feature will work.

relationships, including online variants of these issues. A similar program geared to grade 3 and 4 students is also under development and will be called “Kids Rock”.³⁸⁵

While the primary focus of Kids in the Know materials is youth themselves, Kids in the Know also provides educational resources for parents that echo the messages of the KIK Curriculum, including “Safety Tools” specific to each grade level. These tools include safety tips for various contexts (Internet, babysitting, home alone), activities to do at home with your children, and fact sheets on age appropriate personal safety and healthy child development for each age.³⁸⁶ Finally, through Commit to Kids, CCCP more generally and Kids in the Know plan to address adults with educational materials about proper boundaries between adults and children, healthy adult-child relationships, reporting obligations and so on. Commit to Kids focuses on youth-serving organizations (based in part on evidence that those who would exploit youth sometimes work for youth serving organizations), but these messages are valuable for adult populations in general, and are in keeping with broader CCCP public awareness campaigns aimed at adults.

3. DEAL.org and Internet 101

DEAL.org is a Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) program within the Youth Engagement Section of the National Crime Prevention Services, National Youth Services.³⁸⁷ DEAL.org is primarily a web-based portal (available in both English and French) that provides crime prevention content by employing a “by youth for youth” approach. Staff of DEAL.org also do in-person presentations and outreach, as well as participating in officer training about youth culture and youth issues. The program was founded in 1997, initially with a drug education and awareness focus located in the Ottawa area. The program has since expanded to a national program covering all areas of crime prevention education, including regularly addressing topics dealing with Internet issues, including online sexual exploitation.³⁸⁸ The philosophy is to provide information on issues affecting youth in a youth-engaged way, in order to empower youth to make healthy, informed decisions and get involved in their communities.

The staff consists primarily of college and university students and recent graduates, who serve as editors, writers, and outreach coordinators. Youth across Canada are also encouraged to contribute content (such as articles, poems and stories) to the program. High school co-op students are also periodically employed, and youth volunteers are encouraged to contribute. DEAL.org recently formed a youth advisory committee consisting of approximately 20 youth from across Canada between the ages of 13-18 (youth aged 12-18 are the target audience for DEAL.org materials – though a new site, Kids.DEAL.org, is planned for children aged 4-11³⁸⁹). The committee is consulted regularly via an online forum, and members are scheduled to attend

³⁸⁵ Interview with Classen, *supra*.

³⁸⁶ http://www.kidsintheknow.ca/app/en/resource_library. Last accessed June 19, 2009.

³⁸⁷ <http://www.DEAL.org/>. Last accessed June 22, 2009.

³⁸⁸ Interview by author with Hannah McGeachie, English editor and writer, DEAL.org, March 20, 2009. Prior to the formation of the youth advisory committee, DEAL.org held a series of youth forums all across Canada in 2007/2008, aiming to gather information about what is going on in their communities, what crime prevention strategies are working and what not, what youth like about their interactions with police and how to improve them. The forums were held in a representative variety of communities – including urban, rural, francophone (though DEAL.org is less active in Quebec, since the RCMP does not police there), northern, and Aboriginal.

³⁸⁹ Interview with McGeachie, *supra*.

an in-person meeting in Ottawa at the end of the 2009 school year.³⁹⁰ DEAL.org staff also regularly consult with experts within the RCMP, including the National Child Exploitation Coordination Centre (NCECC), as well as consulting outside experts on particular topics and working with other RCMP youth services and crime prevention efforts.³⁹¹

Internet 101³⁹² began in 2004 as a collaborative Internet Safety education project of a consortium of National Capital Region police services: the local RCMP division in Ottawa, Service de police de la Ville de Gatineau, Sûreté du Québec (SQ) and MRC des Collines-de-l'Outaouais. The organization created multi-media presentations, held workshops for parents and youth, and developed the website www.Internet101.ca. The project is being expanded to a national level, and in May 2008 Internet 101 was merged into DEAL.org, although the project will maintain its name and branding as a website within the DEAL.org family of websites.³⁹³ The plan is to place all of DEAL.org's Internet safety related materials within the Internet 101 sub-site, so that there is one place to go within the organization for materials on these topics.³⁹⁴ The materials dealing with online sexual exploitation available via DEAL.org and Internet 101 will be reviewed separately below, since the integration has not yet taken place.

DEAL.org resources are of three types: Toolbox, Knowzone, and Webzine. The Toolbox resources consist of presentation scripts and icebreaker activities for use by presenters going to talk to youth, and are used primarily by police officers going into schools or youth organizations. Knowzone resources are fact sheets about various issues facing youth. The Webzine is a monthly online publication featuring articles written by youth on staff (and occasionally outside contributors). DEAL.org also has developed presentation materials regarding youth online culture that are regularly updated and delivered to police officers through the Canadian Police College, though these are not available to the public.

One of the Toolbox presentations is "E-Literacy", which contains presentations (Powerpoint slides and scripts), icebreakers, activities and videos regarding the Internet.³⁹⁵ The presentations are designed to be delivered to two age groups (11-13 and 14-18), and cover the gamut of Internet issues (spam, marketing, cyber-bullying, luring, sending pictures, blogging, and encountering upsetting material). The materials contain content such as "chatting tips" which reflect the overall approach of DEAL.org materials to talking with youth. While certain activities are advised against (i.e. "don't send a picture of yourself"), the prohibitions are typically modified by further nuances that take youth online social life into account (e.g. don't post a picture but if you do ask yourself if you would mind everyone, including your parents, seeing it). The presentation regularly engages students to discuss what they can do to respond to various online situations as well as providing suggestions for responses (including contacting Cybertip.ca, police and trusted adults). The presentations explicitly avoid scare tactics (i.e. not

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.* This is the first year of the youth advisory committee. There is a rolling application process, and students will be encouraged to remain involved over the summer.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*

³⁹² <http://www.Internet101.ca/>. Last accessed June 22, 2009.

³⁹³ Interview with Pilbrow, *supra*.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁵ http://www.deal.org/content/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=125&Itemid=136. Last accessed June 22, 2009.

everyone is out to get you, but you should be aware of some of the risks).³⁹⁶ The presentation aimed at the 14-18 age group also contains a section on online ethics (“Maintain your dignity; help others keep theirs”) and a section on having an Internet “persona”. Of course, as with any presentation, the material depends on effective delivery by the presenter, and whether some of the softer messages are actually stressed by police officer presenters is not known.³⁹⁷

The Webzine has featured several articles on online sexual exploitation and related issues, and these articles directly address youth, and links to relevant articles are also included in the DEAL.org resources directed at parents. The Webzine is archived and searchable. Relevant webzine articles include “Introducing the NCECC”, “If you have nothing to hide: online privacy 101”, “Inside’s out: understanding the intimacy of blogs” and “The other cyber-sex: looking for sexual health info online”, as well as the whole of the September 2008 issue which was focused on “The Dark Side of Technology”. The September 2008 issue included articles such as “Know When to Esc.” (on gaming addiction/too much time spent); “The Internet vs. Your Privacy” (a mix of online privacy information addressing ways to protect the personal info you post socially, as well as information provided to commercial organizations); “The Problem with Living in the Wired World” (on being overly connected); “Innovation or Virtual Break and Enter” (on hacking); and two reports by youth who went to the International Youth Advisory Congress (IYAC)³⁹⁸ on Online Internet Safety and Security held in London England in July 2008.

The “Knowzone” has a section for Parents and Teachers, which includes a section on Cyber-Safety.³⁹⁹ The section includes Fact Sheets titled “11 tips to keep your kids safe”, “A parent’s guide to the online world” and “supervision and prevention means safe surfing for your kids”. The tips are generally presented as absolute rules, such as “don’t send personal information”, “don’t send pictures” and “don’t meet or call”. According to Hannah McGeachie, DEAL.org’s English editor and writer, the tips are stated in such absolute form because parents respond to direct rules like this, while youth are more engaged by critical thinking skills. The rules are meant to be a starting point from which parents can adapt to suit their own child’s needs as the child becomes more mature – and indeed the “Parent’s Guide to the Online World” fact sheet stresses that supervision is the most important parenting strategy for younger kids, while for teens it is more appropriate to eschew direct supervision for keeping lines of communication open.⁴⁰⁰ Whether or not the absolute rules strategy works, or is doing a disservice to parents who will alienate teens, would need to be studied further.

Internet 101 contains materials that were produced independently from DEAL.org. Internet 101 is also the current guardian of the materials that used to be available through Industry Canada’s

³⁹⁶ This approach is part of DEAL.org’s effort to make police crime prevention messages to youth more effective and is derived from feedback from youth about being lectured at by police. Interview with McGeachie, *supra*.

³⁹⁷ SOLOS, for instance, criticizes the use of police officers as the primary deliverers of online safety information in schools, precisely because police presentations have historically been rife with scare tactics and stark prohibitions. DEAL.org presentations clearly are trying to change that culture, and their work with the Canadian Police College is a further effort to improve the ability of police officers to deliver messages more attuned to the realities of youth online practices and culture.

³⁹⁸ See <http://www.iyac.net/>. Last accessed June 22, 2009.

³⁹⁹ http://www.deal.org/content/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=571&Itemid=641. Last accessed June 22, 2009.

⁴⁰⁰ Interview with McGeachie, *supra*.

CyberWise program.⁴⁰¹ All materials (DEAL.org, Internet 101, and CyberWise) are in the process of being updated and are slated to be included in a revamped DEAL.org website in the Fall of 2009.

The Internet 101 website currently is divided by tabs into sections for Youth (further subdivided by ages: 8-10, 11-13, 14-17), Parents, and Educators. The site for the youngest age group (8-10) contains games designed to convey basic online safety tips (connect the dots, crosswords, etc), as well as links to other resources (such as Elmer the Safety Elephant's Internet Safety page from the Canada Safety Council).⁴⁰² The 11-14 year old page contains various interactive resources on webpage safety and cyber-bullying, including a link to the Media Awareness Network resource "Jo Cool or Jo Fool" which tests (and conveys) facts from the *Young Canadian in a Wired World* MNet surveys discussed above. The 14-18 year olds page consists primarily of the "True Stories" videos that are the most prominent original resource produced by Internet 101 – all of which are freely available for download from the Internet 101 website,⁴⁰³ along with tutorials/fact sheets for children and parents providing Internet safety tips.

Several of the "True Stories" videos deal with online sexual exploitation: "I Didn't Know" (where a boy shares a sexual photo of his girlfriend with others online and runs awry of child pornography law); "Jeff the Musician" (Luring – boy who blogs); "Emily's Story" (Luring – girl); "Jessica's Story" (webcam used to extort sexual images). Each video is accompanied by a fact sheet that sets out tips for parents for how to reduce the likelihood of their children falling victim to these types of scenarios. For the most part, these fact sheets are expressed in softer rules for safe Internet conduct (don't, but if you do...). However, there is a persistent emphasis on the issue of youth being tricked by online contacts who turn out not to be who they say they are. Recent research indicates that this is not the core problem when it comes to Internet luring, which instead far more often features seduction by an adult male who does not lie about his age or intentions (but may lie about the emotional connection that the youth believes is real).

The section of the website for parents features "Tutorials" (featuring information on technologies and applications for the technologically unsophisticated parents, with topics such as "what is the Internet", "getting to know your computer", "what is chatting", "protecting your wireless network", and "is your child's webpage safe"). The format typically stresses the positive uses of the technology, as well as listing the potential safety concerns with each activity. There are also "Technical Tips for Parents" about such topics as installing firewalls and virus protection, "Chat Lingo" and "Popular Online Activities" (to help parents understand what their kids are saying and doing online), as well as sample Internet use agreements for use by parents and children.

Internet 101 has also organized three large workshops for parents and their children in the Ottawa area, the most recent one being titled "Let's Chat: Web Proofing Workshop" held April 18, 2009. Each time the audience consisted of approximately 1,000 participants (parents and their children/teens age 10-15), and they are typically held in movie theatres (free movie tickets are distributed to those who complete the workshop). The audience hears presentations by DEAL.org, NCECC, and Internet 101 staff. In part of the workshop parents and youth are

⁴⁰¹ Interview with Pilbrow, *supra*.

⁴⁰² <http://www.elmer.ca/safety-village/Internet-safety.php>. Last accessed June 22, 2009.

⁴⁰³ <http://www.Internet101.ca/en/truestories.php>. Last accessed June 22, 2009.

together, in part they are separated, allowing for the content to be tailored to each group as well as addressing them together as a family unit. Whether or not workshops like these will continue now that Internet 101 has merged with DEAL.org is not yet clear.⁴⁰⁴

As for future plans, McGeachie would like to see DEAL.org able to access more at-risk youth, which is difficult for a web-based resource. She notes that the youth advisory committee is very helpful at providing input about the general youth population, including trends regarding online social life, but that these may not represent at-risk youth. To get input about what works for at-risk populations and what their issues are would require more traveling youth forums out in the field. Gathering such information would be useful for all of the organizations reviewed in this report.

4. Kids Internet Safety Alliance (KINSA)

Kids Internet Safety Alliance (KINSA)⁴⁰⁵ was established in 2005 as “an aggressive and proactive response to the negative aspects of the Internet that harm young people” while also affirming the “positive, creative and inspiring ways children and youth are using the Internet.”⁴⁰⁶ The organization undertakes three activities: advocacy, awareness, and training (mainly of law enforcement) and research. Within the awareness thread, KINSA has produced resources for children, youth and parents, as well as providing links to existing resources produced by others. KINSA’s original safety materials include: Virtually Safe Videos (for parents and educators) and Surf Smart (for children).

“Virtually Safe Videos” are available for download from the KINSA website, and aim to help parents and educators to better understand what their children and students are doing on the Internet, with video segments on social networking, instant messaging, online gaming and virtual environments.⁴⁰⁷ The videos take the viewer through these applications and online environments, explaining how these programs and sites work, as well as discussing some of the dangers children may encounter while using them.

Surf Smart⁴⁰⁸ is KINSA’s primary Internet safety education strategy. It involves working with popular children and youth entertainment companies to teach children and youth Internet safety in popular online environments and through popular television programs. Projects include working with the Family Channel on an episode of The Latest Buzz (a sitcom about five grade 9 students who run a school magazine)⁴⁰⁹; and with YTV on a comic book featuring characters from YTV’s television show Grossology⁴¹⁰.

The 14 page Grossology cyber-safety comic was distributed through Pop! Magazine in Spring 2008, as well as being available for download through KINSA and YTV websites.⁴¹¹ Pop!

⁴⁰⁴ Interview with Pilbrow, supra.

⁴⁰⁵ <http://www.kinsa.net/>. Last accessed June 22, 2009.

⁴⁰⁶ <http://www.kinsa.net/about/>. Last accessed June 22, 2009.

⁴⁰⁷ <http://www.kinsa.net/Programs/Category/Program/?contentId=288>. Last accessed June 22, 2009.

⁴⁰⁸ <http://www.kinsa.net/Programs/Category/Program/?contentId=133>. Last accessed June 21, 2009.

⁴⁰⁹ <http://www.family.ca/whatson/minisites/?id=2632>. Last accessed June 22, 2009.

⁴¹⁰ <http://www.ytv.com/programming/shows/grossology/>. Last accessed June 22, 2009.

⁴¹¹ <http://www.kinsa.net/Programs/Category/Program/?contentId=136>. Last accessed June 22, 2009.

Magazine is distributed in school to approximately 300,000 children in grades 3-6. The comic is available in both French and English. The narrative follows the two crime-fighting Grossology characters in a plot that mainly stresses the messages that people may not actually be who they appear to be online, that meeting people offline who you've met online may be dangerous, and that files downloaded from unknown people online may contain viruses.

KINSA also developed lesson plans for teachers⁴¹² and a family discussion guide for parents.⁴¹³ The documents for adults are very similar, and focus on the "ten Surf Smart principles", namely:

- Always make sure that a parent, teacher or guardian knows when you're surfing the net.
- Keep your personal information private – don't give out your name, phone number, school name, or address without a parent/guardian's permission.
- Never agree to hang out in person with someone you've met online. Remember that people may not be who they say they are.
- Stand up against bullying – don't gossip or humiliate anyone.
- If you receive an email with rude content – do not reply, just tell an adult right away. Remember – it's not your fault that someone sent you this.
- If at any time you feel threatened or uncomfortable, speak to a responsible adult.
- Don't buy something online or download anything without permission.
- Never send a photo or a picture of your family to anyone without permission.
- If you do not recognize or trust an email, attachment or web page – do not open it!
- Keep your passwords SECRET! Not even our BFFs need to know!⁴¹⁴

As with many online safety tips, especially for younger children, these principles are phrased in absolute prohibition terms, a strategy which may be appropriate for this age group, but likely not for older children. The guide and lesson plans also stress that online friends are strangers: whether or not this strategy is effective with its target age group would need to be studied, given that the above reviewed research recommends abandoning the language of "strangers" online given that youth so easily consider online contacts to no longer be strangers but rather friends.⁴¹⁵ Overall, the strategy of working with popular children's entertainment shows and characters is potentially powerful: all the more reason why the messages conveyed in this manner need to be as effective as possible in not only preventing online sexual exploitation, but also reducing the harm when it occurs.

B. Provincial and Municipal Organizations

Some provinces are particularly well-served by provincial organizations that are focused on providing Internet safety education that is more specific to local communities (whether by meeting specific curriculum mandates, or dealing with geographical and cultural issues, and/or by providing in-person presentations to local communities). The following provincially or

⁴¹² http://www.kinsa.net/digitalAssets/0/90_kinsa-comic-teacher-guide.pdf. Last accessed June 22, 2009.

⁴¹³ http://www.kinsa.net/digitalAssets/0/89_kinsa-comic-family-guide.pdf. Last accessed June 22, 2009.

⁴¹⁴ <http://www.kinsa.net/Programs/Category/Program/?contentId=133>. Last accessed July 8, 2009.

⁴¹⁵ YTV also features KINSA and its online safety tips on its website. <http://www.ytv.com/etc/kinsa/>. Last accessed June 22, 2009.

municipally focused organizations' resources and practices are reviewed below: Ontario Physical and Health Education Association (Ophea), SOLOS, Government of Alberta (Children and Youth Services), the YWCA Montreal, and a sampling of police service based crime prevention programs in Ontario. More of this sort of local information dissemination is most definitely going on throughout the country, especially through schools that have licensed materials or use free materials from the above organizations, or through crime prevention activities by local police services, counselors and other youth-serving professionals. Without a truly comprehensive survey of all people who provide this type of education, it is hard to judge whether the materials developed by the national or provincial organizations are being adapted by those who use them to meet more specific local needs. The organizations providing the initial materials do not at present have the capacity to collect this information, and of course having this information would be useful.

1. Ontario Physical and Health Education Association (Ophea)

The Ontario Physical and Health Education Association (Ophea)⁴¹⁶ is a not-for-profit organization dedicated to “the vision that all kids will value, participate in, and make a lifelong commitment to healthy active living.”⁴¹⁷ The organization has been in existence for about 70 years.⁴¹⁸ Ophea currently has one program focusing on Internet Safety, Cybercops, which consists of two modules – “Mirror Image” (for Grade 7) and “Air Dogs” (for Grade 8).⁴¹⁹ The program is designed to address elements of the “Personal Safety and Injury Prevention” component of the “Healthy Living” strand of the Ontario Physical and Health Education Curriculum. “Mirror Image” addresses cyber-stalking, luring, and child pornography; “Air Dogs” addresses credit card fraud, software piracy, and bullying (“Mirror Image” will be reviewed in greater detail below). Because the program is tied to the personal safety curriculum, it is part of a larger scope of teaching about skills to help avoid victimization and resolve problems via conflict resolution, assertiveness, resistance and refusal techniques, and decision making skills.

The Cybercops program is available in both English and French, and features an interactive game for students, a Parent/Teacher Guide, lesson plans for teachers, and tools for students to develop an Internet Safety plan. The game was originally developed by LiveWWires Designs Ltd. (an educational software development company based in British Columbia⁴²⁰) and the lesson plans were developed by Ophea. Both Mirror Image and Air Dogs were distributed to all public and Catholic English and French schools in Ontario that have grade 7/grade 8 classes in 2006/2007. Ontario-wide trainings were hosted by Ophea and the Ontario Provincial Police in 2006, and Ophea, OPP and Kids Help Phone in 2007 for representatives from school boards (including teachers, IT specialists, principals and superintendents), as well as School Council Chairs, parents, local law enforcement officers and local community leaders. These training sessions featured basic information about Internet safety issues, an overview of the resource and suggested

⁴¹⁶ <http://www.ophea.net/>. Last accessed June 20, 2009.

⁴¹⁷ <http://www.ophea.net/aboutophea.cfm>. Last accessed June 20, 2009.

⁴¹⁸ Interview by author with Muriel Rounthwaite, Projects Leader, Ophea, January 6, 2009.

⁴¹⁹ <http://www.ophea.net/Ophea/Ophea.net/CyberCops.cfm>. Last accessed June 20, 2009.

⁴²⁰ <http://www.livewwwires.com/>. LiveWWires Design Ltd. also developed the interactive educational game “Missing”, available on this website as well. Last accessed June 20, 2009.

implementation strategies, and how to deal with disclosure of online sexual abuse by students (including school board policies on dealing with disclosure).⁴²¹

The “Mirror Image” game is designed so that the student is a “cybercop” who responds to a call (via webcam) about an incident. Part of the objective of the game is to help students learn to recognize crimes they encounter on the Internet and learn strategies for dealing with them or avoiding them, and part of it is to do some “cyber-sleuthing” (which is the fun part of the game, and secondarily may serve as a police recruiting angle by aiming to interest young people in Internet policing). The game centers on two friends who are calling in about being stalked by someone they met online. This scenario is based on a real series of events in New Brunswick, where a man stalked several girls on a cheerleading squad (there is a “Behind the Headlines” section where students can read interviews with one of the real victims, her parents, the detective and prosecutor of the crime).⁴²² The real story reinforces a number of the messages in the game: 1) that going to parents helps (the parents say they were surprised that their daughter did not come to them right away, since they have a good relationship and are not very strict – but she was still afraid to tell them for fear of upsetting them, and of losing her Internet privileges); 2) that going to police can help; 3) that people may not be who they say they are on the Internet (the perpetrator claimed to be a modeling agent -- and to be a buff, blond, blue-eyed man – he was none of these things).

The “Mirror Image” game is constructed in a linear fashion, and so students have to go through the whole narrative to get to the end of the program. This is a somewhat frustrating design, and Ophelia is aware of this flaw and plans to design any future programs in a way that would allow for easier navigation.⁴²³ The girls’ story features the following issues:

- Sending photographs online (in this case, to someone claiming to be a modeling agent);
- The digital manipulation of those photographs to create sexually explicit photographs, which qualify as child pornography;
- Use of instant messaging and telephone to harass the victim;
- Perpetrator has multiple identities, including one who is the online boyfriend of the second girl;
- Arranging a meeting with an online boyfriend without parental approval/supervision;
- Revealing personal information to an online contact (here, via an application for a modeling contract; or inadvertently revealing information about location (such as name of school, gym) allowing the online contact to connect the online dots);
- Downloading a file sent by an online contact that contains a Trojan Horse virus that exposes the victim’s computer content to view (and the personal information therein) as well as remotely controlling her webcam.

⁴²¹ Interview with Rounthwaite, *supra*.

⁴²² The real crime involved the actions of Robert Laking, who found the girls through a website one of them had set up for the cheerleading squad which included their photographs. Laking posed as a modeling agent and contacted the girls, asking them to send him photographs – which some did. He would then harass them via email, phone and IM, threatening various things to coerce them to have sex with him (like saying that he would tell the police that one of the girls’ father molested her and wreak havoc on the family), he would also spy on them (and then contact them to say he knew what they were wearing, etc). He was finally caught and charged with criminal harassment – and sentenced to spending approximately six months in jail.

⁴²³ Interview with Rounthwaite, *supra*.

The Teacher's Guide contains background materials to enhance teachers' capabilities to deal with discussions about these issues, while pursuing three primary messages: protect yourself; protect your computer; and turn to trusted adults when things go wrong. Some portions of the guide are still operating on assumptions that could stand to be better unpacked for teachers (for instance, the guide cites surveys that show that 25% of young people have been asked to have an offline meeting with people they have met online and that 15% actually went to meet them, but these statistics are not situated in the corresponding information that most of these meetings and relationships were positive).

Ophea is currently developing another Internet safety program for grades 4, 5 and 6, part of which will deal with luring, although most of it will deal with other Internet issues (primarily cyber-bullying). Project Leader Muriel Rounthwaite would also like to see Ophea develop a follow up, peer led resource for grades 9-10 that carries through the themes from "Mirror Image".⁴²⁴ Overall, the Ophea programs are certainly fun, which is actually quite an achievement for online safety materials. As with all of the materials produced in Canada, however, Ophea has not so far had the resources evaluated to truly measure the effectiveness of the program at changing youth behaviour and imparting problem solving skills.

2. Safe Online Outreach Society (SOLOS) (British Columbia)

The Safe Online Outreach Society (SOLOS)⁴²⁵ was founded by Executive Director Merlyn Horton in September of 2002. The philosophy of the organization is to equip youth, parents, youth-focused professionals and the public with information that increases the capacity of all of these stakeholders to respond to online exploitation of children and youth in a non-judgmental, technology positive, and healthy sexuality positive manner.⁴²⁶

The organization's primary mode of delivering information is through in-person workshop presentation in communities, presented by SOLOS staff (Horton and the other members of staff, who are mainly younger people in their 20s).⁴²⁷ This has emerged as the dominant format for the organization as it allows the materials to be updated continually, and to be adapted to suit local needs (for instance, the organization has developed a specialized presentation for First Nations communities).⁴²⁸ Presentations are based on the latest available research, as well as interviews conducted by Horton with people who work with at-risk youth, information provided by youth in feedback on presentations, and through taking note of anecdotal information encountered in the course of the organization's many local presentations throughout British Columbia.⁴²⁹

Presentations currently available for youth include "Gaming, Sexting and Social Networking" and another on cyber-bullying (two versions of each presentation: grades 5-7 and 8-10). The

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁵ <http://www.safeonlineoutreach.com/>. Last accessed June 22, 2009.

⁴²⁶ <http://www.safeonlineoutreach.com/about.php>. Last accessed June 22, 2009.

⁴²⁷ Interview by author with Merlyn Horton, Executive Director, Safe Online Outreach Society (SOLOS) February 9, 2009.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁹ SOLOS has also produced online safety materials in other formats, such as an interactive game on CD entitled "You, the Web and Sex" (2005) and an "Introduction to Online Sexual Exploitation Curriculum" (2003). These materials are no longer promoted by SOLOS because they have become out of date. Interview with Horton, *supra*.

current presentation for parents and the general public is “Parenting in the Cyber-Age”.⁴³⁰ Professional Development workshops include “Cyberspace: Youth Work Frontier”, “Pro-D Day Crash Course in Online Youth Culture”, and “Sex Offenders Online”.⁴³¹

SOLOS also engages in community expert training. Past SOLOS community expert projects included training grade 10-12 students, for instance, to go out into elementary schools to do Internet safety presentations for grade 7 students.⁴³² The current community expert training pilot project (funded by the British Columbia Ministry of Public Safety and Solicitor General) focuses on training people who will become their local community experts after a two-day intensive training. The first day involves providing information on youth online activities (including getting participants to go to sites popular with youth), and on high risk activities online that may lead to sexual exploitation, identity theft, cyber-bullying, or access to harmful materials. The second day of the training has participants build a plan as to specific responses that they will implement when they go home to their communities, including encouraging participants to build relationships with other people in their area that are working on these issues. SOLOS uses this model to build local expertise (primarily through professional development on Internet safety for youth-serving professionals who already work in the community) so that experts on Internet safety do not have to be brought in from outside.

As noted above, SOLOS approaches Internet safety in a non-judgmental fashion. The delivery style is frank about adolescent sexuality and the role technology is playing in it. Further, the “Online sex offenders” workshop is designed for Corrections Services Canada and others working with high risk sex offenders (such as parole officers), and this presentation too eschews the kind of condemnatory language of “predators” that is common to most other Internet safety programs.⁴³³

As a person with experience working with street youth, Horton is especially interested in having SOLOS develop more resources for professionals who work with high risk youth, including youth in the sex trade. SOLOS is ahead of the curve in developing an approach that considers youth to be at varying levels of risk. In-person presentations and train-the-trainer programs are certainly capable of responding more finely to local issues than interactive resources. However, SOLOS prides itself on being technologically savvy, and so supports the development of technology based resources for high risk youth as well.

3. Alberta Children and Youth Services (Government of Alberta)

Alberta Children and Youth Services (ACYS) has developed online child sexual exploitation education and public awareness campaigns through the Child Sexual Exploitation unit of the Child Intervention Supports and Services branch.⁴³⁴ The Alberta Government’s response to

⁴³⁰ The presentation was also presented to a Foster parents group, addressing such topics as how to implement Internet use agreements with foster children. Interview with Horton, *supra*.

⁴³¹ <http://www.safeonlineoutreach.com/presentations.php>. Last accessed June 22, 2009.

⁴³² Interview with Horton, *supra*. The “You, the Web and Sex” CD was part of this train the trainer youth project, though project funding for this program ran out in 2006/2007. Horton would like to restart this program.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁴ Interview by author with Sarita Dighe-Bramwell, Manager, Child Sexual Exploitation, Child Intervention Services, Alberta Children and Youth Services, June 23, 2009.

online sexual exploitation is part of a larger strategy to combat sexual exploitation of children and youth more broadly (especially sexual exploitation of children and youth through prostitution).⁴³⁵ The cross-ministry Alberta Children and Youth Initiative (ACYI, established in 1998)⁴³⁶ focused on the sexual exploitation of children as a major project in 2004, producing the report “Protection of Sexually Exploited Children and Youth” (reviewed in Section III above), which was circulated to all Alberta schools and youth serving agencies. The ACYI also created a television program “Children, Sex, and the Net” which aired in 2005 to coincide with the launch of the Alberta Government’s Internet safety website Get Web Wise.⁴³⁷

The Get Web Wise site contains three “zones”: one for parents, one for teens and one for kids – although the page is mainly used by parents.⁴³⁸ ACYS has since developed two further websites; Weron2u⁴³⁹ (for teens, launched in May 2006) and Bad Guy Patrol (for younger children, also launched in 2006).⁴⁴⁰ Weron2u.ca is slated to be upgraded this year to incorporate more current issues such as sexting, use of webcams and social networking.⁴⁴¹

Get Web Wise is quite text heavy, and so only the Parent Zone will be reviewed, since the other ACYS sites are more indicative of their approach to educating youth about Internet safety. The Parent Zone, like the other resources, is primarily focused on protecting children from “predators”. Useful innovations include a short excerpt from an actual chat log of a man luring a 13 year old online; and a “profile of a predator” section describing the common characteristics of online luring. Many of the innovations are research based, although considerable emphasis is placed throughout the materials on deception by offenders who trick children and youth by pretending to be a peer. Another useful section of the Parent Zone presents the profile of a victim, stressing that “predators” prey on adolescent vulnerabilities, and hence are especially drawn to youth who are especially vulnerable. The site also contains a template for an Internet contract for parents to sign with their children.

The philosophy and approach of **Weron2u** is youth empowerment and peer-to-peer empowerment – youth standing up to those who would exploit them online, and getting information on how to do that from other youths rather than from adults in authority. ACYS did focus groups with youth to determine both the content and the look and feel of the site so that it would appeal to youth (i.e. what do you need to know and how do you want to receive that information).⁴⁴² The site is not branded as a government site, since the focus groups revealed that

⁴³⁵ <http://www.child.alberta.ca/home/1198.cfm> and <http://www.child.alberta.ca/home/596.cfm>. Last accessed June 24, 2009.

⁴³⁶ <http://www.child.alberta.ca/home/501.cfm>. Last accessed June 24, 2009. The Alberta Child and Youth Initiative includes the Ministries of Education, Health and Wellness, Solicitor General, Justice, and Children and Youth Services, and will call on other ministries on an ad hoc basis. Each group provides updates to the other members as to relevant development within each ministry regarding children’s health and welfare – so, for instance, the Justice representative may give an update on the activities of the Internet Child Exploitation units. The group meets in person approximately every three months. Interview with Dighe-Bramwell, supra.

⁴³⁷ <http://getwebwise.ca/>. Last accessed June 24, 2009.

⁴³⁸ Interview with Dighe-Bramwell, supra.

⁴³⁹ <http://www.weron2u.ca/home/>. Last accessed June 24, 2009.

⁴⁴⁰ <http://www.badguypatrol.ca/>. Last accessed June 22, 2009.

⁴⁴¹ Interview with Dighe-Bramwell, supra.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*

teens did not want the information to appear like a lecture being delivered by authorities.⁴⁴³ This is a novel strategy, and in keeping with the consensus developing on recommendations for future directions in that youth-to-youth dissemination strategies are generally encouraged. However, the reliability of the site is consequently not easy to determine unless the user takes extra steps to determine the site's origins.⁴⁴⁴ Not readily indicating the origin of the content may interfere with other important skills youth need to navigate their online lives safely – such as being able to authenticate information by determining whether it comes from a trusted source – though more savvy users will be able to figure out that the site is associated with the Government of Alberta.

The language used on the site was also derived from focus groups, who expressed that they wanted the information to be blunt and to the point, and so the term “pervert” is regularly used to describe the people of whom youth need to be wary. This too is a novel strategy, which Sarita Dighe-Bramwell, Manager, Child Sexual Exploitation, Child Intervention Services, Alberta Children and Youth Services, admits is often off-putting to adults. She points, however, to the site's success in being viewed by youth on their own (i.e. on evenings and weekends) in addition to being used during school hours – which is especially important for sites aimed at teens like this one.⁴⁴⁵ As with other resources reviewed above, this strategy should be tested for effectiveness in affecting youth behaviour and decision-making skills, given that the message to be wary of “perverts” does not comport with the data that suggests that most youth who do fall victim to adults online do not consider those adults to be “perverts”. In other words, the blunt language of “pervert” may work to reinforce resistance to fairly obvious online solicitation, but does it work to prevent online luring?

Bad Guy Patrol was developed for 5-10 year olds, in partnership with Microsoft Canada. The site is used primarily in schools. The site is also available on DVD for programs without an Internet connection (such as after school programs). The site contains two tracks (one for ages 5-7 and one for ages 8-10). Each track contains four games, with slight modifications to make the games more challenging for the older children. The games include:

- 1) an interactive quiz format dealing with adhering to Internet safety tips;
- 2) a memory game dealing with using emoticons to express emotion online;
- 3) a true or false quiz testing a variety of safety issues (such as cyber-bullying, giving out personal information, following parents' rules); and
- 4) a somewhat obtuse game about descriptions in words not necessarily making it easy to tell which animal is behind a given door (the game claims to be about people sometimes not being who they say they are).

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁴ The Government of Alberta logo – which is just the stylized word “Alberta”-- appears on the sponsors page indicating the Government as a sponsor in a fairly low key fashion, and users who have questions about the site's privacy policy are directed to Alberta Children's Services on the Privacy sub-page, but otherwise the site is not identified as a government site.

⁴⁴⁵ Success in being viewed by youth may also be due to the successful marketing of the site to youth. A promotion for the site ran in Cineplex Odeon Theatres at PG rated films during the 2006 and 2007 Christmas season; a transit poster campaign was run at transit shelters within 2 kilometres of a school, park or community centre where youth gather, or by sending posters directly to youth centres in rural areas; and a poster was sent to every public library in Alberta. Further promotion of the site will take place in October 2009, after the site is updated and revamped. Interview with Dighe-Bramwell, *supra*.

The “Grown Up Stuff” link on Bad Guy Patrol provides information for parents of the target age group.⁴⁴⁶ The content is a bit heavy on the scare tactics, leaving the impression that the Internet is a very dangerous place where predators lurk wherever children gather. The information about how criminals operate (“Tactics Predators Use”) is nonetheless full of useful information about things to watch out for – such as trying to get children to erase the record of their conversations, telling kids their parents will be mad if they find out about the relationship, encouraging kids to reveal fear and secrets and so forth. The “What you Can do” section is also very useful, in that it stresses maintaining open lines of communication, and that expressing anger about Internet problems will only make their children shut down lines of communication. As with any materials aimed directly at youth, materials for parents should be tested not only for whether being exposed to these materials makes the parents sit up and listen (which is what scare tactics typically do), but also for whether they help parents develop the skills they need to both guide their children and to respond appropriately if an incident occurs.

ACYS staff also deliver presentations on online sexual exploitation to a broad variety of forums, including school boards, teachers conventions, guidance counselor conventions, as well as sometimes directly addressing youth. Presentations for youth stress that the Internet is a wonderful place, but there are risks; to beware of how much information you post or share online – including in the context of online marketing; to think about the long-term consequences of posting photographs (i.e. would you want your grandmother to see it?); and that youth have the ability to make better choices – including understanding about what is happening to their information. Presentations for parents stress helping parents help their kids stay safe online; address the signs that youth are engaging or at risk of engaging in sexual exploitation through prostitution (what indicators to look for, and what to do about it); stress maintaining open dialogue; and suggest signing an Internet contract with rules for Internet use with their children. The inclusion of any reference to youth at risk of engaging in sexual exploitation through prostitution is novel – and inclusion of such information in presentations to youth as well should be tried and evaluated for effectiveness at reaching this very vulnerable population.

In general, Alberta’s materials take an approach different in tone from any other materials available in Canada. The content sometimes comports with the very latest research, and sometimes reiterates assumptions about what behaviours are risky online and where the primary threats lie that do not hold up under scrutiny. Testing ACYS materials for effectiveness would, of course, be of great value.

4. YWCA – Montreal

The YWCA/Y des Femmes Montreal is part of the worldwide YWCA organization, and the Montreal branch has been in operation since 1875. The organization’s mission is “to empower women to achieve” which is rooted in the organization’s “historical promotion of the rights, needs and roles of women in society and in the fundamental values of respect, integrity, equity and community spirit.”⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁶ <http://www.badguypatrol.ca/grownup.htm>. Last accessed June 26, 2009.

⁴⁴⁷ http://www.ydesfemmesmtl.org/about_us_en.html. Last accessed June 29, 2009.

Among the programs for youth are “Leadership in Action” (promoting leadership and well-being for young women age 12-25 through pairing physical activity and self-awareness activities); “Action Makes a Difference” (engaging young women aged 17-25 in projects seeking to identify important issues in their communities); “Girls Speak Out” (providing an intergenerational space of girls aged 9-15 to develop self-awareness and capacity for self-expression); and “Girls Naming Violence” (encouraging collective learning, critical thinking and self-expression around issues of interpersonal and systemic violence in the lives of girls aged 12-18).⁴⁴⁸

While all of these programs provide valuable opportunities to work with girls and young women on issues that would include Internet use, the program most relevant to online sexual exploitation prevention education is a new program currently in the research phase: the “Early Sexualization Research Project”. This project aims to develop educational tools and training programs to respond to the phenomenon of girls becoming sexualized at an early age.⁴⁴⁹ Resources currently available are limited to a “Guide for Parents of Preteen Girls” and a documentary film entitled “Sexy Inc: Our Children Under Influence/Nos enfants sous influence” which the YWCA played some role developing.⁴⁵⁰ The focus on the film is on mainstream media depictions of youth and the negative influence of media on girls’ sexual identity. Its primary audience is adults, although a teacher’s guide is also available. Some of the screening of the film featured discussion with the director some of the experts appearing in the film, including Lilia Goldfarb, Head of Leadership Services at the YWCA- Montreal.

The Guide for Parents of Preteen Girls is an online resource (though an offline print version is available for download) that takes parents through seven scenarios “inspired by real life situations wherein a pre-teen girl questions a parent or thinks aloud about issues of appearance and sexuality.”⁴⁵¹ “Internet Safety” is one of the seven scenarios, along with sexuality and peer pressure, love and respect, seduction and music videos, ultra-thin models and body image, make-up and fashion magazines, and provocative clothing and fashion.

The Internet Safety scenario features a girl in her room at a computer having stumbled on a pornographic website (we are given audio cues), and the girl is repelled (“Ew, what is that?”). Her mother walks in and three thought bubbles offer the user three topics to explore: the issue of her daughter having an Internet connected computer in her bedroom where her Internet use cannot be monitored; the issue of her daughter being exposed to pornography and a false representation of sexuality; and the use of Internet chat by the girl, and how to deal with online friends and beware of “predators.” Aside from the initial animation, the information is delivered as a block of text for the parent to read. The animation is a novel approach for a parent resource, which are usually very dry, and may signal a new generation of parent materials that account for the fact that parents of pre-teen girls will increasingly be tech savvy and have grown up with the Internet themselves. The advice given to parents is mainly focused on how to talk to daughters about these issues – stressing open channels of communication and not overreacting – and yet the advice is also firm about the need to monitor a pre-teen girl’s Internet use and steer her to more

⁴⁴⁸ http://www.ydesfemmesmtl.org/leadership_en.html#youth_programs_fr. Last accessed June 29, 2009.

⁴⁴⁹ http://www.ydesfemmesmtl.org/sexualization_en.html. Last accessed June 29, 2009.

⁴⁵⁰ According to the National Film Board press release (dated October 9, 2007) the film is directed by Sophie Bissonnette and produced by Patricia Bergeron in partnership with the YWCA Montreal and the UQAM Service aux collectivités. See <http://www3.nfb.ca/webextension/sexy-inc/>. Last accessed June 29, 2009.

⁴⁵¹ http://www.ydesfemmesmtl.org/sexualization_en.html. Last accessed June 29, 2009.

age appropriate sites (including ones dealing with healthy sexuality), and knowing who she's chatting with.

The project is not yet fully developed and a resource for youth is not yet available. But the approach of couching issues dealing with sexuality and the Internet in a program dealing more generally with sexuality and media is promising.

5. Sample Crime Prevention Education by Local and Regional Police Forces

School resource officers, crime prevention officers, education officers, community officers and sometimes members of specific Internet Child Exploitation units are called upon to deliver Internet safety education in schools and other youth organizations, as well as to parent groups. The true scope of these activities is hard to determine, but is surely very wide-spread throughout the country. Many of these police officers avail themselves of the materials reviewed above, either using them according to the various guides that accompany the materials, or else crafting their own versions of presentations. On the one hand, the adaptation of the materials has the potential to meet local needs and reflect front line experience with online sexual exploitation crimes; on the other, adaptation may lead to uneven quality, and the risk of stressing outdated messages that are not effective.

The activities of three particularly active police services in Ontario are reviewed below, in order to provide a sample of law enforcement activities in Internet safety and prevention of online sexual exploitation: Ontario Provincial Police (OPP, which primarily polices outside of urban areas, including in rural and remote areas), Peel Regional Police (which polices in the suburban Toronto area), and Toronto Police Service (which polices urban Toronto).

a) Ontario Provincial Police (OPP)

The Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) has a dedicated Youth Issues Coordinator, Sgt. Robyn MacEachern, whose primary role is to act as the link between the Child Sexual Exploitation and Electronic Crimes Units, and the 90 detachments of the OPP across the province.⁴⁵² In addition to officer training, she also does presentations to youth and the public on online safety and crime prevention in a variety of settings, including representing the OPP in a weekly online safety and information session on a popular online social site for teens, Habbo Hotel.

As for professional development training, most OPP detachments have at least one community officer who does prevention education, and Sgt. MacEachern provides training courses for community officers on electronic crimes, including online sexual exploitation. Many of these officers have not personally encountered these crimes in their work experience, so the training is the primary source of information that is then carried out to schools and other community groups by these officers. Sgt. MacEachern also provides professional development training to educators, Children's Aid Societies, and Justice partners (including probation officers, judges and justices of the peace).

⁴⁵² Interview by author with Robyn MacEachern, Sergeant – Youth Issues Coordinator, Ontario Provincial Police, October 16, 2008.

For presentations directed to youth and their parents, Sgt. MacEachern's preferred approach to teaching online safety includes the following features, which she also conveys to the community officers she trains:

- Point out the “tools of exploitation” – where things tend to go wrong online, such as using webcams, revealing passwords, inability to authenticate people, and the perils of digital information (can be altered, can be readily disseminated);
- Teach critical thinking skills needed to manage online information, including instilling an awareness of both the “public nature” of the Internet (e.g. once something is online it can be copied and disseminated) and the exploitability of digital information (e.g. if a girl says “I hate my curly hair” online, a cyber-bully can use that information to upset her);
- Validate online life: kids don't report because we don't understand how important the online world is to them. Use the “real life test” to gauge your response – imagine that whatever happened online happened in real life (i.e., you wouldn't tell your kid not to go to school anymore because they were bullied there);
- Emphasize authentication practices regarding online friends. Advise that youth still need to treat meeting a person in real life as a first time meeting, since you need to be able to use multiple senses to really judge someone. Youth need to counter the lowered inhibitions that can come with Internet communication – they can't sense danger the same way online/via text;
- Use teaching strategies that help youth come up with their own solutions – like helping a friend through a problem regarding an offline meeting.

Sgt. MacEachern often uses materials produced by other groups (most of which are reviewed above) in her presentations to youth, including: Cybercops (Mirror Image, Air Dogs), Internet 101 (lesson plans and videos), Netsmartz (U.S.)⁴⁵³, PREVNet tip sheets⁴⁵⁴, DEAL.org (presentations), Vous NET Pas Seul (Sureté Quebec, video for youth and parents)⁴⁵⁵, as well as powerpoint presentations in French and English produced within the OPP and its detachments.⁴⁵⁶ She stresses to the community officers that knowing the resources out there and teaching the above principles is more important than knowing everything about the technology and having constantly new and flashy presentation materials.⁴⁵⁷

The OPP also has an online presence in Habbo Hotel Canada⁴⁵⁸, a popular online social environment and chat site for teens, called the OPP Infobus.⁴⁵⁹ Sgt. MacEachern is the primary

⁴⁵³ <http://www.netsmartz.org/>. Last accessed June 23, 2009. Netsmartz is the online crime prevention arm of the National Centre for Missing and Exploited Children in the United States.

⁴⁵⁴ <http://www.prevnet.ca/>. Last accessed June 23, 2009. PREVNet stands for “Promoting Relationships and Eliminating Violence”, and it is a national network of Canadian researchers, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and governments committed to stop bullying, including cyberbullying.

⁴⁵⁵ See <http://www.suretequebec.gouv.qc.ca/prevenir-la-criminalite/programmes/programme-cyberbranche.jsp>. The link to the “Vous NET pas Seul” video was not working on the last visit on June 23, 2009.

⁴⁵⁶ Interview with MacEachern, *supra*.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.* <http://www.habbo.ca/>. Habbo Hotel also has a section on safety tips at http://www.habbo.ca/groups/Safety_Tips. Last accessed June 23, 2009.

OPP officer who hosts a one hour weekly online safety education session in the Infobus, a practice which has been going on since 2006.⁴⁶⁰ During this hour, the doors of the Infobus open and the OPP officer takes in groups of up to 10 youths to chat for 15 minutes at a time. Sgt. MacEachern generally starts them off with questions or a survey to get discussion going. Youth can ask questions within the group or privately (via a “whisper” feature), and MacEachern reports that different issues come out in this anonymous online environment than in person, as youth are more confident when they are anonymous.⁴⁶¹ Follow up is offered via the youth issues website of the OPP⁴⁶² and Kids Help Phone.⁴⁶³

Sgt. MacEachern would like to see more focus on the following issues in future online safety education materials:

- Social and other long-term consequences to reputation that may result from online behaviours;
- Legal and other disciplinary consequences of online behaviours (such as being kicked off of a site);
- Rights and responsibilities online;
- Peer to peer exploitation, such as bullying, sexual exploitation (e.g. sharing sexual pictures), humiliation, and stalking.

Sgt. MacEachern suggests that more materials are needed for younger grades (4-6) and that some materials might benefit from being geared more specifically to boys or girls (though they also share many issues in common). She also would like to see more research into whether there are any special vulnerabilities faced by rural youth. Her hunch is that rural youth are more vulnerable because their social world offline is different: in a small town you have less opportunity for anonymity and trying out new identities, so online is your only way to explore these options. Also, rural youth may have a greater sense of security (i.e. walking around in the dark for instance) potentially resulting in a misplaced sense of online security due to their geographical isolation (i.e. that no predator would bother to come all the way out to where they live).

Sgt. MacEachern suggests that youth do not generally respond to scare tactics/danger or threat scenarios, since they think they are invincible. Instead, she supports the use of personal testimony of victims, as well as the use of established facts like statistics on online crime and risk, which help to at least initiate discussions with youth. Evidence-based information also needs to be delivered to parents rather than playing to their fears: for instance, research that shows that deception is not a major feature of most online luring crimes, and youth are instead being seduced into relationships where they know they are engaging with adults.⁴⁶⁴ If messages for parents continue to stress deception as a feature of online luring, parents may not be equipped

⁴⁵⁹ <http://www.habbo.ca/groups/TheInfoBus>. Last accessed June 23, 2009.

⁴⁶⁰ MacEachern’s avatar on Habbo was created on June 29, 2006. <http://www.habbo.ca/home/-OPP-Robyn>. Last accessed June 23, 2009.

⁴⁶¹ Interview with MacEachern, *supra*.

⁴⁶² http://www.opp.ca/Community/CrimePrevention/opp_000273.html. Last accessed June 23, 2009.

⁴⁶³ <http://www.kidshelpphone.ca/>. Last accessed June 23, 2009.

⁴⁶⁴ Interview with MacEachern, *supra*.

to properly respond and provide support to their children in situations where deception is not there.

b) Peel Regional Police

Like the OPP, Peel Regional Police (hereinafter “Peel Police”) in Ontario also has an Education Officer attached to its Internet Child Exploitation (ICE) Unit: Constable Brenda Pennington.⁴⁶⁵ The Education Officer sits in on meetings about investigations within the ICE unit, so that she is aware of the latest developments with cases, and these inform the educational materials she delivers. The structure is modeled after a similar set-up for Peel Police’s Project R.A.I.D. (Reduce Abuse in Drugs), where Youth Education Bureau officers are dedicated specifically to drug education and sit in on investigation meetings regarding drug offences.⁴⁶⁶ In addition to creating and sometimes delivering presentations to youth, Constable Pennington also delivers presentations directly to parents and community groups, including parent council groups, lunch and learn sessions at businesses, church groups, and the Trillium Health Centre.

Peel Police has developed its own online safety curriculum and teacher’s guide called “Cyberproofed”, which is designed to teach youth in grades 3-10 the “necessary tools to help protect themselves from being victimized by predators on the Internet” as well as some other forms on online victimization (such as identity theft).⁴⁶⁷ The curriculum was written by a team of educators from the various Peel region school boards, and chaired by an officer from Peel Police’s Internet Safety Committee.⁴⁶⁸ The curriculum is broken down into three age groups (grades 3-5, 6-8, and 9-10). The classroom activities in grades 3-8 center on the viewing of an 18 minute original video entitled “Caught in the Web: Staying Safe in Cyberspace”. The lessons are meant to be completed prior to a visit to the school from a Youth Education Officer from Peel Police, who reviews and consolidates the Internet Safety Rules presented in the lessons. Constable Pennington creates the presentations that the Youth Education Officers deliver in the elementary schools (grade 3-8), building on other online safety resources available (such as Kids in the Know and Cybertip.ca).⁴⁶⁹ For grades 9-10, it is intended that the education officer (Neighbourhood Policing Unit (NPU) officers do high school crime prevention education in Peel) comes in first, and then lessons follow up on the police presentations, centering on a series of scenarios.

“Cyberproofed” is a good example of multi-disciplinary Internet safety education, where the information is delivered both by teachers and police officers. Constable Pennington admits, however, that recently more teachers have been calling to have police come in to do Internet safety presentations without embedding them in classroom lessons. Consequently, Constable Pennington has been going into high schools to give presentations herself, although this is not an

⁴⁶⁵ Interview by author with Pennington, *supra*.

⁴⁶⁶ <http://www.peelpolice.on.ca/Specialized%20Units/Community%20Support%20Bureaus/Youth%20Education.aspx> Last accessed June 23, 2009.

⁴⁶⁷ http://www.peelpolice.on.ca/computerInternetSafety_files/cyberproofed/index.htm. Last accessed on June 23, 2009.

⁴⁶⁸ http://www.peelpolice.on.ca/computerInternetSafety_files/cyberproofed/acknowledgements.htm. Last accessed on June 23, 2009.

⁴⁶⁹ Interview with Pennington, *supra*.

ideal model, and teachers should be discouraged from relying solely on police officers to deliver Internet safety education.⁴⁷⁰

Through her placement in the ICE Unit, Constable Pennington is knowledgeable about online sexual exploitation crime trends in the Peel region specifically.⁴⁷¹ The presentations she creates (and delivers) go into details of sample luring cases, for instance, to show how the victim developed a “relationship” with the offender, in order to make the education relevant and have kids recognize the negative behaviour. She always encourages the students to come up with ideas for how to make various online activities safer. The examples are also not limited to scenarios with adult perpetrators, but also include “self-exploitation” cases, and for the high school presentations also cases where consensually taken photographs are circulated after the couple breaks up.⁴⁷²

Constable Pennington notes the following trends that she suggests should inform development of new prevention programs:

- More materials need to address younger children in a way that reflects their online behaviours realistically:
 - 8 and 9 year olds are using MSN, and Facebook users are also getting younger.
 - 11 and 12 year olds are going online claiming to be 15-16 and engaging in sexual conversations with older people;
 - Feedback from teachers is that materials in general should be more blunt and talk more directly about the sexual realities of online behaviours and crimes – this presents the challenge of figuring out what is appropriate for this younger group.
- There may be some value in developing presentations specific to single-sex groups. Constable Pennington gave a presentation to an all-girls camp once, and got some disclosure from the girls that she would not necessarily have gotten in a mixed-sex group. A presentation for girls could, she suggests, also address early sexualization, the higher risk posed to girls generally, and self-exploitation trends among girls;
- Materials should address youth at higher risk – such as youth who feel ignored, isolated, or who are abused at home and are more likely to turn to people online for attention (including going to adult sites to get it, and having long buddy lists including people they do not know); also need materials for boys who are exploring their sexual identity;

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷¹ Constable Pennington reports that the highest proportion of complaints dealt with by the Peel ICE Unit are age of consent crimes (indecent acts on webcam; luring; then child pornography, and voyeurism is the least common). Most of the cases come through via complaints from parents, as well as pro-active investigation of luring (using undercover officers). Some complaints come in via anonymous tips through crime stoppers (e.g. from someone who saw something on someone’s computer – while doing repairs, or someone with whom they are in a domestic relationship or friendship). Luring investigations engage peer to peer networks, and almost always end up involving transmission of child pornography. Consequently while most of the complaints and investigations start elsewhere, most of the charges laid are for possessing or accessing child pornography.

⁴⁷² Interview with Pennington, *supra*. Peel has had had some of these post-break up cases where charges have been laid.

- Materials for teens need to address self-exploitation, peer exploitation, and the role that drug and alcohol use plays in some of these incidents.⁴⁷³
- Materials should acknowledge special circumstances of new immigrant and first generation immigrant youth, where the knowledge gap regarding Internet technologies is sometimes even greater than the general population, and where youth are sometimes culturally proscribed from talking to their parents about sexual issues.
- Youth should be involved in creating materials.

Constable Pennington incorporates and adapts parts of existing materials produced by other organizations, including those reviewed above and some United States sources.⁴⁷⁴ She would like to see all materials freely available (rather than licensed) and adaptable to local needs. Information dissemination should also work on a train-the-trainer model (and she recommends iSafe America's version of this approach, which also includes a police component).⁴⁷⁵ Finally, she would like to see crime prevention taught at the police college as part of all officers training.

c) Toronto Police Service

The Toronto Police Service (TPS) has taken a youth engagement approach to Internet safety education. Internet safety programs are primarily delivered by school resource officers (SROs) and community school liaison officers (CSLOs) to high school or grade school audiences, where the programs have been developed and are overseen by the TPS Community Mobilization Unit (CMU), in conjunction with other police stakeholders (like the Sex Crimes Unit Child Exploitation Section).⁴⁷⁶ CMU developed a new grade school Internet safety presentation in conjunction with BOOST Child Abuse Prevention and Intervention, for instance, which will be launched in grade 2 classes this Fall.⁴⁷⁷ High School Internet safety education and outreach is also frequently delivered through the Empowered Student Partnerships (ESP) program, which is active in over 220 schools across four Toronto school boards.⁴⁷⁸ Students involved with ESP request and/or deliver presentations they feel are most relevant to their particular schools, and Internet Safety is one of the topics that can be pulled from the available basket of materials.⁴⁷⁹

The Sex Crimes Unit Child Exploitation Section (also referred to as the Internet Child Exploitation Unit, or ICE Unit) is very committed to education and outreach, knowing full well that they are able to investigate only 'the tip of the iceberg' of online sexual exploitation

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.* Constable Pennington cites a case where a high school student was sexually assaulted and male peers used cell phone cameras to record it and put it on a file sharing site – alcohol was involved in the incident.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.* Constable Pennington uses elements from Kids in the Know, Internet 101, DEAL.org, KINSA, U.S. sites Netsmartz and iSafe, and UK site ThinkUKnow.

⁴⁷⁵ <http://isafe.org/>. Last accessed June 23, 2009.

⁴⁷⁶ SROs are assigned to specific high schools (usually as requested by the school), whereas CSLOs deliver programs in grade schools (Kindergarten to Grade 8), or to high schools that do not have an assigned SRO. Interview by author with Detective Sergeant Kimberly Scanlan #3797, Toronto Police Sex Crimes Unit, Child Exploitation Section/2009 SCU Conference Co-Chair, July 20, 2009.

⁴⁷⁷ The grade school presentation was developed by Constable Diana Korn-Hassani from TPS CMU and Pearl Rimer from BOOST. Scanlan email interview, *supra*.

⁴⁷⁸ See <http://www.esponline.ca/about> for more information on ESP.

⁴⁷⁹ Scanlan interview, *supra*.

crimes.⁴⁸⁰ At one time, the ICE Unit was receiving a lot of direct requests for Internet safety presentations from schools – now ICE is more focused on training police officers (especially SROs) to deliver online sexual exploitation safety information to individual schools, and is instead providing presentations to administrators of schools boards, large community groups, crown prosecutors, probation officers, social workers, and educators, both locally and nationally.

In 2007, the ICE unit partnered with CMU and several teen focus groups⁴⁸¹ (primarily via ESP) to help update existing online child sexual exploitation prevention resources and develop new ones. One of the main insights derived from the focus groups was that teens are more receptive to peer educators (or a peer teamed with an expert or law enforcement officer) rather than receiving Internet safety education in a lecture format from an adult.⁴⁸² These insights informed a multifaceted education project entitled "Every Keystroke Has a Consequence", which consists of a Child Exploitation website, Cyber Safety pamphlet, high school presentations and a PSA campaign in 2008/2009 (including billboard advertising, messaging on subway monitors, Youtube and Facebook).⁴⁸³ The PSAs featured a series of conversations with young Canadian celebrities (such as a contestant from "Canadian Idol" and actors from the musical "We Will Rock You") about topics such as the possible consequences of posting information or images online.

In the 2008/2009 school year, the TPS – ICE Unit also started a Cyber Teen Committee, through which three ICE team members (three of the youngest officers) met quarterly with teens from across the city to exchange information on emerging trends in youth online behaviour. Students received credit for community service hours for participating on the committee (community service hours are mandatory in the Province of Ontario to graduate from high school). The input of the student committee members was especially useful for undercover officers conducting luring investigations, but law enforcement members of the committee also provided teen members with Internet safety information (such as training on privacy features of social networking sites). The students and police also worked on future PSA ideas. As the first year of the committee, the main accomplishment was developing relationships and rapport between the officers and students. The committee will be run again next year, and its function is expected to evolve and may include more active input from teens in the development of sexual exploitation prevention materials.⁴⁸⁴

Toronto Crime Stoppers⁴⁸⁵ also has a campaign to encourage youth to submit tips to Crime Stoppers, "Trust and Text", which stresses a combination of relationships and technology. The program promotes the use of the technology that youth use regularly in their lives to report crimes or threatening situations, or otherwise seek support from police. Key to this Crime Stoppers program is the ability to submit tips to Crime Stoppers anonymously via SMS text

⁴⁸⁰ Scanlan email interview, supra.

⁴⁸¹ One focus group was hosted by Microsoft Canada at their offices, to garner information from the teens about how to best address teens with Internet safety education.

⁴⁸² Scanlan interview, supra.

⁴⁸³ Scanlan interview and email interview, supra. See also <http://www.torontopolice.on.ca/modules.php?op=modload&name=News&file=article&sid=3150>. Last accessed June 23, 2009.

⁴⁸⁴ Scanlan interview, supra.

⁴⁸⁵ <http://www.222tips.com/home.php>. Last accessed June 23, 2009.

messaging, by using a new software program being used by Toronto Crime Stoppers since April 2008.⁴⁸⁶ At present, 30 Crime Stoppers or similar programs across Canada use this software.⁴⁸⁷ Toronto Crime Stoppers and Community Youth Officer Constable Scott Mills also use non-anonymous online environments to connect with youth – Constable Mills has over 2,000 high school students on his Crime Stoppers Facebook “friends” list for instance – and he receives tips from students in the student communities he serves through this channel as well.

Constable Mills has received tips from students about online sexual exploitation (as has Crime Stoppers) as a result of the “Trust and Text” campaign, and these tips are typically forwarded to the Sex Crimes Unit Child Exploitation Section.⁴⁸⁸ The anonymous text tip option is slated to be promoted via an advertising campaign aimed at youth in the Fall of 2009.⁴⁸⁹

C. Conclusions: Access to Internet Safety Education across Canada

The above review of Internet safety education materials and activities shows a range of orientations to online safety education (some focus on media literacy, others on healthy relationships; some try to appeal to youth via interactive games, others via in-person delivery from either an authority figure like a police officer or a peer). The variety of approaches is encouraging, as it shows that across the country concerned professionals are trying to work out the best ways to reach children and youth and to make the important messages stick.

There are still quite a few differences between the materials with respect to some of the more contentious content issues, like the effectiveness of strict rules and prohibitions, the use of worst case scenarios, and perhaps undue emphasis on the role deception plays in online luring crimes. These differences point to the need to make resources available to those who produce online safety materials to assess the effectiveness of their products – not just whether the materials are being used, not just whether students remember what they were told, but whether the materials actually help them make better choices online or when confronted with a problem situation.

The review of the materials also indicates that while there are several high quality programs available that aim to address all the provinces and territories, the regions that have more homegrown materials are generally better served as they have a greater variety of choices from all of the above foci and delivery approaches. Many of the national materials also must be licensed, and so local uptake and adaptation varies from school board to school board and from province to province. In sum, comprehensive and consistent Internet safety education is not currently happening in Canada.

Further, the degree to which Internet safety is a priority varies greatly among the provincial and territorial governments. Some provincial and territorial governments have invested a great deal

⁴⁸⁶ <http://www.smscrimetips.com/>. Last accessed June 24, 2009.

⁴⁸⁷ A complete list of Crime Stoppers programs using the anonymous text tip software is available at <http://www.smscrimetips.com/index-nosound.aspx#Clients>. Last accessed June 24, 2009.

⁴⁸⁸ Crime Stoppers also frequently posts clips from presentations or media appearances on YouTube. See for instance this clip featuring Constable Mills talking about getting youth to text tips to Crime Stoppers at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KdyQPclEQ8E>. Last accessed June 23, 2009.

⁴⁸⁹ Interview by author with Constable Scott Mills, Community Youth Officer, Toronto Police Services and Toronto Crime Stoppers, June 24, 2009.

of resources into Internet safety (law enforcement, counseling, education) – Alberta, British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba – while the rest of the provinces and territories appear to rely on national Internet safety education resources and local law enforcement or other professional initiatives. Some provincial and territorial government websites contain very little information about Internet safety, with many only presenting links to some of the above organizations and brief lists of outdated safety tips. A more complete list of federal, provincial and municipal websites offering Internet safety information and/or links to online sexual exploitation prevention resources is attached as Appendix E. This uneven commitment from provincial and territorial governments may well mean that youth in those regions where Internet safety appears to be less of a priority may not be getting the appropriate dose of online sexual exploitation prevention knowledge and problem solving skills. As with the materials themselves, further study of the impact of uneven distribution of materials would also help to determine how much Internet safety education works, how much is too little, and even how much is too much.

V. SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING PREVENTION MATERIALS AND STRATEGIES

A great deal of the currently available crime prevention materials dealing with online sexual exploitation of children is broadly compliant with the most recent research, although there are some pockets lagging behind due to lack of resources to update materials. Some approaches are also harder to unseat, and may require further research to determine whether or not they are so ineffective as to be a waste of resources (or worse, do more harm than good). Everyone involved in combating online sexual exploitation of children and youth is trying hard to be effective. It would therefore certainly help to be able to better determine what is effective through testing both content and delivery strategies. In the meantime, youth should continue to be exposed to a variety of strategies, although content issues that may lead youth to have a false sense of security should be abandoned (e.g. casting adults who interact with youth online for sexual purposes as fat middle aged perverts pretending to be teenaged girls leads youth to think that they know how to spot a predator, rather than being attuned to more subtle manipulation of their emotions and vulnerabilities).

Internet use has matured as a medium through which to communicate as well as seek entertainment, support and knowledge. Thus, online safety education also needs to mature, and shift more universally to teaching principles underlying Internet safety, rather than merely providing concrete abstinence-based tips for keeping kids not only out of online trouble, but off the Internet entirely.

Consensus appears to be emerging about best practices for online safety and crime prevention messages for the general youth population, and these can be broadly summarized as follows: Prevention messages should

- Be developmentally appropriate, which includes acknowledging the needs of teens to develop autonomy from parents and to explore their identities (including sexual identities);
- Emphasize the features of healthy relationships and help kids identify unhealthy behaviours in relationships, which would include pressure to engage in sexual activities; taking of sexual photographs and videos (except in very limited circumstances between older youths); manipulation of emotions to convince child or youth to perform sexual acts; use of sexual information or images to coerce children or youth into further sexual activities (through fear of disclosure to parents or others; or through fear of legal repercussions for having viewed child pornography);
- Encourage children to disclose unhealthy situations and incidents to trusted adults; encourage adults to provide appropriate intervention and support that continues to validate the centrality of technology to youth social life;
- Avoid stark prohibitions on what are (or are becoming) common activities for youths online, especially as children get older, and instead become more nuanced about how to handle problems that may arise from these activities (sharing personal information online, sharing pictures online, and making online friends).

With regard to online relationships, while the opportunity for deception remains high online (and can play a role in cyber-bullying, identity theft and other online crimes), deception should no longer be the main focus of online luring prevention materials. Instead, youth must be better educated about the rationale for age-of-consent prohibitions, and be taught the tools for identifying unhealthy online relationships as well as unhealthy offline relationships, and learn strategies for extricating themselves from unhealthy relationships.

With regard to posting personal information online: some materials still simply advise youth and their parents not to post any personal information online. As the Internet has become integral to the social lives of most teens, this prohibition is untenable. Instead, prevention messages should note that identifying and locating information can be misused (for harassment and bullying, more commonly than for abduction) and that sharing other forms of personal information (such as personal vulnerabilities, problems in the home) with the wrong person can leave you open to manipulation. However, the messages should not go so far as to say that you should never post or share anything you do not want the whole world to see (variations on this message include teaching youth that the Internet is by nature public, or that nothing is really private on the Internet).

While this abstinence-only approach is technically true (in the same way that not having sex is a relatively surefire way not to get a STI), it also deprives youth of the richness of online social life while failing to teach the privacy values youth need to develop appropriate trusting relationships and to be trustworthy custodians of their friends' information. Prevention messages should instead stress that in healthy relationships, such information is treated with trust and respect, while in unhealthy relationships, sensitive information can be used to extort behaviours from the youth that he or she would otherwise not want to do; or can be used to further isolate the youth from other supports (i.e. to further drive a wedge between the youth and his or her parents).

Prevention messages are unanimous about the need to encourage youth to seek help from trusted adults when problems arise, including when relationships (whether online or offline) turn unhealthy. Anonymous counseling services such as Kids Help Phone and anonymous tip reporting venues like Cybertip.ca and some Crime Stoppers programs should also be promoted. More trustworthy professionals should have an online professional presence – including perhaps youth outreach workers and police officers on patrol in online environments where youth gather, or even where youth should not gather. Prevention messages for parents, teachers and other youth serving professionals meanwhile should also focus on helping adults be there for the youth who may come to them with a problem, as well as providing guidance for avoiding trouble.

Prevention materials specifically addressed to higher risk youth also need to be developed: for youth who have already experienced sexual abuse (offline or online); for youth experiencing conflict within families (including youth who have run away or are at risk to do so); for LGBT youth and youth exploring sexualities that may lead them to seek out adult sexual contexts online; for youth with disabilities that limit their capacity to judge healthy and unhealthy relationships; for youth with perceptual disabilities or severe illnesses who may rely on the Internet more heavily for social contacts; and for youth from remote or otherwise isolated communities who have recently gained access to the Internet. The approaches and modes of delivery may well need to be different for these groups, and the settings for delivery may not be classrooms but rather counseling or peer-support sessions.

Wherever possible, prevention materials should be developed with the input of youth themselves. As part of a larger peer education strategy, materials would stay as current as possible, improving the likelihood of making a meaningful impact on youth.

Internet safety education should be integrated more fully into topics that address not just personal safety but citizenship and community building. Internet safety education should be part of a broader push to teaching values of dignity (including preserving the dignity of others) and respect (including self-respect), and of teaching youth to engage as responsible citizens, community members and friends both online and offline. Such an approach would help ensure that more youth know not only how to help themselves avoid trouble, but also how to spot and respond to trouble befalling others in their social world, how to get out of an unhealthy situation when it gets out of hand, and how to cope with victimization if they or someone close to them is sexually exploited online.

APPENDIX A: List of Interview Subjects

Full interviews were conducted with the following individuals⁴⁹⁰

Noni Classen, Director of Education, Kids in the Know
 Jeff Degen, Detective Constable, Ontario Provincial Police
 Sarita Dighe-Bramwell, Manager, Child Sexual Exploitation, Child Intervention Services,
 Alberta Children and Youth Services
 Merlyn Horton, Executive Director, Safe Online Outreach Society (SOLOS)
 Robyn MacEachern, Sergeant – Youth Issues Coordinator, Ontario Provincial Police
 Hannah McGeachie, English editor and writer, DEAL.org
 Scott Mills, Constable - Community Youth Officer, Toronto Police Services and Toronto Crime
 Stoppers
 Brenda Pennington, Constable - Education Officer, Internet Child Exploitation Unit, Peel
 Regional Police
 Nathan Pilbrow, Graphic Designer, Internet 101
 Muriel Rounthwaite, Projects Leader, Ontario Physical and Health Education Association
 (Ophea)
 Kimberly Scanlan, Detective Sergeant, Toronto Police Sex Crimes Unit, Child Exploitation
 Section/2009 SCU Conference Co-Chair
 Siegi Schuler, Consulting Clinical Director, Halton Trauma Centre
 Roberta Sinclair, Manager of Research and Development, National Child Exploitation
 Coordination Centre
 Tanya Smith, Nurse Practitioner, Suspected Child Abuse and Neglect (SCAN) Program, Sick
 Kids Hospital
 Helen Vozinidis, Acting Manager, Assessment and Treatment Program, Boost Child Abuse
 Prevention and Intervention
 Cathy Wing, Co-Executive Director, Media Awareness Network

Further input received from:

Faye Mishna, Professor and Acting Dean, Faculty of Social Work, University of Toronto
 Kristin Neudorf, Kids Internet Safety Alliance
 Jane Tallim, Co-Executive Director, Media Awareness Network

⁴⁹⁰ Further individuals were interviewed but did not receive clearance from their organizations to be named in this report.

APPENDIX B: Primary Researcher Biography (Dr. Andrea Slane)

Dr. Andrea Slane is Associate Professor in the Faculty of Criminology, Justice and Policy Studies and the University of Ontario Institute of Technology (since May 1, 2009). At the start of this research project and until April 30, 2009, she was the Executive Director of the Centre for Innovation Law and Policy (CILP) at the University of Toronto, Faculty of Law. She received her J.D. (Honours) from the University of Toronto in 2003, and was called to the Ontario bar in 2004. She holds a PhD in Comparative Literature (Cultural Studies) from the University of California, San Diego. Before joining the Faculty of Law in 2006, Andrea practiced trade-mark, copyright, privacy and technology law. She has chaired two international symposia on Online Child Exploitation on behalf of the CILP, in 2005 and 2007. She has published articles on unsolicited bulk email, online hate complaints, and international online defamation cases. She has done policy research for the Department of Justice (on online hate), and through the Contributions Program of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada (on information sharing between private entities and law enforcement).

PUBLICATIONS

Books:

A Not So Foreign Affair: Fascism, Sexuality, and the Cultural Rhetoric of American Democracy, Duke University Press, 2001.

Articles, Book Chapters, and Book Reviews:

- “Tales, Techs and Territories: Private International Law, Globalization and the Legal Construction of Borderlessness on the Internet”, 71 Law and Contemporary Problems 3: 129-151 (Summer 2008).
- “Book Review: Law and Internet Cultures” (2008), 58 University of Toronto Law Journal: 119-121.
- “The Crafting of a Political Icon: Lola Lola on Paper”, in Jon Lewis and Eric Smoodin, eds., Looking Past the Screen: Case Studies in American Film History and Method, Duke University Press, 2007.
- “Democracy, Social Space and the Internet” (2007), 57 University of Toronto Law Journal: 81-104.
- “Hate Speech, Public Communication and Emerging Communications Technologies”, Canadian Issues/Thèmes Canadiens (Special Issue on Hate on the Internet), Spring 2006: 118-125.
- “Home is Where the Internet Connection Is: Law, Spam and the Protection of Personal Space” (2005) 2:2 University of Ottawa Law and Technology Journal: 255-290.
- “*Copyright Act* a Balancing Act?: Owners, Users, Rights and Limitations in the Canadian Digital Copyright Reform Process”, co-authored with Glen Bloom, E-Commerce Law Report, November, 2005.
- “The Interracial Treatment Relationship in the Cold War Period: *Pressure Point* in Analysis,” Celluloid Couches, Cinematic Clients: Psychoanalysis and Psychotherapy in the Movies, ed. Jerrold R. Brandell, SUNY Press, 2004.
- “Pressure Points: Political Psychology, Screen Adaptation, and the Management of Racism in the Case History Genre,” (2001) Camera Obscura 45.

“Romancing the System: Women, Narrative Film, and the Sexuality of Computers,” in Melodie Calvert and Jennifer Terry, eds., Processed Lives: Gender and Technology in Everyday Life, Routledge, 1997.

Policy Papers and Reports:

- “Personal Information Protection in the Face of Crime and Terror: Information Sharing by Private Enterprises for National Security and Law Enforcement Purposes” – research supervisor and co-author, 2008. Funded by and submitted to Office of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada.
- “Combating Hate on the Internet: Current Canadian Efforts and the Recommendations of Non-Governmental Organizations to Improve upon Them”. Author, 2008. Funded by and submitted to the Department of Justice, Canada.
- “Safely Connected: Strategies for Protecting Children and Youth from Sexual Exploitation Online.” Author 2005. Funded by the Microsoft Safe Computer Program, Centre for Innovation Law and Policy. Submitted to the Department of Justice, Canada and various Attorneys General across Canada.

APPENDIX C: Stages of the Online Grooming Process

by O'Connell (2003),⁴⁹¹
as summarized in the NCECC 2005 Environmental Scan⁴⁹²

Stage 1: The preferential sex offender initiates the start of a friendship with an individual s/he believes to be a child.

Stage 2: During the relationship forming stage, the preferential sex offender will engage the child in a discussion centered on various aspects of the child's school and home life. Throughout this stage, the preferential sex offender will attempt to obtain information on the child such as the area in which s/he lives, the name of the school s/he attends, and details about his/her hobbies and other favourite pastimes (Benschop 2003). Although it is a rare occurrence, it has been argued that if the attempt at online grooming fails, the sex offender will then try to surprise the child with an in-person meeting. It is not unusual for the preferential sex offender to be skilled in the art of extracting information from individuals.

Stage 3: The risk assessment stage focuses on how a preferential sex offender assesses the probability of detection. For example, the offender will attempt to determine the location of the computer, and if it is located in the child's bedroom, the predator is less concerned about being discovered and will then continue to the next stage of the grooming process.

Stage 4: Once the location of the computer is known by the preferential sex offender, s/he will enter the exclusivity stage where s/he will attempt to gain the trust of the child by encouraging the discussion of topics that most people consider private (not necessarily sexual) such as the relationship the child has with his/her parents.

Stage 5: Once trust has been established, the predator will begin the sexual stage. In this stage, the preferential sex offender will ask questions such as "have you ever been kissed?" These questions are asked with the intention of identifying the sexual development of the child. With the sexual stage, the predator will often reinforce the notion that the child can "talk about anything."

Stage 6: The patterns of progression through the sexual stage will be characterized by a distinctive change in the focus of the conversations. The conversations will become purely sexual in nature as the offender will try to present him/herself as a possible sexual mentor to the child by "educating" the child regarding various sexual techniques.

Stage 7: The fantasy enactment stage occurs when the preferential sex offender attempts to engage the child in cyber-sex either through invitation or blackmail. The approaches used by the offender during this stage will vary depending on his/her personality and intentions.

⁴⁹¹ O'Connell, Rachel. (2003). *A Typology of Cybersexploitation and Online Grooming Practices*. Cyberspace Research Unit. University of Central Lancashire.

⁴⁹² 2005 Environmental Scan, supra, at pp. 99-100.

Stage 8: Once the child has been “cybersexploited” the offender will enter the damage limitation stage in order to prevent the child from revealing any details of the cyber relationship to parents, siblings, or friends. During this stage it is common for the exploiter to repeat phrases such as “this is our secret” and “I love you.” In an effort to keep the abuse a secret, the offender may use fear, oppression, favours, and/or threats to control the actions of the child and convince him/her that they are partly responsible for the abuse and are therefore are also guilty (Sexual abuse 2004). According to O’Connell’s research, the damage limitation stage was often used by the repeat offenders and rarely attempted by aggressive sex offenders who were not interested in developing a long-term relationship resulting in an offline encounter.

APPENDIX D: List of Prominent International Internet Safety Resources

The United States has produced a large volume of Internet safety materials, but only two resources were referred to in interviews, and Netsmartz was the only resource referred to often:

Netsmartz (www.netsmartz.org), National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (United States)

iSafe (<http://isafe.org/>), i-Safe Inc. (United States)

The United Kingdom has also been at the forefront of Internet safety education, and interviewees also referred to CEOP resources:

Think U Know (<http://www.thinkuknow.co.uk/>) Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre (United Kingdom)

Further international materials of note include:

The Croga Project (http://www.croga.org/access/user_select.php), Croga (collaborative group of Universities and NGOs from Ireland, Spain and the United Kingdom)
– only resource available for Internet users who self-identify as having problematic Internet use relating to child pornography (and practitioners treating them).

APPENDIX E: Federal, Provincial And Municipal Websites Offering Internet Safety Information And/Or Links To Online Sexual Exploitation Prevention Resources.

The below list was compiled by following the Government of Canada's main online safety information site (safetycanada.ca) which contains a directory of provincial and territorial resources as well. No resources were listed for some provinces and territories. The official government websites for each province and territory were then also searched for resources on Internet safety. Internet search engines were then further used to search for any Internet safety sites by province, territory, or municipalities within these provinces/territories.

Many government websites have only minimal content pertaining to Internet safety (Northwest Territories and Nunavut had nothing at all). Most websites contained links to the major national producers of online safety materials reviewed in this report, primarily Internet 101, Cybertip.ca, and Media Awareness Network. Many also contained safety tips with absolute prohibitions, and no context at all. This is of course not to say that there are not other offline educational materials or activities in these provinces and territories, such as in-person presentation in schools by police officers, especially through the RCMP. But the lack of easy to find information on many provincial and territorial government websites may be indicative of the level of attention that is being paid to Internet safety in different regions of Canada.

Federal Websites:

Government of Canada:

- Main portal for information on Internet safety, with links to topic specific subpages and links to some major national producers of Internet safety materials (Cybertip.ca, DEAL.org, Internet 101) – http://www.safecanada.ca/topic_e.asp?category=3;
- Further list of Internet safety resources for kids with more direct links to materials (including Media Awareness Network resources, provincial resources from Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario) – http://www.safecanada.ca/link_e.asp?category=3&topic=94;

Western Provinces:

Alberta

- As reviewed above, the Government of Alberta has been active in producing its own Internet safety materials through three sites:
 - Get Web Wise (<http://www.getwebwise.ca/index.cfm>)
 - Bad Guy Patrol (<http://www.badguypatrol.ca>)
 - WeOn2U (<http://www.weron2u.ca/>)
- These three resources with links are also available through the Alberta Children and Youth Services Website on Internet Safety (<http://www.child.gov.ab.ca/home/596.cfm>);
- Alberta Ministry of Education also has a subpage on Internet Safety in the classroom (<http://education.alberta.ca/teachers/resources/Internettips.aspx>);

- Municipal police services and school board also have Internet safety sub-pages, mainly containing tips with links to other materials, for instance:
 - Medicine Hat Police Service (<http://www.medicinehatpolice.com/Internetsafety.html>);
 - Calgary Police Service (<http://www.calgarypolice.ca/community/presentation.html>);
 - Edmonton Police Service (<http://www.edmontonpolice.ca/CrimePrevention/PersonalFamilySafety/ChildProtection/StayingConnectedtoyourKids.aspx>);
 - Calgary Board of Education (http://www.cbe.ab.ca/parents/Internet_links.asp).

British Columbia

- Some British Columbia Government websites contain some information on Internet safety, but they are sparse and not easy to locate:
 - British Columbia Ministry of Education
 - Basic safety tips for parents (http://www.bced.gov.bc.ca/resourcedocs/Internet_safe/)
 - Ministry of Public Safety and Solicitor General
 - Just for Kids page contains link for Internet Safety, but this just links back to federal site safecanada.ca (<http://www.pep.gov.bc.ca/kids/kids.html>)

Central Provinces

Manitoba

- Manitoba is home to Cybertip.ca and Kids in the Know, which were initially launched as provincial pilot programs – but links from Manitoba government sites are not easy to locate (other than press release announcing support of Cybertip.ca);
- The Government of Manitoba otherwise mainly provides links to externally produced resources via education related sites and police services:
 - Manitoba Healthy Schools – links to national resources (<http://www.gov.mb.ca/healthyschools/resources/schoolstaff/safety/Internet.html>);
 - Safe Schools Manitoba – links to national resources (http://www.safeschoolsmanitoba.ca/parents_services_CyberS.html);
 - City of Winnipeg: Police Service – Crime Prevention – Internet Safety (http://www.winnipeg.ca/police/TakeAction/Internet_safety.stm).

Saskatchewan

- Sparse and difficult to find resources.
- Saskatchewan Schools and School Divisions website has some links to external resources – none of them Canadian, and some of the links are broken: (<http://www.saskschools.ca/guideline.html>).
- Saskatoon Police Service website notes that Community Services section provides educational programs and presentations on Internet Safety, but there are no resources or links on the website itself (http://www.police.saskatoon.sk.ca/index.php?loc=programs/community_watch.php).

Eastern Provinces

Ontario

- Given the amount of activity in Ontario (Provincial Strategy with strong multi-disciplinary focus, Ministry of Education funding of Ophea curriculum resources, active police services) – information on Internet safety is surprisingly difficult to find via Government of Ontario websites;
- Police services sites in Ontario provide the easiest to locate Internet safety information:
 - Toronto Police Service (Basic Internet tips for parents and kids) (<http://www.torontopolice.on.ca/crimeprevention/Internet.php>);
 - Ottawa Police Service: Protecting Your Kids on the Web (http://www.ottawapolice.ca/en/resources/safety_prevention_tips/Internet_safety_protect_your_kids.cfm) – “Cyberproofed” program (http://www.peelpolice.on.ca/computerInternetSafety_files/cyberproofed/index.htm);
- Some more local level information is out there as well, but certainly not widespread:
 - Township of Laurentian Valley – Internet Safety for Children: (http://www.laurentianvalleytwsp.on.ca/Residents/Community_Policing_Committee/Internet_safety_for_children.html).

Quebec

- Main channel of Internet safety education in Quebec is Sûreté du Québec
 - Sûreté du Québec programme Cyberbranché. Includes link to the *Vous NET pas seul* video – the is broken, however : (<http://www.suretequebec.gouv.qc.ca/prevenir-la-criminalite/programmes/programme-cyberbranche.jsp>);
 - Sûreté du Québec program *Vous Net pas seul* frequently presented in partnership with other Quebec police services, for instance :
 - Service de Police de Lévis: (<http://www.ville.levis.qc.ca/police/Pr%C3%A9vention/Programme%20Vous%20NET%20pas%20seul.htm>);
 - Sûreté du Québec Internet safety site for parents (<http://www.suretequebec.gouv.qc.ca/parent-et-enseignants/la-surete-vous-conseille/Internet-parents-enseignants.jsp>).

Atlantic Provinces

New Brunswick

- Provincial resources are difficult to find.
- New Brunswick Public Safety has a Crime Prevention page that includes a short list of external links to Internet safety materials (<http://www.gnb.ca/0276/crime/links-e.asp>).
- New Brunswick Public Library Service has a page on Internet safety for children with a list of links to external materials (<http://www1.gnb.ca/0003/vrl-brv/000.asp?L=E&TID=354>).

Newfoundland and Labrador

- Provincial resources are sparse – Government of Newfoundland & Labrador – the Department of Education page includes a list of Internet safety tips and list of signs your child might be at risk online – no links to external resources (<http://www.ed.gov.nl.ca/edu/k12/safeandcaring/parents/Internetsafety.html>).

Nova Scotia

- Government of Nova Scotia has a subpage for Internet Safety with links to external resources, but it is embedded fairly deeply into curriculum support pages for educators (http://www.ednet.ns.ca/index.php?t=sub_pages&cat=190).
- Halifax Regional Municipality – Halifax Regional Police has a subpage on Internet Safety with basic tips and no links to external resources (<http://www.halifax.ca/Police/Programs/Internetsafety.html>).

Prince Edward Island

- Government of Prince Edward Island has a pamphlet “It’s Up to You: Internet Safety Tips for Parents” (published in 2000) available through the government publications website (http://www.gov.pe.ca/photos/original/Internet_Safety.pdf).
- City of Charlottetown has a subpage for parents dealing with Internet safety, containing tips and a link to Cybertip.ca (http://www.city.charlottetown.pe.ca/residents/Internet_safety.cfm).

Northern Province and Territories

Northwest Territories

- No resources located.

Nunavut

- No resources located.

Yukon

- Yukon Department of Justice – Crime Prevention page has tips for parents for safer Internet use if you scroll through a long list of other tips pertaining to other safety and crime prevention issues – (<http://www.justice.gov.yk.ca/prog/cjps/cp/index.html>).
- Subpage of Crime Prevention links has links to Media Awareness Network and CyberWise (which is defunct) – (<http://www.justice.gov.yk.ca/prog/cjps/cp/links.html>).