Perhaps nothing causes as much personal and more outrage as child pornography (Holmes & Holmes, 2001; Strange, Doyle, & Miller, 2000). Commonly called “kiddie porn” or “child porn,” this type of pornography has been universally outlawed in the United States. But most of the child pornography that is confiscated by law enforcement officials in the United States has been imported from foreign countries. How widespread is this distribution of child pornography across the world? There is no easy answer to this question, and the answer will vary from one country to another. It may be more prevalent in some countries, while other countries deny any organized or commercial production of illegal child pornography. In other words, there is no clear agreement on the prevalence and cooperation among countries in the making and distribution of child pornography (Taylor & Clemetson, 2001).

Child pornography is produced, collected, purchased, and traded by those interested in making money in this illegal venture or those interested in sex with children. Doubtless, pedophiles and other types of child abusers collect child pornography, and those in law enforcement often find huge collections in their
possession when arrested. In a case of a minister arrested only recently, the police found hundreds of pictures, movies, videos, drawings, and collages of hundreds of children in various sexual poses and scenarios. His pornography of choice was pictures, stories, and other materials of young boys prior to puberty. The people in that community were shocked to learn of his arrest. He was a “pillar of the community,” active in his church as well on various public and civic groups, serving as chair on several community boards. Many adults have been arrested in sting operations advertising for children for sexual purposes. Many are teachers, and it appears that the genders are equally represented. Table 7.1 contains selected alleged perpetrators gleaned from such a site.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Alleged Offense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Karri Hall</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Baring her breasts to a 14-year-old male student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameo Patch</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Sex with a 17-year-old student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyle Sabo</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Sex with two students, one male and one female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wendie Schweikert</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Sex with an 11-year-old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debbie Selmen</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Encouraged a female student to bare her breasts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dana Snyder</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Sex with a 14-year-old student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laura Spurlock</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Sex with 18-year-old student</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a different state, a computer operator was questioned by the police when fellow workers notified law enforcement of their concern about him. He was always talking of the Polly Klaas case, and fortunately he made a critical error in judgment when he showed some of this drawings that depicted Polly bound, her breasts skewered with a sharp instrument, and finally deceased. No evidence was found showing that this man had carried out his fantasy about killing young females fueled by his own drawings, but his interests are on record with the local criminal justice system. Illustration 7.1 is one of his drawings.

CHILD PORNOGRAPHY AND THE LAW

Many countries have passed laws and regulations on pornography in general and child pornography in particular. China has been leading
the world in the enactment of laws regulating pornography. But no country has been successful in developing laws and the enforcement of such laws to combat adult, child, and Internet pornography. Before 1977, there were few laws on either the state or the federal level that regulated the production, distribution, or sale of child pornography. Today, however, every state and the federal government have laws that prescribe penalties against those who exploit children sexually. In addition, these jurisdictions have laws that make possession and distribution of child pornography a crime (Walsh & Wolak, 2005). The Protection of Children Against Sexual Exploitation Act extended the federal government’s role to include prosecution of those involved in child pornography. This law has also made it illegal to transport children across state lines for immoral purposes.
All states have passed legislation against child pornography. More than a few states have merely amended their adult pornography laws to include acts that involve children. Other states, however, have devised new laws that deal specifically with children. Under these laws, penalties are prescribed for those who use children in a sexual performance, promote a sexual performance by a minor, or distribute and sell materials that depict children in sexual scenes. The fundamental question of defining pornography is not addressed and is only vaguely alluded to by the inclusion of a broad, three-pronged criterion of obscenity and an accompanying definition of “sexual performance” (Pope, 1978).

**TYPES OF CHILD PORNOGRAPHY**

Many publications exist that cater to adults who are interested in seeing children posed in sexual situations. One study estimates there are as many as 264 magazines produced and sold in adult bookstores in the United States that deal with sexual acts between children or between children and adults (Densen-Gerber & Hutchinson, 1978). In our dealings with pedophiles we have never been involved with any who did not have some type of child porn in their possession. Some of this pornography was homemade and some was of the commercial variety.

There are several types of commercial child porn. First, there are magazines that are not unlike Playboy or Penthouse. These magazines contain pictorial essays of young boys or girls in sexually suggestive poses as well as letters from adults who desire to have sex with children or who describe their sexual activities with children. These magazines typically cater to pedophiles who are interested in having sex with either young males or young females. It is unusual, for example, for a child porn magazine to contain photos and stories about both sexes.

**Magazines**

Publications such as Lollitots and Lolita are aimed at pedophiles interested only in young girls. These magazines contain pictures of young females, often engaged in poses that are obviously designed to arouse erotic feelings. There are also editorials that reflect a philosophy that the real dangers to our society are the widely held negative attitudes regarding child nudity and sex with children. Piccolo, Rare Boys, and Tommy are examples of child porn that caters to the homosexual pedophile. The contents of these magazines are similar to those of the publications that feature young girls.
Another type of child porn takes the character of paperback novels. In these books, a child typically becomes the object of the sexual aggression of the reader. These paperback novels often contain graphic violence directed against a child, a powerful adult figure who victimizes a child, and a final scene in which the victimization becomes cyclical.

Internet, Pictures, Chat Channels

Photographs purchased through the mail and ads exchanged through computer bulletin boards are other methods of child porn.
exchange. Personal computers with high-speed Internet connections have opened the door for many pedophiles to use the Internet for a variety of purposes, which we will discuss later in this chapter. On the Internet, the pedophile can achieve sexual arousal by viewing pictures of children in sexual scenarios, by visiting websites that offer pornography and identify other websites of interest to pedophiles, and by “talking” on chat channels to others, including children. Today there are more than 1 million sites that deal with sex, pornography, and various aberrant interests (Quayle & Taylor, 2002). There are also more than 30,000 user-net newsgroups for child pornography (Quayle & Taylor, 2001).

**Relational Pornography**

Relational pornography, pornography created for the creator’s own use, takes various forms. Poems, stories written by those interested in sex with children, and newspaper advertisements that feature children in swimwear or underwear all become items of sexual arousal for some pedophiles. These ads in themselves are not pornographic in nature—they are intended only as sales promotions. However, when they interact with the fantasy of the pedophile, they can become a form of child porn.

**WHO VIEWS CHILD PORN**

There are several audiences for child pornography. Pedophiles compose the largest number of people who view child porn. Just as “normal” adults view pornography for various reasons, including sexual arousal, so do pedophiles. The curious form another group of persons who view child porn. Many wish to see such pornography because they have not seen it before; they are simply curious about the content. For most of these viewers, this is a one-time occurrence.

Yet another group is composed of those persons who are involved in the manufacture of child pornography. A great deal of child pornography comes from Scandinavian countries; it is also produced in Mexico, Spain, the United States, and other countries. The persons who produce such materials must view their own products as well as those of others, to see what topics are “hot” in child porn.

Lured into prostitution and then pornography, pimps are often involved. With promises of friendship, money, or drugs, pimps locate clients for child porn. Child porn materials are marketed through a sub-culture of black-market contacts who make them available to ready customers. They are often shipped through the mail, and recently, with the
technological advancements made on the Internet, instant connections are made and photos are sent almost instantly from one predator’s computer to another’s. Mitchell, Finkelhor, and Wolak (2005) found that almost 80% of those arrested for child pornography charges have admitted to having sex with children and had had on average 30.5 child sex victims. It appears from such data that exposure to child pornography tends to support child sexual abuse. Further, it serves to lessen the personal and moral inhibitions of the child. The collections of relational child pornography often contain pictures of children the predator has sexually abused.

Child Pornography—From the Eyes of a Child Porn User

Sitting in a prison visiting room, we sat across from an elderly man, a former minister of the Episcopal faith. He had been sentenced to a multiyear prison term for the possession of child pornography.

The police had contacted one author (RMH) to offer an opinion on the content of the child pornography that was seized in his home and the meaning of such pornography. Most of the material was commercial child porn that he had purchased through the mail, at one of several adult bookstores in the area, and others he had traded with other pedophiles in his neighborhood and community. Such publications included Lollitots, Lolita, and others that depicted nude young girls not yet out of puberty.

There was another form of kiddie porn that we have termed relational pornography. This is the type that one makes for oneself or views otherwise innocent photos or advertisements but which the pedophile or child molester judges to be sexually arousing.

One such picture was an advertisement for Chee-tos. This ad showed a young girl, perhaps 12 years of age, holding a bag of Chee-tos in her left hand. Her right arm was bent at her hip, and the expression on her face was one of gentle annoyance at the adult male (presumably her father) who had just pulled a Chee-to out of the bag. His eyes were looking down toward the bag of treats that she held in front of her.

We questioned him about this advertisement in his collection. We asked him to explain it to us and why he would keep this advertisement in his collection.

“You don’t get it, do you?” He said. “The man (he did not say father) has just reached inside the bag and while reaching he had the perfect chance of feeling her breast. His eyes are not looking into the bag but inside her shorts she is wearing. Also, look at the way her mouth is opened. Just right!”

We went back to the office and reexamined the ad. What looked like an innocent picture in the beginning was pornographic to the child abuser. Did the food company deliberately construct this advertisement to contain such sexual elements?

This same man explained to us how sexually aroused he became each spring when the department stores showed ads of young girls on the beach in their swimwear. Needless to say, these ads were a part of his collection.
In Wheeler’s (1996) study of 150 child abusers, more than 90% reported having some fantasies about committing sexual offenses against children. Child molesters were far more likely to view child pornography than biological fathers who molest their children. While some molesters said that the child pornography served a cathartic effect, slightly more than one in three child abusers reporting using child pornographic materials shortly before committing a sexual offense. Holmes and Holmes (2001) report similar findings. Wolak et al. (2005) stated that the viewer of child pornography tended to be white, male, and above 25 years of age. Forty percent were dual offenders—viewed child pornography as well as sexually abused children.

There are legitimate reasons for viewing child pornography. Law enforcement and other social, political, or educational groups must sometimes view this material to gauge the content and to judge its legal status, or to formulate some type of psychological profile of the person who possesses such materials. We have consulted with several police departments on the content of child pornography to give the police an idea as to the personality of the owner.

**HOW DO CHILDREN BECOME INVOLVED IN PORNOGRAPHY?**

It appears that children who become involved in child porn come from diverse sources (Holmes, 1984; Schultz, 1980). First, there are “sporting clubs” composed of parents who arrange for their children to appear in sexually oriented photographs. There are parents who swap photographs, videos, and films of their children with other parents and commercial enterprises for fun and profit (Bahlmann & Thomas, 1979; Holmes, 1983).

Burdiit (1978) states that often children who are involved in pornography are intimidated by adults who hold power over them. Schultz (1980) reports a case of one couple who took in children off the streets, who would then have to pay their “rent” by performing in child porn productions. In another case, a couple with a 6-month-old child were arrested by police when it became known that they were involving their infant in childhood prostitution with men. In addition to the prostitution case, the police discovered that the father was filming the sex between the child and the adults and selling the videos as child pornography. The couple was granted probation by the court, and the child was released to the couple’s custody.
In a southern city, an elderly man posed as a researcher for a sex research institute in California (no such organization existed). He enticed young girls into his home under the pretense of gathering data. He administered them a “test” that consisted of fifty-six questions. Some of the questions were

- What is your age? (Item 1)
- Have you ever felt or played with a man’s (sic) dick? (Item 26)
- Would you play with a man’s (sic) dick if you had the chance? (Item 27)
- Do you know a man (sic) you would play with? (Item 29)
- Do you know a man that you would let play with your pussy? (Item 32)
- Have you ever been fingerfucked by a man? (Item 37)

The man also had a scoring sheet. With each young girl who took this “test,” he maintained a scoring sheet. If they answered the above items positively (with the exception of Item 1), he would demand sex from them. He would tell them that if they did not have sex with him he would tell the parents about the results of the test, including other questions about lesbianism and coitus.

This same abuser ran another ruse. He would invite some other young girls over for counseling sessions. A deacon in his church, he would hold sessions in his home for religious education. After he formed a judgment on the possibility of involving them in sex with him, he would invite a small group to his home for “special sessions.” He had taped a “radio” question-and-answer program on the sexual play of young girls. The radio program was called “Mr. Sex Man.” He placed the cassette player in the gutted frame of his radio in his living room. After a snack and small talk he would turn on the radio program at the top of the hour because “this was when the program would come on.” Recall that this man was in his late 60s at the time of his arrest. His purpose was to show how normal it would be for young girls (10–12) to enter into a sexual relationship with an old man.

The questions included

- How old does a girl have to be to do sex things with a (sic) old man?
- Is it better for a little girl to do sex things with an old man or a young boy?
- What kind of little girl does a (sic) old man like to do sex things with?
• Does an old man like a young girl to suck his dick?
• Does a (sic) old man like to suck a little girl’s pussy?
• Have you, Mr. Sex Man, ever played with a little girl’s pussy?

The narrative by the abuser would start with a question, and the question would be followed by an answer that was always positive and validated the sex play between the old man and the young girl. Mr. Sex Man was in effect giving permission for the young girl to have sex with this man. After all, as Mr. Sex Man had already informed the audience, the old men have more to offer the young girls in the areas of experience, technique, and a willingness to teach the young girl the proper way to perform sexually.

Mr. Sex Man was arrested by the police after the word got around the neighborhood about his activities. He was sentenced to a local prison, where he died of natural causes.

In Illinois, a summer camp was found to be a front for enticing children into child porn. Confidential film-developing services are yet another source of child pornography. There is a widespread belief that organized crime is involved in the child pornography industry, but this does not appear to be the case (Illinois Legislative Investigative Committee, 1980).

WHO ARE THE CHILDREN IN CHILD PORNOGRAPHY?

There is a lack of empirical research on the extent and the characteristics of the children who are involved in child pornography. Baker (1978) states that there are more than 30,000 children annually involved in the child porn industry; more than 3,000 under the age of 14 are in Los Angeles alone. How accurate is that estimate? No one knows exactly, but we should not measure a social problem only by statistical data.

Some characteristics appear to be common to children involved in child pornography:

1. Involved in childhood prostitution
2. Ran away from home
3. Came from a broken home
4. Is between the ages of 8 and 17
5. Was an underachiever in school or home
6. Has no strong moral or religious affiliation
7. Shows poor social development
8. Has parents who are physically or psychologically absent

In an unpublished study conducted for the Exploited and Missing Child Unit in Louisville, Kentucky, we interviewed 34 juveniles who admitted being involved in child pornography. Their core social variables showed interesting similarities. For example, children involved in the child porn industry are frequently runaways. Some children flee their homes because of abuse, rigid discipline, or a variety of other reasons, such as pregnancy or emotional problems. Family disorganization and discord are associated with juvenile participation in child porn. The youths reported that few of their parents were married (14.6%), and only one in five admitted to having a close relationship with his or her parents. Only 20% reported close relationships with their brothers and sisters. The responses of this sample indicate a malaise in relationships within the family. Although the data obtained in this study suggest a high rate of divorce within such families, marital status may not be as important as the amount of conflict present in the family. Divorce, as a process, may be a problem-solving technique and may create a situation that is healthier than the one that might exist if the conflicting parents remain together.

An Interview with a Child Porn User

The following is an excerpt from an interview with John B., an incarcerated pedophile. The interview occurred in a medium-security prison. John had been sentenced to 600 years in prison for possession of child pornography, child abuse, sodomy charges, and a variety of other sex-related charges. He is 63 years old.

**John:** I find pornography to be beneficial to me. It releases stress for me. When I look at it I find my blood pressure goes down, and I feel a certain amount of sexual pleasures flowing through my body as I think about the models in the pictures. It is, at least for me, one way that I can eliminate a desire to find a child. But it is never a complete substitute.

**Question:** When did you first start looking at child pornography?

**John:** You probably don’t remember the old 8 pagers. As a kid, I was exposed to those by the older boys in the neighborhood. They showed me pictures of Popeye and some other comic characters involved in sex. I thought they were disgusting. But they showed me...
Without exception, the children admitted to the use of alcohol and drugs, especially marijuana and amphetamines. In more than four of five cases, the children said they had run away from home—another indication of family discord. Perhaps because of the problems in the home—with discord, aggression, hostility, and anomie—the runaway behavior may be viewed as another problem-solving technique. But in most cases this behavior results only in the child’s moving from one bad situation to another. Involvement in child pornography may be a matter of survival for many children, as is involvement in prostitution.

**Question:** Where did you obtain your collection of child pornography?

*John:* For a long time I was fortunate to get some of it from friends. But it is everywhere. My favorite source was National Geographic magazines. People might not know it, but there are always pictures of naked people in the magazines. People get upset with the naked women, but often in the background are naked children hanging on to the legs of their mothers or walking in a pool of water. I looked at ads in the newspapers, especially in the spring or summer, for swimsuits, underwear, pajamas, and other things that had children wearing the clothes.

After I finished my term in the Navy, I came back home and got a job at a porn shop. We had no child pornography on the shelves. The manager kept a small amount under the counter for those customers that he knew, people he knew were not police or cops. He, and later I, would sell this to those people. I would take some home and look at it after I closed the store in the early morning. I would bring it back the next day when I went to work. I knew all about Rare Boys, Piccolo, and a lot of other magazines that I would look at.

Unfortunately, I have been in prison too long to have used the Internet. I talk to some of the new guys and they tell me what’s on the Internet now.

**Question:** When was the last time you have seen any type of child pornography?

*John:* Last week. Yes, last week. One of my neighbors (a fellow prisoner) had some brought in by a visitor.

**Question:** Did it have an effect upon you?

*John:* Oh yes. I spent a long time looking at it. I had a glorious time masturbating. It’s been a long time.
The general findings of this study present a psychological profile of a child who comes from a home where loving and caring are not expressed, where discord is common, and where there is frequent physical abuse and drug abuse. This is the making of a child involved in the child porn industry.

THE INTERNET AND CHILD PORNOGRAPHY

When the first edition of this book was published in 1991, the Internet was becoming a viable means of sharing all kinds of information. Certainly those interested in child sex were likewise interested in becoming experts in retrieving information about child pornography and other types of information about sex with children. The nonabuser population may not be aware of how the Internet serves the purposes of abusers in their search for victims (McCabe, 2000). Despite the numbers who agree that child pornography is a gross social problem, the traffic in child pornography has grown dramatically. Also, the revolution in child pornography enabled by digital cameras and published on the World Wide Web is presenting the criminal justice system with a monumental problem of enforcement (Williams, 1997).

What are the goals and objectives of child abusers who use the Internet? Durkin (1997) reports that child abusers use the Internet to

- Traffic in child porn with others
- Have sexual communication with children
- Locate children to abuse
- Communicate with others

The vast majority of information on the Internet is entertaining, informative, and educational. But the "Net" can have a dark side.

The growth of the Internet into a powerful, worldwide medium has increased the danger to youths throughout the world and complicated law enforcement capabilities. It has simplified the method of exchanging child pornography, allowing an individual to receive pornography instantly. In a matter of minutes a viewer can access images, pedophiles can use the Internet, with no precautions, to exchange names and addresses of other pedophiles and of potential child-victims.

The Internet provides the child abuser and many others who have a common interest their sexual attraction to children and who have collections of child pornography to share and trade. Such sharing has become very easy with the advent of digital photographic technology. In the same way that some adults are involved in triolism, those child abusers interested in trading pictures can attach a picture or a series of pictures and e-mail the attachment to another within a matter of seconds. Trading occurs over the Internet despite the best efforts of those opposed on various grounds (legal, moral, religious, etc.). Photographs taken by an individual, and pictures or slides scanned on a desktop or handheld scanner can all be used to send child pornography across the nation and across the world instantly. Those interested in child pornography can receive such images from those they know as well as complete strangers, some of whom are law enforcement personnel working child porn stings.

The Internet provides a source for adults to establish a link with children who are in chat channels. Frequently a pedophile or child molester will visit a chat channel where youth are “talking.” Asking and answering questions, telling the child about himself or herself, courting and seducing with careful words, the abuser will often never make personal contact with the child. From the abuser’s point of view,
it may be sufficient to carry on a lengthy relationship over the Internet and use the connection as a means to become sexually aroused and culminate in masturbation. With others, there is an attempt to make a personal connection with the child. An effort is made to meet the child at an arcade, mall, or somewhere where children often gather. Sex is obviously the goal, but in some instances there are more serious intentions, such as homicide.

Some abusers use the Internet to inform themselves on locating children to abuse. They may enter chat rooms to see what children’s latest activities are. They also may establish connections with other abusers who will share information about successful sexual abuse they have conducted. Names, addresses, pictures, and other information may be shared among the various abusers who have established connections over the Web.

Child abusers establish relationships with others of the same kind over the Internet. They may share not only the information they have learned from others, but arrange times and places to personally meet. In this way, information sharing becomes a part of the networking element of the Internet and the child abusers. Within a short time, the abuser, within the safety of a password and a nickname (which can be changed as often as desired, hourly, daily, weekly), can make statements, ask questions, make requests, seek information, and take other actions within relative safety and anonymity. The Internet becomes a vital tool in the abusers’ repertoire for the eventual abuse of children.

Cyberspace is a reservoir for child-abuse activity. For example, on-line bulletin boards dedicated to special sexual predilections, including sex with children, are readily available to child abusers. These computer communications include not only an exchange of photos (usually containing scanned pictures, digital photos in JPEG format) but also shared messages of an erotic content, which may range from mild flirtations, exchanging information about sexual services available, and specific varieties of deviant behavior, including sex with children (Durkin & Bryant, 1995).

In the first edition of this book, we mentioned publications such as the Broadstreet Journal. These magazines and forms of child pornography have all but disappeared since the appearance of the World Wide Web. Enforcement against the material on the Web is more difficult than against print pornography if for no other reason than the character and anonymity of the material itself.

There is no reason to assume that the law enforcement community will be completely effective and eradicate child pornography on the Internet. One detective, Walt Parsons, of the Arvada, Colorado, Police Department, has utilized the Web to attract child abusers. One man
from New Mexico answered his note on a chat channel about having a 12-year-old daughter whom he would make available to the abuser for a price. The man drove to Colorado with money, a teddy bear, ropes, chains, dildos, and other sexual paraphernalia. Parsons videotaped the initial interview with the man and asked about the teddy bear. The man responded that this was a good way to win the child's attention before he would tie them up and insert objects into various orifices of the child's body. The man was arrested and sentenced to prison.

This is only one case. There are many others. But how many escape detection is unknown. The eradication of the Internet as a tool for abusers is the goal; how successful it will be, only time will tell. Law enforcement professionals must be careful in their zeal to apprehend child abusers. Agents of the U.S. government tried to entice Keith Jacobson, a 56-year-old Nebraska farmer, to buy child pornography through the mail. Government agents posed as representatives of groups advocating freedom of expression and opposing the moral majority and government censorship. Finally Jacobson bought a packet of child pornography. He was arrested and convicted in federal court. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the government's law-enforcement efforts had constituted entrapment. The court stated that there was no evidence that Jacobson was inclined to commit this violation before the government initiated its actions and made him a target in their investigations. The key issue here is what restrictions should be placed on the government in its investigations of this type of crime, which the court did not address (Piccarreta & Keenan, 1993).

CONCLUSION

Child pornography is a social problem that affects a significant number of people, our children. It has been demonstrated that exposure to child porn does fuel the fantasy for many sex abusers, including incest offenders, pedophiles, and other types of child abusers. While it has been shown that incestuous perpetrators are not as likely to view child pornography, this is also not to say that child porn does not fuel the fantasy of those who view children in a sexual manner. The effects upon the child involved are also not well documented, but nothing positive could be the product of exposure to this form of abuse, something that the child may never recover. American society will also not tolerate child sexual abuse in any form, sexual abuse from a pedophile or child molester or child pornography.
DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. This chapter discusses two major forms of child pornography, commercial (those made by businesses and commercial outlets), and relational (those made by individuals, normally for their own use. Which of these two do you consider the most serious? Why?

2. What would you consider some of the problems in the enforcement of child pornography laws in this country?

3. How has the Internet contributed to the proliferation of child pornography? Should the federal government take a more active role in enforcement against this form of pornography on the Internet?

4. What would you consider to be some of the effects on children involved in the child pornography industry? How did you develop your conclusion?

5. There have been several cases in which parents or grandparents have taken pictures of their child or grandchild in the bathtub nude. The adults have been arrested and charged with the manufacturing and possession of child pornography. What is your position on this scenario?

REFERENCES


