

**CONNECTING CHILD ADVOCACY GROUPS:
EXPLORING NODES AND NETWORKS COMBATING
CHILD SEXUAL EXPLOITATION**

By

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

This thesis uses the theoretical foundations of Nodal Governance and Governmentality to both explore and reconceptualise nodes and networks involved in combating child sexual exploitation. Network analysis provides an important methodological framework to rethink complex networks and governance issues. Recent transformations in the governance of child sexual exploitation and concepts, such as responsabilisation, are explored. Both state and non-state groups are examined at the global and local level, with focus on child advocacy groups in Manitoba, Canada. Recommendations for future research and possible strategies for child advocacy groups are made.

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Chapter 1 - INTRODUCTION

Many groups across the globe are working together, and independently, in intricate and large scale networks to combat the sexual exploitation of children. Recognition of this social problem has become especially prevalent in the last twenty years, with the state and media demonstrating growing interest (Quayle and Taylor, 2003:1). As the world around us changes in the face of rapid developments that include globalization, urbanization and fast paced technological advancements, governance continues to evolve. The state governs with restrictions, surveillance and strategies, but too often falls short. Child advocacy networks are a recent transformation in governance that has filled this void and a development which this thesis seeks to reconceptualise by attempting to rethink how we view these groups. This will be accomplished by studying these complex networks and nodes using the methodological approach of network analysis and the theory of nodal governance. Manitoba examples will play a prominent role in this thesis, but illustrations from around the world will be used to clarify the roles of nodes and networks in combating child sexual exploitation.

Nodal governance, a concept, proposed by Clifford Shearing and his colleagues, can help explain how governance, or directing social entities, takes place. Governance is no longer seen as the sole responsibility of a sovereign state, but rather can emanate from a multitude of nodes, or sites of governance. Nodal governance theory has strong roots and shares many commonalities with governmentality, a theory originally developed by Michel Foucault, but it is a unique theory especially suited to the study of child advocacy groups. Nodal governance theory is also complementary to

responsibilisation as a central theme discussed in this thesis. The state was once perceived as responsible for “protecting” citizens from the risks such as poverty, ill health, unemployment and crime. Responsibilisation is a societal trend that sees individuals being held more responsible, or accountable, for their own care, or self-responsibilisation (Lenke, 2001:201). For the purposes of this thesis, the “state” will be defined as an interconnected group of social institutions, with ties to the geo-political space of nation states. The social institutions that comprise the state include (but are necessarily limited to the legislative body), state bureaucracy, courts, police, armed forces and public systems responsible for health, education and child protection. While theoretically the state is one body, it should be recognized that different parts of the state can operate autonomously of each other and often have differing agendas, motivations and interests.

With the shift from liberal to neo-liberal principles of state governance, for better or worse, the social safety net is being withdrawn. The emergence and influence of neo-liberalism has been subjected to critical analysis. In particular, neo-liberalism can be viewed as harsh in its treatment of marginalized populations with the withdrawal of a public safety net. Neo-liberalism can be seen as a way of supporting and formalizing the interests of the economic, social and political elite. Neo-liberalism perpetuates through globalization, which sees capitalist ideals as superior at the risk to our environment and human well-being (Hamm, 2005; Sauer and Hamm, 2005). Neo-liberal principles can also potentially be hindering to social movements such as feminism (Alojamiento, 2005).

On the other hand, advocates of neo-liberalism support entrepreneurship within the growing global economic free market and believe that the general public should be given the choice to manage its own affairs. It encourages the empowerment of moral and responsible citizens, with consequences for those who do not conform, rather than society bearing the burden for their mistakes (Garland, 1996; Rose, 1996 and 2000). Neo-liberal policies have been justified as necessary and realistic on the grounds that nation states lost control of managing the economy because of misdirected and inefficient government spending. Under neo-liberal regimes, state safety nets have been restricted because, arguably, the nation state simply does not have the capacity to support long-term and unlimited liberal policies. Social spending within nation states, within this context, has to be measured with sustainable and genuine results. Neo-liberal technologies of governance can be either direct or indirect, with indirect governance allowing the state to guide citizens to desired behaviour, without having perceived responsibility for them (Lenke, 2001:201). This atmosphere of neo-liberalism is the background in which nodes and networks are now operating to combat child sexual exploitation. The rising responsabilisation trend sees non-state groups taking on increasing responsibility for combating child sexual exploitation. This thesis hopes to add to the growing literature on nodal governance by demonstrating that non-state groups, working within the constraints of a neo-liberal political and economic ethos, can nonetheless work strategically to combat child sexual exploitation.

This thesis undertakes a first step at mapping the vast expanse of contemporary child advocacy networks. It does this by undertaking an analysis of child advocacy

groups as part of an arrangement of complex nodes and networks. Child advocacy groups can be described and categorized by shared similarities that include comparable actions and initiatives. One of the goals of this thesis is to construct and review new spheres of governing child sexual exploitation in order to provide a more comprehensive knowledge of these multifaceted networks. While taking into consideration the global nature of the networks and social problems they address, there is also a local focus on the province of Manitoba. This research is of particular interest to all parties involved in child advocacy networks, or anyone trying to achieve a deeper understanding of its activities. Suggestions for new directions and strategies that may be employed by child advocacy groups are also presented.

1.1 *Defining Child Advocacy Groups and Child Sexual Exploitation*

The groups in these networks will be referred to as *child advocacy groups* because one of their primary functions is to protect children from sexual exploitation by advocating on their behalf. This label is particularly suitable because it encompasses a wide range of groups, which vary in size, focus and activities. Child advocacy groups are a heterogeneous aggregate differentiated by location, language, capacity and motivation. They share the common goal of trying to eradicate, or manage, the sexual exploitation of children. Included within this definition are groups that specialize in combating particular types of child sexual exploitation, but also those groups that only devote part of their resources to fighting this social problem. Child advocacy groups

that specialize in combating one type of child sexual exploitation may have close relationships with other groups that specialize in the same area, but also maintain and foster relationships with groups practicing organizational segmentation. It is in the best interest of these groups to collaborate in opposing all forms of child sexual exploitation. For example, there are child advocacy groups that deal exclusively with child pornography and others who work to combat the child sex trade. Their work is complimentary in that many victims in child pornography are also victims of the child sex trade. The implications of organizational segmentation for combating child sexual exploitation will be discussed.

Child sexual exploitation includes activities that directly, or indirectly, contribute to the sexual exploitation of a child, including, but not limited to child pornography, child prostitution, child luring, and adult sexual contact with a minor. For the purposes of this thesis, a child is not defined by the biological definition of puberty, but rather the socially constructed legal definition of "minor". In the majority of Western countries a minor is a person under the age of eighteen who is not seen in law to hold the same responsibilities, rights and obligations of an adult. This definition is part of the dominant discourse of the networks and is reflected in their practices, products and beliefs. One such example is the local definition of child sexual exploitation as set forth in *The Manitoba Strategy Responding to Children and Youth at Risk of, or Survivors of, Sexual Exploitation*, which states:

For the purposes of the Manitoba strategy, child sexual exploitation is the act of coercing, luring or engaging a child, under the age of 18, into a

sexual act, and involvement in the sex trade or pornography, with or without the child's consent, in exchange for money, drugs, shelter, food, protection or other necessities (Manitoba Family Services and Housing, 2007).

Another similar definition of child sexual exploitation is available in the Canadian Criminal Code. As reflected in this definition, a minor cannot legally give consent to these acts because they do not have the legal capacity to do so. Perhaps key to understanding this definition is the inclusion of the word "exploitation". Some adults are taking unfair advantage of minors for their own sexual gratification or financial gain. These minors are disadvantaged due to age or nationality (e.g. birth in a non-Western country), or are marginalized because of gender, ethnicity, social class, addiction, and/or family circumstances.

Not all forms of child sexual exploitation have received equal attention, for example, child pornography in the past was not seen as damaging as other forms of sexual abuse, but this began to change in the 1990s (Quayle and Taylor, 2003). The attention paid to different types of child sexual exploitation is left to the discretion of child advocacy groups and other nodes in the networks. There is also no consistency concerning the definition of child sexual exploitation. Child marriage, genital alteration (e.g. female genital mutilation) and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases (STD's) have recently been classified as forms of child sexual exploitation. The inclusion of these activities can be attributed to cross-cultural differences in perceptions of child abuse and, will be discussed in this thesis in relation to the topic of globalization. After

reviewing the definition of child sexual exploitation, it is clear that this is a contentious issue which can even vary amongst child advocacy groups.

Child sexual exploitation is being combated by equally complex networks made up of nodes of child advocacy groups. To understand these multi-faceted concepts governmentality and nodal governance theory provide a strong theoretical foundation as set out in Chapter Two. Chapter Three reviews the methodology and relevant comparable studies that provide guidance for the thesis. In a narrative discussion, with supporting examples, nodes and networks are reconceptualised in Chapter Four. Chapter Five discusses how different spheres of governing operate and are interconnected in child advocacy networks. A central theme of this thesis is the societal trend of responsabilisation, which is addressed in Chapter Six. The global extent and fight against child sexual exploitation receives attention in Chapter Seven, followed, in Chapter Eight, by focusing on the local example of the child advocacy network in Manitoba. Chapter Nine concludes the thesis with recommendations for child advocacy groups and a discussion of directions for future research.

Chapter 2 - THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Governmentality

Michel Foucault introduced the concept of governmentality as part of his “genealogy of the state”, or historical analysis of the rise and fall of state power. Even though Foucault developed the concept later in his life and career during the late 1970s and 1980s, it has generated a strong field of study that is still growing. When Foucault refers to the term government, he does not refer to the state, but rather to the calculated act of governing, or directing social entities. Foucault discussed three different types of modern government that include: how the state governs its physical space; the government of individuals and larger populations (government of others); and how individuals govern themselves (Dean 1999: 176). In a liberal society, the state can no longer legitimately use or condone violence to achieve consent from the general population. Rather, deliberately constructed technologies of governance are used by the state to compel acquiescence. Governmentality theory examines how governing is configured in different parts of the world and our society. It is a complex concept encompassing more than the mere state and evident in such institutions as socialization (e.g. education - institutionalized schooling), religion (e.g. morality - governing our conscience), and the institution of the family (e.g. governing family dynamics). Governance can range over a vast spectrum, from state level controls to restrictions placed on the self. It is a type of social engineering that attempts to assure conformity to norms and rectify social problems.

Acceptance of the world around us with its “truths”, laws and norms is the path of least resistance. Foucault very much wanted us to peel away the veneer of reality and expose the hidden truth claims beneath the surface. Doing so is not easy and to understand governance, one can begin by appreciating the actions, methods and rationality of governance. Rationalities of governance are the forces dealing with the concepts concerning governance. They are the justifications, or validation, of the status quo that include any changes that will benefit the agents in power. Technologies of governance are the tangible means and devices by which agents in power can govern others. They can be such material objects as video surveillance equipment or electronic monitors, but also include more abstract items and concepts, such as advertising. Strategies of governance are intentional plans to govern, with intended targets and goals. They can be as obvious as a political agenda or as ambiguous as how social programs meant to help marginalized populations can actually maintain their subjugation. Rationalities, technologies/techniques and strategies of governance can be either manifest or latent. Governing can produce both intended and unintended effects (Kooiman, 2003:14). Looking at both intended and unintended effects is important when studying governance to build a full understanding because despite the best intentions of agents of governance, their actions may result in completely unexpected and potentially troublesome consequences.

Power and knowledge are concepts closely interlinked and a strong theme in Foucault’s work that has continued to be of key importance in governmentality studies. Power has a determining affect on the dominant discourse, which is one among many

discourses. Discourses refer to the possible ways of communicating, or thinking, and are far more complex than mere language, although that is one of its aspects. Discourses can change and conflict with one another. For example, consider the differences and resulting global conflict that communist versus capitalist ideologies have caused. Discourses are not a visible entity, which can be captured and measured. However, researchers can gather evidence to shed some light on the nature of discourse. Evidence of power relationships, or in some cases the lack of perceived power, is located throughout society, both hidden and obvious. It can be both direct and indirect.

There is no absolute truth, or inherent knowledge. Individuals are a creation of their life experiences, or the knowledge base, they have gained. Knowledge shapes how individuals behave and think. There is no singular type of knowledge, although some types of knowledge can be more readily accepted than other types. Knowledge can affect perception of power and agents of power. Take for example the knowledge base of an individual from a poor community, who has very little formal education and negative experiences with representatives of the state. They may have a very different worldview and life experience from members of more privileged levels of society. That individual could easily distrust a law enforcement officer, whereas other members of society would view the same officer as a symbol of safety, rather than oppression. As subjugated populations experience one type of discourse, knowledge and lack of power, other members of society have access to a specialized knowledge, giving them a privileged position in society. In this way, social institutions, such as formal education,

come into play when managing power and knowledge. Morality is defined by the agents in power and there is no outline for “improving” the world. In fact, the desire to improve the world is simply another discourse, a product of an alternative system of power/knowledge. This thesis will utilize the theoretical framework of nodal governance as an alternative to the Foucauldian theoretical perspective on social change, which can be interpreted as pessimistic. Nodal governance theory embraces positive social change as not only possible, but in cases of inequality, as a responsibility.

The state is an apparatus of power in Foucault’s work on governmentality. He discusses how there have been transformations, or shifts, in governmentality from sovereign power to disciplinary power. The sovereign head of state, such as a monarch, was replaced by the sovereign state, thus giving the state legitimacy. But moving into modern times, power has become de-centred from the state and individuals are actively participating in their own self-governance. This de-centralization, or privatization, means that the complete power of the state, or the sovereign state, is a misconception. In a knowledge-based society, governing has become increasingly complex, and would be nearly impossible for a centralized state to control while still maintaining so-called socio-democratic ideals. The nation state simply does not have the capacity to deal with all issues of governance, especially since globalization has become an increasing reality. This point is discussed later in this thesis where I provide a more detailed review of the impact of globalization on governance. In essence, in the world we live in today, despite any rhetoric that claims differently, governance has become fragmented and responsibility for it has been split between different sites/spaces of governance.

With responsibility and authority split between different sites and spaces of governance, the question of accountability is raised. Who is held accountable when something goes wrong? It can actually benefit the state when responsibility for different types of governance is held by non-state agents. While the state can and does act as an allied partner, it can be in a more directing manner. If the state does not hold one hundred percent of the responsibility, then theoretically they cannot be held one hundred percent accountable. To put it pessimistically, the state can maintain the illusion of power, but have the opportunity to blame a "scapegoat". Take for example grassroots programs meant to assist the underprivileged. If such programs fail, then blame can be placed on the local community and its participants, rather than for example, on the laissez-faire approach of multinational corporations that do not take any responsibility for the disadvantaged masses or workforce. In other words, it is often in the best interest of the state if non-state agents take over responsibility for service delivery. The advocacy role of non-state agents permits the state to maintain the illusion of power, where these non-state agents must lobby the state to change legislation or governmental practises to achieve their goals. A major criticism of decentralization is that it can lead to non-state agents holding the responsibility, but none of the power.

The definition of governance has grown beyond the mere act of governing others in the Foucaultian sense. Renate Mayntz (2003) reviews a more contemporary definition of governance:

'[G]overnance' is now often used to indicate a new mode of governing that is distinct from the hierarchical control model, a more co-operative mode where state and non-state actors participate in mixed public/private networks (Mayntz, 2003:27).

Mayntz discusses the changing theories of governmentality (2003:29). During the late 1960s academic attention focused on policy development. During the 1970s, researchers began to turn their attention to what influences policy development, including the function of law and by the 1970s, policy implementation. By the 1980s, the concept of networks emerged as the state decentralized. Cooperation was a strong theme, as networks were considered potential problem solving mechanisms (Mayntz, 2003:31). Mayntz notes that governance as a paradigm is meeting a new challenge in the face of globalization, and "...we may witness the emergence of an altogether new field" (2003:38). Later in this thesis I will detail how the theory of nodal governance can overcome some of the limitations of governmentality.

Surveillance and governance of the self is becoming more widespread, to the point where it has become routine and unquestioned. Such theorists as David Garland (1996) have continued to articulate the nature of the de-centralization of the state and the limitations of its power. Garland discusses how the state's power has become limited, which adversely affects both public and private safety. Subsequently, the governance of security and how society has had to redefine traditional discourse and adapt new strategies of governance, such as responsabilisation. Non-state groups have assumed some of the risk and cost of governing crime (Garland, 1996:451). Garland supplies a key example of strategies of governance when he discusses strategies of

denial and responsabilisation. In the United Kingdom the state experimented with governing security by encouraging non-state organizations to take on more responsibility for crime control. Shearing and other proponents of nodal governance theory also share Garland's views on the relevance of the concept of responsabilisation. The concept of responsabilisation is of special importance to this thesis because it details how the state governs at a distance through non-state organizations. The state becomes the guiding yet unseen hand in governance.

It is an assumption of this thesis that the growing responsibility of child advocacy groups in governing the sexual exploitation of children is part of a responsabilisation strategy of nation states. Garland (1996:451) points out how social programs have adapted by not necessarily targeting the offender, but rather the potential offender and modifying their behaviour by "embedding control". I suggest that child advocacy groups similarly are targeting the general population as a way of embedding control, rather than solely targeting offenders. In the discussion of nodal governance theory, I explore exactly how the power of the state has been de-centralized and why this is a very consequential development in terms of the current state and possible future of child advocacy groups.

Janet Newman (2001:24) provides an insightful overview of the literature on governmentality. She notes that there is a distinctive shift in all sectors from hierarchal, antagonistic service models to that of networks and partnerships. The historical boundaries between the binaries of private/public, state/non-state, and national/global are becoming blurred. The state continues to adapt by adopting more receptive policy

processes. These changes mean that the state is “governing at a distance”. In general, there is a more cooperative undercurrent, with some communities advocating for, and being granted, self-governance. There is more public participation in governance matters and a more open dialogue in the decision making process. As the face of the state as we know it changes, challenges are being met with innovative ideas, even within the constraints of a neo-liberal political climate.

The themes discussed by Newman (2001) can be confirmed if one considers how many authors are utilizing governmentality theory to rethink governing systems. There is a strong tie in recent literature between governmentality and globalization. Most relevant to this thesis is the extensive and growing literature strengthening the link between governmentality and crime (Dean, 1999; Smandych, 1999; Garland, 2002; Stenson and Edwards, 2003). One common thread is how governance can have a significant influence on the development and direction of society, social institutions and citizens. While the importance of governmentality literature cannot be ignored, it is only one piece of the puzzle. Governmentality and nodal governance theory share many of the same commonalities, as a similar theoretical framework, but are not one and the same. Nodal governance theory builds on the solid theoretical basis of governmentality and refines the concept of multiple non-state groups becoming more responsible for governance.

2.2 *Nodal Governance Theory*

Foucaultian governance can be defined as deliberate means used to manage and regulate the behaviour and actions of both individuals and aggregates (Shearing, 2001:103, Simon, 1997). Nodal governance theory moves beyond governmentality. It is more appropriate for the study of child advocacy groups because it acknowledges that governance has come from no central source and because it can explain how these groups attempt to direct the actions of not only active offenders, but also potential offenders, the general public and possibly other child advocacy groups.

Clifford Shearing is one of the leading academics involved in developing nodal governance theory. Shearing, a criminologist, grew up in South Africa under the apartheid system and witnessed many cases of racism, injustices and inequality. He was exposed to the concept that governing, or controlling others, could be accomplished through both state and non-state sites of governance. This concept would later become central to the theory of nodal governance. The apartheid system is a prime example of how the state, or any powerful node in a network, can use force, coercion and hegemony to enforce their authority. The South African state controlled resources, such as wealth and land to oppress "non-whites". Similarly, particular nodes in networks can control resources, such as money, knowledge and manpower, to manipulate or control other nodes. Later in his academic career, Shearing became interested in reshaping existing societal institutions to become more responsible, effective and accountable in South Africa, Northern Ireland and Argentina. Shearing and his colleague, Jennifer Wood, began to publish extensively on nodal governance

theory in the late 1990s (Shearing, 2001, 2004; Shearing and Wood, 2003; Kempa, Stenning and Wood, 2004; Dupont, 2004; Shearing, Burris and Drahos, 2005; Wood and Dupont, 2006; and Dupont, 2006).

Because networks are a social construction, they can be altered and improved. By critiquing established systems of power, nodal governance theory allows researchers the opportunity to rethink, or reconceptualise, problems and institutions, such as how to combat child sexual exploitation. Studies using the theory of nodal governance may offer critiques, but if used appropriately, this theoretical framework can also offer positive solutions. Previous works utilizing nodal governance theory have turned a critical eye on state and security nodes (Dupont, 2006) in order to provide more egalitarian and just reforms for disadvantaged or marginalized groups. Studying non-state nodes can provide realistic alternatives to current processes and systems. The particular strength of positive social change offered by nodal governance theory compliments the intent of this thesis.

One objective of nodal governance theory is that it can be used to enhance justice and assist marginalized groups. In the case of property crimes, for example, offenders can sometimes be classified as both offenders and victims of circumstances, such as systemic poverty and racism. Improving the life chances of such groups and reforming both state and non-state systems to be more just and egalitarian, as implicitly prescribed by nodal governance theory, is a proactive approach to preventing crime. This approach is similar to the historic tradition of socialist theorists, who call for the eradication of poverty, racism and sexism. When applied to child sexual exploitation,

the role of marginalized groups is more complicated, as not all types of child sexual exploitation are necessarily tied to ethnicity or poverty. Child prostitution, especially in the case of teenagers, may be linked to poverty and marginalized ethnic groups in some regions. Victims of child pornography have also been linked to child prostitution. I would argue that in this case, the marginalized groups are children, who are made vulnerable by their age. Alternatively, it is more appropriate to term them a vulnerable group, or population, rather than be defined as marginalized when referring to all children. Regardless of socio-economic background, ethnicity, gender or geography, children are under care and submit to the authority of adults. As a group, child victims cannot readily organize to challenge their treatment, necessitating the formation of adult child advocacy groups to advocate on their behalf. Child advocacy groups are seeking justice for children who have faced the injustice and abuse of power at the hands of adults. That not all crimes are reported to, or detected by, the state, as seen in cases of child sexual exploitation, reinforces a core conviction of governmentality and nodal governance theory: that state power is limited and so its ability to adequately govern. The adoption of Western socio-democratic discourse in the networks studied in this thesis is reflected in the "obligation" to protect children and the perception of children as a vulnerable group. Despite the spread of Western socio-democratic discourse, the protection of children is not assured around the world, nor even welcomed or seen as necessary in some places, including Western socio-democracies.

To summarize, the power of the state is limited in modern society once it begins to de-centralize. Modern society produces a wide variety of sites of governance.

Theorists such as Shearing have labelled these sites as “nodes” and this consequently, has led to the use of the term “nodal governance”. But nodal governance theory is a much more intricate concept that does more than simply describe interconnected, or polycentric, nodes. This theoretical approach expands on the simplistic dichotomy of public/private and takes into consideration multifaceted intricacies and nuances that include power dynamics, flow of knowledge and information, control of resources, adaptation to change, influence of technology and the impact of human agency (Kempa, 1999; Dupont, 2004). Nodal governance theory allows for realistic “shades of grey” where definitions are no longer, if they ever were, “black and white”.

Shearing and his colleagues define nodes as consisting of four elements. There is “...a way of thinking (mentalities) about the matters that the node has emerged to govern; a set of methods (technologies) for exerting influence over the course of events at issue; resources to support the operation of the node and the exertion of influence; and a structure that enables that directed mobilization of resources, mentalities and technologies” (Shearing, Burriss and Drahos, 2005:37-38). Nodes can be state agencies, non-state organizations, informal groups of citizens, or large private corporations. A node does not have to be a formal group but, even if transitory, the group must be stable and maintain an elementary structural form. As Shearing and his colleagues state, both mentalities and technologies of governance must be present for it to meet the criteria of a node (Shearing, Burriss and Drahos, 2005:37-38). Perceiving or thinking about the world around us in a unique way, and acting on those perceptions, is what separates the activities of individuals associated with these nodes from the larger

population. In reference to child advocacy groups, the members of these groups are moved to act when the majority of the population remains either ignorant or ambivalent of the social problem. This shared motivation can be defined as an alternative shared set of values or morality, which is part of the discourse surrounding the fight against the sexual exploitation of children. The technologies of governance come into play once child advocacy groups, or any node of governance, begins influencing a particular course of events. When referring to a social problem, such as crime control, and more specifically the control of child sexual exploitation, technologies of governance can include promotion, meaning a group presents itself and the social problem it represents to the world at large. Resources which support these efforts, can include money and human resources: volunteers with their invaluable unpaid work and knowledge.

Nodal governance theory assists researchers in understanding the network distribution of resources and knowledge, whether the network is a community of subjugated individuals, or an international network of groups united for one common purpose. Nodes are sites that hold and control knowledge, capacity and resources. The use of resources can sanction and generate governance, as Shearing states "...may or may not form governing assemblages, and they may or may not develop networks that traffic information and other goods to enhance their efficiency" (Shearing, 2004:6). This establishes that there is no assumption in nodal governance theory that there are connections between nodes, while networks can vary in complexity. This assumption is significant to the mapping of networks between child advocacy groups in this thesis.

As society has transformed, so have forms of governance. To assume that the state is still in control of all aspects of society is to ignore the profound changes around us. Governance is a complex construct that in today's society is dispersed through wide ranging sites of governance.

Governance today is characterized by a plurality of actors (states, corporations, the World Trade Organization, institutions of 'civil society', criminal and terrorist gangs) forming more or less interconnected governance networks; a plurality of mechanisms (force, persuasion, economic pressure, norm creation and manipulation); and rapid adaptive change (Shearing, Burris and Drahos, 2005:31-32).

Governance is no longer defined exclusively by the borders of the nation states, nor is it static. Multiple forces are continually influencing nodes and, as a result, nodal governance is always transforming and adapting. Shearing and Wood make it clear that "...no set of nodes is given conceptual priority," (2003:404) and this particularly applies to state nodes. Following this logic, state nodes are recognized as part of nodal networks, but not to be given precedence over other nodes during analysis. There is no way to predict the relationship between nodes because they can be based on cooperation, conflict or neglect (Shearing and Wood, 2003:405). This refers both to the relationships between state nodes versus non-state nodes, or the relationships between strictly non-state nodes. As nodes are linked together, they form networks and networks can be linked together by "super structural nodes", which act as central, integrating hub for other nodes (Shearing, Burris and Drahos, 2005:38). An example of a super structural node is Crime Stoppers International, an overarching organization

connecting local and national Crime Stoppers organizations throughout the world. The compatibility of nodal governance theory and network analysis will be explored in further in detail in the discussion of network analysis.

State sovereignty, or the overarching power of the state, has become eroded with the increase of nodal governance. Nodal governance theory questions state sovereignty by rethinking governance. Simplifying a much more complex concept, it challenges the automatic association of government with the state. Security is now the responsibility of both state and non-state nodes. Morality comes into play when researchers assume, perhaps unknowingly, that one type of governance is better than other ways of governing without evidence. Nodal governance theory has the potential to shift the paradigm of criminology to consider and study alternatives. It is not the only theory to challenge mainstream criminology, as evident in today's theorists using any one of a number of other different critical criminological perspectives (Ross, 1998). Using this theoretical framework, researchers can look beyond the obvious, because if we do not, we can be blind to new and hidden ways of governing.

Although it may not be officially recognized by the term nodal governance, the state is aware of the growing responsibility of non-state agents in governance. In fact, there has been deliberate devolution of governance activities to non-state groups, although Shearing and Wood point out that much of it was not predicted (2003:403). Therefore, it can be inferred that transformations in governance can be unpredictable and groups involved must be adaptive to changes. Nodal governance draws groups into governance who customarily were not a part of governance before. A key

transformation relating to governance of security, as argued by Shearing and Wood (2003), was the move from state-centred (public) responsibility for security to non-state (private) nodes of governance. The criminal justice system was perceived to have more power in regards to security with its representatives that include the provision of law enforcement officers, judges and prison staff. It is now more widely accepted that a variety of non-state agents share responsibility for security. It is not only an accepted, but a growing trend, with private security firms contracted to protect the safety of people and property in locations such as malls, gated communities, prisons and schools. And neighbourhood watch groups now flourish with community police approval, whereas at one time they may have been considered a type of vigilantism. The state is not only aware of, but often actively encourages devolution/privatization through specific strategies and agendas. There has been open support and acceptance of some non-state agents. Another example sees law enforcement agencies openly working with representatives from Crime Stoppers. The extent to which and how exactly the state supports child advocacy groups will be explored in this thesis.

Nodal governance theorists have pointed out that non-state nodes, such as insurance corporations and Internet Service Providers, have become significant agents of power in regards to policing behaviour in both physical and virtual spaces (Kempa, Stenning and Wood, 2004:563). This is also important to this thesis because child advocacy groups attempt to police the conduct of both active and potential offenders in the real world and on the Internet. It is also significant to note that child advocacy groups would attempt this control both in public and private space. Child sexual

exploitation may be conceptualized as a crime mainly restricted to private spaces, thus lessening the risk for the offender of being apprehended. However, I believe this is a false assumption. Take for instance the existence of "hotspots" (wifi), or wireless access points, which allow connection of wireless devices, such as lap top computers or personal digital assistants (PDAs), to an Internet Service Provider (ISP). Many hotspots are available in public spaces such as universities, libraries, train stations or restaurants, but are also used by private home/business owners. Offenders can tap into an unsuspecting user's server and conduct illegal activities. Should the illegal activity be detected, it will be traced back to the owner of the hotspot, which the offender used temporarily, anonymously and without initial detection. The Internet itself can be described as a publicly accessed space consisting of private domains. The responsabilisation of governance, in relation to cybercrime, has been addressed when certain private groups were entrusted to help target and empower potential victims as a form of "self-help" (Grabosky, Smith and Dempsey, 2001). One criticism of responsabilisation is that it could lead possibly to disparity, creating even more marginalization (Garland, 1996:463). Applied to the Internet and technology industry, there are definite ethnical concerns of self-regulation, which might outweigh the benefits of cost-sharing governance.

Additionally, the crime of sexual exploitation of children may not always be restricted to private spaces when one considers child prostitution. In most major cities in North America, young people are involved in the sex trade and in other countries sex tourists take advantage of a complex and relatively open child sex trade. These are

examples of how child sexual exploitation occurs in both private and public spaces. This is another reason that nodal governance theory, with its analysis of public and private spaces, is especially appropriate for this thesis.

One critique that could be levelled against nodal governance theory is the acceptance of a certain discourse over others. Following the work of such researchers as Shearing, there is a distinctive acceptance of social change for the better. In this case, it means more social equality, upholding Western ideals of individual rights and freedoms. It can be seen as judging this set of morals as superior to other forms of ethics. Nodal governance theory promotes the fight against social inequality, which is a strength of this theory.

Nodal governance theory provides tools and a way of interpreting the narrative of the world around us (Shearing, Burris and Drahos, 2005:54) in a way that enhances awareness of events that may seem chaotic. Shearing, Burris and Drahos describe how nodal governance theory "...deepens network analysis by taking nodes from virtual to actual entities..." (2005:53). Shearing and his colleagues promote their theory as a way to advance democracy, increase efficiency, and encourage involvement and local solutions. And yet, they acknowledge that the outcomes of nodal governance can be both positive and negative. The world around us is changing and the familiar limitations based on hierarchy, private/public, global/local and privileged power/knowledge are evolving into something new (Newman, 2001:24). As the face of society and governance changes, so must our theories.

Chapter 3 - METHODOLOGY

3.1 Network Analysis

The use of the proven methodological approach of network analysis compliments the theoretical framework of nodal governance and governmentality. Previous works have established that nodes are linked together into complex networks involved in governance (Johnston and Shearing, 2003; Dupont, 2004; Shearing, Burris and Drahos, 2005; Dupont, 2006). Social network analysis involves recognizing and mapping patterns and relationships that exist between social entities (Mitchell, 1969; Wellman and Berkowitz, 1989; Richards and Barnett, 1993; Wasserman and Faust, 1994). This methodological approach is also suitable because it explains what factors can shape networks and their substance. Although the actual term of social network analysis was first used by J.A. Barnes in 1954 (Barnes, 1954), the roots for this field of study can be traced to scholars working independently, beginning around the 1930s. Early researchers shared the similar desire to investigate the relationships between people and how these relationships were affected by outside influences (e.g. conflict, cultural practices, etc.). From these historical traditions developed two distinctive approaches to studying social network analysis. The sociocentric approach focuses on an entire network, gathering information on behaviour and status of individuals and their relationship within a group (i.e. the network). The egocentric approach, focuses more on the individual, as the centre of the network, using such research techniques as recording a life history.

Scholars from the social sciences, such as Jacob L. Moreno, influenced the study of the whole network, or sociocentric approach. Moreno was a psychotherapist who developed sociometry in the 1930s and the sociogram, a visual representation of relationships between individuals in the form of configurations, exploring such concepts of reciprocity among friends and making the identification of social leaders easier. Graphing social networks has now become central to the study of networks. A fundamental aspect of this thesis will be providing useful visual representations, with descriptive explanations and evidence, to assist in understanding the child advocacy network.

Among the early investigations in network analysis were anthropological studies. During the 1950s, anthropological researchers from the University of Manchester in the United Kingdom, commonly referred to as "The Manchester School", began to explore social network analysis. Notable among these researchers was J. Clyde Mitchell who defines social networks as:

...a specific set of linkages among a defined set of persons with the additional property that the characteristics of their linkages as a whole may be used to interpret the social behaviour of the persons involved (1969:2).

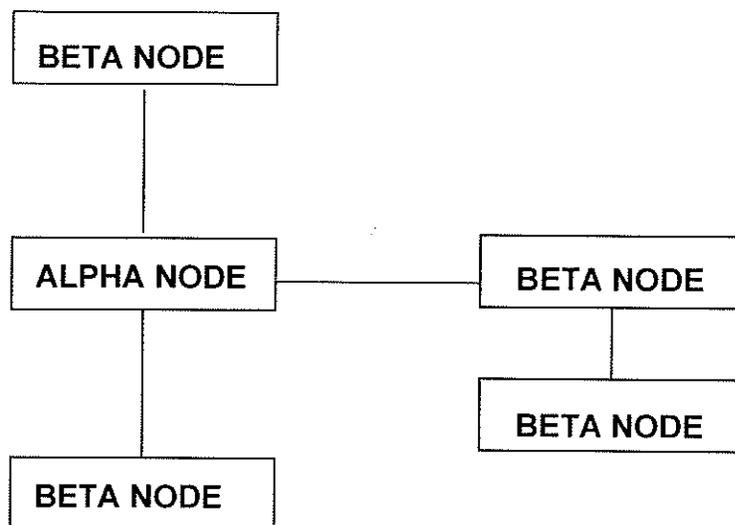
Mitchell traveled to Africa and began to map relationships between households and individuals in villages. He provided social network characteristics that can be useful in understanding the function and form of social networks. Social networks incorporate two characteristics: structural and interactional components. The structural

components, which help one understand the shape of a network, are anchorage, reachability, density and range. The interactional components, which help one understand the interaction within the network, are content, directedness, durability, intensity, multidimensionality and frequency. The components as discussed by Mitchell (1969) are easily adapted to the study nodal networks.

Social network analysis has been adopted by researchers in a variety of social sciences that includes anthropology, sociology and social psychology. The study of networks was labour intensive until the invention of computers in the 1970s, which allowed larger and more complex networks to be studied with more precision. Developments, such as globalization, readily affordable and accessible travel, and new technology have changed how networks are studied. In fact, interest in social network analysis boomed starting around 1990, with the exact reason still unknown (Carrington, Scott and Wasserman, 2005:1).

The main focus of network analysis is the study of how and why the different points, or nodes, within a network are connected and the mapping of patterns. Networks are a series of connected nodes and a significant point, or node, would be designated by numerous connections to outlying points. This significant, or alpha node, would have notable connections with secondary, or beta, nodes (Mitchell, 1969:58-61), similar to the super structural nodes of nodal governance (Shearing, Burris and Drahos, 2005:38). The more connections, or connectivity, between two given points means the connection is strong and similarly, the lesser the number of connections means the link is weaker (Wasserman & Faust, 1994; Wellman and Berkowitz, 1988).

Figure 3a. Elementary Nodal Framework



Conceptually, a social network is like a spider web made of interconnected nodes with no perceivable beginning or ending. Just as there are alpha individuals in a social network, there are alpha nodes with increased links to other nodes, or nodes with clusters of links. The strength of the connections in a cluster are essential in a strong network, but the weak links are also important because they connect several clusters together (Granovetter,1983). Granovetter hypothesized that there is surprising strength to be found in multiple weak ties.

The network can be a multi-layered network, demonstrating connectivity. In the case of child advocacy groups, such a network would be indicative of possible alliances. Network analysis is not only applicable to the study of individuals, but also of institutions or social entities, “[m]uch of this interest [in social networks] can be

attributed to the appealing focus of social network analysis on relationships among social entities, and on the patterns and implications of these relationships" (Wasserman and Faust, 1994:3). The connections, patterns and implications of the relationships of social network analysis all relate to similar themes examined in the discussion of nodal governance theory in this thesis.

Networks are the predominant structure of modern society with the rapid development of information technology according to Manuel Castells (2000) and he has even gone so far as to use the term, network society. What we can learn from this concept is that outside of nodal governance theory, the significance and prevalence of networks is recognized. To further expand the definition of networks and strengthen the link between the methodology of network analysis and the theory of nodal governance, Castells' definitions of a network and nodes, should be considered:

A network is a set of interconnected nodes. A node is the point at which a curve intersects itself. What a node is, concretely speaking, depends on the kind of concrete networks of which we speak. [...] They are television systems, entertainment studios, computer graphics milieux, news teams, and mobile devices generating, transmitting, and receiving signals in the global network of cultural expression and public opinion in the Information Age (2000:501).

He goes on to discuss how networks can grow without restrictions, as long as nodes share similar "communication codes" (discourse) and are essentially open. Networks are highly compatible with rapidly changing parts of the world. Castells reinforces the concept discussed in nodal governance theory that networks can shape culture and agents who hold power (2000:507). In the information age, with the capacity for

constant, nearly immediate communication, networks can move at a faster pace. In the case of groups combating child sexual exploitation, distance and time are no longer the boundaries they once were. The same technology that allows offenders to connect, also enables the would-be problem solvers to connect, form networks, share resources and ideas. If we believe that society has fundamentally changed to incorporate networks, then the argument that governance is a responsibility that can be, and sometimes must be, shared between nodes is logical. And consequently, the importance Castells places on the flow of information, or alternatively knowledge as discussed by governmentality and nodal governance theorists, is compatible with the goals of this thesis.

Recognizing that networks are transforming society and governance as we know it, it is not surprising that the connection between networks and nodal governance is beginning to be explored. Significantly, as noted earlier, Benoît Dupont in particular (Dupont 2004 and 2006; Wood and Dupont, 2006) has delved into the study of security networks using nodal governance as theoretical framework. As the face of the state has changed with the decentralization of power, so has the structure of networks from more vertical and hierarchical to more horizontal, with power shared amongst numerous nodes (Castells, 2000; Dupont, 2004; Johnston and Shearing, 2003; Shearing and Wood, 2000; Wellman, 1999). The nature of networks in contemporary times, including the child advocacy networks, is that they are heterogeneous structures that are in constant flux. As governance evolves, so must the methodology designed to study it. Network analysis offers the potential of developing a greater understanding governance networks.

3.2 *Direct and Indirect Support*

Although this thesis is not an historical investigation, I believe it is important to understand the context within which child advocacy groups have developed, especially in relation to funding. Restrictions on law enforcement agencies are part of advanced liberalism in Canada, and other Western socio-democratic countries which are seeing a vast restructuring and downsizing of the welfare state (Lippert, 2005; Ilcan and Basok, 2004). The direction of funding/financial support to child advocacy groups indicates that the state or private industry is supporting their activities in governmentality. Therefore, throughout this work, evidence of funding will be used to indicate support for child advocacy groups from the state and private sector.

Also, it is my opinion that funding is a concrete indicator of the existence of a responsabilisation strategy. The state can fund non-state nodes, thus maintaining a certain level of power over them, but still does not take on the risk or overall cost. Funding of child advocacy groups by the state would be an example of explicit/direct support, but groups can also receive implicit/indirect support. An example of direct support state funding is when Child Find Manitoba received a total of \$53000 at the federal level and \$72000 from the provincial government to run the pilot project of Cybertip.ca (Industry Canada, 2002). However, direct support does not have to be monetary. For example, it can also take the form of non-monetary government support, as for instance, when numerous government press releases are issued in support of a child advocacy group. Indirect support is more complicated and can be as simple as the state not interfering in the activities of child advocacy groups. In the case of vigilante

groups, if their activities could potentially be deemed illegal or in violation of offender's civil liberties, then if the state does not stop their action, it could be construed as indirect support.

Present knowledge of the child advocacy networks is incomplete or simply lacking. What has previously gone unarticulated or been accepted as fact should not be blindly accepted, therefore, the current perception and conventional knowledge about these nodes and networks needs to be reconceptualised.

3.2 Comparable Methodological Research

The work of Randy Lippert (2002) and Benoît Dupont (2003; 2004; 2006) provide important methodological frames of reference for this thesis demonstrating that a body of comparable research exists. The thesis will built upon the methodological foundation these researchers started. Randy Lippert (2002) conducted a comprehensive study of Canadian Crime Stoppers programs. By using the qualitative methods of textual analysis and personal interviews, Lippert was able to read new meaning into their motivations and techniques of governance. He examined how the techniques of governance, which included promotions, anonymity and a multi-level reward system, where all interconnected and how the internal structure of Crime Stoppers functioned. A strength of Lippert's work is his ability to build a clear picture of Crime Stoppers' status in the over arching governance of security, as a network of non-state nodes, with connections/partnerships to other Crime Stopper organizations of various levels, and state nodes. He discusses the complex network from local community boards to an

international overarching organization, with attention paid to the close connections with law enforcement agencies and private corporations. The Crime Stoppers programs studied by Lippert share many commonalties with the child advocacy groups investigated in this thesis. Both are international and consist of mainly autonomous nodes, however, they still maintain connections with other nodes. Lippert breaks down the geographic locations and hierarchical nature of Crime Stoppers programs, including their status as a charitable organization.

Using Lippert's work as a model, this thesis examines evidence of the partnerships built between child advocacy groups, state representatives and private corporations. Lippert used interviews in conjunction with information in the public domain, but for the purposes of this thesis it was decided to concentrate on publicly available information as a data source. At the beginning of the data collection, it was my intention to compile an exhaustive descriptive database recording detailed information on all child advocacy groups. However, during data collection the choice of this approach was reconsidered and I decided to alter my research approach. It became apparent that it was not feasible to collect all relevant information using public information. The sheer mass of information and scale of the network called for delimitation of information to be presented and that is one of the reasons for focusing on the child advocacy network in Manitoba as a subgroup of the larger networks.

It was also determined that a theoretical framework and discussion has to be laid before more multifaceted research can be conducted. To complete a comprehensive database with descriptive and statistical information (e.g. board members and

partnerships with other groups), it would be more practical to work in conjunction with groups themselves, as will be suggested for future research. A cautionary note for future researchers is that some resistance from child advocacy groups could be encountered. In similar circumstances, Ross Hastings (2006:10) documented resistance to change in the youth criminal justice system and suspicion of evaluation because consequences of the findings might lead to undesirable changes affecting funding.

When dealing with textual analysis, Lippert examined external source material that included newspapers, periodical articles, legal rulings and charitable status returns. Also recognizing the importance of internal material, he examined Crime Stoppers' websites, press releases, newsletters, promotional pamphlets, training videos and operational manuals (Lippert, 2002:478). It should also be noted that Lippert examined similar material for partners of Crime Stoppers. Lippert began his analysis of Crime Stoppers promotions by accessing their public websites and he acknowledges this was an inexpensive method (2002:478 and 498). Similarly, this thesis started preliminary data collection using child advocacy group's websites in the public domain, with additional data collection from a variety of public sources.

Another aspect of Lippert's study well suited to this thesis was his ability to rethink the techniques of governance employed by Crime Stoppers and his examination of discourse. For example, Lippert re-evaluated the purpose of Crime Stoppers promotions such as the "crime of the week" advertisements (2002:479). The obvious explanation is that such advertisements publicize a crime and promote the potential reward money for information leading to solving of the crime. However, Lippert

exposed the underlying ideological motivations and influences of partnerships. How Crime Stoppers is packaging crime and the response they would like to see from the community is part of the discourse. By examining the message behind promotions, Lippert is exposing the discourse and knowledge used by Crime Stoppers. Using similar means, this thesis also examines materials that reveal indications of the discourse and knowledge used by child advocacy groups. For instance, by looking at how these groups present the social problem of child sexual exploitation and package themselves is meaningful. Another significant part of Lippert's work for this thesis is his finding that Crime Stoppers discourse targets and attempts to influence the citizen, or average member of society (2002:494-495). Playing on their fear, promotions encourage the average citizen to become more vigilant. This is an example of government at a distance and government of the self. Responsibilisation among other things involves the way in which the state, or a group seeking to govern others, encourages self-surveillance. Responsibility is allocated to the individual, rather than a larger entity. Embedding policing into the world around us is one way to ensure a more effective form of governing, with lower costs to society and the state as a whole. This strategy of governance documented by Lippert mirrors the responsabilisation in the child advocacy network discussed in this thesis.

Comparable research has also been conducted on governance and networks, with notable work completed by Benoît Dupont (2003; 2004; 2006) on security networks. Following the events of September 11th the face of security has forever changed and Dupont (2006) examines how urban security is transforming, now increasingly being

managed and delivered through networks. He demonstrates that networks are dense, constantly changing and difficult to study. In one example, he discusses how trust and reciprocity are necessary amongst the numerous players in an urban security network to govern public spaces, such as a public transportation subway station located in a university prone to civil protests (Dupont, 2006:178). Although Dupont used interviews for data collection, his presentation of findings and knowledge of networks is highly applicable to this thesis. Dupont's work also offers a model for future research into the child advocacy network.

From a methodological perspective, the review of these recent and relevant studies established that networks connect groups and how to gather evidence of these connections. This thesis will now present in a narrative fashion how child advocacy nodes and networks can be reconceptualised, with examples used to augment this reasoning.

Chapter 4 - RECONCEPTUALIZING NODES AND NETWORKS

Child advocacy networks are not segregated from other networks or society. These nodes and networks are not defined solely on their relation to the state, but are also influenced by relations to each other. Mutual needs, shared pressures and common goals unite child advocacy groups, but scarce resources can create competition amongst nodes. These networks can be influenced from unexpected sources. It is a complex system of structures and processes that share power. Networks are shaped by discourse, the actions of individuals, collective action, events or even geo-political spaces. Child advocacy groups attempt to speak for vulnerable populations that cannot speak for themselves. Child advocacy networks exist at local and global levels, continuously adapting and changing. Members in the networks share the same overarching goal, which is to eliminate, or manage, the sexual exploitation of children. However, the way in which they are setting out to achieve this goal varies greatly between the groups. Child advocacy networks are not an egalitarian structure, but rather reflect the elitist nature of other social institutions. Elite groups and members of these groups continue to have specialized knowledge and privileged access to agents in power. Many child advocacy networks are global networks, but can have strong roots and connections in the Western world, having adopted an overwhelming Western socio-democratic discourse.

It is important to recognize that the networks have both strengths and weaknesses. However, these networks would not exist if they did not benefit all of the

groups involved to some extent. Some benefits include legitimacy and the ability to share both knowledge and resources. Themes were revealed in the analysis of my study that speaks to the strengths, weaknesses and adaptability of these networks. The child advocacy network has been able to simultaneously address this social problem at both macro (global and national) and micro (regional and municipal) levels. The networks are not static, but rather are fluid and constantly adapting. Although there are core nodes present in the network that provide needed stability and consistency, fringe groups exist. Activities of any given group can reveal how their perspective on combating child sexual exploitation differs from other groups in the network. Groups can be categorized on a theoretical continuum of frontline (reactive) versus strategy (proactive) groups. In the larger framework and puzzle of how to combat child sexual exploitation, each of these pieces is vital and complimentary.

While the networks are always active, crisis events (e.g. the kidnapping or death of a child) generate a temporary expansion of the network to include individuals who would not normally be involved and these transitory members can motivate the creation of new child advocacy groups and mechanisms of governance. The network is not a cohesive entity that can easily be described. Connections between groups are both institutional and interpersonal, with power not obviously held by a small group of individuals. However, the influence of charismatic leadership is undeniable and has origins in crisis events or personal tragedies. The similar characteristics shared by child advocacy groups allows for the construction of spheres, as seen in the network. The creation of these typologies does not assume that all child advocacy groups are the

same, but rather that the similarities are strong enough to make realistic assumptions about certain commonalities.

Groups would not be able to combat the sexual exploitation of children in the most timely and efficient manner without making use of the relationships made in these networks. Child advocacy groups often provide the groundwork in combating child sexual exploitation, but must work with law enforcement agencies to follow through with individual cases. Principally, child advocacy groups do not have the authority to follow through with seeing that justice is done. If they do, then they are classified as vigilante groups, who redefine justice on a personalized level. The contradictions evident in the child advocacy networks are another feature that makes them worthy of study.

4.1 *Divisions in Child Advocacy Networks*

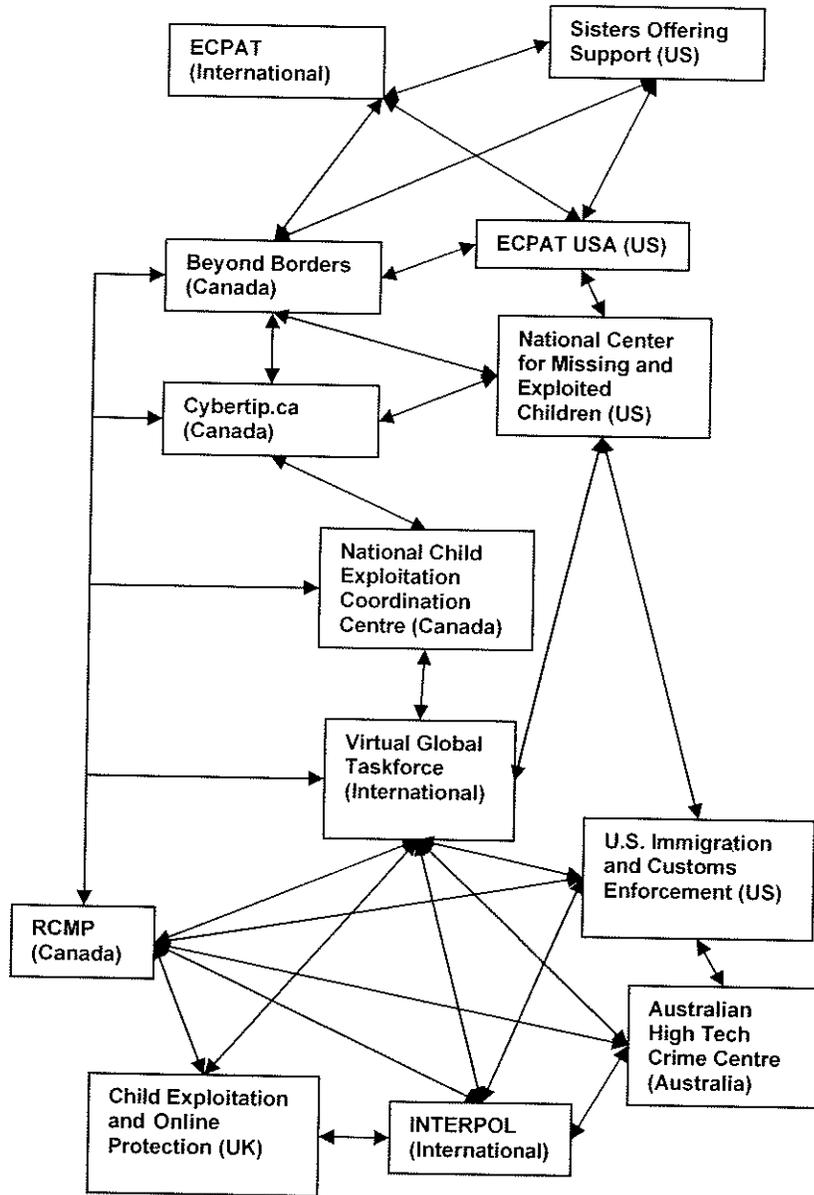
Features found in the child advocacy network, include strategic long/term relationships and formal/informal collaborations between legally independent groups of varying size, fostering interdependence which leads to the integration of responsibilities, expectations, reputations and shared interests (Larson, 1992). Power is shared among different nodes and clusters of nodes, making the networks decentralized, or multi-centred. Because these nodes are not formally integrated, membership in it is not restricted. However, certain formalized groups that bridge ties between other groups do require formalized memberships (e.g. ECPAT International).

However, “markets” (e.g. service delivery) can become saturated, thus potentially limiting the power of groups, especially new ones. These networks exhibit both intensive and expansive characteristics. In the interior of networks are an intensive, or tight, selective web of nodes that are strongly connected. On the edges of these intensive networks, are the expansive networks with more nodes that are often connected to the central nodes with loose connections or unidirectionally (one-sided or non-reciprocal). Although groups can share a lot of similarities, I must reiterate that these networks are heterogeneous.

Although this thesis has not chosen to map the entirety of global child advocacy networks, reviewing a limited section portraying both state and non-state nodes is useful. The section of the network shown in Figure 4a. radiates from ECPAT International, a child advocacy network in itself with seventy-three groups in sixty-seven countries. (ECPAT, 2007). To restrict the size for analysis, only Canadian and American member organizations: Beyond Borders, ECPAT USA, and Sister Offering Support (SOS) were shown, with all their groups being interconnected because of their membership in ECPAT International. The relationship between ECPAT International as a coordinating body with its affiliated nodes would be reciprocal and strong, although undoubtedly the strength of relationship would vary. The Canadian and American nodes are in turn connected to the respective national NGO’s who have taken on the responsibility for collecting reports of child sexual exploitation, Cybertip.ca and the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children. Both Canadian nodes, Cybertip.ca and Beyond Borders, are connected to The National Child Exploitation

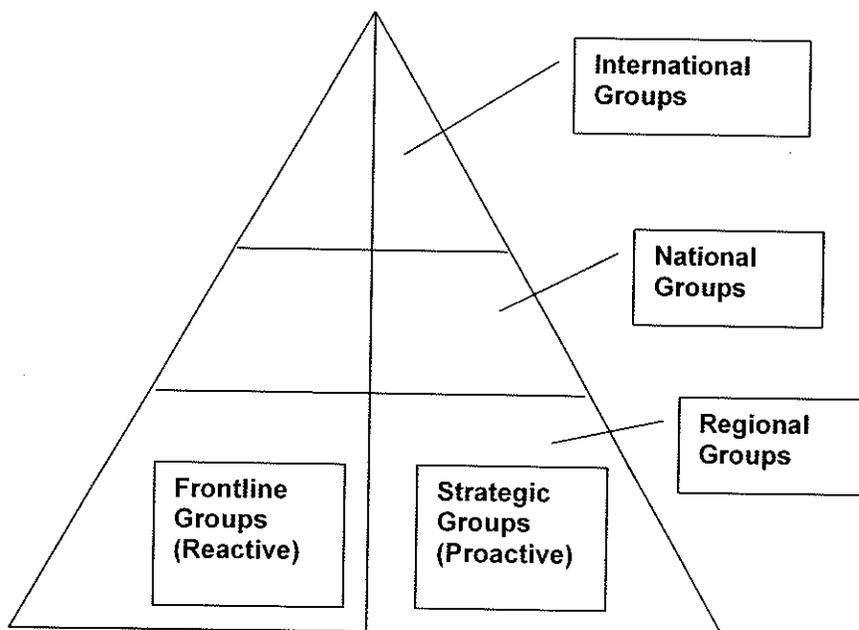
Coordination Centre (NCECC), a Canadian national node that is heavily connected to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and the federal Government of Canada (The National Child Exploitation Coordination Centre, 2007). All of the national law enforcement agencies and the international node, INTERPOL, are connected through the shared membership in Virtual Global Taskforce and joint efforts to fight child sexual exploitation. (Virtual Global Taskforce, 2007). This section of the child advocacy network demonstrates the reciprocal and indispensable partnerships between law enforcement agencies and child advocacy groups. The intentionally incomplete network in Figure 4a could be expanded by mapping the connections from each of the nodes. Of those ties, some of them would be weak and one-sided, such as those groups that promote tiplines without equal acknowledgment from the tiplines (e.g. attention or links on their websites).

Figure 4a - Example of Nodes Connected in the Child Advocacy Networks



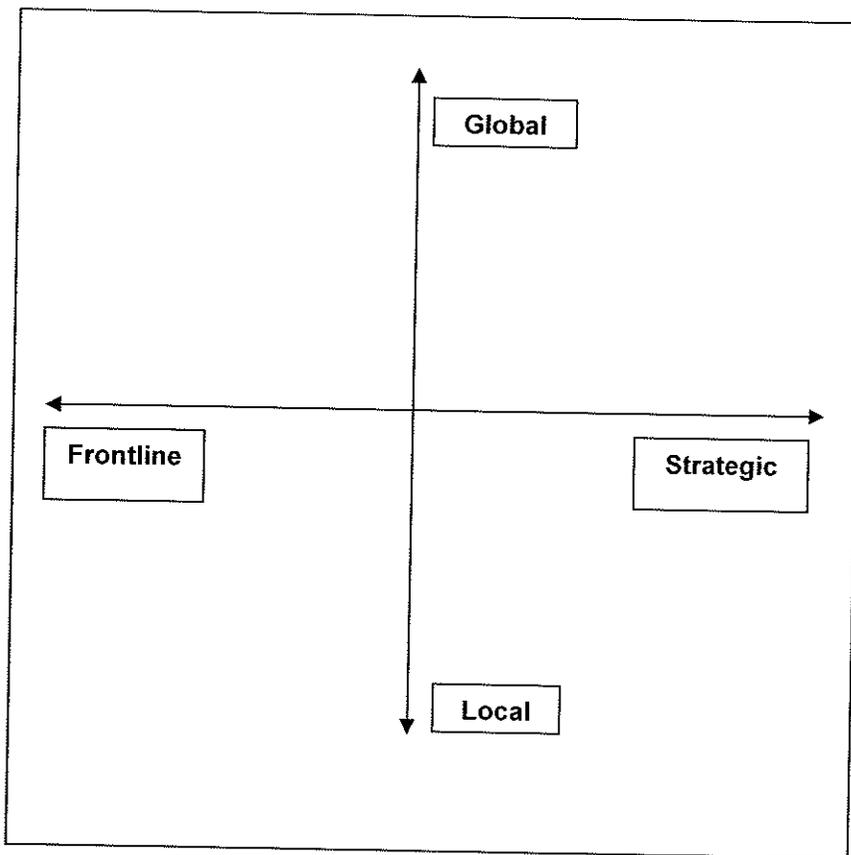
Conceptually, within the child advocacy network, child advocacy groups can be categorized based on the scale or level of governing they oversee, namely regional, national or international. The triangular shape of Figure 4b. does not reflect any hierarchical nature of the networks, but rather that there are more regional groups than the other two levels. Groups can range from small community based groups with very little external resources, to large international groups with budgets in the millions of dollars and extensive staff. While a child advocacy group can be classified as any one of those three, they can also be simultaneously categorized as either a frontline or strategic group.

Figure 4b. Conceptual Model of Divisions in the Child Advocacy Networks



As these groups are diverse, the frontline and strategic group classification more realistically can be conceptualized as a continuum, rather than two categories with clear-cut distinctions. As Figure 4b. demonstrates, with a multileveled continuum of how child advocacy groups can be classified. Each of the quadrants represents the different focus and level of child advocacy group activities and/or organizational forms. For example, a community-based group that deals directly with marginalized street youth working in prostitution would be placed on the bottom left of this diagram. Whereas an international lobby group that has very little or no direct contact with children would fall into the upper right quadrant.

Figure 4c. - Possibilities for Organizational Forms of Child Advocacy Groups



Frontline groups primarily focus on providing service delivery. Groups that provide service delivery have to be more structured, regardless of overall size, in order to provide the needed stability to support these activities. Another division within the networks is how groups can limit their service delivery. Restrictions can be constructed based on if the group provides specialized services based on types of victimization (e.g. those who provide emergency services to children who are prostituted vs. long term counselling for victims of familial sexual abuse) or even age of those whom services are provided to. Additional restrictions can be based on geography, as child advocacy groups restrict the majority of their activities centred in local regions/cities, provinces/states, national or international geography. The groups who restrict activities to local regions or cities are often frontline service orientated. By this, I mean that many groups have a deep-rooted history in a specific local region or city. Some of these groups have histories of child welfare service provision pre-dating established state child welfare, which has expanded to include children who are victims of child sexual exploitation. One example of this is the Macdonald Youth Services organization in Winnipeg, as we will learn about in more detail in a proceeding chapter of this thesis, which examines the child advocacy network in Manitoba.

The frontline work of child advocacy groups can include targeting marginalized youth who can be homeless and involved in drug abuse, prostitution and/or criminal activities. These groups are not necessarily immediately thought of as groups to be included in these networks because of their work with marginalized youth at risk, not focusing solely on victims of sexual exploitation. However, these groups provide

important reactive services that include emergency housing, food and outreach staff that work with youth.¹ Because these groups are involved in frontline work and often short term, reactive solutions, they can be termed Frontline Groups. These groups are more likely to be found in urban areas because this is where there are more young people at risk and in need of their services. Strategy Groups are groups that are more proactive and long term in their approach to combating child sexual exploitation, involved in lobbying for policy change, public awareness and education of children.

The divisions within the network, on the most basic level, can be based on how they redefine the problem and possible solutions. The combined efforts of both the frontline and strategic groups ensure that there is a continuum of service delivery and both proactive/reactive solutions in play. Some groups can manifest characteristics of both labels, such as the COPINE project which operated a Victim Identification Program (VIP). The Victim Identification Program attempted to identify current and previous victims of child sexual exploitation in child pornography they archived. The significance of this project will be discussed in more detail in a later chapter as an example of the work of an academic node. There is no doubt that children must be removed from situations threatening their safety and freedom, but it is vital that there be strategies in place to deal with the aftermath and long terms effects. As some male

¹ Examples of frontline groups/program include:

Street Teams / Side Door, Calgary Boys and Girls Club in Canada targets youth, including those who are sexually exploited by prostitution emergency services such as shelter, food, clothing and basic hygiene. Retrieved February 13, 2007, from

http://www.calgaryboysandgirlsclub.ca/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=32&Itemid=46

Prostitution Alternatives Counseling Education (PACE) Society in Vancouver, Canada takes out a van every evening to known areas worked by prostitutes, including young people, thus reaching out to those who might be contacted otherwise. Retrieved February 13, 2007, from <http://www.pace-society.ca>

victims of child sexual exploitation can become offenders themselves (Briggs, 1995), treating a victim of child sexual abuse could potentially lessen the chances of that boy growing up to be an abuser.

As previously discussed, divisions within the child advocacy network are not only based on areas of focus. While it is possible that child advocacy groups can function without links to other groups, this does not mean it is not part of the network. Even if groups (e.g. vigilante or religious groups) operate on the fringe of the network, it is not an anomaly, but rather the isolation of specific nodes is significant in itself. And those groups, which may seem isolated from other groups, may in fact just be divided from the larger networks based on geography and constructed jurisdictions. Micro-governance arrangements within the networks are evident and correspondingly, there has also been work done on local security networks, which shows that, "Local security networks act as information exchanges on local crime problems and on the resources that can be mobilized to solve them. They rely on local knowledge and solutions that transcend institutional boundaries" (Dupont, 2004:79). One of the transformations in the child advocacy network has seen the institutionalization of many groups, which can overshadow the grassroots work of local groups. One adaptive strategy, organizational segmentation, will now be examined as a way in which some challenges facing child advocacy groups may be overcome.

4.2 *Organizational Segmentation*

Child advocacy groups are not isolated from other groups or networks. Although some groups are dedicated solely to combating child sexual exploitation, I include groups who, even in a limited capacity, attempt to combat child sexual exploitation in the definition of child advocacy groups. Networks are heterogeneous structures, constructed of institutions that can even further be segmented (Castells, 2000:11). Some groups dedicate only segments of their organizations and resources to combating child sexual exploitation, while the remainder of their resources are directed to fortify other efforts. Groups who devote their time and resources to combating injustices based on gender, age, ethnicity, religion and other groups marginalized for such reasons as poverty, substance abuse or sexual orientation. Some of these groups have multiple interests that overlap. One American example, but applicable in the Canadian context because of their attention to Canadian Mormon polygamists, is the Tapestry Against Polygamy group (Dawson, 2001). Its focus is ending the practise of polygamy and injustices against women and children in certain sects of the Mormon community, but its members have contributed to the fight against child sexual exploitation (Tapestry Against Polygamy, 2007). While this group fights against child sexual exploitation, its aim is to assist victims of fundamentalist polygamous Mormon groups, which is a very specific group to target. Without the aid of networks to connect specialized groups like this to other nodes, they would potentially become alienated or isolated.

One danger facing groups that are specialized in combating child sexual exploitation is that the network could potentially become isolated from other networks. A benefit of organizational segmentation is that specialized child advocacy groups connected to them gain ties to other more diversified nodes and networks. Even if these connections are weak, they act as "bridging" ties (Granovetter, 1983). Weak links, which can manifest as casual acquaintance, can be much more easily manifested and maintained in contemporary society. Many nodes in these networks are connected by weak links. Maintaining strong connections between groups requires the investment of time, trust and resources. The cost of maintaining too many strong ties would be prohibitive. Weak ties can be maintained with activities such as phone calls, emails and/or in-person contact at meetings or conferences. However, minimal investment in maintaining weak ties means that any child advocacy group has those ties to draw upon if it needs them.

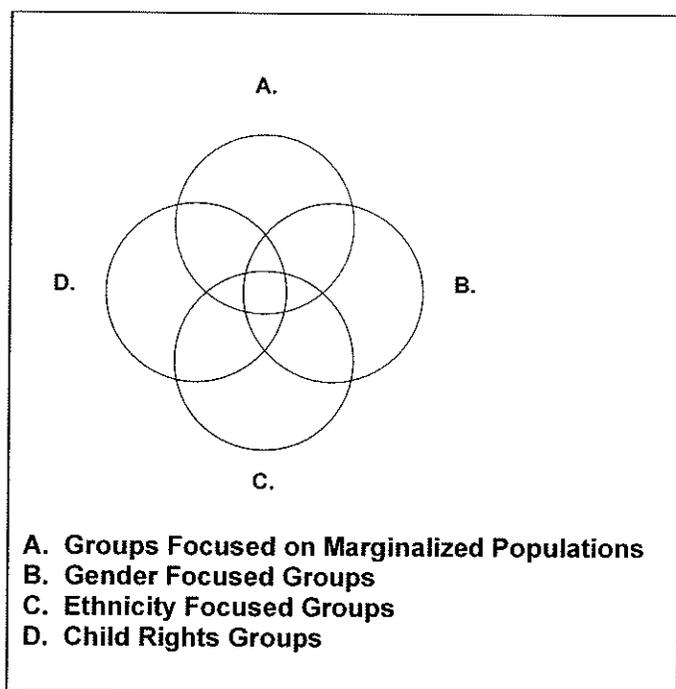
Organizational segmentation can be seen as a defensive strategy of governance that protects larger institutional nodes. Established, institutional nodes risk their reputation and resources by investing time in fighting a new or controversial social problem. Combating child sexual exploitation has its own risks because although it is most definitely a worthwhile cause, it is weighed with negative connotations. Simply put, fighting child sexual exploitation is not a "feel good" cause, which means groups can face difficulties because the general public does not want to confront the issue. One defensive benefit of segmentation as a strategy of governance can be demonstrated by using the analogy of a sprawling computer network. Within an internal computer

network, sections of the network can be segmented off using firewalls, which are electronic security measures. While each segment of the system remains connected to the overall network, segmentation would contain any damage, or external attack, to that segment and not compromise the overall security of the network. Applied to groups and the child advocacy network, larger organizations such as the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children or UNICEF, can make use of segmentation. Tiplines are an example of segmentation where an entity is created that is tied to the organization that created it, but it still maintains a certain level of separate identity. Organizational segmentation does not necessarily mean that there has to be another sub-unit created within the organization to specifically deal with child sexual exploitation, although that can be one manifestation. Organizational segmentation can apply to a specialized awareness campaign, project or even a significant report produced by a group. Therefore, organizational segmentation can be either long or short term, with each strategy having its own advantages.

Segmented groups are not necessarily on the periphery of the network because the activities of an influential and well funded institutional group that dedicates part of its efforts to combating child sexual exploitation could be just as effective, if not more so, than groups who specialize in combating one form of sexual exploitation of children. These groups are drawn together by the shared common denominator of combating child sexual exploitation. Many well known groups work to improve the situation of children in general, trying to see that they receive adequate food, shelter, education, health care and protection against dangers including warfare and sexual exploitation

(e.g. UNICEF or World Vision). While combating child sexual exploitation is a smaller part of their overall mandate, being a smaller part of a larger picture can have benefits. The arrangement of the network in this manner has the benefit of inundating this social problem from a variety of different avenues, leading to a concentration of efforts, as illustrated in the overlap present in Figure 4d.

Figure 4d. - Visual Representation of Network Segmentation



The overlap of these groups creates an intense and concentrated focus on this social problem. Attention is brought to child sexual exploitation from groups and spheres where it might not seem obvious attention would come from. Even though some groups may only devote a smaller part of their overall efforts to fight child sexual exploitation, the combined efforts between nodes and resulting intense concentration

from these diverse groups, can have a magnifying effect. This heterogeneity can provide stability, balance and compensate for limitations within the networks. Where one group has a weakness, another group may have corresponding strength. There is also greater access to varied information and resources. As it has been outlined, there are definite advantages to organizational segmentation, but it speaks to an adaptation in governance. Child sexual exploitation is a topic that is difficult to discuss simply because it is so disturbing. Segmentation could be an unintended adaptation within the networks to mask the negative impact of this social problem. I must emphasize that this is not an intentional deception, but rather an adaptive strategy.

On a global level, by improving the life chances of children, these groups are reducing the number of potential victims for abusers, especially concerning child prostitution. Additionally, there are concerted efforts to make public space in third world countries unwelcoming to abusers, even though the monetary and secondary proceeds to local hotels and entertainment can be substantial in these communities (ChildSafe Cambodia, 2007). This is another example of making public spaces unwelcoming and potential victims unresponsive. A criticism of this strategy of governance, both in Western and non-Western countries, is that it just pushes this social problem into private spaces. This may be true, but other aspects of responsabilisation, including self-responsibilisation, are seen in additional strategies of governance of child advocacy groups.

Following the work of Benoît Dupont (2006) dealing with security networks, it is reasonable to presume that child advocacy networks also manifests similar structures.

Dupont (2006:167) describes how boundaries between nodes can be blurred and a singular large node can be termed a network when it reaches a certain size. While Dupont uses the example of United States Department of Homeland Security, I would consider the size and global scope of UNICEF comparable. This organization is an international NGO that is an important node in the child advocacy network and a brief overview can provide sense of its bridging capability and global impact.

UNICEF is dedicated to improving the lives of children and has several initiatives that deal with the sexual exploitation of children. In its campaign to end the commercial sexual exploitation of children, representatives with UNICEF worked closely with ECPAT to initiate the *Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism*. This was an attempt to govern and responsiblise the tourist industry in countries that cater to Westerners who come to sexually exploit child prostitutes (UNICEF, 2006). UNICEF also has connections to regional groups in Indonesia from its 2005 pilot awareness campaigns regarding child sexual exploitation. UNICEF tapped into a local, regional cluster because "...[t]he projects helped build the capacities of parents, community leaders, law enforcement officials, policy makers and service providers to protect children" (UNICEF, 2006). The importance of conferences is demonstrated again when UNICEF supported both technically and financially, a National Child Pornography Conference during May 2005 in South Africa, which led to the adoption of an Action Plan for the Elimination of Child Pornography (UNICEF, 2006).

A large organization like UNICEF has access to significant resources, but it still has to be selective in how it allocates them. Only a small portion of UNICEF's attention, resources and time goes to fighting child sexual exploitation. As noted above, activities that might not seem to be directly linked to sexual exploitation, or only minimally, can have a big impact as a proactive strategy of governance. For instance, UNICEF works with children living with AIDS, advocates against female genital mutilation, and helps supply the basics such as food, shelter and medical attention, which also improves life chances. Its efforts to increase the education and life chances of girls in third world countries means they are less likely to be forced or sold into child marriage or child prostitution (United Nations Children's Fund, 2005:12-13). Early marriage leads to pregnancy at a very young age, which can cause early mortality. Child marriage falls into the scope of child sexual exploitation because according to the Western socio-democratic discourse, a child lacks cognitive, and therefore legal capacity to consent to marriage or sexual intercourse.

One of the most important strategies of governance used by child advocacy groups is their ability to fight the silence and secrecy surrounding child sexual exploitation. Children go missing all over the world, in western and third world countries, without people looking for them. There are always the highly publicized cases of child abduction, but countless children are missed and exploited without being looked for or helped. While there are regional and national child advocacy groups in Western countries combating this, other parts of the world are not so fortunate. UNICEF recognizes this need and states, "...[t]racking cases of sexual abuse, of arrests,

or of disappearances of girls or boys is essential since sexual exploitation often thrives on secrecy" (UNICEF, 2006). Therefore, one of the important goals of UNICEF is attempting to equalize governance between Western countries and other countries with less developed security structures. This is also an example of how Western NGOs are attempting to make their Western socio-democratic discourse, with its ideals, the dominant discourse in other parts of the world. When it comes to the protection of children, there is no mediation between competing discourses. There is no denying that this strategy of governance is ethnocentric, but it demonstrates again a theme of the dominant discourse of the child advocacy network, that when it comes to the protection of children from sexual exploitation, there is very little or no compromise. Child advocacy groups are only one type of node in the child advocacy networks. Their relation to the other spheres of governing child sexual exploitation is essential to achieving a comprehensive understanding of the networks combating child sexual exploitation.

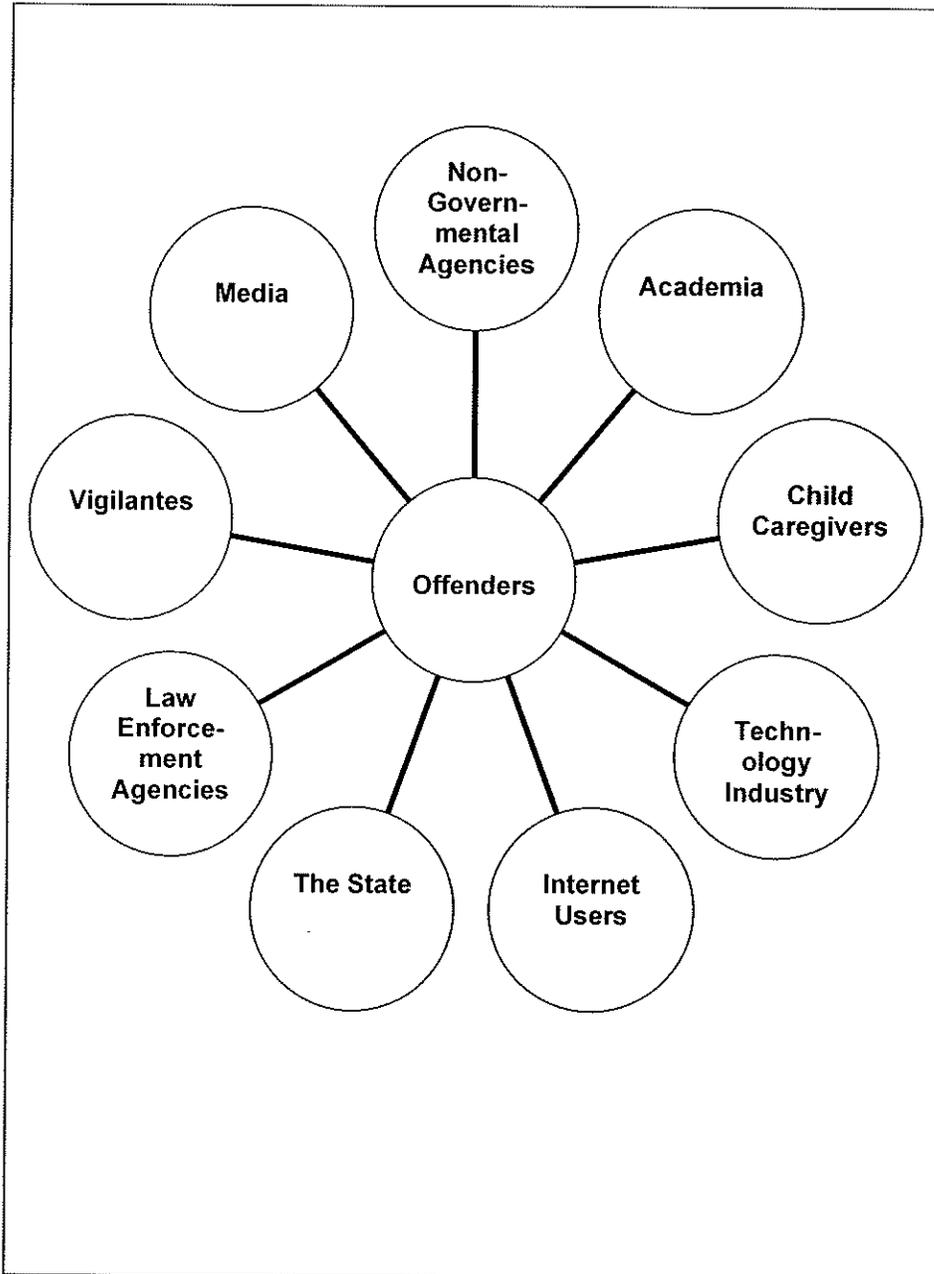
Chapter 5 - SPHERES OF GOVERNING IN CHILD ADVOCACY NETWORKS

Governing against child sexual exploitation is the responsibility and domain of a variety of nodes and networks. We have witnessed a transformation in governance with the expansion of governing child sexual exploitation beyond the dyadic relationship of the offender and law enforcement agent. Law enforcement agencies are only apprehending a small percentage of offenders, many of them by chance, by stings or simply because the ones that fall into their traps are new or ill prepared users. Law enforcement agencies are also under funded, under staffed and ill equipped in many countries in comparison to many offenders who are seemingly one step ahead of them. Other nodes and networks formed to partially govern child sexual exploitation when the state failed to regulate this social problem effectively. Within the child advocacy network, distinctive spheres of governing have developed. In this chapter, different spheres of governing will be reviewed and their impact on the fight against child sexual exploitation explored.

In figure 5a. offenders are at the centre of pressures from various spheres of governance. In the traditional sense, they face pressures from state officials, politicians and law enforcement agencies. But the true nodal nature of the networks becomes apparent when one considers the other spheres of governance. Child sexual exploitation is combated by the technology industry in the form of the larger support of Internet Service Providers, but also the more personal contribution of IT personnel and hardware/software technicians who can turn in offenders if illegal material such as

child pornography is discovered by them. Child caregivers as adults responsible for children (e.g. parents, teachers and social workers) supervise children making the children less likely to fall victim to child luring. The individuals in this sphere educate children against the dangers of offenders, making them less vulnerable targets. Not all of these spheres of governance identified in this chapter will be discussed in detail because some are discussed elsewhere in this thesis, while others are not directly applicable to the discussion.

Figure 5a. - Spheres of Government Combating the Sexual Exploitation of Children



5.1 *The State*

As the state and governance has been transformed, the way power is viewed has also changed. It cannot be denied that the state is an institutional authority present in society that guides the existence of individuals and other institutions and groups. However, the strength of the state is not necessarily related to the power it wields. Overt government by the state may reassure some citizens, but an alternative discourse sees overt and widespread state government as interference. With the decline of the socio-democratic welfare state, a strategy of governance in this hostile environment is a more reserved approach. As the private sector has strengthened and the business model viewed as successful, competition within the state, such as between departments, has been introduced. By "governing at a distance" the state can subtly retain authority, but also benefit financially and politically. By shifting some governance to non-state groups, the state can reserve strained resources. In the event of scandal, the state can shift blame to non-state groups, but the state can also reap the positive benefits when non-state groups receive public praise. States can continue to govern at a distance with minimal investment, but receive the rewards of positive public opinion and decreased responsibility for the social problem. The state is also maintaining a certain level of power by controlling the funding. With a vast number of child advocacy groups available to choose from, only those groups that conform to the ideals of the state will receive funding. Therefore, if a group wishes to receive funding, the state is ensuring that there is a certain level of conformity. This is not a just system by any means, since

funding is contingent on cooperating with the state, and this constrains the ability of child advocacy groups to challenge the state. Even when there is a change in policy at the state level, groups would be forced to conform, or be in danger of losing funding if their efforts are not part of the state's "vision". However, if child advocacy groups are aware of this they can at least better resist total state cooptation.

To combat child sexual exploitation as efficiently as possible, child advocacy groups must work with the state. While child advocacy groups can combat the sexual exploitation of children, they do not have the authority to pursue institutional justice. If child advocacy groups pursue "justice" on their own, then they will be classified as vigilantes, which are dealt with later in this chapter. Benoît Dupont (2004:77) discusses how in some instances "state jealousy" in some countries has limited the growth of nodal governance in security networks. I argue that this phenomenon of "state jealousy" can explain why the state maintains a certain level of control and power in the fight against child sexual exploitation. Although child advocacy groups rely on private sources (e.g. volunteer fundraising), many groups still rely heavily on funding from the state. Additionally, the state still maintains the choice and control over prosecution and sentencing. The state is the symbolic head of the aggregate groups fighting social problems, in some instances coordinating and directing the efforts (Kooiman, 1993 and 2003).

5.2 *Law Enforcement Agencies*

Although law enforcement agencies are agents of the state, they are often themselves in conflict with the state. Police departments are fighting for more capital, at times for teams dedicated to combating the sexual exploitation of children, and can ally themselves with child advocacy groups. In January 2005 Roz Prober from Beyond Borders called for more funding from the Province of Alberta for an integrated unit consisting of Edmonton city police and members of the RCMP, as exists in other provinces (Cape Breton Post, 2005). She states that the national work of Cybertip.ca would be ineffective if there were no follow up from law enforcement, which the integrated team would provide. Child advocacy groups play an important role in lobbying the state for more stringent legislation regarding the sexual exploitation of children. As agents of the state, law enforcement agencies are limited in their capacity to officially criticise the state. Institutionalized groups have the benefit of stability, legitimacy and being hubs for resources. With their reputation, come the benefits of privileged access to agents in power and other benefits. In interactions with the state, such institutionalized groups as national and international NGOs have more influence and input in the public policy process. There is also a benefit for the state, or rather certain political regimes, to align themselves with institutionalized child advocacy groups.

5.3 *Academia*

While not directly involved in the apprehension of offenders, the role of academics is no less important. They can act as bridges in the network or intermediary in helping the child advocacy groups and law enforcement agencies understand the behaviour of offenders. The role of academic nodes is central to the flow and production of knowledge in this child advocacy network and the evolution of discourse. In my examination of the child advocacy groups, one academic node was found to have a major presence in the network, the Combating Paedophile Information Networks in Europe (COPINE) Project.

In 1997, the COPINE project was established in the Department of Applied Psychology at the University College Cork in Ireland. Dr. Max Taylor and Dr. Ethel Quayle spearheaded a number of groundbreaking projects in the fight against child sexual exploitation. One of the most significant undertakings of the COPINE project was the start it made at compiling a reference archive of child pornography (Taylor, Quayle and Holland, 2001). Collecting these images, the COPINE project enabled the analysis of trends in child pornography and activities of offenders. In 2001, the Victim Identification Project (VIP) was initiated using the archive. Both projects ended in May 2004 and responsibility for the database was transferred to Interpol (COPINE Project, 2007a). This transference of the archive could be seen to contradict the theory that considers that nation states are intentionally seeking out child advocacy groups to take increasing responsibility for fighting child sexual exploitation. However, I argue by handing over responsibility for the archive to Interpol and not an individual nation

state, such as the Republic of Ireland, the COPINE project is distancing itself from the state and acknowledging the limitations of the nation state in combating this global social problem. COPINE's VIP project and archive demonstrates that child advocacy groups are capable of starting important and innovative projects. However, it demonstrates that child advocacy groups have limitations in attempting to combat child sexual exploitation. As child pornography continued to rapidly increase on the Internet, as a non-state node, the COPINE project recognized its finite growth and did not have the capacity to continue to develop the project to its full potential.

This particular node also maintained a certain distance from the general public, which is different from many other nodes in the network. Other child advocacy groups depend on the general public for donations and to report tips to their hotlines. The COPINE project, when it was actively participating in the database project, gathered the images directly from newsgroups and worked with law enforcement agencies directly. They were not reliant on the general public to gather the necessary information, therefore it was not necessary for them to maintain a high public profile.

The work of the COPINE project has led to successful international arrests of sexual abusers of children (Keane, 2004a). One case in particular demonstrates how effective the child advocacy groups can be when they work together. Ronald Harold Young, an American from the state of Washington, was arrested and held for numerous counts of crimes against children and on suspicion of assaulting six foster children

under his care.² In March, 2004 the COPINE project was contacted by West Midlands Police in the United Kingdom after arresting an offender in possession over one hundred child pornography images and asked to identify who was uploading the images to the Internet. Using the images stored in their database, researchers were able to provide a report to the West Midlands Police about Ronald Harold, including his aliases, the type of material he was posting and that there was evidence that he was also producing the images he was posting.

The National Centre for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC) in the United States had simultaneously been working on the case since September 2003 after receiving an anonymous tip. The COPINE project sent six hundred and seventy-five images to the Tacoma Police Department in order that possible victims could be identified. There was urgency to the case because the images posted by Young rated a level ten (Sadistic/Bestiality: sexual images involving pain or animal) on the scale used by the COPINE project to assess the images (Taylor, Max, Gemma Holland and Ethel Quayle, 2001). The West Midland Police contacted American federal police to get involved because they were concerned the local police were not acting as quickly as they could. It only took a total of eight days for Young to be arrested after the COPINE project became involved in the case. This case offers a glimpse of how efficiently and quickly nodes and networks are capable of functioning. The original anonymous tip concerning Young was taken by NCMEC in the United States, but pushed forward by

² Thirty-two counts of first-degree child rape, ten counts of distribution of images of children engaged in sexually explicit acts, ten counts of possession of child pornography and two counts of child molestation were laid, with bail set at two million dollars.

an arrest in the United Kingdom and academic research conducted in the Republic of Ireland. Although efforts were unknowingly being duplicated at one point, international cooperation and utilization of network ties between nodes led to a successful collaboration.

The approach adopted by the COPINE project is systematic and practical in the study and governing of the sexual exploitation of children. To fight a social problem, you must first understand it. The work undertaken by the COPINE provided an important reference point for law enforcement agencies and provided priceless groundwork, saving law enforcement agencies valuable time in cases where children are being abused. Taylor and Quayle are also held in high esteem by fellow academics, pointing to the fact that this network has elite and influential members. John Carr, Associate Director of the NCH Children and Technology Unit, reviewed Quayle and Taylor's book *Child Pornography - An Internet Crime* (2003) and stated:

Every police force in the world ought to buy as many copies as are necessary to pass on to the staff in their sex crime or high-tech crime units, and sections of it ought to be required reading for large numbers of social workers. [...] Max and Ethel are very definitely committed to an agenda of helping to improve the protection of children, and wherever possible initiate the rescue and rehabilitation of any children abused in the images which they monitor (Carr, 2004).

This trust and confidence in their work by other child advocacy nodes demonstrates direct support of their work. Direct support is also given in the form of financial support received from the European Union. As of April 2004, the COPINE project had

received its project funding from the European Union (EU) from the Stop and Daphne programs. (COPINE Project, 2007b). Funding from a multi-state governing body such as the EU speaks to the international importance of such a project. The project received €20,000 in grant money from the Department of Health and Children to assist in the costs of hosting the Future Directions in Psychological and Legal Issues of Internet Abuse Images Conference held in Cork, Ireland in May 2004, but the overall shortage of funding from the Irish Federal Government lead to criticism from an opposition party (Keane, 2004b).

The COPINE project has been responsible for projects assisting in the detection and prosecution of offenders, but they also support projects exploring treatment. Some male victims of sexual exploitation can themselves become offenders (Briggs, 1995) and female victims are more likely to be victimized later in life. Dr. Max Taylor interviewed teenaged offenders who downloaded child pornography, exposing the moral dilemma of what to do with youth offenders who are both offenders and survivors (SocietyGuardian.co.uk, 2002). This focus on treatment of offenders differentiates their approach from other child advocacy groups. Whereas other child advocacy groups recognize incarceration as part of the solution, their focus is not treatment. The possibility is not rejected, but it does not receive equal attention as the themes of justice and retribution. Focus on the offender would be counter to the dominant pro-victim and pro-child discourse of child advocacy networks. In Western countries offenders, if incarcerated, are likely to be released at some point. The influence of the larger security

discourse on child advocacy networks can be seen when you consider its focus on more stringent legislation and incarceration, rather than treatment and rehabilitation of offenders, which mirrors the larger shift in security policy and practice (Garland, 1996; Hastings, 2006).

Taylor and Quayle's academic work reflects their background in applied psychology in the classification and treatment of youth sexual offenders (Quayle and Taylor, 2006). Through interviews with offenders and analysis of their behaviour they have tried to determine the connection between users of child pornography and other victimization forms of child sexual exploitation. This is essential in establishing that viewing child pornography can lead to more severe forms of sexual exploitation of children. By establishing this connection, it can potentially lead to more effective forms of punishment and/or treatment. But most importantly, this technique of governance addresses the reality that some victims of sexual abuse have been shown to become offenders when they are older. COPINE is working in conjunction with the United Kingdom's child advocacy groups, Barnado's and National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC), to develop a treatment program for teenagers addicted to child pornography (Electronicnews.net, 2004). This project again reinforces the strong relationship between this node and the EU because it is funded by the European Commission. The COPINE project worked in close alliance with law enforcement agencies, accomplishing much of what they were unable to do. But not all groups work closely with the state, as is the case with vigilante groups.

5.4 *Vigilante Groups*

Vigilantes reject the authority of the state and take justice into their own hands. Groups operating on the fringe of the network have started their own personal war against child sexual predators. These groups or individuals can maintain one-sided connections with legitimate groups that do not acknowledge any reciprocal connection. One such group is Condemned.org that targeted servers that carry child pornography through both legal means and extralegal measures such as hacking (Radcliff, 2000:1). Hacking involves “breaking into” a computer system without the knowledge or consent of the owner and performing illegal operations, in this case, erasing hard drives. Radcliff (2000) goes on to report that hacking is a last resort after Condemn.org fails to get a response through conventional channels by reporting child pornography materials to law enforcement officials and the guilty ISP’s. Jenkins (2000:173-177) documented a well-planned and multi-phased attack by hackers against known child pornography bulletin boards and websites in June 2000. Some of the favourite tools of hackers are viruses and the more deadly Trojan horse programs, which hackers plant on servers (modified computers) and literally debilitate the computer, wiping the hard drive. What is surprising is how effective these attacks were, throwing the child pornography subculture into a temporary state of paranoia and confusion.

Such tactics have been continued by groups such as Perverted Justice, a website which posts the images and personal information of alleged pedophiles (Perverted Justice, 2007). This trend has spread outside of the United States, with such groups as Movement Against Kindred Offenders (MAKO) who are involved in similar activities

as Perverted Justice in Australia (Movement Against Kindred Offenders, 2007). This information is obtained in "sting operations" where members identify themselves as underage using chat rooms or instant messaging to bait and trap individuals into conversing in a sexual manner. Some offenders send pornographic images, adding to potential charges. The group claims that it avoids posting information on innocent people by verifying the phone number with a call from a member who sounds underage. During these interactions, the alleged suspect believes they are interacting with a minor and the chat session is recorded in a transcript, which is also posted on the group's website. It is also reported that members of Perverted Justice notify the alleged offender's workplace, family, friends and acquaintances by using tactics such as multiple flyers, phone calls and emails (Gray, 2004). As of February 2007, the group claims to have been involved in one-hundred and fifty four cases leading to convictions since June 2004 (Perverted Justice, 2007).

Perverted Justice has not been completely accepted within the mainstream child advocacy network. It acknowledges this on its website in its Frequently Asked Questions section, "Are you affiliated in any way with any well known child advocacy orgs?"

We don't really like other groups in general. In the website's evolutionary period, we were often attacked by other child advocacy organizations. Those who would style themselves as "THE cyber crime fighter" and "activists" who are more interested than [sic] celebrity than productivity tried to stop our growing organization by attacking us viciously. No mind that such people did not ever contact us for a dialogue... it was simply attack, attack, attack. We do our best to stay out of the "child protection scene" as unfortunately, many in that scene care more about being seen as

"the one!" rather than cooperating effectively with others. We do our best to insulate ourselves in general, taking great care not to align ourselves with any groups that might have ulterior motives in general. As a whole, most other websites are extreme *passive* while we, on the other hand, pride ourselves on being very aggressive. We wish all other organizations the best of luck and if contacted, will definitely hear them out. (Perverted Justice, 2007).

Tina Schwartz, director of communication for National Center for Missing and Exploited Children in January 2005 said, "It's really not the safest, most effective way to combat this problem. It really needs to be left up to law enforcement. From what I've seen in some of these other cases with Perverted Justice, they embarrass the people, but I don't know that complete justice is ever served" (Nair, 2005). This serves to show that one of the reasons Perverted Justice, and other vigilante groups like it, are on the fringe of the child advocacy group is because their actions and discourse are counter to those of the mainstream groups. The idea of what exactly is justice differs for this vigilante group.

On the fringes of the network, there is less cohesion between groups, and in fact, more conflict. The website Corrupted-Justice.com was set up to be critical of the efforts of Perverted Justice and its most prominent member, Xavier Von Erck (Corrupted-Justice.com, 2007). In response to this website, supporters of Perverted Justice set up another website, Corrupted-Justice.net (Corrupted-Justice.net, 2007). The personal attacks on both websites are examples of how fringe groups can often be controversial in nature and their activities just as controversial.

These vigilante efforts are operating outside the law and are not publicly condoned by law enforcement officials. When hackers erase hard drives, they are destroying evidence that could hamper future prosecution efforts (Radcliff, 2000:2). These tactics are among the newest trends in the fight against child pornography as a form of backlash against the largely unchecked cyberspace child pornography subculture. The Internet is becoming a war zone between vigilante groups and child pornography, with knowledgeable users on both sides, winning battles. The position of law enforcement seems to be one of "turning a blind eye" to their activities (Jenkins, 2000:171; Radcliff, 2000:3). As far as I am aware, no hackers or anti-child pornography groups involved in vigilante activities has been charged to date. However, with the past decisions in North America that protected virtual and textual-based child pornography, the "victims", may soon be targeting the hackers, demanding legal retribution. Frustration with lack of results and reforms to legislation are fuelling these efforts and it is likely that they will only increase if international anti-child pornography legislation hampers child advocacy group efforts to combat child sexual exploitation.

Vigilantism has also taken the form of violence towards offenders and murder. Michael Anthony Mullen killed two convicted child molesters, Hank Eisses and Victor Vasquez in 2005 in Washington state (Associated Press, 2005). Mullen obtained knowledge of the men, both classified as Level III sex offenders (high risk of re-offending) from a government website. Mullen contacted local media with confessions and posted them to the Internet under the name "Agent Life" (Carter, 2005). In April 2006, Stephen Marshall, a Canadian, killed Joseph Gray and William Elliott after

obtaining their home address from a state run sex offender registry in Maine, then later committed suicide (CBC News, 2006). These murders demonstrate the possible deadly ramifications of public sex-offender registries and community notification. Such programs are called for by child advocacy groups where they do not already exist. If information regarding offenders is made public, it could be used by vigilantes.

5.5 *Media Outlets*

Many media outlets have become active participants in child advocacy networks, recognizing the sensationalism and advertising money that covering this social problem can bring. Television programs from the United States are highly popular around the world and in Canada. How the United States covers such news therefore influences far beyond the United States border.

Noteworthy is the Dateline NBC series called, "To Catch a Predator". Working in conjunction with the vigilante group Perverted Justice, and local police departments, the program uses an adult decoy posing as a minor to entrap offenders. Men contact a decoy online and after sexually explicit communication, the online chat is followed by a phone call and arrangements for an in-person meeting. Following a taped confrontation by a reporter, the offenders are arrested, questioned and investigated by local police. As of February 2007, Dateline NBC reported that two-hundred and forty one men showed up to their sting operations from 2004 to 2006 (NSNBC, 2007). The activities of Dateline NBC and Perverted Justice have state sanction because the police are part of their operations. Such a program does increase public awareness of this social problem

and some offenders are aware of the show, having mentioned it in a chat previous to their "date" (Corvo, 2006). Such sensational ambush tactics seem designed to enhance ratings. Its contribution to the long term fight against child sexual exploitation is controversial. In one instance, Louis "Bill" Conradt Jr., a District Attorney in Texas committed suicide after being caught by this program for seducing what he believed was a thirteen year boy (Abshire, Alanis and Emily, 2006). With cameras from To Catch a Predator on sight, police attempted to arrest him and serve a search warrant at his residence, but Conradt fatally shot himself in the head. Footage from the arrest was aired on the television show. The prominent media attention is undoubtedly helpful to child advocacy groups and has led to the positive outcome of offenders being exposed and incarcerated. But it should be noted that such media can no longer claim to be impartial. After reviewing how governance is being managed by different spheres and discussion of the key theme of justice, a closer look at the theme of responsibility is appropriate.

Chapter 6 – RESPONSIBILISATION

6.1 Responsibilisation Strategy

The interpretation of the activities and products of child advocacy networks has revealed a striking theme, namely, the emergence of a responsabilisation strategy. Authors such as David Garland (1996), have continued to articulate the nature of the de-centralization of the state and the limitations of its power. Garland discusses how the limitations of the state's powers have adversely affected the governance of security and how society has had to adapt new strategies of governance, such as responsabilisation. Garland supplies a key example of strategies of governance when he discusses strategies of denial and responsabilisation strategy. Garland discusses how in the United Kingdom the state actively experimented with this transformation in security by encouraging non-state organizations to take on more responsibility for crime control. Consequently, the concept of responsabilisation is of special importance to this thesis because it details how the state governs at a distance through non-state organizations. Shearing and other proponents of nodal governance theory also share Garland's views on the relevance of the concept of responsabilisation. Garland also points out (1996:451) how social programs have adapted by not necessarily targeting the offender, but rather the potential offender and modifying their behaviour by embedding control.

I argue that child advocacy groups may be targeting the general population as a way of embedding control. This may be seen as a more effective measure than solely targeting offenders. Responsibilisation is a multi-layered phenomenon. This thesis

argues that we have seen a major transformation in governance with child advocacy groups becoming more responsible for combating child sexual exploitation of children. Also, these groups have targeted the general population with their own form of responsabilisation. As part of a responsabilisation strategy of governance, these groups utilize technologies of governance, in the form of programs and activities, as a way of embedding control, encouraging self-responsibilisation and internalisation of their discourse. Strategies and technologies of governance and events like those activities surrounding missing children, seek to engage citizens and community actors in governing the sexual exploitation of children.

In *The Culture of Control* Garland (2001) discusses the transformation of views on crime, including policy development in recent decades. There has been a shift from more liberal views that call for rehabilitation to more pessimistic, right-wing views that stress punishment. The general public has become frustrated and fearful with the perceived increase in crime rates. Crime has become sensationalized and politicized, including child sexual exploitation. With the shift in the paradigm from rehabilitating offenders, there has also been a dehumanization and demonization of offenders. Offenders are being pushed into a more extreme label of the "other" and "outsider". Offenders who sexually exploit children are particularly reviled. This label of "monster" is an important part of the constructed culture of fear and control. As crime has become more politicized, the views of the public have been given more weight than the opinions of expert professionals.

While long term strategies are not being rejected, investment in short-term solutions caters to the desire for a “quick fix”. The limitations of the state are being accepted and the state is moving forward to make working partnerships with non-state groups. It is important to find the balance between short term solutions and long term strategies, especially with the allocation of limited resources. It can be very easy to favour short term strategies. In the politicized arena, short term responses illicit sympathy from the general public, but also gratification and notoriety from those immediate results. Child advocacy groups are not immune from judgment and have to remain accountable to investors of funding, that include the state and private groups, but also the general public who can supply donations, volunteer time and act as the “eyes and ears” of many groups.

The private sector benefits financially from a culture of fear. A classic example of this is the private security industry which markets private policing services. In the case of the child advocacy network, an example of private sector profit is how some private businesses sell software programs that claim to protect children from exposure to pornography and decrease the threat of online child luring by shielding private information.³ These products are reflective of the self-responsibilisation discourse because they promote parental and Internet user responsibility. The implications and transformations of this technology of governance will be discussed further in a later section of this thesis on technologies of governance.

³ Examples of such software include, NetNanny (<http://www.netnanny.com>), CYBERSitter (<http://www.cybersitter.com>), and Cyber Patrol (<http://www.cyberpatrol.com>).

6.2 *Culture of Fear*

The activities child advocacy groups engage in to achieve their goals promote a culture of fear. Child advocacy groups and their networks support a culture of fear because it helps them combat child sexual exploitation by encouraging self-responsibilisation. With every media report of another bust of child pornography, kidnapping or horrific sexual crime against a child, the culture of fear is further promoted. I am not claiming that groups intentionally distort facts, but rather that they are attempting to have their objectives accepted and made prominent in the dominant, public discourse. On the most basic level, by presenting or promoting the presentation of factual events in the media, in schools, to politicians and the public, they are promoting fear, which in turn promotes their efforts as a solution or hope to combat the sexual exploitation of children. Groups always face a danger of the public becoming desensitized with continued exposure to this, or any other social problem, leading to potentially increased sensationalism by players, such as the media, attempting to retain the general public's attention. It is the perception of potential harm that can begin to embed control (self-responsibilisation). In the case of non-abusers, self-responsibilisation encourages them to be more vigilant in protecting their children and detecting the activities of abusers. In the case of abusers, or potential abusers, it is their own harm, or detection, that they can begin to fear. Thus, at least theoretically, a culture of fear can act as a form of crime deterrence, which is explored more thoroughly in the discussion of tip lines in this thesis. Responsibilisation present in the networks

exposes another theme in the dominant discourse, public responsibility, that sees this social problem as everyone's problem and the solution is the responsibility of society as a whole.

A strong theme for Strategy Groups is the need to alter the way people think in order to have them adopt what they see is not only correct, but can reduce harm. In other words, Strategy Groups attempt to "compel" others to accept their discourse, replacing ignorance or differing knowledge, with their "correct" knowledge and perception of both the problem and solutions. The choice of the term compel may seem inaccurate, as there is no direct force involved, but rather voluntary compliance. However, I would argue that the fear of the threat of sexual predators is a way groups compel individuals to accept their discourse. With their discourse comes the responsibility of governing the self and others. The most basic responsibility and expectation is that adults will not exploit children sexually. And, there is also the responsibility and expectation that if you discover such abuse, you report it. If one does not report the abuse, then they will be forced to deal with the resulting guilt. Parents are held responsible for monitoring the activities and behaviours of their own children.

This sense of responsibility to monitor oneself and others is part of the larger responsabilisation strategy that will be discussed at length later in this work. In essence, the state is not solely accountable for governing, or controlling, the sexual exploitation of children. Strategy Groups target the general population to create fear of sexual predators, responsibility and empathy for victims. The National Center for Missing and Exploited Children is one of the leading child advocacy groups in the United States and

the world. As part of their messaging, "We're here because they're out there," has been included in pamphlets for their "Campaign Against Child Sexual Exploitation Information Package", and their pamphlets are labelled, "Preventing the Sexual Exploitation of Children" and "Parental Guidelines in Case Your Child Might Someday be the Victim of Sexual Exploitation" (National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, 2007). These messages remind people that this group exists because there is a need for it to exist and that their family is not immune to the potential harm of child sexual exploitation. Alternatively, consider the "Not In The Loop" national campaign from Cybertip.ca which offers posters and billboards with the image of a text message box and mouse presenting the messages of "Anonymous Says: Your child sends me pictures. TTYL [Talk to you later].", "Anonymous Says: I talk to your child 6 times a day. TTYL." and "Anonymous Says: Your child says she loves me. TTYL." (Cybertip.ca, 2007a). They openly target child caregivers as targets for self-responsibilisation, as reflected by the their discussion of the national campaign when they state, "It is important to explain that the Internet is a public place and establish the expectation that online activity will be adult supervised" (Cybertip.ca, 2007a). These messages, in my opinion, are designed to produce fear in parents regarding the online activity of their children. Fear, in turn, should theoretically encourage the desired goal of parents monitoring children's online activity. These campaigns reinforce the concept that child advocacy groups are targeting adults to encourage awareness and responsabilisation. It also addresses the reoccurring theme that child advocacy groups are also attempting to govern public and private spaces, in this case the virtual public

space of the Internet, but also the activity of young people in private spaces with Internet access.

Although a culture of fear is created, there are also other effects, that include awareness of the problem where ignorance could have existed before and the activities of child advocacy groups that are meant to create fear and self-responsibilisation in non-abusers can serve a dual purpose by also reaching abusers, and/or potential abusers. Self-responsibilisation, in this case, could potentially create a fear of being caught, guilt and shame for their actions, or potential action. The media reports, often with comments by representatives from child advocacy groups, act as reminders to abusers, or potential abusers, that there are groups, outside of the state, attempting to stop them.

The actions of groups that can compel others can also be seen in fringe groups which do not necessarily share the same discourse as other child advocacy groups, but still share the same wish to combat this social problem. Such fringe groups/individuals can exist on the periphery of the network, with loose or no ties to other groups, but they are still trying to get others to accept their alternative discourse. An example of this would include leaders in religious movements (e.g. Ministers or Priests) that preach against the sexual exploitation of children. Although this form of governing will not be focused on by this thesis, the ideological and theological aspects of responsabilisation is worthy of future study.

As I have noted above the child advocacy network is intensely pro-child and pro-victim. A part of the strategy of governance of child advocacy groups is to empower

potential victims and make them more aware of possible abusers. In the case of child sexual exploitation, the abuser has more power and knowledge based on their greater life experience and age. Another strategy of governance is to empower children by increasing their knowledge. Child advocacy groups attempt to educate children on the existence of sexual abuse, how to recognize dangerous situations and how to proactively prevent potential abuse (e.g. responsible use of the Internet or reporting suspicious behaviour of strangers to trusted authority figures). Instruction of young people is particularly effective because it is embedding control and belief in a particular discourse at an early age.

These efforts are aimed at reducing the possible opportunities for this crime to occur. By educating children, they are altering the knowledge of young people and they are potentially taking away possible victims. For example, even though children may be physically safe in the controlled environment of their parent's home, they can be exposed to child luring predators on the Internet. With education young people come to embrace part of the adult world and become aware of how to safely interact with new technology (e.g. giving out personal information), thus reducing the number of potential victims. As discussed previously, this strategy of governance empowers children, but also helps to end the secrecy and victim stigma surrounding child sexual exploitation. Technologies of governance are closely linked to strategies of governance, often going hand in hand.

6.3 *Technologies of Governance*

Groups in these networks are connected in various ways and one of them is by shared technologies of governance, which are means by which strategies of governance can be practiced in the real world. Technologies of governance can range from a product, process or concept, which is supported by the knowledge and social capacity used to create and maintain it. One of the transformations in governance is the evolution of technologies of governance for managing child sexual exploitation and how they engage the everyday citizen in the governing of child sexual exploitation. The selection and prevalence of a particular type of technology of governance is significant and reveals hidden meaning in the network and discourse. The child advocacy networks have enabled the creation and proliferation of technologies of governance. Each part of these networks play an important role in how the networks function, in often unseen or hidden ways, with each invention being a contribution to the knowledge base.

It is reasonable to assume that child advocacy groups would choose technologies of governance that would maximize their investment and support their strategies and discourse. While education and awareness campaigns are a technology of governance, they are a one-way exchange of information from the child advocacy groups to the general public. One of the predominant tools used by child advocacy groups to prevent and detect the sexual exploitation of children, is the use of tiplines or hotlines. Tiplines engage the general public and collect reports of suspected abuse via websites, by phone or fax. It is important to address the use of tiplines because a lot of resources go into

supporting this technology of governance and is a key factor in a larger strategy of governance. Child Find Manitoba recognizes that... “[s]ome of the factors that contribute to making tiplines a best practice in combating this problem or crime include visibility, accessibility, low operational costs, anonymity, and information sharing” (Cybertip.ca, 2007b). This technology also can foster close links between law enforcement agencies, while child advocacy groups still remain detached from the state. Detective Sergeant Duane Heintz, manager of Manitoba’s integrated child exploit (ICE) unit stated, in reference to Cybertip.ca, “They’ve been a godsend from my point of view. They’re a wealth of info and it gives the public a way to report this” (Canadian Press, 2006). Again this reinforces that the state cannot govern this problem alone and needs the assistance of outside, non-state groups.

Tiplines are a dominant technology of governance in these networks, aside from education/awareness programs, which are also a widespread norm. In my opinion, the use of tiplines is prevalent not only because they are cost-effective and engage the public, but also the perception that tangible actions are being taken to combat the sexual exploitation of children. The effects of education are more subjective, but the actions of a tipline, seem more substantive. Child advocacy groups utilize these tiplines as a way to govern at a distance with the general population acting as their “eyes and ears”. The public can go where the groups and law enforcement agencies do not have the resources to monitor. In this sense, tiplines are acting as twenty-four hour, seven-day-a-week surveillance.

Lianna McDonald, executive director of Child Find Manitoba, has been quoted as saying, "Cybertip.ca is kind of the Neighbourhood Watch of the Internet" (Guardian, 2006). Tiplines can provide statistics and results that benefit both the child advocacy groups and other stakeholders, such as technology industry sponsors and the state. An example of the state benefiting and promoting the "success" of a tipline can be seen in the case of the provincial government of Manitoba. The provincial government of Manitoba was a supporter of Cybertip.ca from its inception through its transformation to the national tipline. On November 15, 2006, in the Speech from the Throne, a speech prepared by the provincial government to outline their past accomplishments and future plans, they stated regarding Cybertip.ca:

Finally, Manitoba will continue to be at the forefront in dealing with issues like Internet luring and child pornography. Manitoba's Cybertip.ca has now been expanded nation-wide. It has shut down 1,100 websites and resulted in 20 arrests. Building on this effort, our government will introduce new legislation requiring the mandatory reporting of child porn found on computers (Province of Manitoba, 2006a).

This provincial government is proclaiming Manitoba at the forefront of combating specific types of sexual exploitation of children. The implication is that the provincial government was in part responsible for these achievements. This is a prime example of the state governing at a distance and nodal governance. While Cybertip.ca did the ground work for the state, in this case the provincial government of Manitoba, receives the benefit of positive representation to the media and general population. The benefit

of this relationship for Cybertip.ca is the positive press, but also the introduction of new legislation to support their efforts. In Manitoba, the wish of local child advocacy groups to see individuals report sexual crimes against children remains a personal choice, but now has legal consequences to back up the strategies of self-responsibilisation like guilt. In other words, not reporting the knowledge of child pornography is no longer being merely complacent, but has the potential to be criminal. This case is a demonstration of the reciprocity that can manifest between partnerships in these networks.

Another advantage to tiplines as a technology of governance is that while it encourages self-responsibilisation and acceptance of the child advocacy group's discourse, it maintains the illusion of "choice". The general population maintains the perception that they are choosing to report crimes and remains sensitive to the ideology of "personal liberty" of the Western socio-democratic discourse. The success of this technology of governance could also be attributed to the fact it does not challenge the authority of the state, but rather assists the state's representatives (i.e. law enforcement agencies).

Recognizing the limitations and failing power of the state may seem pessimistic, but the appeal of nodal governance theory is that it offers the potential to surpass the stop-gap measures and band aid solutions of the state. Where the state does not have the resources to fully combat child sexual exploitation, child advocacy groups have stepped up to take on increasing responsibility. While the tiplines may not be the perfect solution because a perfect solution does not exist, it is a start and important in

opening a dialogue on how to best combat child sexual exploitation. The prevalence of nodal governance means problem solving is occurring in multiple locations, with an inevitable amount of trial and error. Consider it a global experiment in search of sustainable, effective and financially viable solutions for managing this social problem. The risk for the entire cause is lowered if too much is not invested at one point of governance. With nodal governance, if one node fails, then another will be there to take its place. Transformations in nodal governance can theoretically be thought of as "survival of the fittest". Child advocacy groups, like many other social entities, have to succeed if they want to continue. They must attract people, resources and the attention and the good will of the general public and other stakeholders if they wish to succeed.

Another technology of governance used by the technology industry and child advocacy groups is the use of software filters, which act as a form of censorship. While some private companies sell software for profit, other interested parties in the network are providing the same service for free. America Online (AOL) provides free parental controls software, not only to its customers, but to any Internet users who wishes to access it (AOL, 2006). The motivation for providing a product for free that could be sold for profit, speaks to the larger implications of such efforts to govern use of the Internet, especially of young people.

Joel Davidson, AOL Executive Vice President, Access Products and Technology is quoted as saying, "Keeping our children safe is one of our most important missions, and this step will eliminate the cost-barrier for millions of families, so they can give their children all of the benefits of the online medium" (AOL, 2006). The product they

sell is accessible to the Internet users and they want to promote continued use. It is in their best interest if safe use of the Internet is possible and more importantly, they are the ones to provide it. Such a decision is positive press for this private business, but also aligns with the efforts to combat child sexual exploitation by child advocacy groups. In fact, several groups publicly supported this effort, including the National Center for Missing & Exploited Children. In the case of Internet Service Providers, they benefit from financially supporting child advocacy groups because specifically for Internet Service Providers, they are providing safe products.

Partnerships between Internet Service Providers and child advocacy groups demonstrate tight connections between these nodes. Since 2004, British Telecom (BT) has used a filter system called "Clean Feed" that blocks access to a list of websites containing child pornography. With Clean Feed, BT can track the number of times websites are attempted to be accessed, but does not record the personal information (e.g. internet protocol (IP) address) of individuals attempting to access these illegal websites, or report it to law enforcement authorities (Bright, 2004). This raises the issue of a conflict between confidentiality for customers and responsibilities to other groups, such as the state. This program was developed in consultation with the Home Office, the central government department responsible for law enforcement in the United Kingdom (Bright, 2004). The websites blocked by BT are listed by the Internet Watch Foundation, a child advocacy group that operates a tipline for websites hosted in the United Kingdom which carry either child pornography or racist material (Computer Crime Research Center, 2004; Internet Watch Foundation, 2007). In its current form and

usage this type of technology of governance is limited to censorship. Namely, it censors both the average Internet user and potential offender from viewing detected illegal material.

The responsibility is placed on the Internet Service Providers, again with the added benefit of the perception of voluntary participation in combating sexual exploitation of children and of creating a safe product for their customers. The state in the United Kingdom supports these efforts and it is interesting to note the comments of the Minister at the Home Office stated, "Anybody who accidentally comes on one of these sites will now be blocked. But anyone who repeatedly tries to access sites may become subject to police investigations and dealt with very firmly" (Groggins, 2004). In my interpretation, the state is sanctioning the private sector's attempt to protect the general public from their own ineptitude should they stumble upon child pornography accidentally, but the state might take action should BT bring illegal action to their attention. This "safeguard" is one of the most decisive forms of proactive technologies of governance because it blocks a crime from happening.

This model used by BT has been adopted by Child Find Manitoba and several Canadian Internet Service Providers. The Canadian Internet Service Providers are Bell Alliant, Bell Canada, MTS Allstream, Rogers, SaskTel, Shaw Communications Ltd, TELUS and Videotron Ltd. (Owen, 2006). The project again shows a glimpse at the connections in the child advocacy networks, with Cleanfeed Canada receiving support from Internet Service Providers, Beyond Borders, RCMP and the Federal Justice Minister (Owen, 2006). It is also important that this child advocacy group

acknowledges the limitations of this technology of governance. "It's not the be-all-and-end-all solution. But it's a way to stop people from viewing children being sexually abused," stated Lianna McDonald, executive director of Child Find Manitoba (Owen, 2006). Traditionally, businesses would be at competition and unlikely to cooperate, but cooperation between Internet Service Providers benefits the industry as a whole. Another reality that this brings to light is that there are limitations placed on governance, even though the opportunity exists for a more advanced technology of governance. While the technology exists to track Internet users who visit illegal websites, the fact that the technology is not used by Internet Service Providers is significant. Therefore, one of the unintended effects of governance in this network is self-imposed, if not acknowledged, limitations. These limitations speak to the fact that for segments of the network, namely Internet Service Providers, although they wish to combat child sexual exploitation, their main priority remains profit.

As this network continues to change, it will expand into uncharted territory. New strategies and techniques of governance will be debated and tested. It is interesting to note that the child advocacy groups have chosen to employ a tested technology of governance, such as tiplines, but have not opted to use a reward system proven effective by groups such as Crime Stoppers (Lippert, 2002). The reasoning for a reward system in the words of one of the Canadian Crime Stoppers organizations is, "A Crime Stoppers reward of a few hundred dollars can save tens of thousands or more in policing costs" (National Capital Area Crime Stoppers Program, 2007). Even though some groups offer rewards leading the recovery of missing children, to my knowledge,

child advocacy groups utilizing tiplines do not use this specific form of reciprocity (ie. money for information). I argue that child advocacy groups would rather escape the cost and moral dilemma of potentially dealing with unscrupulous sources of tips. Rather, child advocacy groups rely on guilt and fear, central to both the culture of fear and the trend of responsabilisation. Although not a tipline, the globally aired Oprah Winfrey shows maintains and publicizes "Oprah's Child Predator Watch List", which posts profiles and images of wanted child sex offenders, but encourages viewers to make reports directly to the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) (Oprah.com, 2007a). The show offers the potential cash reward of \$100,000 for the capture and arrest of an offender, boasting five successful captures (Oprah.com, 2007b). Monetary inducement differs from other forms of motivation to report child sexual exploitation that can rely on a sense of responsibility, guilt or fear.

The limitations of fighting child sexual exploitation may seem very disheartening, but nodal governance allows a balance to be created in an imperfect world. The system and solutions we have may be flawed, but child advocacy groups work with what they have and know. Dreams and theories of grand, sweeping social change may seem promising, but to combat a real social problem, the reality of the here and now must be dealt with. It is scary reality that law enforcement agencies are underfunded and staffed. Child sexual exploitation ranges across a broad spectrum of offences, and even by dedicating substantial funds to combating the problem, you cannot necessarily make it go away. No matter how many police there are on the street, there will always be crime. Even with increased education for parents and children,

safer public spaces and stringent punishments and the monitoring of offenders, there remains a certain level of uncertainty when it comes to the sexual exploitation of children. Managing the problem by helping one child at a time and/or removing the threat of one abuser is a real accomplishment.

There is increasing potential for new technologies of governance to continue to transform governance. The networks, and the groups that inhabit them, have responded to changes and extra-ordinary circumstances in society, highlighting the adaptability of the network. Crisis can produce increased activity, growth and in the network. In January 1996, nine year old Amber Hagerman was kidnapped in Arlington, Texas. Four days later her body was found. She had been raped and her throat slashed. In response to this tragedy, the America's Missing: Broadcast Emergency Response (AMBER) alert system was developed. Following call-ins to local radio stations with suggestions for an alert system, the Dallas-Fort Worth Association of Radio Managers (ARM) worked with local law enforcement to develop the predecessor of the Amber Alert warning system. The Amber Alert is a response system set up by police and child advocacy groups utilising local media to notify the general public to a kidnapping because the first hours are the most critical. In moments of crisis, a system such as the Amber Alert, expands the child advocacy network temporarily to include members of the general public.

Not only are police looking for the child because time is pivotal in abductions, but the members of the general public are additional eyes and ears. This is another example of the responsabilisation strategy evident in these networks. The Amber Alert

for a missing child makes everyone “responsible” for helping to find the child and/or offender, but also maintains the perception of choice. And it is now expanding with the increase in mobile and instantaneous technology (e.g. handheld devices). One example of this is the Amber Alert Portal, which is a service that instantaneously updates via cell phones, pagers, fax and email (Amber Alert Portal, 2007). Microsoft Corporation as of May 15, 2006 also agreed to distribute Amber Alerts from the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children via their technology which includes instant messaging and the widely used free email website, hotmail (Microsoft, 2006). This service is sponsored by a consortium of representatives from the private technology industry, which indicates more private support for a service that benefits their public image. It should be noted that as is common practise of sponsors of child advocacy groups, their logos are displayed on the website for this particular service. The Amber Alert system has expanded into Canada and a similar system, the Child Rescue Alert System, operates in the United Kingdom (Child Rescue Alert, 2007). As we have seen with several examples of technologies of governance, they can spread across the globe and networks. This trend is a consequence of globalization, will be now be further explored.

Chapter 7 – GLOBALIZATION

The world around us has changed drastically and swiftly over last century, but even more so in the past twenty years. Globalization can be defined as a vast array of political, economic and cultural links that are connected in a simultaneously growing and tightening network (Hirst and Thompson, 1996). These societal changes are part of the globalization trend that is changing the world as we know it. The child advocacy network is not immune from larger societal influences and I argue, could not exist in its current global form without globalization. Theoretically, there is one large global child advocacy network consisting of smaller networks that are all tied together. Gerhard Rosseggar (1998) discusses the origins of global networks and how their advantage lies in connecting nodes.

Global networks are sociotechnical systems that have their origins not in some deliberate once-and-for-all design but in ongoing processes of political and economic experimentation. Although the proximate driving force seems to be technological, their power derives from the way in which they increasingly forge institutional linkages among geographically dispersed nation-states and regions (Rosegger, 1998:5).

Global networks, consisting of alliances between public sector (government representatives), private sector and other social institutions have been recognized to accomplish goals which could not be completed individually (Reinicke, 1999:44).

Globalization provides both challenges and opportunities for nodes within the child advocacy network. Globalization has made international mobility easier with

accessible and relatively affordable travel. Members of the child advocacy networks benefit from increased global mobility because they can extend their network into areas previously difficult to reach and also strengthen ties with other child advocacy groups through face-to-face interactions. This reality also makes their fight against child sexual exploitation more difficult because offenders are also more mobile. Offenders can travel into countries where children do not have adequate protection from the state and limited protection by child advocacy groups. Western men travel to third world countries to take advantage of the rampant and unchecked child sex trade. Increased communication allows child advocacy groups within the global network to coordinate their efforts to fight child sexual exploitation and also allows ties between groups to be maintained without in-person interaction. At the same time, the rapid communication and technological developments have benefited offenders, for instance, seeing the Internet allowing for access to child pornography with relative anonymity. Offenders also have increased access to children with instant messaging and access to websites, such as Myspace, both of which allow offenders to instantly communicate with children or gain access to information they have posted on the Internet. Globalization is continually changing the structure of the global child advocacy network, but also the social problem of child sexual exploitation.

Globalization is one of the contributing factors that have led to the decline of state power. It can act as an equalizing force at times, with a continuous flux between regional, national and global interests. Globalization can empower regional groups, including regional child advocacy groups, from different parts of the globe to unite and

even by-pass the processes of nation states in the fight for a cause that might be counter to the interests of the individual nation states (Rosegger, 1998:14). Globalization has put increasing pressures on Western, social democratic nation states to fight an increasing number of social problems, both within their own borders, but also to contribute to the global fight in less affluent parts of the world. This can be demonstrated by a brief examination of the construction and global dissemination of Western ideals of human and child rights.

The concept that individuals are born with certain intrinsic rights is accepted by many non-governmental organizations (NGO's), among them child advocacy groups. The concept of universal human rights began to develop after World War II, ending the Westphalian concept that states do not have the right to interfere in the internal affairs of other nation states (Shearing and Wood, 2003). One can see the development of this Western socio-democratic construction of human rights and its inclusion, of children, if you consider the development of the United Nations and its affiliate, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). In December 1946 the United Nations created UNICEF to provide food, clothing and health care to European children following World War Two. This was one of the first global steps in constructing the perception that children have special rights. Strengthening the focus on children's rights, the United Nation's *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, was drafted between 1979-1989 and to date has been ratified by one hundred and ninety two countries.⁴ The Convention

⁴ 192 members as of 2006 according to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. Canada was a signatory of the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* on May 28, 1990 and ratified it on December 13, 1991. Of note, the United States was a signatory on February 16, 1995 but to date has yet to ratify the Convention.

global partnership among all actors and of improving law enforcement at the national level... (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2002).

Signing and ratifying this optional protocol indicates that nation states have agreed to combat child sexual exploitation, but on a practical level, it does not require them to fulfill any obligations, as there are no penalties. The Convention and optional protocol have, in part, prompted changes in legislation and reforms to justice systems dealing with adults who sexually exploit children. The optional protocol has also shaped the global child advocacy network, as demonstrated by this quote from Save the Children Sweden regarding the origins of its motivations:

The basis of Save the Children Sweden's work is the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the United Nations' Declaration on Human Rights. These build on the principles that: all people are equal, children have special rights, [and] everyone has a responsibility - but governments have a special obligation (Save the Children Sweden, 2007).

Child rights may have been a social construction, but now it has taken on a life of its own, now influencing the child advocacy groups, the entities that originally created it. Working in global networks, contemporary child advocacy groups continue to use the human rights framework to promote the special rights for children.

Some Western, social democratic nation states, such as Canada, have maintained an open attitude toward the cultural practices of new immigrants, with public policies embracing multiculturalism. However, regarding the sexual exploitation of children,

compromise is not an option. With globalization, different cultural beliefs and practices have come into conflict with the Western socio-democratic discourse, with no room for assimilation or co-existing with other alternative discourses. Take for example the concept of “child marriage”, which UNICEF adamantly opposes, as illustrated by their publication, *Early Marriage: A Harmful Traditional Practice*, a portion of which states:

In many parts of the world parents encourage the marriage of their daughters while they are still children in hopes that the marriage will benefit them both financially and socially, while also relieving financial burdens on the family. In actuality, child marriage is a violation of human rights, compromising the development of girls and often resulting in early pregnancy and social isolation, with little education and poor vocational training reinforcing the gendered nature of poverty (UNICEF, 2005:1).

This view of child marriage is in direct conflict with alternative cultural beliefs that might not even view the young people being married as “children”. This reinforces the reality that the legal and social definition of a child can differ across the globe. UNICEF works to have non-Western cultures change their beliefs and practises to accept the alternative encouraged by them. This is also illustrated in the fight to end the cultural tradition of female circumcision, or female genital mutilation, which is the cutting off of parts of the female genitalia. UNICEF has expanded the definition of this practice to include it with child sexual exploitation, rather than as a cultural practice to be tolerated. While the ethnocentric nature of this approach cannot be denied, it does correspond with one of the key beliefs of nodal governance theory, which calls for the lessening of social inequality. Additional evidence to support the view of globalization

as an equalizing force, in the child advocacy network, is the fact that the projects undertaken by UNICEF are not gender neutral. As a disproportionate number of girls are victims of child sexual exploitation, some efforts specifically target girls, as a way of lessening inequality.

Globalization can foster both more egalitarian, horizontal networks that can be associated with grassroots movements, but also larger, bureaucratic hierarchical networks that exist within the larger network. These types of networks are not necessarily at odds as globalization allows for their mutual coexistence and cooperation. For example, a large NGO, such as UNICEF, can be considered a large bureaucratic hierarchical network in itself due to its size and structure. UNICEF has become a guiding force in the global child advocacy network, working independently, but also with smaller regional child advocacy groups and regional clusters of such groups. The child advocacy network is expanding, with successful nodes creating other nodes. UNICEF established the Child Rights Information Network (CRIN), which represents the evolution from an informal group to a formalized network, with management of more than one thousand and two-hundred member organizations (Child Rights Information Network, 2007). While I have previously noted the child advocacy global network, as a whole, is heterogeneous, groups within it can be homogeneous. Examples of homogenous groups within the global network are victim rights groups, whose members are united on the commonality of shared experiences of surviving child sexual exploitation. This demonstrates yet again the flexibility of networks as a social

structure, with the global child advocacy network supporting both heterogeneous and homogeneous nodes.

The role of geography and political borders in global child advocacy networks cannot, nor should not be ignored. Even though child rights, including the fight against child sexual exploitation, is spreading across the globe, some regions are more heavily affected than others. For example, Thailand and Russia are intense targets of the commercial child sex trade. And within Western nation states adopting the principle of improving child rights, the trend of responsabilisation can see the responsibility and cost of fighting child sexual exploitation passed on to regional child advocacy groups. While trying to protect their citizens, the very nature of nation states can hinder their efforts. The socially created jurisdictions hamper detection and prosecution of offenders. This is when child advocacy groups and globalization can counteract the limitations of the state. Child advocacy groups have more freedom than the state does. While it is true that the assorted states can and do cooperate, the bureaucratic, cultural and linguistic differences can mean delays and stalls in time sensitive cases. Child advocacy groups hold the potential of being able to communicate with colleagues in other groups, in other regions and countries more quickly and effectively. Whether or not the network utilizes this asset to its true potential is another area for future study. Child advocacy groups hold the unique role on the global stage of being able to mediate between nation states in the fight against child sexual exploitation. In all of the spheres governing the fight against child sexual exploitation discussed earlier in this thesis,

child advocacy groups have the autonomy and legitimacy to act as a global catalyst for continued positive change.

It is undeniable that state power has declined, but globalization is triggering another transformation in government, allowing the state to adapt and survive. The state is redefining its role in governance, including combating child sexual exploitation. One specific example of the state redefining itself is the rise of regionalization, as seen with the European Union (EU), which saw several nation states banding together to utilize the power of the aggregate. This relates to child advocacy groups because the global playing field for fighting child sexual exploitation is becoming more complex. The spheres involved in the government of child sexual exploitation are becoming more complex. Not only do child advocacy groups have to deal with the state, with its limited, but still substantial power, but now also nodes involved in global governance, such as the EU and United Nations. Child advocacy groups must still cooperate with the state, but often remain at odds with it. Combating child sexual exploitation in a global network is a delicate and tense balance in a world struggling with regulation. It is my hope that child advocacy groups do not get caught in a unintended power struggle between global nodes trying to combat child sexual exploitation. Globalization has offered child advocacy groups new opportunities to combat child sexual exploitation in the form of global networks, but the cost has been a predictable and stable structure. Nodes not only have to deal with the fight against child sexual exploitation, but they have to navigate a global network with fragmented authority and reconcile a multitude of difficulties.

As state power has declined and changed, globalization has brought the rise of global governance. While nation states have the limited autonomy to uphold the laws within their own borders, the United Nations has increasing authority, outside of the actions of UNICEF. Global governance can supersede national laws and human rights, as demonstrated by the “war” on terrorism following the 9-11 terrorist attacks in the United States. While the United Nations has set itself up as a moral guardian that judges other cultures by its standard, it should be noted that even the UN is not immune from controversy. Allegations of the sexual exploitation of children, in such places as refugee camps and bartering food for sex, by United Nations representatives in such places as the Democratic Republic of Congo and Guiana, led to protests by human rights groups (BBC News, 2002 and 2005). This demonstrates that no node, regardless of how powerful it is in the global dynamic, is infallible or beyond the influence of human corruption.

While the role of globalization and the global child advocacy network is significant, it is not a top down filtration of power, knowledge and innovation. Local nodes are just as likely to influence the global network as the larger network influences them. One international example of a local solution to the commercial sexual exploitation of children in Asia is the “Child Safe” program spearheaded by the local child advocacy group, M'lop Tapang. In Sihanoukville, Cambodia this local, frontline child advocacy group has mobilized the business community to make their town unfriendly and uncooperative to Western men who travel there to sexually victimize

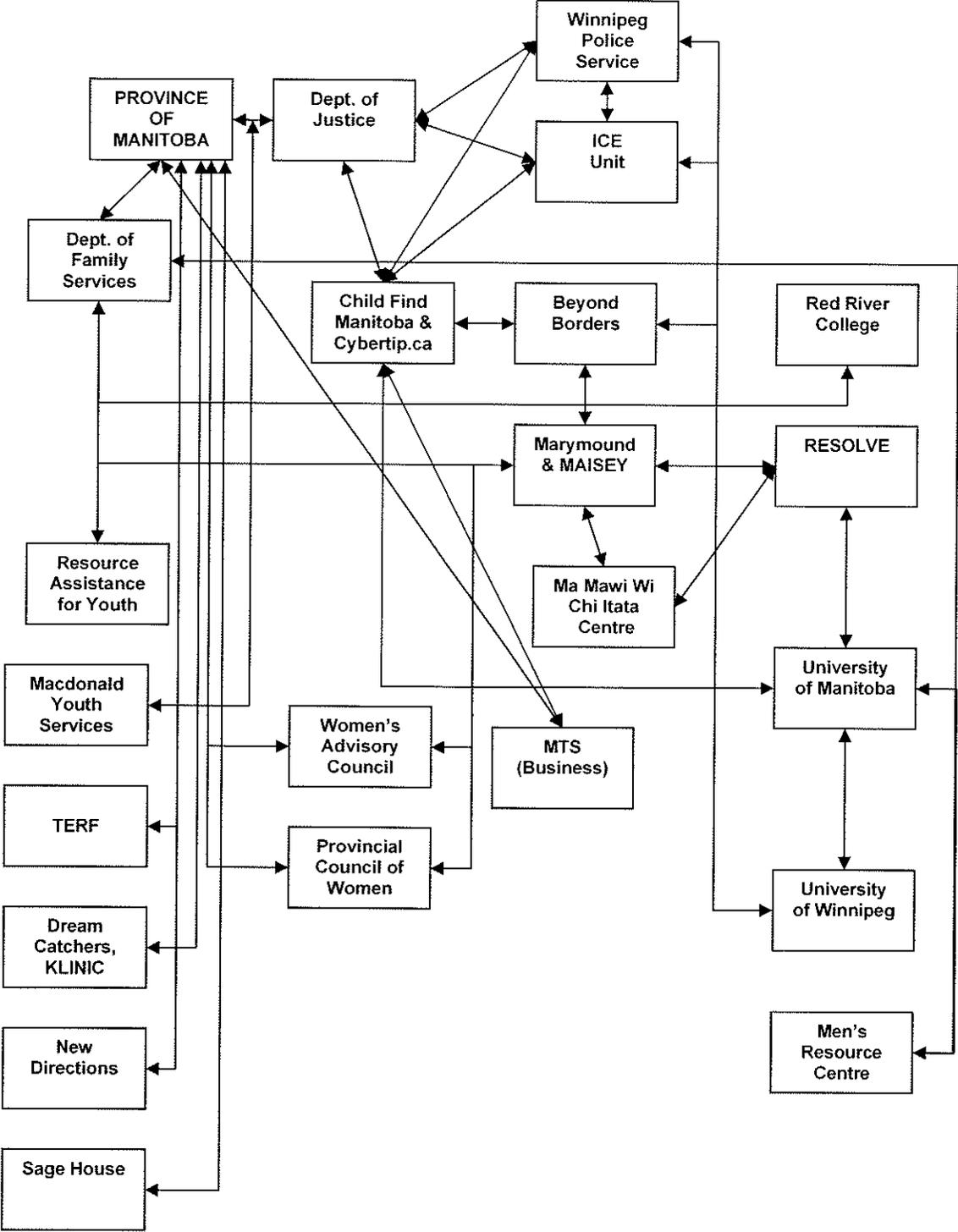
street children (De Launey, 2006). Such examples of utilizing local social capital and innovation can be found across the globe, including Manitoba.

The impact of globalization on child sexual exploitation has been immense. The actions of both offenders and child advocacy groups in one part of the world can impact on others across the globe. The importance of nodes and networks is reinforced by this reality. Parameters for functioning in this new era of global governance are uncertain and in need of further definition. This thesis will now concentrate specifically on examining the Manitoba regional cluster of child advocacy groups, bringing the local into global perspective.

Chapter 8 - THE NETWORK IN MANITOBA

To provide a deeper understanding of the global child advocacy network, a helpful strategy is to examine a local or regional cluster, such as the network in the province of Manitoba. Manitoba is a concentrated hub of activity in Canada. Although I concentrate on provincial agencies, when appropriate some cross-national and international connections are also discussed to provide context. Figure 8a. is a graphic representation of the Manitoba Child Advocacy Group cluster based on the data I have been able to compile.

Figure 8a. - Manitoba Child Advocacy Group Cluster



Despite the relatively small population size of the province, influential groups have flourished. Perhaps one of the reasons they have developed and thrived is because of the particularly tight relationships of individuals in this regional cluster of the global network. If this is true, then it demonstrates that regional clusters with strong/tight ties can be the site for innovation. With this type of investigation, only the connection between nodes can be established from the secondary evidence gathered from public sources such as websites, annual reports, press releases, etc. and one cannot speak to the intensity of these connections. Connections to groups outside of Manitoba were not included in Figure 8a. because of my decision to concentrate on a regional cluster in Manitoba, but references to applicable national and international nodes will be included in the narrative. To establish the structural components (i.e. anchorage, reachability, density and range) and interactional components (content, directedness, durability, intensity, multidimensionality and frequency), further in-depth research will need to be done with respect to this particular cluster (Mitchell, 1969). This initial mapping of connections begins the groundwork for future research that would undoubtedly expose more nodes and expand the network.

8.1 *Strategic Groups in Manitoba*

I would argue that one of the strongest nodes in Manitoba is the non-state node, Child Find Manitoba. Following the 1984 disappearance and murder of thirteen-year-old Candace Derksen, there was growing awareness in Manitoba of the need to further

efforts to protect children. Child Find Manitoba was founded in Winnipeg in 1985 by a group of concerned citizens. Child Find Manitoba aids in the search for missing children, but is also involved in advocacy work and programs promoting both prevention and education. This organization creates and distributes a variety of educational materials to families, law enforcement agencies, government departments and non-government organizations (Child Find Manitoba, 2007a). Child Find Manitoba provides important resources for families of missing children, including coordinating projects such as mailouts and missing child posters. Volunteers are an important part of their efforts, with approximately one hundred and fifty volunteers across the Province of Manitoba (Child Find Manitoba, 2007b). Just before the turn of the millennium in Canada, groups both within and outside of the government began to recognize the need for a reporting mechanism for online sexual exploitation of children. This was part of a growing awareness in North America that also saw the March 9, 1998 launch of CyberTipline by the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children in the United States. Simultaneously, interested parties at both the national and provincial levels in Canada began to work towards the same goal. Child Find Manitoba expanded its efforts to protect children to now include Cybertip.ca. On September 26, 2002 Cybertip.ca was launched in Manitoba and became the national tipline in Canada on January 24, 2006.

These developments in Manitoba and at the federal level are reflective of a growing awareness of child sexual exploitation in the Western world. In 2000, two significant studies were released at the federal level, which drew attention to the serious

gap in protection. The Government of Canada commissioned a survey of international hotlines by KPMG Investigation and Security Inc. and presented the phase one findings on December 27, 2000. This report discussed the best practises of existing tiplines and established their effectiveness. *Children In A Wired World: The Parents' View* reported the findings of a March 2000 telephone survey of more than one thousand parents discussing their opinions and views of the Internet and their children's use of the technology.⁵ This national concern was reflected in the Speech from the Throne on January 29, 2001 when the Government of Canada pledged to protect young people from threats on the Internet (Government of Canada, 2001a). *Children In A Wired World: The Parents' View* was followed by *Young Canadians In A Wired World*, a survey of 5,682 students aged nine to seventeen years old, which explored how young Canadians use and view the Internet. Initial findings were released on June 21, 2001, with final results released on October 24, 2001. *Young Canadians In A Wired World* was part of the federal government's *Canadian Strategy to Promote Safe, Wise and Responsible Internet Use*.⁶ Specifically important in the development of Cybertip.ca was point four of the five-point strategy, which has been briefly discussed by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police as follows:

⁵ This study and its follow-up were conducted by Environics Research Group for the Media Awareness Network (MNet) and funded by Industry Canada. Media Awareness Net. *Canada's Children In A Wired World: The Parents' View - Key Findings*.

⁶ Alternatively referred to as the Cyberwise Strategy. The strategy and discussion is detailed in the Government of Canada's publication, *Illegal and Offensive Content on the Internet: The Canadian Strategy to Promote Safe, Wise and Responsible Internet Use*.

4. INVESTIGATE HOTLINES

The study *Canada's Children in a Wired World* found that Canadian parents do not complain about illegal and offensive material on the Internet even when they want to largely because they do not know who to call. In many countries, hotline investigators act as crime stoppers, handling reports about potentially illegal material and contacting service providers and the police when necessary. The Government of Canada and the private sector are examining the costs and benefits of establishing a Canadian hotline to report illegal Internet content. *Canada's Children in a Wired World* found that more than half of Canadian parents think setting up such a hotline would be very effective (Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 2005).

As part of the federal government's efforts to create a tipline, the Federal Hotline Task Force and Steering Committees were formed with direction by Industry Canada. The taskforce was a private/public group of stakeholders, including representatives from industry and non-governmental agencies, gathered for the goal of successfully establishing a national tipline. Within Manitoba, the provincial government announced the creation of the Child Online Protection Committee on May 22, 2001, which also closely involved Child Find Manitoba as evident when it later became a sub-committee of Child Find Manitoba's Board of Directors (Cybertip.ca, 2007b). While the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) is a federal node, it is closely tied to the Manitoba regional cluster. I would also argue that since provincial RCMP divisions are maintained (Manitoba - 'D' Division) then it is both a regional and national node. This demonstrates that focusing on regional groups can prove to be challenging when they have close connections to national and international groups. As part of their commitment to protecting children, Child Find Manitoba advocated for new federal

legislation dealing with the online luring of children after noticing the marked increase in the number of cases of missing children that involved the Internet (e.g. child luring). Child Find Manitoba was also involved with the formation of the Child Online Protection Committee. It is here that we start to see the ties between nodes in the child advocacy network in Manitoba.

Rosalind (Roz) Prober, co-founder of the Winnipeg based child advocacy group, Beyond Borders, sits on the Child Online Protection Committee (Beyond Borders, 2007). On June 4, 2002 Bill C-15A, An Act to Amend the Criminal Code and to Amend Other Acts, received Royal Assent, thus amending the Canadian Criminal Code regarding child pornography and luring. The passing of this new stringent legislation would assist in the work of law enforcement agencies following up verified reports of abuse taken by Cybertip.ca. Both Child Find Manitoba and Beyond Borders were active in seeing this legislation passed at the federal level. Child Find Manitoba also has strong ties to Manitoba's business community, with one prominent example being Manitoba Telecom System (MTS). MTS has supported Cybertip.ca both financially and technically (Canadian Association of Internet Providers, 2002). MTS has sent a representative to Child Find Manitoba's Exploited and Missing Children Conference (Canadian Association of Internet Providers, 2002). Microsoft has been a leading financial donator to Cybertip.ca, providing an interesting link to a powerful international business (Cybertipc.ca 2005).

The two child advocacy groups in Manitoba with the strongest mutual and reciprocal ties are Child Find Manitoba/Cybertip.ca and Beyond Borders, primarily a

strategic group. Two members from Child Find Manitoba sit on Beyond Border's International Advisory Board, one of them being Lianna McDonald, the executive director of Child Find Manitoba (Beyond Borders, 2007). You can start to see the connection between these groups, even by examining the ties of one person. Marlyn Bennett has sat on both the boards of Child Find Manitoba and Beyond Borders, but also has wider ties to other nodes, such as working with the Manitoba Strategy on the Prevention of Child and Youth Exploitation, academic work through the University of Manitoba, and numerous ties to Aboriginal community-based groups and projects (Prairie Child Welfare Consortium Symposium, 2005).

In a cluster such as the one found in Manitoba, the groups can and are connected through people whose work or acquaintance regularly overlaps. These groups often work jointly to organize events, for example, Beyond Borders, Child Find Manitoba, Soroptimist International, UNIFEM and the Council of Women organized a round table discussion in Winnipeg to debate child sexual exploitation in polygamist communities and the Canadian age of consent (Pritchard, 2005). To briefly acknowledge ties to the network outside of Manitoba, consider the numerous international ties Beyond Borders has that include its affiliate status with ECPAT International (ECPAT International, 2007b) and an International Advisory Board, with members such as Dr. Max Taylor of the COPINE Project (Beyond Borders, 2007). And if one considers that Beyond Borders has ties to every node that these nodes have connections to, then the true expanse of the global network becomes apparent. ECPAT International could be a network unto itself with seventy-three groups in sixty-seven countries (ECPAT International, 2007a).

Beyond Borders as an affiliate of ECPAT International may be an important player in the concentrated environment of the Manitoba regional cluster, but it is only one among many of regional/local, national and international groups connected with this central node. Beyond Borders is a node in this network that coordinates cooperation and interests between nodes. The advantage of these international connections to not only Beyond Borders as a node, but the regional cluster as a whole, is access to other nodes in a formal relationship to share resources expertise and information through networks.

Some of the child advocacy groups identified in Figure 8a provide an example of organizational segmentation. The relatively small population size and spread over a large geo-political space means that many of these specialized groups may have trouble supporting their individual efforts to combat child sexual exploitation. However, the combined efforts of several, segmented groups could potentially provide adequate coverage across the province. Another example of a segmented group is Manitoba's Women's Advisory Council, which advocates for women's interests through lobbying activities and by preparing materials for the provincial government Minister and bureaucrats (e.g. briefing notes, reports, etc.), and also acts as an intermediary to women's groups in the province on available services and policies (Manitoba Women's Advisory Council, 2007). While this group is primarily focused on gender issues, it incorporates child sexual exploitation within that scope. Women are an important target population for child advocacy groups because women are the primary caregivers for children. Such groups are important in disseminating knowledge and may be less intimidating to marginalized women than official state representatives. There are many

other nodes identified in Figure 8a, as part of the child advocacy network in Manitoba. At this junction of the thesis, it is necessary to review their connections and contributions to the network and other nodes.

8.2 *Representatives of the State and Business Community in Manitoba*

The state is represented by the Provincial Government of Manitoba, which can be defined as a network in itself, due to its complexity and size. Within the provincial government, the Department of Justice and Department of Family Services and Housing has the majority of contact with child advocacy networks on a local capacity. For example, the Department of Justice funds and works with the strategic group, Cybertip.ca, but also funds and works with frontline groups, such as Macdonald Youth Services to provide alternative sentencing for non-violent youth, such as community service. The Department of Family Services and Housing operates the Provincial Child Abuse Registry which maintains a list of names of individuals guilty of child abuse and child sexual exploitation (Manitoba Family Services and Housing, n.d.). The registry is not available to the general public, but can be accessed by organizations or employers dealing with children under restricted circumstances. The law enforcement agencies in the network are represented by the Integrated Child Exploitation (ICE) Unit – Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the City of Winnipeg Police Services, which is responsible for detection and investigation of sexual crimes against children. The reports taken by Cybertip.ca are reported to and investigated by the ICE unit. The

Province of Manitoba "governs at a distance" by maintaining ties to the majority of child advocacy groups in Manitoba through funding or joint projects. It also has ties to the business community and not just through sharing funding of child advocacy groups. The Province worked with MTS during the establishment of Cybertip.ca. In a separate initiative, MTS also "...liaises with its provincial law enforcement agencies, providing training on availability of information and effective wording for warrants and subpoenas as well on the interpretation of MTS records, and assists in the development, and instalment of new equipment to provide improved surveillance capabilities" (Canadian Association of Internet Providers, 2002). MTS also states concerning its support of Cybertip.ca, "As the Province's largest Internet Service Provider and as a good corporate citizen, MTS believes in promoting safe, wise and responsible Internet use" (MTS, 2007). Industry self-regulation is part of the larger trend of responsabilisation in the child advocacy networks. The responsabilisation trend puts pressure on the technology industry to regulate child sexual exploitation, which MTS is fulfilling by operating filters to monitor server-based content. As a member of the business community, MTS is also contributing to the trend of self-responsibilisation especially targeting parents by co-sponsoring a website called Tucows, which allows MTS customers to download free filter software, (Tucows, 2007). Similar tactics are used by Internet providers worldwide.

8.3 *Frontline Groups in Manitoba*

Non-state groups are important vehicles for disseminating knowledge to target populations in part because official state representatives, such as police officers or social workers, may be intimidating and in part because of special knowledge or expertise. This is especially true for frontline groups which have access to a marginalized youth population that the state may not. Frontline groups such as Resource Assistance for Youth (RaY), formerly known as Operation Go Home, work directly with youth in crisis who face poverty, homelessness, drug addiction and prostitution on the streets of Winnipeg.

Workers for RaY are more likely to have the trust of vulnerable street youth than police officers or social workers. This group offers emergency services, a drop in centre, services and advocacy to find suitable housing and education and awareness programs. Frontline groups, such as RaY, exemplify a harm reduction strategy which acknowledges that the prohibition of risky behaviour is unlikely to prevent all risky behaviour. This acceptance of the harm reduction strategy of governance is evident in RaY's membership in the fittingly named Manitoba Harm Reduction Network (Manitoba Harm Reduction, 2007), which has over one hundred members working together to reduce such harmful behaviours, as the spread of HIV/AIDS and STDs. Membership in this organization would provides ties to other groups, demonstrating another example of bridging ties. Devoting limited resources to fight STDs may seem a stretch for a child advocacy group, but STDs do affect child victims of sexual exploitation. Children who are prostitutes and other sexually exploited or abused

children may be disabled from accessing needed services. The best way of combating child sexual exploitation on an individual level is to transition youth back into mainstream society. Outreach programs and drop-in centres operated by RaY and other frontline groups in Manitoba are a primary point of contact with such marginalized youth. Trust can be built and short term needs, such as emergency shelter and food, can be met. Long-term strategies like addiction treatment, employment and long-term housing can be set in motion. As RaY states:

Once youth secure stable living conditions, they have a base from which to make additional steps towards education, employment, and self reliance. It is our hope to empower youth with information and life-skills so that they can successfully improve their quality of life (Resource Assistance for Youth, 2007a).

RaY is building ties with members of the education and business sectors with its efforts to mainstream marginalized youth. The state, in the form of the provincial government, directly supports these efforts. In 2006, RaY received financial support from the Province of Manitoba to fund full and part time staffing positions (Province of Manitoba, 2006b). Following the responsabilisation trend, the Province of Manitoba can invest monetarily into this group, while RaY assumes the risk and does the work. RaY is also supported financially by such coalition fundraising groups as the United Way, but also maintains ties through support from numerous members of the Manitoba business community (Resource Assistance for Youth, 2007b). The connections between the Manitoba business community and RaY are mutually beneficial. Businesses get the

positive benefits of being listed as a sponsor on RaY's website. More important, many businesses benefit because RaY's work with street youth creates a physical space in downtown Winnipeg that is more conducive to conducting business.

Macdonald Youth Services has worked with young people in crisis in Manitoba since 1929, including among them those who are or might become victims of sexual exploitation. They offer emergency shelter for young people, treatment options and skill and employment building, and work with the Manitoba provincial government in implementing alternative sentencing regimes (Macdonald Youth Services, 2007). This group appeals to marginalized youth based on location and ethnicity by working in Northern Manitoba and by providing culturally sensitive programs to Aboriginal youth. Although its main focus is not to combat child sexual exploitation, it offers vital treatment and emergency services. By increasing life chances and education, children are less vulnerable to sexual exploitation. This group is a "United Way Member Agency", meaning it can tap into the coalition of NGOs for funding. This reveals another funding source for child advocacy groups. The United Way and similar groups provide collective funding to local groups addressing issues important to the community. However, it is the responsibility of individual child advocacy groups to seek out the respective community organizations and lobby for their interests.

Marymound provides services to youth in crisis, which includes treatment for those who have experienced sexual abuse (Marymound, 2007b). They offer secure living quarters and access to education. The dedicated unit, the Marymound Treatment Program for Sexually Exploited Youth (Rose Hall), deals with this social problem on a

local level. Rose Hall specifically targets young women between the ages of fourteen and seventeen (Province of Manitoba, 2006c:49). The program can only be accessed through referral from the Department of Family Services and Housing. As a geographical region, Manitoba has distinctive issues that other regions may not face. With a growing and marginalized Aboriginal population, the culturally sensitive programming provided by Marymount to Aboriginal youth will become more important.

This need is also addressed by the Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre, which is again connected by financial support to the Province of Manitoba (Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata, 2005). Safe houses for young people experiencing or in danger of sexual exploitation are also operated by Honoring the Spirit of Our Little Sisters: Safe Transition Home (female/transgendered, ages 13-17), Ndinawe (Our Relatives Home) Winnipeg Youth Resource Center, Youth Safe Home and Youth Outreach Program (both genders, ages 11-18) (Stop Sex With Kids, 2007). Dream Catchers, a treatment program for sexually exploited youth at the KLINIC Community Health Centre, has ties to the municipal, provincial and federal governments through the Winnipeg Housing and Homelessness Initiative (Service Canada, 2005b). This program also provides adults who have experienced sexual exploitation, especially those who have left the commercial sex trade, the opportunity to mentor sexually exploited youth (Province of Manitoba, 2006c:46). Other programs exist in Manitoba that treat at-risk youth for substance abuse, which is a large problem for many sexually exploited youth (Province of Manitoba, 2006c). For example, the Behavioural Health Foundation, operates the Selkirk Healing Centre (male youth) and Kirkos House (female youth), targeting Aboriginal

youth between eleven and seventeen years old and is partially funded by the WHHI (Service Canada, 2005a). Some causes driving many into the commercial sex trade such as substance abuse and homelessness are being addressed by these programs.

New Directions for Children, Youth, Adults and Families is an institution in Manitoba that provides important counselling services. Transition, Education and Resources for Females (TERF) program offers two initiatives aimed at assisting children who have been victimized in the commercial child sex trade (i.e. child prostitution). The TERF Youth Program uses the harm reduction model when targeting girls and transgendered individuals between the ages of thirteen and eighteen (New Directions, 2007a). The goal of this program, similar to that of RaY, is to successfully transition exploited youth back into mainstream society and the public education system when appropriate. This program does have what they term “incentives” for young people to join and stay in the program, which include monetary compensation, bus passes, gym memberships at the Winnipeg YM/YWCA, day care assistance, support, skills in independent living, and advocacy and referrals (New Directions, 2007). This incentive program is one that perhaps should be explored by other frontline groups, though its effectiveness would have to be further assessed. The program is also unique because it acknowledges the issue of gender identity. Transgendered youth would have specialized needs that might not be able to be met in other programs. The TERF Youth Program receives financial support through the Province’s Department of Family Services and Housing (New Directions, 2007a). The TERF Mentor Program targets urban Aboriginal youth ages eight to seventeen years old who have been or are at high

risk of being commercially sexually exploited (New Directions, 2007b). This program addresses the distinctive regional need in Manitoba to address marginalization and exploitation of Aboriginal youth through mentorship with safe and qualified adults. It is interesting to note that this program receives different funding from the TERF Youth Program, with financial support coming from Canadian Heritage and Healthy Child Manitoba (New Directions, 2007b). New Directions was also responsible for the Ndayaawin Project, which worked with children, especially Aboriginals, between the ages of eight and thirteen who were at high risk of being sexually exploited or entering prostitution (Department of Justice, 2001). Funding was provided by the National Crime Prevention Centre (NCPC) for thirty-eight months from January 2001.

Marymound began the Media Awareness Initiative about Sexually Exploited Youth (MAISEY), an initiative that seeks to rethink how the media negatively portrays young people being commercially sexually exploited and the harm derogatory labels can play. Their slogan "changing words... changing minds" acknowledges the power that language can wield. It is also a local example of child advocacy groups attempting to have the general public accept their discourse and definitions. Connected through this project are the Manitoba groups: Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre (Honouring the Spirit of the Little Sisters), Beyond Borders; Manitoba Women's Advisory Council, Circle of Life Thunderbird House; Provincial Council of Women of Manitoba, Mount Carmel Clinic, Sage House, Child and Family Services Winnipeg Branch, Marymound Sexually Exploited Youth Program; New Directions for Children, Youth, Adults and Families TERF; Family Services and Housing - Manitoba Strategy Responding to Child

Sexual Exploitation; Rossbrook House and RESOLVE (Marymount, 2007a). Each of these nodes is connected through the MAISEY project. This strengthens the network in Manitoba because groups interact and individuals form/reinforce relationships. What began as a local campaign by employees of Marymount in 2003 drew global attention in 2006 when the group presented its strategy to other NGO's at the 50th Session of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women (Marymount, 2007c). The MAISEY project has found national and international attention.

Sage House, through Mount Carmel Clinic, offers services to adult female and transgendered sex trade workers, but operates the North End Street Outreach Program, which reaches some young people (Stop Sex With Kids, 2007). It is listed on Child Find Manitoba's Manitoba Inventory of Specialized Resources for Sexually Exploited Youth & Resources for Their Parents, Guardians or Caregivers website and in the Province of Manitoba's publication *Neighbourhood Solutions: Working Together to Address Sexual Exploitation on our Street* (Province of Manitoba, 2006c:51). Sage House is a member of the Manitoba Harm Reduction Network (Manitoba Harm Reduction Network, 2007), which through bridging ties, connects it to other child advocacy groups, who are members, such as RaY, and the Province, with its individual provincial departments (e.g. Department of Family Services and Housing; Regional Health Authorities) and law enforcement agencies (e.g. RCMP and Winnipeg Police Services).

8.4 *Academic Nodes in Manitoba*

The most notable academic node in the Manitoba Child advocacy network is the University of Manitoba. The University of Manitoba has provided technical support for Cybertip.ca through its Executive Director of Information Services and Technology (University of Winnipeg, 2005). The University of Manitoba's Research and Education for Solutions to Violence and Abuse (RESOLVE) also has connections to both the MAISEY initiative and to Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre through a multi-phase evaluation project of their family violence program (Research and Education for Solutions to Violence and Abuse, 2007). The Men's Resource Centre is connected to the Elizabeth Hill Counselling Centre and the University of Manitoba, and is funded by Family Violence Prevention Program, Family Services and Housing (Elizabeth Hill Counselling Centre, 2007). With services provided at no cost to the patient, the Men's Resource Centre supplies counselling for men over the age of sixteen who have experienced child sexual exploitation (Elizabeth Hill Counselling Centre, 2007) and for men with problems with child and/or adult pornography (Province of Manitoba, 2006c:49). There are also connections between the University of Winnipeg and Manitoba child advocacy groups. For example, Dr. Sandra Kirby from the University of Winnipeg sits on the Beyond Borders International Advisory Board (Beyond Borders, 2007). Red River College operates the Ndinawe Youth Care Worker Training Program, which provides a two year diploma program for survivors of child sexual exploitation to learn how to become youth workers with young people who are or have been sexually exploited (Province of Manitoba, 2007b). This program is partially funded by

the federal government and the Province of Manitoba, as part of the *The Manitoba Strategy Responding to Children and Youth at Risk of, or Survivors of, Sexual Exploitation*, particularly focusing on Aboriginal young people.

8.5 *Summary of Findings*

Manitoba as a geo-political space must find local solutions to child sexual exploitation. However, the province faces unique circumstances. With a population estimated in 2006 to be 1,177,765 million (Statistics Canada, 2006), Manitoba has a relatively small population when contrasted to other geo-political spaces of comparable size. A significant number of the population is concentrated in Winnipeg, the major urban centre. Manitobans reside in smaller urban centres, rural and northern communities. The state is represented in Manitoba at several levels: federal, provincial, municipal and First Nations reserves, with mixed jurisdiction. Manitoba has a distinct and growing Aboriginal population, many of which reside on reserves. Reserves are federal enclaves, which in conjunction with Inter-tribal Councils and agencies, create unique and complex conditions for governance in Manitoba.

The fluid and adaptable nature of networks is well suited to meeting the local challenges faced by child advocacy groups in Manitoba. Frontline groups provide services to exploited Aboriginal youth, with some services offered in Northern communities. The Manitoba network, like the global network, is not gender neutral. Female youth are targeted by most agencies. The Transition, Education and Resources for Females (TERF) program, which also works with transgendered individuals, begins

to address the complex issues of gender and abuse. The true extent of male youth exploited in Manitoba is just beginning to be understood (Scheirich, 2007). There is an increased need for additional services to be targeted to male youth victims in Manitoba. As discussed above networks connect nodes and have the capacity to function at a variety of levels, from a small community to a large urban centre. During a time of tragic loss and the death of Candace Derksen, the network expanded, drawing on Manitoba's social capital and subsequently creating a new node: Child Find Manitoba. Child Find Manitoba demonstrated that a regional child advocacy group can evolve into a national group, "upward mobility" in the network. Cybertip.ca grew from a provincial to a national tipline. As a regional node from the Manitoba network, this group became national, with international ties, and demonstrates the national significance of this local network.

The concepts identified and discussed throughout this thesis have been strengthened by my analysis of the Manitoba regional cluster. Distinct examples of frontline and strategic groups, the different spheres of governing child sexual exploitation and organizational segmentation were revealed. The responsabilisation trend is a theme widespread across child advocacy networks and affects a multitude of nodes, at various levels and spheres of governance. This analysis reinforces the concept that the state employs a responsabilisation strategy to govern child sexual exploitation. State support of child advocacy groups is direct, through funding and public endorsement. It is both a deliberate and veiled strategy of governance. Other nodes in the Manitoba networks have a vested interest in perpetuating the responsabilisation

trend. Child advocacy groups have pressured the technology industry to contribute to the fight, which has resulted in evidence of industry self-regulation and businesses financially contributing to child advocacy group's initiatives (Province of Manitoba, 2001). As well, the state, child advocacy groups and the technology industry are all targeting the general public, and parents in particular, to increase self-responsibilisation. These spheres of governance are putting the technologies of governance in place to govern child sexual exploitation, notable examples being tiplines and software filters, but the responsibility to use these technologies of governance is left up to the general population.

Locally, it was established that one individual can be responsible for connecting several child advocacy groups. A single project spear-headed by one group, but supported by many groups, is another means to tie groups together. A similar venture, if successful, can draw national and international notoriety to groups associated with the project. Local groups are connected to other regional groups outside of Manitoba through alliances with international NGOs. The connections of Manitoba regional nodes to national and international nodes reinforces the concept that nodes from all three levels are interconnected in an intricate and complex global network. It also highlights that even though this is a global social problem, with global nodes and networks, the local influence should not be discounted. After reviewing the role of child advocacy nodes in their networks and the challenges they face, it is now appropriate to suggest recommendations that may aid some groups.

Chapter 9 - CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 Conclusion

The child advocacy network was found to be fundamentally “pro-child”, calling upon the human rights tradition, seeking special rights and protection for children. With different types of child sexual exploitation, the complexity of combating this social problem was reinforced. Child sexual exploitation is being combated at both the global and local levels. As part of the larger responsabilisation trend, nation states including Canada are intentionally and strategically using child advocacy groups and other non-state groups to combat child sexual exploitation. The process of responsabilisation has had profound effects on child advocacy nodes and networks. Child advocacy groups have developed new technologies of governance, such as tiplines, to encourage active participation of citizens in combating child sexual exploitation. This advances “responsible citizenship” and mutual surveillance.

The technology industry, especially Internet Service Providers, are participating in self-regulation. However, the strongest onus is being put on parents and children themselves by child advocacy groups, Internet Service Providers and state representatives. Under neo-liberal political conditions the state has decided to no longer attempt on its own to try to provide a safety net to protect all children from sexual exploitation. Therefore, as a form of “self-care”, parents and children are increasingly expected to be cautious and aware of risks. One transformation in governance of child sexual exploitation is the subtle change from viewing children

simply as innocent victims to active participants in their own protection. The use of the harm reduction model by frontline groups dealing with youth who are being prostituted demonstrates their wish to improve the life chances and safety of marginalized youth. By dealing with such problems as poverty, homelessness, substance addiction, racism, teenage pregnancy, family problems and unemployment, some types of child sexual exploitation can be effected. This again highlights the potential ability of child advocacy groups to empower young people as a means of combating child sexual exploitation.

Responsibilisation seeks to have citizens make responsible choices that correspond with the accepted societal norms and values. When individuals deviate from accepted behaviour there are consequences. Offenders face legal consequences and social stigma if their actions are detected. Public sex offender registries in some jurisdictions notify the general public of the presence of sex offenders and act as a form “naming, shaming and blaming” (Rose, 2000: 322) Similarly, some media outlets are participating in the naming and shaming of offenders on international television. This can lead to the potential arrest, community surveillance and social ostracism of offenders and even violence by vigilantes. Sorcha McKenna from the United Kingdom, an adult survivor of child sexual exploitation, notes that naming and shaming through a public sex offender register is detrimental because it can drive offenders “underground” away from the scrutiny of law enforcement agencies (McKenna, 2002). Whatever the direction taken in the fight against child sexual exploitation, all potential consequences, both intended and unintended, should be seriously considered.

Difficulties can arise in child advocacy networks. With neo-liberalism, there is limited funding and recognition of individual agency effort, which can produce competition or “jealously” between nodes. At different levels, the network can become saturated with child advocacy groups which can potentially stagnate growth in the network. If the existing child advocacy groups are competing for limited resources, then this does not create the optimal environment for the creation and growth of new nodes to combat child sexual exploitation. The balance between stability and growth is delicate in this network.

The purpose of this thesis was to establish the connection between nodes and networks, but also to reconceptualise how we view the child advocacy nodes and networks. The child advocacy nodes and networks conceivably offer the best hope we have in combating child sexual exploitation successfully, but will continue to sway and be constrained by preconceived notions of safety and responsibility. The diversity and different functions of child advocacy networks may be critical to the outcome of fighting child sexual exploitation. But the question remains, how will these nodes and networks continue to transform in the future and how will that impact fight against the sexual exploitation of children?

9.2 *Recommendations for Child Advocacy Groups*

In the global campaign to end child sexual exploitation, the role of the offender has taken a back seat to the roles and relations of child advocacy groups and their networks. Groups can maximize limited resources using networks, both building on

pre-existing connections and reaching out to create new partnerships. Eradicating the sexual exploitation of children may not ever occur, but its reduction can be accomplished by concentrating on the prevention, management and treatment of child sexual exploitation. Despite the constraints and limitations of neo-liberalism, significant strides have been made such as the development of new strategies and technologies of governance. Child advocacy groups are under internal and external pressures to produce results. In closing this work, I offer practical recommendations for child advocacy groups to improve their presence and experience in the child advocacy networks.

9.2.1 Expanding and Strengthening Networks

My analysis points to the conclusion that child advocacy groups and nodes may benefit from further expanding and strengthening their networks. An expanded network unlocks new opportunities to impact on the social problem the parties share a common goal in combating. By identifying clear and sustainable goals, groups can make meaningful and measured changes. However, part of identifying such goals is clarifying the group's identity. If they are not satisfied with their current identity, then they must establish what it should be. Guidelines and boundaries can then be created to best achieve the desired results by designing a strategic plan with specific parameters. A strategic plan will help groups define their goals and how best to and most efficiently achieve these objectives. A strategic plan is an important tool in focusing efforts, outlining practical strategies and implementation. An action plan

differentiates the roles individuals (e.g. staff vs. volunteers) will play and should set down clear timelines, with immediate and long-term objectives. Similar activities to expand networks have been planned and implemented in networks combating other social problems, such as female illiteracy (Lim, n.d.).

By using these models, groups can also identify if projects are within current resources. Although some projects might be worthwhile, if they fall out the strategic plan of a group, then the resources may be better directed towards more targeted efforts. For example, if a group identifies that they want to help marginalized youth within a defined city or region, and then wishes to begin a project on a national level, this project would not best serve the node identity of a regional group. The scope of combating child sexual exploitation is daunting, as an individual group, a child advocacy group cannot accomplish everything they may wish to. A child advocacy group with a clear node identity has finite boundaries in which to conduct their affairs with the trust that other child advocacy groups will handle different aspects of combating child sexual exploitation.

One of the premiere events for making new contacts is conferences, both professional and academic. Conferences are an importance site for innovating and coordinating governance. Conferences specializing in discussing child sexual exploitation are important for sharing knowledge, strengthening existing relationships and building new ties.⁷ By attending or presenting at conferences that do not focus solely on

⁷ A list of several significant conferences dealing with sexual exploitation in Canada can be found in the annual report for the National Missing Children Services, National Police Services, Royal Canadian Mounted Police. (2001). "Canadian Milestones: Missing and Exploited Children". Canada's Missing Children Annual Report. pp. 7-9. Available: http://www.ourmissingchildren.gc.ca/omc/publications/004/2001-annualrep_e.pdf

combating child sexual exploitation, child advocacy groups will first of all increase awareness about their cause and efforts. It can also benefit groups by exposing them to best practises that could be adapted to combat child sexual exploitation. Therefore, it is recommended that groups attend and present at both professional and academic conferences.

Trust has been shown to be vitally important to security networks and maintaining reciprocity between nodes built on trust (Dupont, 2006). Building trust through reciprocity, if not already practiced within child advocacy networks, should be an objective. Reciprocity can be the formal exchange of resources or the more informal, and harder to document, exchange of "favours". Trust would theoretically increase cooperation and benefits all groups involved. Collaborations between groups can also impact social policy as a strong, united alliance is more powerful than a single group. It has been established that although the state is not the sole entity responsible for the governing of child sexual exploitation, it is still a strong node in a majority of the networks. This is partially true if you consider that many child advocacy groups will want to receive direct support from the state in the form of funding. But not all goals are directly connected to funding, as is the case with the wish to see a more stringent and broad legislation in place. Child advocacy groups can strengthen relationships with state nodes, such as federal and provincial governments by presenting directly to their elected members, political and departmental staff. And considering the fluid nature of politics, maintaining relations with the opposition parties is also a recommended practise.

Another suggestion for expanding and strengthening networks would be the creation of a formal organization responsible for the coordination and facilitation of work between child advocacy groups. Such an organization could organize conferences, coordinate projects between multiple agencies and act as a clearinghouse for references and research material, however, a cost-benefit analysis would have to be conducted to see if the idea is economically possible. The Community Action Teams as found in British Columbia appear to be a very successful way of formalizing a previously informal regional cluster and governing child sexual exploitation, but also attracting new members to networks. (Province of British Columbia, 2007). The provincial government of British Columbia has recognized this and the importance of local/regional solutions by establishing Community Action Teams (CAT) "...comprised of service providers such as police, social workers, and health professionals; representatives from municipal and provincial governments; educators and school administrators; parents; youth; and non-profit agencies" (Province of British Columbia, 2007). The community action teams are a formalized, state sanctioned regional cluster in the child advocacy group program. One of the first community action teams established in British Columbia after the 1996 provincial action plan on prostitution was Community Against Sexual Exploitation of Youth (CAISEY) working in and around Kelowna, British Columbia (CAISEY, 2007). Promoting awareness, empathy for victims, and encouraging cooperation in the local community, CAISEY and such groups act as a mediating force in this formalized network. This concept should be explored further for building formal alliances in the child advocacy network.

9.2.2 New Membership

The changing nature of networks can be embraced as a positive characteristic, even regarding network membership. Membership in this context refers to both formal and informal supporters of child advocacy groups that can include employees, volunteers and financial supporters. When dealing with such an emotional and sensitive topic as child sexual exploitation, the occurrence of “burn out” should never be discounted. New membership in groups brings with it new enthusiasm, ideas and resources. Groups should always actively foster both formal and informal connections. New leadership can provide a new passion for the cause, but also a “fresh face” and enthusiasm to appeal to the media. One option to expand membership and donations is to build partnerships with the private business community. Some businesses and consultants have been established to assist not-for-profit groups in raising funds. Like businesses, child advocacy groups have to “sell themselves” and new membership, especially in the promotions arena, may give them an advantage.

9.2.3 Alternative Strategies and Technologies of Governance

It is my recommendation that child advocacy groups explore alternative strategies and technologies of governance. In rethinking their network, I believe they could also benefit from rethinking some of their approaches. One example that could be further explored or expanded upon is the work of the COPINE project working with youth offenders addicted to child pornography (Quayle and Taylor, 2006). Some male offenders are themselves survivors of sexual exploitation (Briggs, 1995). Working with

young sexual offenders is both a reactive and proactive approach to combating child sexual exploitation. These youth may be offenders, but because of their age and potential past abuse, they must be dealt with differently than adult offenders. The reality cannot be ignored that offenders, after detection and incarceration are released back into society in the current justice system. The culture of fear sometimes fostered by media misrepresentation can lead to vigilantism.

Another alternative strategy/technology of governance that could be debated is the use of rewards. Crime Stoppers and the tiplines of child advocacy groups both share anonymity, but Crime Stoppers has successfully used the reward system in exchange for information, whereas child advocacy groups, to my knowledge, have not employed these tactics. Therefore, the theory is that a small investment in a reward is likely to lure information from informants that might not otherwise come to fruition. For frontline groups working with marginalized youth, incentive groups such as those used by the TERF program in Manitoba could be explored (New Directions, 2007). Incentives supplied by the TERF program directly and almost immediately improve the lives of youth at risk. For example, youth can have greater access to legitimate employment, education and child care by being given a bus pass. By providing daycare assistance, youth can more easily seek legitimate employment or training without worrying about the safety of their child. The costs of such incentives are minimal when you consider the more substantial and sustainable benefits.

9.3 Recommendations for Future Research

This work can provide a starting point for future research by providing a glimpse of significant themes and node identity. Future researchers could examine if the predominant practices of child advocacy groups are the most efficient and appropriate ways in which these groups can fight child sexual exploitation. This would supplement the work of nodal governance theorists who encourage practices that maximize efficiency and reduce social inequality. There may be other, more efficient ways, that activities could be coordinated, resources distributed and communication/knowledge flow between child advocacy groups. Also, as the child advocacy network has emerged as a new form of nodal governance, further historical study could be conducted on how these groups became institutionalized and map these changes. A prime example of this type of research has been completed by Christina Arnold and Andrea M. Bertone (2002) which details the growth and change of NGOs, most notably ECPAT, in Thailand. Arnold and Bertone's work could also act as a model for future studies because it addresses local, regional and international "players" in a network. The consequences of these changes can and perhaps already have had a profound effect on the individual groups, the entire network and their relations with both state and non-state agents. The implications of these transformations in governance could deeply affect policy development.

Due to the large-scale of the child advocacy networks, future research should concentrate on smaller or local segments of these networks and the findings of these

studies later then be applied to gain insight into the global networks. Segments selected for study can be based on a number of criteria that include geography, specialization in combating a specific type of child sexual exploitation, or size. The concentration on different functions of the networks could also be used to delimit research, such as concentrating on interpersonal relationships/partnerships verses network structure. There is also the possibility of exploring the concept that some groups within the network only devote some of their efforts to combating child sexual exploitation as part of a larger mandate (e.g. overall child protection, gender or ethnicity).

9.4 Discussion of Suggested Methodology for Future Research

A combination of quantitative and qualitative research techniques would be optimal in tackling the study of complex and changing networks. It would be advantageous for future research to be completed with the cooperation of child advocacy groups. Dupont (2006:171) suggests that questionnaires with detailed questions designed to reveal specific variables would expose quantitative connections in networks involved in governance. He notes the difficulties of dealing with the demanding schedules of agency workers and leaders who may be located across the globe. A long-term study could encounter possible difficulties due to the changing and non-static nature of networks. If employees are being interviewed, they can leave the organization during the duration of a study, or even connections between groups can lapse and new ones form. One solution to these challenges could be the study of a

particular cluster of nodes within the larger child advocacy network, as suggested under directions for future research.

If studying interpersonal connections of individuals in the network, the tracking of frequency and significance of contact between members in the network (e.g. cross referencing attendance to conferences, meetings or board/organizational memberships) would be significant. But, should research be conducted on the network as a whole, the use of recent technological developments is strongly recommended. New software programs have been developed that assist in the construction and tracking of large-scale networks. To keep up with the transformations in governance and constant changes in the child advocacy network, any advantage technology can provide should be employed.

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