Child pornography is an evil shrouded in mystery. Though it is unlikely that they have ever seen any child pornography, almost all Americans (and people in many other countries) consider it one of the ultimate evils. Possessing, or even just viewing it can lead to harsh prison sentences, longer in some cases than the sentence for killing someone, and lifetime placement on a sexual predators list. Surprisingly, given its almost universal acceptance, the U.S. concept of child pornography is relatively new. It was incorporated into the Constitution in 1982 when the Supreme Court decided that it was not protected by the 1st Amendment. The Court separated photographs of children engaged in sexual acts from the limited constitutional protections of adult obscenity laws, arguing that the child models were sexualized and harmed in the production of the images. The claim that child porn would not be produced if it could not be distributed led to a restriction on the distribution of the images as a method of limiting their production. Eventually, the Court agreed with legislative claims that distribution could not be stopped unless it became illegal to purchase child pornography, and that purchases could only be stopped if possession was made illegal. The concept of possession was then expanded to include images on a computer, even if they were not bought, were not paid for, and/or were deposited by a browser cache when they were simply being viewed.

Currently, in the U.S., child porn consists primarily of photographs of young people under 18 who are engaged in some kind of sexual activity, though the concept has sometimes been expanded to include images of clothed children who are portrayed as erotically desirable or desirous. Congress and state legislators have frequently attempted to extend the concept so it could include drawn images, 3D representations, and photographs of older youths manipulated so that they looked younger, but so far the U.S. Supreme Court has resisted this. Forbidden child porn also does not include “art” (though the definition of art is troublesome) and older images (since they have historical value and the children are no longer living).

The protection of children is a core value of American society, and though most racial, sex and gender issues have been queered, deconstructed or contested, in much of the developed world the concept of the sexually innocent child has been essentialized. It is considered to be a natural and universal attribute of childhood,
and the belief that child pornography is unequivocally and unspeakably evil rises above the culture wars. Adherence to it this belief is intense, and unites young and old, gays, feminists, fundamentalists, queers, radicals, conservatives and moderates. Assertions that child pornography sexualizes and harms innocent children, poisons the minds’ of viewers, and leads to the rape and molestation of the young, are rarely questioned. Attempts to examine these issues meet with rage and disgust. Consequently discussions of it often resemble an Amen Chorus in which beliefs are confirmed, the concept is broadened, and the penalties are made more severe. The belief is held to be beyond question, and as in earlier conflicts about homosexuality, race, and gender, advocates of change to the dominant standards are rare and have little credence. They are grouped with those who advocate a return to slavery, or the reduction of women’s rights, as people who are silly value relativists and don’t believe in moral progress. Whatever the comparator group, these issues are all considered to be moral, cultural or religious issues rather than political ones, and dissidents are thought to be evil rather than just wrong.

Since it is difficult to even look at child pornography without courting a long jail sentence, and it is very dangerous to download it, there has been little empirical work in the area. Scholarly or journalistic examination of either the concept or of the fact claims that are made by it are rare. The popular press tends to pander to the dominant perspective, and almost all the articles in law reviews and scholarly journals simply assume that we know what child pornography is, and go on from there to discuss what public policy in the area should be. Questioning this consensus is not likely to be rewarded with grants, graduate student help, tenure or promotion. As a consequence, though most of us have an image in our head of torture (gained through comic books, the news, and the cinema), of the world of organized crime, of the KKK, of concentration camps, of atrocities committed by various political leaders, and of various modes of murder and rape, people have almost no empirically grounded mental image of child pornography. They simply meld the concepts of “child” and “pornography.” Still, there is certainty that it is made for people who rape kids, by people who molest and hurt them, and is harmful to public and private morality. These beliefs lead to fear and outrage, and the passage of increasingly severe legislation.

Unsupported and unexamined assumptions and assertions do not provide a good basis for discussion, and empirical studies are desperately needed. Though direct observation is close to impossible, both because of the danger to the investigator and because the child porn world is clandestine and hidden, it is possible to get a glimpse of that world by studying the websites, the pictures and the fantasy themes that exist on its borders - an area I have called the “shadowland.” These are legal images that line the borders of child pornography, and as many of the websites refer to themselves, they are “barely legal.” The legal definition of “child” in child pornography ends at 18 (in the U.S.) and real children need to be involved (usually photographed, not drawn or painted). Only boy, mostly gay, porn is discussed in this article. Girl porn (whether lesbian or
straight) is significantly different and will be discussed an a separate piece.

There is a large variation in the shadowland images. They include snapshot type pictures of pre-teens who are engaged in a variety of activities (often sports) and pornographic photographs of young looking 18 year olds having anal sex. Sexual photographs of children under 18 are illegal, but there are erotic drawings and comics or 3D graphic representations of pre-pubertal and adolescent kids having sex. Images that have the support of the art establishment and are classified as art, are protected by the 1st Amendment. Highly erotic, but legal, images of beautiful boy models between about 14 and 18 abound on gay adolescent websites and blogs, and photographic pornography which attempts to make many of its models appear to be 14 or 15 by shaving pubic and body hair, and/or by judicious cropping and manipulation of prints and lighting is common in many areas. Drawn shotacon focuses on sexual images and stories of pre-teens, and yaoi drawings and stories (which started out as a type of romance comic for adolescent girls in Japan but now also serve a gay audience) focus on young, graceful, sexual early teen boys in homosexual relationships. A rough classification is in the following table:

[See Next Page.]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Not erotic.</th>
<th>Erotic but not legally child pornography.</th>
<th>Pornographic and erotic, but models over 18.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| <12 | Photographs of clothed boys, sometimes playing, often without shirts, sometimes portraits, sometimes snapshots, of pretty kids. 
Some art. Nude young children usually presented as images of innocence. Sometimes, there were erotic overtones. Some classify any picture that shows a child's genitals (like Mapplethorpe's Jessie) as pornography. | Shotacon and 3D drawn comics. Degree of sexuality varies, but often explicitly sexual. However no real children are involved. 
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Historical child pornography. Protected as having historic value and because models are no longer living. Fairly rare, since historical focus was on pubescent boys. | |
| 12>18 | | Yaoi and 3D drawings. Usually sexual. Often focus on body & pubic hair of pubescent boys. 
-------------------
Photographs of clothed but beautiful boys, often highly erotic. The photographs seem to be taken from modeling websites. These take the place of explicitly sexual photographs, which would be illegal. 
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Art (photography especially) blessed by the art establishment. Often very controversial. 
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Some old b&w photographs are used. These probably fall under historical photography. They usually show nudity rather than sex, and are fairly rare | |
| 18>20 | Some self-portraits with clothes. Varying degrees of erotic, but not pornographic by | Photographs of young looking 18 year olds. Mostly nudes or masturbating or oral sex. Anal sex is | |
These all get close to the hidden illegal worlds of child pornography, but can be looked at - and hopefully written about - without courting a long jail sentence or loss of tenure. There has been very little work done in this area, so observations are necessarily partial and speculative, and of course, since both legal twink photographs/videos and shotacon and yaoi drawings give only indirect access to illegal child pornography, the findings are not definitive. Still, the themes are generally reinforced by verbal discussions on various sites that lend credence to their status as surrogate child pornography. As will be examined below, the themes and fantasy images of twink and shotacon groups are very different, and there is a large variation within each of these areas. This raises the question of whether the generic “child pornography” label is misleading and has thrown our legal, political and moral discussions off track.

Though I do not think it would be appropriate to name the sites used, this study is empirical rather than normative, and it is done in hope that factual evidence can inform and lead to more nuanced normative arguments. One of the most important findings is that, though we use only one label (child pornography) we are dealing with a pluralist universe. It is well known that when things are viewed through one label everything seems the same. There are important differences between pictures and fantasies of consensual sex and rape, or between images of boys with erections or masturbating and images of forcible anal penetration, even if people think that all are wrong or evil. Though distinctions usually are not made when the labels of child pornography or child molestation are used, in almost all other areas we accept the idea that there are degrees of harm. Laws normally distinguish between petty theft and grand larceny, and between non-violent and forcible crimes. The grand narrative of child pornography breaks up into smaller narratives that include images of kids between 6 and 16 years old, boys and girls, gays and straights. Twink sex acts cover a wide range, and vary from simple nudity, nudity with erections, masturbation (single or group) and oral or penetrative sex. Adults are rare in twink photographs, and are often ugly, old and fat when they are. They play a different role in shotacon, which will be discussed below.
In a preliminary typology of the types of acts portrayed on the twink, shotacon and yaoi websites, several issues need to be addressed. Contemporary sexual ideology assumes that youths are sexually innocent and without agency, so if a boy claims that he was willing or even eager to participate we question that assertions. Consent is considered impossible, and it is routinely claimed that the children and youths portrayed are unwilling victims who have been forced, or seduced, or brainwashed, or groomed into posing for the pictures. This leads into the claims of coercion and of harm to the models. Therefore, it is important to determine who the models are, why they participate in the porn industry, and how they are recruited. Despite the claims of harm to the models/actors that lies at the base of child pornography legislation, there is remarkably little empirical evidence. Rather there are mostly assertions and popular beliefs. Since the field is clandestine, it is difficult to get evidence, but there is some information of how the “barely legal” twunks are recruited, and we can infer other things.

There are several general factors that conflict with the dominant construction of the sexual innocents who needs protection against sexual predators and pornographers. That social construction might be appropriate for some teens, or even for most, but not for all. The average age of first-time sex for American boys is 17. That means that many have their sexual experience earlier, assuming a normal curve and based on a myriad of anecdotal reports from men and boys who remember becoming sexual beings as early as 11 or 12. Some sources indicated that boys who identify as gay have their first sexual experience earlier than straights since the identification of oneself as “gay” is a sexual identification (as opposed to an ethnic, religious or class identification) and thus makes sex a more present factor in thought than other identifications that boys and teens have. Visits to the blogs and websites where gay youth hang out, reinforce these statements. It isn’t so much a question of sexualizing boys, as it is recognizing that - despite our ideology - some youths are sexual. However, current ideology has extended the length of childhood, at least in the sexual area, to eighteen, but there is a considerable amount of sexual interest in images, at least, of younger boys. This interest is satisfied, or partially satisfied, in a variety of different ways. The images downloaded each fill about 2/3 of the definition of child pornography, but do not completely fill the requirements for that label.

Twink Pornography: Young looking teens that aren’t really young

Twink pornography involves sexual images of boys over 18, though youthful looks are prized and enhanced. Thus they are “barely legal.” The major twink porn sites emphasize that they meet the demand that actors/models meet the requirement that they are over eighteen, and do age checks on their models and actors.

The models come from several places. A few might be friends or lovers of the photographers. Additionally, the major twink sites have application forms where
boys from 18 to 25 can apply for modeling jobs, and applicants are expected to send in their pictures and indicate what they are willing/not willing to do. One of the major types of video presentations are the “interview” videos of aspiring models. There is little documentation on who the others are, but like most sex workers, they probably are rarely from the upper classes, or from people who intend to go into medicine, law or academia. Porn modeling and acting is not a high prestige profession, even though gay porn actors have a higher status than straight ones, and their pay is higher. Though I have not seen much hard documentation, I have been told by several people on the periphery of the porn world that most of the models are hustlers, especially from East Europe and Asia. A new area appears to be South and Central America. The hustlers are runaways, often leaving families where they were abused, or were deserted by their families. In East Europe and several Asian countries they formed communities that hung out together, and supported themselves largely by begging and by selling themselves for sex. Many of the runaways and hustlers are in their early teens, and some are even younger. Some on drugs, some just like the life and the freedom from authority, some are gay. Others are straight, and have girlfriends, but engage in some gay sex for money. Like child pornography, when hustling is examined, there are many types and motivations. They are all aware of the danger involved in getting in someone’s car or going to a room with them, and porn is a relatively safe and fairly high paying gig. Being in a porn video also serves as an advertisement for a boy’s other sexual services, raising their fees. Admittedly, acting in a porn movie, or hustling, might not be a desirable choice for people with other opportunities. The choices and lifestyles of these boys are not socially approved, and might be an indictment of the social systems that create the problem, but it is a rational choice (probably the only viable choice) for these boys among the options they have available, which they see as returning to abusive parents, starving, or being put into an institution. Pimps do not have the same central position in the boy hustler world as they do when girls are involved. Sex work is a part of their lifestyle. It is a way of making money or getting other rewards, not something into which adults seduce or force the boys.

It isn’t easy to be a porn actor or model. A prime requirement is that the boys look young, and with these boys their youthful looks are often enhanced by a variety of techniques, including shaving body and pubic hair, and tricks of makeup, lighting and judicious cropping of photographs. General physical attractiveness is also an important component, and some of the boys are quite pretty. Of course, in porn, there is also a focus on genitals, on real or feigned sexual excitement, shown by erections and the ability to keep erections during long periods of shooting and editing videos. Excitement, feigned or real, is crucial as the boys engage in a wide variety of sex acts in front of a camera. For the good actors and models, appearing in a porn video or photograph is often not a one time event. Many of them make several hundred pictures and videos, and the major porn sites display their models’ photographs marquee style. These stars are usually
quite good at what they do, and they often gradually expand their repertoire until they age too much for photo manipulation to save them, and presumably either leave the business or graduate into adult gay modeling. They account for most of the twink pornography on the internet. These models are already sexual. They do not need to be “groomed” and aren’t unwittingly seduced by authority figures. They are willing to engage in public sex, seek out that sex, and like others in the society, sell their skills for money. Despite the persistent political assertions of harm to the models, I do not know of any models who have claimed that they were harmed, or who have sued for damages. Of course the models are supposed to be 18 or older, but presumably younger boys on the hustler scene would have the same experiences.

Gay Youth Websites and Blogs: Young teen porn that is not really porn

Just as twink pornography escapes being labeled “child pornography” because the models are older than 18, so the pictures of younger teens can escape the legal label because of one characteristic: They neither show the genitals of the boys portrayed, nor do they show any sexual activity. Though the pictures are not overtly sexual, many are highly erotic, and are perceived as being erotic.

As will be discussed later, there are a variety of gay youth websites and blogs. Some have mostly twink porn, and others dominantly show photographs of young teens, probably from around 13 or 14 to 18. The pictures are gathered from modeling sites and blogs of boys and/or photographers that work with them. They range from interesting, romantic and pretty to sensual and erotic. The models are usually alone, are never nude, and do not engage engage in overtly sexual acts. Rather they function purely as objects of sexual fantasy. They are characteristically androgynous, sexy, lack visible body hair (except, occasionally, for light hair on their legs), and are gorgeous (there is no other word to use for them). Many are clearly trained models used in various commercials and advertisements. The photographers who work with them are excellent, and the boys are generally prettier than the porn actors. Some cross-dress, but most do not. Like many young models, they often exude sexuality without being overtly sexual. By law, of course, the boys cannot be nude, but many of them are shirtless, or wear open tops, or wear carefully draped robes, or wear tight athletic pants or speedo type bathing suits that easily display an outline or shadow of their genitals, or have their pants pulled down below their waists. Occasionally there is a wisp of pubic hair visible at the top of low pants. On the other hand, many of the models are fully clothed, and are cute or good looking, rather than sexual.

Most gay teen blogs/websites have a general disclaimer stating that they will remove a picture if it is identified as private property, but on most of them them, the sites of origin are identified and linked, so it is easy to find the rest of the models' portfolios. Since the gay teen websites have a number of visitors, I
suspect it increases the number of hits on the models’ own websites, and that is
good for business and egos. When the links are not identified, someone usually
recognizes the models and supplies a URL. Identifying an unidentified model
seems to be something of a sport. Thirteen to eighteen year olds seem to be the
dominant members (as opposed to lurkers) of the websites and blogs aimed at
gay boys, and those boards show less hardcore pornography than those aimed
at older men. Of course they have links to the hardcore and commercial porn
sites, and young teens seem to use all of the different types of websites, so it is
hard to specify who watches what, though members and participants in
discussions can be identified.

Even though the dominant sexual ideology denies that kids can be sexual, and
leads governments to assume in our child pornography laws that they can only
be sexualized by the adult (male) gaze, the gay teen websites and blogs are an
erotically charged environment. The discussions on the young gay boards are
frequently about sex, and they link to heavily sexual sites. In fact the free boards
for young gays support themselves by the fees they make when members link to
the paid porn sites. There are ongoing discussions about becoming a porn
model and the future dangers of doing so. Most say that because of the danger
of future harm involved in porn modeling, they would never do it. The most
important sources of information are people who have worked in porn films. They
discuss the working conditions (hard) and the loss of glamour after the first few
hours. They also discuss pay (which isn’t great, but is better than many other
jobs that 18 year olds can get) so there is a large base of knowledge among the
kids on these blogs and websites. The young people who are on these websites
may not know everything, but they know a lot more about the actual work than
most of the critics who claim that the kids are naive.

Viewers can be funny and irreverent. Most of blogs/websites have a comment
function where members discuss the pictures, and even though there is usually a
statement that lewd remarks about minors should not be be made, comments
often refer to the sexual appeal of the models. Here is a small sample of the
remarks about a few of the pictures on one blog. Most seem to have been made
made by boys, a few by older men: “He is gorgeous!,” “He could have me
without too much begging,” “cute boy, I’d love to kiss his body,” “Holy shit! That is
cute!,” I wanna pull that robe off him and just rub him all over with oil,” ”I wish I
was on that bed...and strip him naked and lick and suck his nipples and work my
way down to his yummy tummy...,”“Holy creampuff Batman! Can I invite him to
the Batcave for a sleepover?” There are also comments about fapping
(masturbating) to the pictures.

The pictures from modeling websites and blogs are supplemented by some
images made by boys who take videos and photographs of their reflections in a
mirror, or use a remote camera or have friends take pictures of them. Sometimes
they are members of the boards. They often are clothed or wearing underwear,
or cross-dress, but some are nude, or have erections, or are masturbating. (Age
checks are used.) They send the pictures to the various sites. A number of porn sites specialize in this type of picture, others use it as one of the types of images they display, though the porn sites tend to use more sexual images. Occasionally more than one boy is present. These are somewhat like like “sexting” pictures, but they aren’t accidentally uploaded to the internet - they are purposely sent in. In that way the self-posting of pictures to the internet, where they are meant to be public property, is different than the sending of a picture to a girl or boyfriend who then distributes it to their high school class. I assume that real names are not attached to the pictures, and it is unlikely that they will be seen by anyone not interested in seeing erotic pictures of young teen boys. Despite persistent claims that the pictures on the various sites can come back to haunt these kids in later life (though it seems as though it would be difficult to recognize difficult to recognize the boys from their youthful pictures) there does not seem to be any evidence that this has happened. Of course the lack of evidence does not prevent speculation and assertion.

There is no doubt that pictures on the gay boys’ sites are viewed sexually, even if that was not the intention of the creators. This is sometimes seen as a violation of the privacy of the model, and the proximity to sexual pictures and the very act of placement on a sexual blog is thought to sexualize the models. This argument assumes that they boys are not aware that the images and videos they create will be seen by others who sometimes, at least, have a sexual interest in boys, or find pretty boys to be erotic, and might use the images as a masturbation stimulus. The charge is that existence of the image, with people looking at it, becomes a violation of the boys’ privacy rights and a source of continual embarrassment. The argument seems to assume that a person’s soul is embedded in the photograph, so that a person is harmed if the picture is used as a sexual aid - even if they are not aware of it. It also assumes that the boys would consider it bad to be viewed as sexual objects.

There are some general characteristics of all these websites and blogs. Unlike shotacon images, which will be discussed below, pictures of older adults are rarely present in the teen websites, and they are usually not viewed as sexually attractive when they are present. Some of the sites have no pornographic images, but all have links, and most have some. The images are most likely to be nudity, masturbation or an erection. Compared to adult porn sites the mood is usually more upbeat. There is some playing with the symbols of S/M, but I haven’t seen any hardcore material. There is rarely any body hair on the models, though light hair on the legs seems to be acceptable, and the whether it is attractive to shave public hair is a matter of dispute. There is also an emphasis and on pretty boys and on nice skin. Color and race also seem to be important. Some of the teen websites also have pictures of pretty young teen girls, especially girls with slim bodies. Unlike shotacon, no women are present.

Unlike the child porn fantasy in the outside society, older people do not run this networld, or seduce young people into it. Older men are onlookers, or even
commentators. They are a source of money for the hustlers and runaways. They sometimes advise, most probably run most of the commercial websites, and I think that they are probably the main buyers of the porn on the hardcore websites. Older people run the modeling sites, are often the photographers of the boys, and some older people - or boys who have grown into older men - facilitate the twink blogs. But ultimately this is a gay boys’ world, where it is boys and their fantasies and their bodies that are admired.

The business model of the twink porn sites is interesting. There are three types. The most obvious are the commercial pornographic sites that hire models and charge a monthly fee for pictures and videos of “barely legal” boys. They are linked to by almost all the sites, and their pictures are used on them. The relationship is a reciprocal one, since the feeder sites both depend on the commercial sites for pictures and feed customers into them. A second type of site is the free gay sites. They do not charge a fee, but get a fee from the commercial sites when one of their viewers links to the commercial site. There are hundreds of these sites, and their content varies from almost completely pornographic to totally non-pornographic. These are easily located by a search for twink or boy sex (with safe search off). These sites are usually linked to other similar sites, and there seem to be various networks with only minimal crossover. These sites or blogs vary tremendously in size and quality, but eventually all of the networks link back to several large sites that are the producers of the videos and pictures. The feeder sites get paid by the sites that they link to, and the more you link from a site the more they get paid. Except for the large feeder sites, no money is directly exchanged, though the feeders do get paid when viewers link to various other sites. Since I thought that one of the sites that served gay boys performed a valuable service, and since I was using information from the site, I thought I might donate something. But, when I clicked the donate button, a message urged that potential donors just link to some of the other sites since they got money back from the linking. Though it is often assumed that the twink porn sites appeal primarily to older men, judging by the statistics at …, they disproportionately appeal to both the old and the young. We do directly know about many of the models that have been used in art, or even had sexual relationships with the artists. The boys that von Gloeden photographed were affectionate towards him, and remained loyal to him, just as L’s boys have remained friendly, and Will McBride. Mapplethorpe. Greeks. If boys were naturally damaged by sexual relations all of the Greek elite would have been harmed. Many of the artists models remained on as friends and lovers.

**Shotacon and Yaoi: Fantasy Child Porn without the children**

Unlike the photographic porn boards discussed above, Shotacon and Yaoi
boards are drawn, so an image of an actual child is missing. The images are created by adults, primarily males in the case of shotacon images. (Yaoi images have a more mixed creation and purpose and will be discussed below.) The audience is also different, in that shotacon images are drawn by adults for adults. They therefore represent an adult fantasy, rather than a boys gay world that is peeked in upon by adults, and is far more adult centered.

Shotacon images were traditional in Japan, but were largely adopted by the gay and pedophile community in the U.S. Part of the reason is obvious, since real photographs of children are highly forbidden in the U.S., but drawn images are considered speech that is protected by the First Amendment. Part of the reason, I suspect, is that boys are not normally sexual, and don't have erections and ejaculations at all of the right times. Drawn porn is thus far more able to achieve the fantasy of the adults who are its primary creators and viewers.

Shotacon breaks down into several types. Most common is simple drawings of nude boys, often masturbating or in their sexual poses, or the boys can be with other boys. One step above that are comic book stories in which the boys, often at the behest of girls or other boys perform various sexual acts. A related genre is “straight” shotacon, in which the boys are usually seduced or forced to have sex with incredibly voluptuous and large-breasted women. Beyond this is the world of 3D porn, in which an incredible amount of energy goes into the creation of the boys, and in the case of some of the authors, a great deal of energy also goes into plotting out the story. In almost all of the stories the adults are clearly dominant, and the boys accept their dominance without question. In many of the stories the boys meet an unhappy end, characteristically leading to lamentations on the part of viewers who clearly identify with the boys, and a rejoinder that is, after all, only a story. Often the boys are sex slaves of the masters, and only have sex when they are permitted to, but they happily accept this status. The masters are teachers, who will hurt the boys - but never really harm them. They are benevolent despots, always having the good of their charges in mind.

One of the well-known stories of Shotacon involves the girl who just wants to see a boy come, and enlists the aid of the boy’s younger brother. There are a lot of adventures. A coming that’s missed by the girl, etc. but finally the boy does come and is released by the girl. The last scene involves the boy in being complicit in returning to the girl. In between are bouts of sucking off, of anal sex. Etc.

Another story on 3D involves a young boy and an older (very straight) truck driver. The boy essentially seduced the truck driver, but not for long. The story is unusual because it involves real affection between the runaway boy and the truck driver, and doesn’t involve much sex. In fact the sex is almost peripheral to the story.

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A second part of the argument against child pornography is a fact claim. The argument is that viewing child pornography affects the behavior of viewers, so that they are more likely to molest real children. There is no evidence that the statement is true, since sex crime rates do not go up as pornography becomes more available, or decrease when pornography is forbidden. Whether it is adult or child pornography there is no correlation between the availability of pornography and the incidence of sex crime. Mackinnon That part of the argument appears to be empirically untrue. Since porn is fantasy sex, it is quite possible that viewing child pornography would lead to an increase in fantasies about having sex with a young person, and might even result in masturbation fantasies. There are a number of individual studies that indicate that this is true, but these involve lab experiments that measure changed attitudes and fantasies. They probably demonstrate that fantasies can lead to fantasies, but (even obnoxious or disgusting) fantasies are not illegal. There is no evidence that the fantasies lead to action.

.. Art models: When discussing child molestation a crucial issue is the question of consent. We protect children and youths in our society and, for example, do not let them make long term contracts, because we argue that they are not capable of giving consent, or understanding the long term consequences of what they do. Moreover, we view them as being unequal in any power arrangement with an adult. We also view them as sexually innocent, and by definition, unable to consent to sex with an adult, since adults have power and children are easily manipulated. These assertions are largely ideological, and cannot be either proven or disproven by empirical observation. They do reflect a change in the society’s attitude towards children, since we deny them independent agency. There is an empirical component to this belief, since we deny that children are sexual, and dismiss any claims of sexuality on the basis that the child (or adult remembering) was mislead. We tend to deny that children are capable of making decisions whenever their choices disagree with adult choices - we call them delinquent, naive, mislead.

All pornography is, by definition, sexual - and generally it has a positive and celebratory view of sex. It presents that viewpoint forcibly, using images rather than words. Pornography exists in its own realm, in the realm of fantasy. That different view of the world, rather than any harm that is done, is probably the root cause of objections to pornography and the view that it undermines society and social values.

Child pornography has a very different view of children, and that is one of the reasons the objection to it runs so high. For the most part child pornography is a fantasy. It might be that some of the children/young adults who go into it are abused by the society so that the only way that they have to live is by selling their bodies, but that is a problem larger than child pornography, and sex work by kids is merely a symptom.
Though there is a long tradition of erotic images of pubescent boys, current photographic images have almost completely disappeared, though apparently they exist in some sex rings and newsgroups. There are significant limitations on pornography made with real models. Pornography is fantasy sex, and real boys can rarely live up to the fantasy. Some are beautiful or sexually appealing, but many are ordinary. Some boys are good actors, but many are not, and the people who had been porn actors say that it is difficult to keep up an appearance of sexual excitement as scenes need to be re-enacted, shots are taken from different angles, and lighting is changed. Of central importance, the U.S. and most other countries have criminalized sexual photographs of young teens and pre-teens (arguing that young children are, be definition, abused in the process of making sexual photographs of them), and 18 year old boys cannot be made to look like they are 12 or 13. Even simple nudes, like Weston’s famous picture of his son, would almost certainly be illegal if they were made today.

Also important is that young teens or tweens are usually not physically capable of a wide range of explicit sexual behavior, and might not enjoy some of the behavior that is imagined by viewers. The erotic photographs of young boys made artists like von Gloeden, Weston, Mann, McBride, and in the child pornography magazine of the 1960 and early 1970s, were mostly simple nudes, not explicitly sexual images. Sexual fantasies that involve young boys are most easily realized in drawn images that are purely imaginative. In these boys can be made to do exactly what is wanted, can be portrayed as active or passive, as capable of orgasms and strong erections, as sexually desirous, and as beautiful. The artist is in control of his or her creation, and the viewer can identify with any or all of the characters. These drawn images are forbidden in many countries, but are still legal in the U.S. despite frequent legislative attempts to outlaw them. They have been protected by a 5-4 Supreme Court decision which argued that previous Court decisions removing child pornography from 1st Amendment protections were motivated by a desire to protect real child models that were hurt in the production of child pornography. Real children were not harmed in the creation of drawn pornography. They were fantasy images, and the Court did not want to outlaw a type of thought, however distasteful they thought it was.

The three main types of drawn boy pornography are shotacon (pictures of young boys, both with and without girls and women), yaoi (which focuses on erotic homosexual images of young graceful teens), and 3D images. Yaoi was originally drawn for girls in Japan, and still has a large girl following. There is also a considerable yaoi literature, similar in function to teen age romance novels in the U.S., and in Japan there is a yaoi tradition in high art. The 3D images are more realistic than the comic and manga style used in normal shotacon and yaoi, but they are not meant to be realistic. In all three type the aim is for an ideal beyond realism. The goal is not to present a real boy - it is to present a perfect boy, an image that no real boy in a real situation could live up to. It is a more perfect
world. For example, though there is some focus on feet, drawn feet are smaller, more perfectly shaped and generally cuter than the feet on real teenagers. Similarly there is a focus on pubic hair (especially beginning public hair) and penis size in both photographs and drawings, but it is easier to get exactly what is wanted in drawings. In the 3D discussion boards on the web there is a great deal of attention paid to drawing the ideal boy, perfect in every respect. The shotacon/yaoi/3D images present a fantasy. In a picture kids can act as the creator wants them to act, not as real kids would react. It is a fantasy world with fantasy images.

Unhindered by the need to get real boys to act in prescribed ways, drawn pornography is able to fully represent any fantasy, especially those that would be unacceptable to the viewers and creators in a non-fantasy world. The drawn porn community is well aware of that. For example, some of the images are quite violent, and sometimes objections to these are posted online. The normal response is that it is only a fantasy, and real kids are not being hurt. Generally the kids are willing to participate in all sexual and sadomasochistic sexual acts. They are not forced to do things against their will. In the fantasy the kids revel in their subordination. In both the drawn pornography and the photographs, there is a general focus on the willingness of the youths portrayed. It is happy porn, as opposed to more hard-driving adult gay and straight pornography.

Despite these similarities, there are considerable differences between the photographic porn of older teens and the drawn and 3D porn. In most of the photographic porn older adults are rarely present, and if they are present it is as an interloper who is clearly paying for sex. The desired object is other pretty boys, or slightly older young men, and old men are outsiders. In drawn porn the central figures are often the adults. They are in control, and the boys perform for them. Overwhelmingly the boys are white, even in Japanese porn. In the photographic porn there is a sprinkling of Asian boys, since they are smaller and more likely to be hairless and young looking than white kids of a similar age.

We equate child porn with molestation rather than with fantasy. Whether this is a legitimate reason for proscribing this type of material is fodder for a different article. I propose here to examine the content of this material to piece together the pedophile fantasy in a relatively pure form. Some of the Shotacon and 3d images are fairly violent, and when objection is raised to them it is always argued that they are a fantasy, not something that is acted upon, or that they are asserting should be acted upon. As Nietzsche, and many others, have noted, there is a huge gap between fantasy and action. Virtue is not when desire is weak. Higginnnot.

All porn sees the models as sexual.
It is also assumed that the audience for child porn is a fairly monolithic group of largely older males, but the statistics for the twink websites indicate that there are a large number of teens looking at the pictures and, judging by their posted comments, masturbating to them. In fact, teens are among the largest groups viewing pornography on the web.

The teen twink sites are designed to appeal to people who want to view younger boys. That is indicated by their names, their advertising appeals and by the search terms on the net.------- One of the persistent arguments about photographic child pornography is that the models are being abused, and that the photographs are simply a recording of abuse. A second related argument is that child pornography sexualizes innocent children. These arguments refer primarily to young children, I believe, but bylaw and by popular belief they have been expanded to cover the dominant type of child pornography, that of post-pubescent boys.

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**Shotacon:** Though pre-pubertal and post-pubertal pornography are linked together under the label of child porn, the two groups of kids are obviously very different. It is also possible to manipulate the image of a young looking 18 year old to look like a 14 or 15 year old, but it is not possible to make them look like a 6 or 9 or 11 year old boy. Possession or internet circulation of these images is toxic, and create the danger of a long prison sentence. There are frequent media stories of pornography rings in which pictures of this age group are circulated, but I do not know of any of the rings and have not seen any of the pictures. What is on the web, and is marginally legal, are drawn images of young boys (shotacon) or young teens (yaoi). Unlike twink porn, youngish adults are common in these genres, and are usually portrayed as both dominant and attractive. Since the images are drawn there is much more room for fantasy, and often the young boys do things that are physiologically impossible, like having fantastic orgasms, developing large erections and coming copiously.
Different than adult porn
Graphics
Compare
Is there value?
Gay chat room
Conflate porn and action
Body hair a big deal for greeks, kid’s tv Rechy quote.
II
At end, conclusion of paper:

Erotic sculptures, photographs and images of young boys have been a staple of western society since classical times. In Athens, the sensuality of hairless young adolescent boys was praised in poetry and sexual images with young boys and older men were a central theme of vase drawings. In Rome the tradition was more restricted, but the Warren cup celebrated the sexuality of an older adolescent, and Michelangelo’s David reasserted the tradition of the young erotic male nude after a lapse during the Middle Ages, and Donatello’s David is probably one of the world’s most sensuous presentations of a young male adolescent. The tradition continues as a genre through Caravaggio’s Victorious Cupid, Bouguereau and other Romantic painters, Eakins in the U.S., and others including Picasso. With the invention of photography portraits of young nudes became a staple, and Van Gloeden’s photographs were viewed by the european elite and aristocracy. Weston’s portrait of his young son is also a classic. After WW II attitudes towards the child’s body and towards images of that body began to change, and photographs of nude boys and girls became controversial - even when they were very young Mcbride. L., Sally Mann, Mapplethorpe. Even as images of the adult nude, and actual explicit adult sex, became more permissible, images of young adolescent and child nudes became increasingly illegal and were exempted from the obscenity protections. Friendships between photographers and subjects, statements that they were proud to be photographed, and mostly support of the artistic establishment gained some leeway, but the child nude gradually almost all came to be considered child pornography. Images of the changing body, which is a central component of youth, and images of masturbation, which is the primary adolescent sex, became highly forbidden.

Traditional part of gay world, of western europe and of arab and chinese culture. Afghanistan dancing boys. Gay porn. We only hear about sex where there are objections. Like only thing we hear about heterosexual world is rape. We reinforce objections by paying large amounts of money for claims that the boys are hurt.
Hard to tell whether it is like oppression of females or blacks, or oppression of gays in the middle of battle. E.g a good idea traditionally that we now think of as bad or visa versa. But it represents an increase in freedom.