SPECIAL ARTICLE

Project Leaked:[1] Research on Non–Consensual sharing of Intimate Images in Brazil[2]

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Abstract

Non-consensual sharing of intimate images is a kind of contemporary violence. However, little is known in many countries about its drivers and effects, characteristics of perpetrators and victims, which social networks are mainly used etc. 'Project Leaked' sought to gather from the experiences of non-consensual sharing victims in Brazil, with the objective of concentrating information that may comprise a reference for research, become a provocation for discussions and an incentive to learning. This article brings the project to a close, providing both the information gathered by the research and some discussions derived from it.

Keywords: Revenge porn, Intimate images, Leaking, Sharing, Project Leaked.

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Introduction

"I may have got it wrong. But it seems the video had more than 6,000 views and it shows my face pretty well. Every time I walk on the street and someone keeps staring at me with their mobile in hands, I think they're watching the video." This is part of a story told by a woman that agreed to participate on Project Leaked. Aged 30, she also says that every day around 11 AM, the same time she found out about her exposition, she panics and her heart rate rises, she feels unwell and nauseous and shivers. The cause of her state is the leakage of an intimate video of her by her ex-partner, with whom she was in a relationship for 6 years. He is responsible for a serious violence against her. But he is not alone. On the months that followed the leakage of the video, the woman received several messages via WhatsApp from other men who asked her for a "delicious blowjob" *(sic)*. Many people are responsible. This study is about her, him and them.

At the end of 2017, the Contemporaneous Criminologies Study Group (GECC) based in Porto Alegre, Brazil, took in the challenge of investigating a modern, daily and under explored phenomenon. The chosen subject was the non-consensual leakage of intimate images. Project Leaked was the chosen name to the work that was developed during the year of 2018. This article presents information about the research and some discussions of the Study Group on the issue. On the first part of this article (data gathering) the justification, methodology, repercussion and findings of the research are presented. In the second part (criminological analysis), we present a synthesis of the thoughts of the Group members, based on the examination of the questionnaire responses on: the codes of romantic love and its part on the aetiology of revenge porn; the practice of sexting; the cyber nature of sharing intimate images without consent; the recent criminalization of the act in the Brazilian law; alternative solutions to the phenomenon.

Some preliminary information may be relevant. First, "victim", a reference that is widely used in the article, must be understood as the exposed person. Second, the decimal values were rounded. Lastly: we chose to interweave our text with parts of the stories. By doing this, we share, with due consent, the pain that was shared with us. The narratives were slightly adapted for grammatical adequacy.

1. Data Gathering

1.1 Justification

Non-consensual sharing of intimate images, ordinarily known as revenge porn,[5] is a form of contemporary violence. Despite the growing number of cases reported in media and academy interest (interviews, case studies, legislative and case-law analysis), little is known about its motives and effects, perpetrator and victim characteristics, which social

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[5] Although 'revenge porn' is a well-known term even in Portuguese (sometimes translated as '*pornografia de vingança*', and despite acknowledging other very adequate options as 'image-based sexual abuse' (McGlynn & Rackley, 2017), the authors have chosen to use the not so restricted concept of 'non-consensual sharing of intimate images'. The name of the research project, Project Leaked, is the translation of '*Projeto Vazou*', and it was called so because '*Vazou*' is a catching word in Portuguese.

networks are used etc., especially because of the low number of reports and, in consequence, the lack of credible official references.

> 'I can't talk.'
> (Male, 16 years old.)

Undernotification occurs for a number of reasons. First, there are the 'shame sieves' (Valente et al., 2016, pp. 39-40): those whose intimate images are leaked have to overcome the shame of telling about the sharing to people in their intimate circle, such as family and friend; if they want professional help, they have to resort to therapists and lawyers, to whom they will have to voluntarily expose their intimacy; furthermore, if they look for a legal solution to the conflict, they must confide in the police and legal system officials – which, in their majority, are not prepared to handle these situations. This process, on which the victim ends up exposed on multiple stages, may produce revictimization. Understood as institutional violence, revictimization happens when institutions that should protect the victim end up reinforcing the trauma that was suffered (Meneghel et al., 2011).

> 'In the same week, my ex approached me when I was leaving work and told me that he would destroy my life. We had a discussion and I became afraid and decided to file a police report. It was night time and I went to the Police Station, but the service was so bad and I was so mistreated that I chose to wait for the next day and go to the Female-Specialized Police Station – where the service was completely different and I was very well treated by the team.'
> (Female, 30 years old.)

Second, it is possible that victims do not report the image-sharing because they may believe that they took the risks of it or that they are to blame for it, as seen in cases that the person themselves sends the 'nude' that is later leaked. In a research with 470 junior students of a private University in the south of EUA, made between August and December of 2015, one third of people who had their 'nudes' shared with others beyond the intended recipient felt angry at themselves for initially sending the picture (Branch et al., 2017).

> 'How many more people will go through his hands? I feel guilty for not being able to speak, for the next victims and for all that has passed. I'm getting better, I don't have to take medication anymore, but I still suffer in silence for everything...'
> (Female, 25 years old.)

Lastly, from our research findings, which inform that most people who answered the questionnaire are females (84%), it is possible to suggest a major silence among men who

were victims – what may reflect the reality that men do not understand the exhibition of their intimate images as a violence, nor the society morally condemns them for that.[6]

The hidden figures – difference between the number of reported and non-reported leakages – prevent the formation of reliable official sources or, when they do exist, put their credibility in check. The main report available in Brazil are the SaferNet Brazil indicators. During 2017, the ONG attended to 300 reports of 'Sexting/Intimate Exposition', mainly made by women – what matches our research findings. This number obviously does not reflect the real extent of the violence. Acknowledging that allows us to ascertain that there are a lot more deviation and crime that the penal system can identify, investigate and process (Sell, 2011). The big issue is that the lack of data is a barrier to the understanding of the phenomenon, and in consequence appropriate prevention and repression policies cannot be implemented.

1.2 Methodology

The Project Leaked sought to gather information from experiences of non-consensual image-sharing victims. The objective was to concentrate information that could become a reference for research, a starting point for discussions and an incentive to learning. The research was qualitative, exploratory and explanatory, through an on-line questionnaire (www.projetovazou.com) with open-ended questions.[7]

The questionnaire was available through Google Forms and open to responses between April and November of 2018. It required personal information (city, state, gender, actual age and age when the record happened), questioned if the respondent knew who leaked the archive and asked for information about this person as well (gender, age, if there was some kind of relationship). It also asked about consent (if the victim was aware of the recording, if they had allowed or handed it over and if yes, why). Furthermore, the respondent was questioned about the leakage (type of archive, apps used, how did the victim became aware of the sharing and if they knew its motive), about its consequences (what happened, if the family took knowledge and what was the reaction, if the respondent recovered from the incident). There were also questions on the existence of police investigation and/or legal actions (both civil and criminal), about what the victim would like to happen, and it allowed comments (with the remark that personal names should be omitted). Lastly, the respondent was required to confirm clarification and authorization for use of the given information (without which the response was not registered by the system).

1.3 Repercussion

The link to the Project's website was shared by the members of the Study Group on social networks and released in websites and blogs, newspapers, TV news and radio programmes, reaching national repercussion after the Project's coordinator (the lead

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[6] An illustration of this was the recent sharing of a video showing explicit sex, allegedly with the participation with a candidate to the government of the State of São Paulo on the eve of the election. The video has caused no harm to his public image.

[7] The textual content of the website and the questions from the questionnaire can be found on Annexes I and II, respectively.

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author) was interviewed on the *Encontro com Fátima Bernardes*, a popular Brazilian TV show, aired by Rede Globo, in August 30, 2018. It is interesting to note, though, that publicizing the research on social networking platforms was far more effective than other traditional media outlets, since it reached the research target audience: the generation who grew up immersed in the digital environment. This kind of wide and diverse broadcast allowed people from all Brazilian states to answer the questionnaire, with major participation from the states of Rio Grande do Sul (25%), São Paulo (20%), Paraná (12%) e Rio de Janeiro (11%).

1.4 Findings

The questionnaire had 141 valid answers. The majority (84%) of the respondents identified themselves as females. The most frequent age of the respondents was 24 years old. (The gender and age of the victims are similar to those found in other researches. See, e.g., Nabil, 2014, p. 22; CCRI, 2017) However, it was reported that the incident happened years prior: the most frequent age at the time of the register of pictures and/or videos was 19 years old. The fact of the victims being young is commonly explained as juvenile imprudence. The argument must be considered for some cases, but it ends up indicating a tutelary concern with the young population considered vulnerable, and thus does not comprehend new social dynamics. As identified by Agustina (2015, p. 44), after the Cartesian maxim (I think, therefore I am), we can formulate a rule for the generation that grew within the digital environment: I post, therefore I am. If younger people are the ones that practice *sexting* and are, consequently, the most common victims of non-consensual sharing, it is because a new form of identification and communication has emerged among them (more comments on the generational issue of *sexting* below).

The majority (81%) informed that they knew the person who leaked the archives. They were mostly male (84%), aged around 23 years old at the time of the recording. The victims reported having some kind of affective relationship with this person (82%). When questioned about the nature of the relationship, most informed dating (39%) and friendship (31%) – it was understood by the narratives that they were "friendships with benefits". This data is relevant in two aspects. First, they dismantle the legend of strange criminals that explore the vulnerability of information systems, pointing out that this kind of sexual violence is also frequently committed by intimate people. Moreover, the affective relationship enables the protective measures provided by domestic violence laws.[8]

More than half (60%) of the victims knew about the recording and had authorized/provided it. This percentage and the narratives that accompanied it indicate that, in most cases, there was consent for the exposition of the images to an original known recipient, what is proper of the *sexting* practice, but that the archives were later shared without new consent. Many reports inform exactly that; there was a relationship at the time that justified the trust: 'We were dating', 'I trusted that it would stay between the two of us', 'I loved and trusted him', 'We were dating and there was trust'. The practice

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[8] In Brazil, the Act 11.340/2006, known as 'Maria da Penha', enables urgent protective measures that obligate the perpetrator (art. 22), protect the offended person (art. 23) and their patrimony (art. 24).

of *sexting*, however, can also happen due to pressure by the partner: many reports refer to threats, emotional blackmail and requests of intimate images as a 'proof of love'.

> 'On January 2013, during a trip with friends to (city), I was exchanging messages with this ex and sent him a picture in beachwear; later he asked for naked pictures as a proof of love. I sent over 40 pictures (in two months) and, during the Carnival, they were "leaked". It came to my knowledge through a friend that was in (another country) and received them in a friend group. In less than 24 hours the pictures went viral. Initially he denied it and told me he was going to help me. However, after my mother got to know about it via e-mail, she took me to the Police Station to file a report, and he changed his mind. I changed schools and was hospitalized due to severe depression. I received psychiatric treatment and since 2013. I have been fighting for justice.'
> (Female, 23 years old.)

Furthermore, some of the narratives reveal a certain vulnerability in the consent for recording and/or providing the images due to the age of the victim; many respondents reported being naive and immature at the time of the incident.

> '(...) I am a girl, but the person who wanted to leak was not a man, but a woman. When she became aware, I was not interested any longer and did not want any kind of contact, she tried to threaten me by sharing (my pictures) so I would talk to her again. Besides, I was pretty young at the time, while she was older; she tried to induce me to showing myself and made me trust her. I, in my naïveté, was not aware of what was happening… She was able to shape my thoughts and made me act the way she wanted.'
> (Female, 20 years old. She was 13 in the picture leaked in Facebook.)

The extent of consent was subject of an interesting discussion on the German Federal Justice Court in 2015. In this specific case there was no sharing; a woman resorted to litigation requiring her ex-partner to not have access to her intimate pictures and reclaiming their exclusion. The court decided that after the end of a relationship, it is possible to revoke previous consent given to the possession of this kind of content and, therefore, determined that the ex-partner to delete the intimate pictures.[9]

About the leaked material and means of sharing, our research revealed that the most common archives were pictures (87% of answers); videos were referred in 35% of the responses. The most used apps and platforms to transmission and propagation were WhatsApp (mentioned in 70% of the responses), Facebook (26%), e-mails (19%), porn websites (14%), Instagram (7%) and Snapchat (5%). It is interesting to note that the social networks WhatsApp, Facebook and Instagram are owned and maintained by Facebook,

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[9] Verdict syllabus 271/14: 'If, in the context of an intimate relationship, one partner produces intimate images or recordings of the other, the recorded person has the right to claim the exclusion of the images for violation of their privacy right, even if they have agreed with the creation and use of the recordings during the relationship, once it has – implicitly – come to a term.' (Our translation) Judgment date: October 13, 2015. Available at http://www.bundesgerichtshof.de.

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Inc., what makes this company very implicated in the architecture that allows non-consented transmission of intimate images.

When asked about how they took knowledge of the leakage, most people informed that they were warned by others (95%) and few (5%) discovered it themselves (recognizing themselves in some post or message exchange in WhatsApp groups).

One question that seemed fundamental was about the motivation for the files sharing. To the question 'Do you know the reason of the leaking?', most answers (44%) referred *revenge*, what both justifies the term *revenge porn*, and shows that the naming is appropriate if we consider that there is an objectification, a pornification of the other (victim).[10] Despite being a major stimulus, the *revenge* motive has no specially relevant role (in the same line: Valente et al., 2015). It has to be highlighted that many victims reported that *the sharing had no specific motivation* (35%), what reveals the unreasoning and inconsequent practice of sharing intimate images of intimate people, and that *the image or video was showed without being shared* (12%), what happens in cases which someone exhibits, in their own mobile, intimate images or videos of someone they have been related to, without sharing the content. Some answers also showed diverse motivations, such as *threat* (22%), *extortion*[11] (10%) and *equipment invasion* (9%). 17% of the respondents were not able to inform the reason of the leakage.

The different motives require two kinds of interpretation. First, it can be understood that every time a person chooses between alternatives that involve uncertain results, it appears to be clear that their behaviour it not only affected by their preferences to such results, but also by the probability degree that they attribute to these results (Vroom, 1964). Those who had the intention to threat or extort, or even to share the archive with the specific intent of revenge or humiliation, approach a pattern of preference and trust in these results. In other words, they want and believe that they will be able to threat or extort, or dehumanize their victim and cause them harm (humiliate) by sharing the images. Otherwise, it is possible to identify motives related to purposes found in culture (Maslow, 1943), such as the desire to belong to a group, to please one's peers, and ultimately, to the behavioural adequacy to dominant practices, characterized by the act of

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[10] Dymock (2017, p. 210) explains that the suffix *porn* applies to a growing selection of visual representations that are not limited to their original purpose, which would be the explicit representation of sexual activities in literature, movies, etc. with the objective of stimulating erotic feelings instead of aesthetic or emotional ones (Oxford English Dictionary). Pornography has become a label that accommodates the vocabulary, meanings, metaphors and affections of any reference that can be associated to the idea of porn.

[11] The extortion indicated in our research as a possible reason for non-consensual sharing of intimate images refers to the coercion with the intent of obtaining undue economic advantage, according to the idea of art. 158, Brazilian Criminal Code. This should not to be confused with 'sextortion', which characterizes a special kind of cyber extortion that does not involve patrimonial values, but the demand for the victim to send intimate images or to subject to sexual acts, under the threat that personal information and/or sexually explicit images or pornographic images may be made public. In a distinct sense, in the field of international human rights, the term 'sextortion' refers to the abuse of power used by peacekeepers to commit sexual violence (Sydow, 2017, pp. 34-35).

sharing archives without specific motivation or to exhibit them without sending, for vanity or fame of the one who shares it (Maslow, 1954; Sydow, 2017).

> 'I have sent pictures of my genitals, via WhatsApp, to some of the girls I was involved at the time. Maybe one of them shared it in a group, but I'm not sure. I suspect it because of commentaries I've heard from her and acquaintances that were part of the group. I want to say that I have also been in the same place as her, where I received the same kind of content directly from the person. I did not share it on social networks, but showed it to some friends to pass as a stud. Friends have also showed me the same content with the same objective.'
> (Male, 22 years old.)

The consequences of non-consented leaking are serious. The main effects on the victims were anxiety (present in 63% of answers), isolation from social contact (58%), depression (56%), post-traumatic stress disorder (33%), self-mutilation and suicidal thoughts (32%), harassment in public places (27%), leaving school/courses/university (16%), moving from home (11%), aggressions (7%), job loss (6%) and difficulties in finding a new job (5%).

> 'I used to send nudes to my ex-boyfriend, because we lived apart and didn't see each other. One day his mobile was "stolen" and the pictures were there. After some time, I found out my pictures were in a website of "leaked nudes". (…) I have contacted the site tirelessly for them to delete the pictures, without success. They have even included some of my selfies with the nudes, along with social networks and instant messages contacts. (…) I cannot talk to people anymore. I struggle to trust people. I cannot involve myself amorously again, because I'm afraid that something like that happens again. Depression has taken over and it is hard to get up. (…) But I keep asking myself if it is worth to live like that, when we are rejected by society, judged and practically thrown into a bonfire for pictures that were personal and sent to someone we trusted. It is sad. I cannot deal with it the right way yet.'
> (Female, 26 years old.)

> 'My co-worker invaded my personal computer that I brought in for a few days, took every picture there was and spread them in a 25,000-habitant town. Because (...) my family is very known in the city, the content spread fast. He must still have lots of images of me, and every day I'm afraid that he will spread them again. It has been two years since it occurred and I have isolated myself completely, even leaving college and deleting my Facebook account. Day after day I reinvent myself to not feel labelled and to not absorb everything, I believe people think about me. My social contribution to the city was always big, but I feel like I've been reduced to the "WhatsApp whore" to some people. I have his confession recorded and people who witnessed when he admitted what he'd done, but I could not keep on with the litigation and ended up silencing myself. I still feel bad every day and suffer with fear that it will happen again. I REALLY wish I had control over this content and to delete it from the internet. This boy now works at (...) and has a store that provides services in the city.'
> (Female, 25 years old.)

Some victims reported not caring about the archive leakage (9%). There were also the ones who took advantage of it to promote positive actions (11%), such as founding NGOs to help victims, or to justify academic research, for example. Approximately 58% of the respondents affirmed that their families found out about the leaking; 43% of those families reacted negatively (rejection/retaliation).

> 'In the beginning my mother was against me. However, after the city's Tutelary Council spoke to her and some police officers explained how it happens, she started supporting me and seeking justice with me. I thought about suicide many times. But with the support coming even from some police officers that were friends and spoke to me, teachers and my church's minister, I now live with more casualness with the fact. Yet I'm still stared at with condemning looks at the city where the picture was leaked.'
> (Female, 21 years old.)

To the question "How did you recover from the incident?", 39% of the victims informed that they had not recovered yet; 30% resorted to psychological treatment; 30% counted on support groups, help from friends and empowerment practices; 26% were supported by their families; and 16% sought psychiatric treatment. 23% of the respondents allegedly did not need any recovery. In most cases registered in our research, there was no police investigation (82%), or court case (86%). In those cases, it was asked "What would you like to happen?". The desire for punishment (penalty enforcement) of the responsible for the leakage was emphasized in 72% of the answers; in 60% there was the desire to remove the content from the internet or other apps; the will to receive damages (55% of the answers) and to identify the responsible for sharing the archives (34%) also appeared in the results. On cases where charges were pressed (14%), most civil lawsuits required damages (71%), with request for deindexation (removal) of the name from search mechanisms (41%), removal of the content/link (41%) and identification of the IP/mobile (35%); criminal lawsuits, on the other hand, claimed conviction of the perpetrator for the crimes of slander (art. 139, Criminal Code) (72%), insult (art. 140) (67%), threat (art. 147) (39%), extortion (art. 158) (11%), rape (art. 213) (6%) and child pornography (art. 241-A, Child and Adolescent Statute) (6%).[12]

> 'It was an abusive relationship and I was beaten up a lot, even more if I didn't send pictures. When he had his arsenal all ready, every time I tried to put an end to the relationship, he would threaten me with the exposition of these files. When I finally got tired, I accepted to end it, at risk of having the pictures made public. And they were, all over the town, but first to my father, who had a heart attack. The images were really heavy. After that, I filed a civil lawsuit. There's been a deal for damages and I did not follow with the suit because it would be very tiring for me: having to attend to hearings where the pictures and aggression messages would be showed many times.'
> (Female, 21 years old.)

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[12] It is important to note that most of the reports were made before the enactment of the Acts 13.718/2018 and 13.772/2018, which included, among others, the arts. 218-C and 216-B, on the Brazilian Criminal Code, criminalizing revenge porn.

2. Criminological Analyses

During the collection of data, GECC had periodic meetings to discuss the findings of the research. The thoughts of the group can be divided in five main questions: (1) What role does *romantic love* play in the aetiology of revenge porn? (2) What is *sexting* culture? (3) Is the non-consensual sharing of intimate images a *cyber*crime? (4) Is the criminalization adequate and recommended? (5) Are there more appropriate non-judicial measures?

2.1 Romantic Love

Historically the codes and architectures of amorous relationships were many; many were also the meanings attributed to love. *Romantic love* was invented, as were baking of bread, writing, gods, heresies, democracy, fascism and the computer (Costa, 1998, p. 12). Heir of the tradition born within medieval knights, then conceived to the convenience and conjugal adventures of wandering cavalry, *romantic love* began as a transgression associated to writers and musicians, coming to captivate the bourgeoisie of the European industrial revolution (Lins, 2017). This new model, which started disseminating its code from the end of the eighteenth century – we may take Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, in 1774, as the starting point – must be understood as the result of a series of influences that affected social relations in this period. Some argue that the submission of women during these times was a domestic reflection of the growing imperialist power that men were reclaiming over the world (Barstow *apud* Lins, 2017, p. 112). Still on the domestic scope, the emergence of the nuclear family, smaller than before, promoting the idea of home as a refuge and a bigger bond between the couple, together with the reinvention of maternity, certainly fed some of the values propagated by romantic love (Bloch, 1995; Giddens, 1993; Lins, 2017; Roudinesco, 2003). The crescent number of novels and romances, which marked the editorial market at the time, can also be considered an important factor. In the stories – and, by declination, in individual expectations –, romantic love was not constructed in the relation with a real person, but in an invented idealization. (But it is to be noted that the avid consumption of these stories must not be understood as the only vector of passive assimilation of new social codes; on the contrary, reinforcing that interaction, the readers also looked in the romances for the idealized ecstasy of love that was denied to them in the real world (Giddens 1993).) Still, in synchrony with the Victorian values in vogue at the time, *romantic love* has broken relations with sexuality, even though it still embraced it, establishing a new pattern of love as a domestic, chaste and controlled feeling (Foucault, 1993). Romance, comprehended this way, is very incompatible with luxury, a little because the loved being is idealized, but especially because it "it presumes a psychic communication, a meeting of souls which is reparative in character" (Giddens, 1993, p. 56). In other words: the other fills an empty space. And, for that reason, romantic love has established a new orientation: the search for the right and definitive partner.

The belief of *romantic love* is sustained in three main affirmations: love is an universal[13] and natural feeling; love is an involuntary, irrational and incontrollable feeling; love is a *sine qua non* condition of maximum happiness (Costa, 1998, pp. 13-22).[14] Yet very vigorous and reinforced, even though sometimes defied, this belief carries a big problem: while religious or medical-scientific control have normalized pleasure experiences with the moral/immoral or normal/abnormal dichotomy, *romantic love* made those excluded from it feel unhappy, unrealized, frustrated (and other self-applied stigmas). In other words, while in discrimination the difference is legitimized as an autonomous value (inferior, deviant), in *romantic love*, as an ideal agreed by all without any questioning, it is learned that loving romantically is within reach for everyone and, because of that, the feeling of failure is accompanied by guilty, low self-esteem, unhappiness and violence, and not by insurgence against an imposed value. As noted by Costa (1998, pp. 34-35): 'When we don't accomplish the imaginary ideal of love, we try to explain this impossibility by blaming ourselves, others or the world, but never questioning the behavioural, sentimental or cognitive rules that we interiorize when we learn to love'. And it is the frustration caused by the failure in accomplishing the perfect compatibility presupposed by the romantic love culture that can be the cause of physical, psychological, sexual, patrimonial and moral violence, promoting control, frustration and harassment of the other (on one side), and submission, objectification, guilt and relative isolation from the outer world (on the other).

This relationship of control persists in the contemporary world: women are prevented, by their partners, from using certain clothes, from going out at night, are coerced to have unprotected sexual relations. And this control reaches relationships mediated by the new technologies: partners look for messages and/or calls in mobiles of their significant other, read e-mails and look into social networks without authorization, force them to delete someone or a picture from the networks, demand the mobile, e-mail or Facebook passwords (Instituto Avon s.d.). Besides, the status (on-line) and individual identification mechanisms have been used to monitor and control the partner (Henry & Powell, 2015).

> 'After we broke up, my ex-boyfriend hacked my social networks and spent a year monitoring me; after noticing I was in a new relationship, he sent some e-mails with naked pictures of me to all of my contacts and published them in my social networks. Afterwards he called me and asked what was going on, but ended up confessing what he'd done and laughing about it. At the time I did nothing by shame, I just wanted to hide. To this day, seven years later, people who have received the e-mail and still keep the pictures get in touch with me. I feel very insecure and I fear that these pictures circulate again.'
> (Female, 28 years old.)

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[13] Costa (1998, pp. 14-15) explains that, in the belief of universality of love, 'universal' is carelessly employed as a term equivalent to the potential that can be shared by many or all, without distinction between what is optional and what is compulsory.

[14] Costa (1998) shows, in the sequence, that the practice of love is optional, temporarily conforming, selective and ideological (we love with feelings, but also with reasons and judgments).

Could the non-consensual sharing of intimate images be then considered a violence derived from the frustrations originated by the ideology of *romantic love*? Many contemporary relationships are still ruled by the idea of *romantic love*, reinforced by the sexist culture, and some of the stories reveal that the sharing of sexually or suggestive images of an old partner without her consent is an effort to humiliate, harass or punish her after the end of the idealized relationship and the loss of 'control' (Branch et al., 2017, p. 129).

> 'My ex sent pictures and videos of us to other people because he knew that it would hurt me. But I was in a pretty abusive relationship so, between physical aggressions, personal offenses and threats, I'd say that exposing my body was the smaller problem. But it hurt me a little too.'
> (Male, 24 years old.)

> 'We had a relationship of 7,5 years. After he hurt me (physically once, and verbally many times), had jealousy crisis and showed publicly that he was emotionally imbalanced, embarrassing me in front of my friends, I decided to end the relationship. After the third year of the relationship, he would take some pictures of me in intimate moments and I allowed it on the premise that those would be deleted in the same week. He got excited by looking at the pics and I'd do everything to please him, trusting him as a partner at the time. After I ended the relationship, he broke into my apartment, put a finger to my face and said he'd end my life if I didn't go back to him, because "no woman says no to him". (…) as an influent politician in the city he made sure I lost every possible job (…). When he realized I wouldn't give in, (…) he hacked into my work e-mail, copied every personal and professional contacts, created two fake accounts and sent pictures of me and us to everybody. (…) My life was over, I stayed inside my room for over a month without even going out to eat, until I decided to leave the city. (…) I can't put into words the level of the humiliation I've suffered... to attend to a work meeting with 17 people (men and women) which had all seen my pictures… it was too humiliating. (…) I've lost count of how many times I have wanted to die over the last years. (…) I'm stronger and won't give up easily, but I find it difficult to trust people (especially men).'
> (Female, 37 years old.)

Halder and Jaishankar (2013, p. 90) define revenge porn as the "publicizing of sexually provocative image of someone, by misusing the information conveyed in an electronic device (stored there with consent from the victim or by the latter voluntarily transmitted), an act whereby the perpetrator satisfies the anger and frustration of a broken relationship by publicly defaming the victim". It is interesting to note, though, that this satisfaction may not be understood as closure to the control; the leaking of the intimate archives is a prorogation of this male control over the female behaviour. The visual and textual content that is reproduced on the intimate files shared without consent inherently bears a power relation exerted by the masculine gender over the feminine – what is even clearer in cases of videos recorded through an anonymous male point of view (Nabil, 2014, pp. 19, 28).

2.2 Sexting

'Sexting' is the name given to the practice of transmitting sexually explicit or suggestive messages or images (called 'nudes') via mobile phones, and it became very common with de development of electronic devices with cameras and the smartphones.

Sexting has meaning variations that can entail or not in its moral or legal condemnation. In order to avoid conceptual closure, we adopted a broader interpretation of this practice, allowing its definition to be, according to each case, placed somewhere in a spectrum that goes from consensual behaviours (in which there is a mutual agreement for the image transmission) and abusive behaviours (when the act of sharing is not consensual and/or when there is no knowledge of the recording), with intermediate variations of coercive actions (when consent is questionable) (Henry & Powell 2015). This range is a prudent premise: since the beginning of the Study Group's discussions, we have been careful not to ascribe moral judgments on this practice, being that it is a generational characteristic that reveals new understandings of intimacy and sexuality. After all, how to define the limits of risk, attribute the predicate of promiscuity or to evaluate consent when we do not experiment the new meanings of privacy, the contemporary wills and the disinhibition effects[15] of cyberspace? It is very common to advice young people to avoid the practice of sending 'nudes', to blame the victim for 'sexting' and to use the harsh laws of child pornography against teens[16] (Hasinoff, 2012). This position causes the repression of sexual freedom that everyone should be able to enjoy and, besides, it endorses the idea that abuse of digital communication shall be framed as a problem that occurs due to the naivety of the users, instead of being seen as gender violence (Henry & Powell, 2015). To us, it became more important to point out the consequences of non-consensual sharing of intimate image and to demonstrate the perpetrators responsibility over the violence caused than to control or punish this behaviour.

Anyway, it appears clearly to us that the exchange of sexually explicit or suggestive images is a new form for men and women to 'make gender'. This behaviour is characterized by the intrinsic performance through which the behaviour, the appearance and the discourse have a role as indicators of masculinity and femininity. It involves a complex series of perceptive, interactional and micropolitical socially oriented acts, which define particular activities as expressions of masculine and feminine "nature". Once socially constructed, these differences are used to reinforce the need for gender in society. According to Branch et al. (2017, p. 131), 'women are being taught to do gender through

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[15] Agustina (2015, pp. 42-43) argues that, in online contexts, people feel less ashamed and express more openly that in their direct relationships, engaging in attitudes, in cyberspace, that would not be common in face-to-face relations, as if a digital self-emerged, separated of the real one. The author calls that "online disinhibition effect." To him, this disinhibition makes people cross the limits of risk.

[16] An example of disregarding of real behaviours of different generations is the legal possibility of punishing teens for 'sexting'. The practice of 'sexting' among teenagers, even when consensual, can be considered a crime, once we criminalize the sharing and the possession of sexual material indistinctly (arts. 241-A e 241-B, Child and Adolescent Statute) (on the Brazilian context: Neris et al., 2017, p. 340; on the same problem, in the USA: Halder & Jaishankar 2014). From this perspective, teens become 'collateral damage', hit by the same laws that were created to protect them (Henry & Powell 2015, p. 105).

the practice of publicizing their body in sexually explicit ways, while men are taught to do gender through the consumption of such material.' And, referring particularly to the sharing of intimate images, they carry on saying: 'In addition, sharing sexually explicit photos of women may be a way to demonstrate exertion of sexual control and "do gender" for men' (p. 131). This is a victimizing perspective of 'sexting', that interprets the practice as a reproduction of gender violence against women: what seems to be a consensual interaction is in fact the reinforcement of a sexist image of women, enabling abuse and constraint episodes. Opposing to that, the practice may be seen from a liberating perspective, i.e., as an opportunity, provided by new media, to represent authentic experiences of women sexuality, even with the potential of rewriting the codes of sexuality. To make a counterpoint between the two antipode theories, that fail to deny consensual actions (victimization) and that ignore the existence of an unbalance of structural power between the genders (liberation), at the same time that utilizes its arguments, Döring (2000) defends an integrative perspective of empowering: the new reality of cyber interactions allows a process of individual learning and of political emancipation through the negotiation of limits and the exploration of desires.

2.3 Cybercrime

Understood as a new practice, promoted by the development of devices and applications that enable the immediate exchange of media files through the internet, it seemed plausible to ask whether the non-consensual leaking/sharing of intimate images could be considered a *cyber*crime.[17] Cybercrime exists as a literary theme, journalistic topic, legislative agenda and a subject matter in the daily communication for people. However, the everyday reference to cybercrimes and the consequent and expansionist attributive pretension of 'cyber-' to crimes that involve, in any way, the architecture of information technology lacks the clarification of what is properly 'cyber' in them. The various rationales about it can be arranged in a gradation that ranges from the (traditionalist) idea that cybercrimes are fundamentally traditional crimes performed through information technology and the (adaptationist) idea that cybercrimes mark an explicit or implicit discontinuity with traditional crimes (França, 2017b).

The proposition of Wall (2017), which identifies meaning variations that can be chronologically categorized as distinct generations of cybercrimes, seems appropriate to us. By categorizing them in generations, he argues that different technological developments demand different criminological explanations. This notion of transformation allows him to offer a general and reconciliatory aspect of the apparently distinct types of cybercrimes by categorizing them in different stages of a changing process, and to comprehend that the same technologies that create cybercrimes also provide opportunity for their regulation

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[17] On this matter, cybercrime has a broad meaning: it is a violation of the legal norm (the behaviour has been explicitly forbidden by law, that is, it was criminalized in a certain local jurisdiction); a deviation or violation of social ruling (there is a social meaning for the violation, considered not wanted or reprehensible, but not from a legal norm); or, as a new threat, that is, the practice of an wrongful act, developed through the very nature of technology, but against which there is not (yet) any local or universal rule under which it can be categorized (given a meaning) (França, 2017a, p. 231).

and control. On first generation cybercrimes, computers are used in the preparation stage of the crime as communication tools obtaining preparatory information, in short, to assist traditional violations; on those cases, the extraction of technology from the criminal act does not avoid its execution, that can happen through other means. Second generation cybercrimes are traditional crimes for which new globalised opportunities have arisen; with the extraction of internet from the equation, the offending behaviour remains, by other means, in smaller numbers and on a reduced scale. Third generation cybercrimes, in turn, are products of the opportunities created solely by the internet and can only be perpetrated within cyberspace; with the exclusion of the technology that allowed them to happen, the true cybercrime, given the impossibility to exist as an activity, disappears (Wall, 2017, pp. 44-48).

An analysis of the contemporary phenomenon of non-consensual sharing of intimate images leads us to understand it as a traditional violence to sexual intimacy with new performing opportunities that have been provided by the developing of information technology. Scheller (2015, p. 556) reminds us that Marilyn Monroe, in 1949, was a victim if this kind of violence when, without money, had posed nude for a photographer called Tom Kelly, who spread her images without consent three years later. What currently brings attention to the phenomenon is the accessible platform offered by the internet for publication and distribution of the files. As a hybrid cybercrime (second generation), the non-consensual leaking/sharing might be understood as a traditional violence (violence against sexual intimacy), with traditional motivation (domestic, and mostly gender, violence),[18] however carried out through a new accessible technological mean that potentializes its effects.

2.4 Criminalization in Brazil

As a form of violence intensified by a rather recent technology, the non-consensual sharing of intimate images did not have a specific legal framework. Scholars and law officials would resort to other traditional crimes when trying to attribute accountability to the act. The most common criminal (in)adequations were the ones against honour: slander (art. 139, Criminal Code) and insult (art. 140). Crimes against individual freedom would also be used when there were threats within the act (art. 147), and against property, in cases of extortion (art. 158). When there was a breach in a security mechanism, the case could be characterized as cracking (art. 154-A, CP); and when the leaked/shared file contained sexual violence, the legal attribution would be rape (art. 213).

> 'I took my computer for repairing and they found and shared the pictures.'
> (Female, 25 years old.)

> 'People who I considered friends got me drunk, sexually abused me and recorded it.
> I ended up knowing about it a year later.'
> (Female, 23 years old.)

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[18] When discussing gender violence, it is necessary to clarify that its characterization does not mean that women suffer more violence than men, but that they suffer this violence due to the fact of being women (Siqueira, 2015).

If the shared archive contained explicit sex scenes or pornography involving children or teenagers, art. 214-A of the Child and Adolescent Statute would be (and still is) enforced. Some people even argued for the application of misdemeanours, like sexual besiegement (art. 61, Misdemeanours Act) and tranquillity disturbance (art. 65).

Despite the two recent Penal Code reforms, intended to criminalize the non-consensual leaking/sharing of intimate images, the Brazilian legal system *still does not have* a specific legal framework for revenge porn. The Act 13.718/2018, which included the art. 218-C into the Criminal Code, criminalized the sex, nudity or pornography scene disclosure. Enacted three months later, the Act 13.772/2018, which included the art. 216-B into the same Code, criminalized the unauthorized record of sexual intimacy.

Even though the efforts for a legislative adaptation must be recognized, we have found problems with the drafting (formal structure) and the content itself. In the first case (art. 218-C), the positioning of the new crime demonstrates a bad legislative drafting technique, once it was placed in the chapter that addresses sexual crimes against vulnerable people, what may restrict its application only to cases when the victim is considered criminally vulnerable: people under 14 years old (for these cases, arts. 241 e 241-A, Child and Adolescent Statute should be enforced); people who do not have the necessary understanding for the practice of sexual acts; and those who cannot offer resistance (in both cases, the lack of consent to the leaking/sharing of the intimate images is illogical, because these victims did not even consent to the sexual act). In the second case (art. 216-B), the article refers only to recording, not leaking/sharing.

Even if the law-makers had been a little more advertent to legislative drafting technique, by moving the article to a more adequate chapter, in the former case, or including leaking/sharing as crimes, in the latter, there would still be problems. First, among various possibilities for the fulfilment of a behavioural and social change (sexual education in schools, informative campaign, monetary sanctions, alternative remedies etc.), the legislative decision was exclusively in favour of the incarceration penalty, maintaining the failed tradition of using imprisonment as the referential sanction. Second, both legal reforms lost the opportunity to hold the companies offering social network services responsible for the distribution of this material.

There is an instrumental perspective of legislation – what has certainly based these legislative drafting – that criminalization may be an orientation and social control tool, when trying to solve a problem, forcing a behaviour change of those to whom it is addressed; but this conception is nothing but a romantic premise of the criminal law. A critical analysis of both Acts suggests that the legislative innovations seem to be, using the distinction made by Carvalho (2008), more a project for an emergency case (and the non-consensual sharing is, in fact, a contemporary problem that needs to be comprehended and addressed) than a project idealized from a rationally oriented activity and designed to fulfil specific purposes. In other words, these legislative acts were merely symbolic, translating the acknowledgement of the problem by the political authorities and the expression that they are aware of the public concerns, but without any real ambition of producing practical results. There certainly is a value in the symbolic effect of criminal law, when it seeks to appease objective anxieties and insecurities; but, as argued by Bicudo (2015, p. 187), to understand the criminal law 'as the only way to exert normative control capable

of dealing with the risks of a highly technological society is to simplify the complex reality we live in.'

It seems to us that solving the issue of non-consensual sharing of intimate images only by criminalizing it is a good way of not solving it at all.

2.5 Mapping Creative Solutions

One could certainly ask if the criminalization is desirable. Once criminalized, it could be asked if it is adequate. As seen above, in our context, the answers to both questions are negative. The legal possibilities traditionally provided imply a depletion of the judicial system. The jurisdictional remedy is late, the conflicts are not thoroughly solved, the penalty does act as dissuasion nor as correction, and the victim is not properly addressed. The collapse of the punitive system is not a recent eureka; many have denounced it as being born doomed to failure (Pallamolla & Achutti, 2014). Alternatives to this sanction model already exist, as the model of restorative justice.[19] But we proposed to ourselves the challenge to search for other, non-judicial, available and existing measures. By mapping creative solutions to solve the problem of improper sharing of intimate images, we have identified three main solutions: mechanisms in operation, artificial intelligence programming as prevention and hacktivism.

– *Mechanisms in operation*. These are services offered by internet provider companies. Google, for example, presents the possibility of removing information from the results of searches made in the site; it is possible to require removal of sensitive personal information, such as banking data, images of (manuscript) signatures and images or videos of nudity or sexually explicit, shared without consent. However, the problem of this measure is that it is consecutive (and not preventive) to the non-consensual leaking. Besides, it does not remove content from the web; what happens is the deindexation (removal) of the name from the search engine's results.

– *Artificial intelligence programming as prevention*. Trying to solve these problems, Antigone Davis, head of Facebook's Global Security, announced in May 2018 the launching of a pilot program to reduce non-consensual sharing, beginning in four regions around the world: Australia, Canada, United Kingdom e USA. According to her, Facebook users in these regions can already count with a proactive tool that allows them to inform being suspicious about the improper sharing of their intimate images. For each image, a 'digital fingerprint' (known as 'hash') is created to avoid future sharing. The problem, in this case, is that people who suspect that their images may have been improperly shared need to upload such images (it is guaranteed that this happens through a unique and safe link, sent by e-mail) for the company to avoid anyone to share these pictures via Facebook, Instagram and Messenger.

This programming project meets the idea that the architecture of cyberspace is capable of regulating and controlling the behaviour of users and the responsibility of internet companies (França, 2017b; Katyal, 2001, pp. 1094-1111, 2003; Lessig 2006). Lessig (1998)

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[19] Pallamolla (2009, p. 53) explains that the restorative justice is directed to conciliation and reconciliation between the parts of the delinquent act, that is, its objective is to solve the problem while restoring the broken ties and not forgetting to assign responsibility to the agent and, in this way, seeking to prevent criminal recidivism.

was responsible for highlighting the importance of the 'code', i.e., the set of protocols and rules coded and implemented that determine how people interact within the virtual space. Afterwards, and in a more detailed way, Lessig (2006) explained that there are two types of codes. The first one denotes technique, as old as the government itself, through which a Congress makes laws: we have civil, criminal, tax, traffic codes etc. The second type of code is that elaborated by programmers, essentially represented by instructions embedded in hard drives and programs that make cyberspace work. What Lessig (2006, p. 72) claims is that the first type of code may affect the second one: 'When commerce writes code, then code can be controlled, because commercial entities can be controlled. Thus, the power of East over West increases as West Coast Code becomes increasingly commercial.'[20] Thus, like an architectonic structure subjects human behaviour (which inspired ecological criminologies), the programmed code, regulated by the legislative code, structures and conditions behaviours, establishes restrictions and permissions, allowing the prevention of unwanted actions – much like what interests us, the non-consensual sharing of intimate images. Arguing for the proposition of a digital architecture to control cybercrime, Katyal (2003, p. 2273), however, points out that, in the same way some urban projects for crime reduction ended up prejudicing communities, architectonic responses to violence in cyberspace must be well planned, at risk of creating severe damages in the long term.

– *Hacktivism* was another form of response to non-consensual sharing identified in the research. Within domestic and gender violence, feminist hackers use digital activism as a tool for social action. A Brazilian hacker has recently affirmed that she invades computers and mobile phones that belong to men who share 'nudes' and deletes every file from the perpetrators database. 'Women come to us because it is easier and more effective than going to the police. Erasing a leaked nude might save a girl's life that would be completely marked in her study or work environment if something is not done rapidly. I have seen women whose lives were destroyed because of a leaked nude' (Morgado, 2018). This action is known as hacking. However, hacktivism presents other types of vigilante actions for similar cases: 'doxing' is characterized by the practice of searching and making private or identifiable information about an individual or an organization publicly available (someone who leaks pictures without consent may have their personal, housing and/or bank data made public by hacktivists); and the 'public shaming', which is basically online public humiliation. Although very interesting, it is important to emphasize that the motives, ways and impact of this virtual vigilantism are still unknown.

Final Considerations

As previously announced in the research methodology, the objective of Project Leaked was to gather information on non-consensual sharing of intimate images in order to better understand this phenomenon. We hope that the data and reflections presented here become a reference to further research, contribute to put this behaviour and its consequences under discussion and encourage victims and perpetrators to acknowledge the violence of revenge porn. This article does not seek to be conclusive. More discussion

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[20] Lessig (*Ibid.*) calls East Coast Code the legislative code enacted in Washington, D.C., and West Coast Code the code developed at the Silicon Valley, California.

is needed on the effects of romantic love codes, on new understandings of intimacy and sexuality in the XXI century, on how information technology structures and conditions emergent behaviours, and on the depletion of the criminal and judicial systems to solve some contemporary issues.

We hope it has become evident that the non-consensual sharing of intimate images is a violence against sexual intimacy that carries the same motives of domestic and gender violence. The leaking/sharing reinforces misogynistic cultural perspectives: considering that men are the people who share the most these files, it is possible to note that they are responsible for the framing (both in the technical meaning of recording, and in the metaphorical meaning of speech production) of the feminine body and its sexual performance, creating a specific point of view over women and their sexualities (Nabil 2014, p. 9). The camera records and publicizes the violent male gaze over the woman.

We hope that, in the end, our project has also fulfilled its part in clarifying the violent qualities of non-consensual leaking/sharing. And that it has eased the pains of victims of this violence, by giving them voice.

> 'One day a man called me and showed me the video. At that time, it had spread like fire. The destruction of my life started there. I was locked up for a few months and dropped out of the (...) course. At the time I lost my scholarship because I missed many classes. I became more antisocial and nervous, had persecutory delusion, anxiety and started using controlled medicine. Up to this day I don't work, and this interferes in my relationship with people and men. I was never the same. I've lost the happiness of living and, only two years later, I didn't get over it and always remember…☹☹☹☹ If you want to call me to help in something other than the testimony, be my guest. I would talk to lots of people about it. THANKS FOR LETTING ME SHARE.'
> (Female, 29 years old.)

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ANNEXURE I

REPRODUCTION OF THE TEXTS OF THE PROJECT WEBSITE
(www.projetovazou.com)

PROJECT LEAKED

Non consensual sharing of intimate images is a kind of contemporary violence. However, regardless the increasing number of cases reported by the media and the developing academic interest (interviews, case studies, research on sentencing), little is known about its drivers and effects, characteristics of perpetrators and victims, which social networks are mainly used etc., specially because of the low rate of reports and the lack of credible official references. The lack of data is a problem to the comprehension of the phenomenon; as a consequence, appropriate prevention and repression policies cannot be implemented.

Other researchers have made interviews, case studies and jurisprudence analysis; besides, there are many news reports on the matter. These are great references, but we still lack a more complete overview of the phenomenon.

Project Leaked seeks to collect this valuable information from the experiences of victims of leaking.

If you ever had images and/or video files leaked, answer to the questionnaire below (it will take less than 5 minutes) and help us on this project to better understand the many ways this violence can manifest.

> Click here to access the questionnaire

The participation on this research is voluntary and if you decide not to participate or want to discontinue it at any moment, you are absolutely free to do so.

The participation on this research is anonymous; the questionnaire was made in a way that it will not record personal data.

The results of this research will be published in papers and books, and can be used in scientific events, on which any information able to identify a person will be omitted.

There are no personal expenses to the participants in any stage of the research; there is also no financial compensation related to the participation.

Even though there are no direct benefits in your participation, you will be helping in the comprehension of the studied phenomenon and in the production of scientific knowledge.

You can also help us by sharing this research.

OTHER INFORMATION

Methodology:
This research is qualitative, exploratory and explanatory, based on a questionnaire with open-ended questions.

Organization:
Contemporaneous Criminologies Study Group. Coordinated by Leandro Ayres França, GECC brings together researchers and academics for the reading and discussion of recent productions on the field of Criminology. GECC is autonomous and has no links with educational institutions and government agencies.

Other names (for indexing purposes):
Non-consensual dissemination of intimate images, intimate exposition, non consensual intimate images (NCII), revenge porn, sexting, leaking of intimate images, intimacy violation, privacy violation.

Website's images:
Public domain (Creative Commons CC0 license, via Pixabay)

<u>ANNEXURE II</u>

QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE PROJECT LEAKED

ABOUT YOU
City
_____

State (Federation Unit)
_____

Gender
□ Female
□ Male
□ Other: _____

Current age
_____

ABOUT WHO LEAKED THE FILE(S)

Do you know who leaked the content?
□ No
□ Yes

ABOUT WHO LEAKED THE FILE(S)
More information on who leaked the file(s)

Gender
□ Female
□ Male
□ Other: _____

Age
_____

Were you or are you related to the person in any way?
□ No
□ Yes

If yes, what kind of relationship?
□ Marriage/Civil partnership
□ Dating
□ Friendship
□ Other: _____

CONSENT
Did you know about the recording?
☐ No
☐ Yes

Did you authorize/provide the recording?
☐ No
☐ Yes

What motivated you to authorize/provide the recording?
_____

ABOUT THE SHARING OF THE INTIMATE IMAGES

How old were you at the time of the recording?
_____

Which kind of file was leaked/shared?
(More than one alternative can be selected)
☐ Foto(s)
☐ Video(s)

Which apps were used to share the files?
(More than one alternative can be selected)
☐ WhatsApp
☐ Facebook
☐ Twitter
☐ Instagram
☐ Snapchat
☐ E-mail
☐ Porn website
☐ Other: _____

How did you become aware of the sharing?
_____

Do you know the reason for the leaking?
(More than one alternative can be selected)
☐ Revenge
☐ Threat
☐ Extorsion
☐ Device invasion
☐ Sharing without specific reason
☐ Exhibition of image or video without sharing the archive
☐ I don't know

CONSEQUENCES

What happened to you when you found out about the sharing?
(More than one alternative can be selected)
☐ Depression
☐ Anxiety
☐ Post–traumatic stress disorder
☐ Isolation from social contact
☐ Abandonment of school/course/University
☐ Job loss
☐ Difficulties in finding new job
☐ House moving
☐ Aggression
☐ Harassment on the street or other public places
☐ Self harming and suicide thoughts
☐ I didn't care
☐ I used it for a positive action. Which?
_____

Did your family take knowledge about the leaking?
☐ No
☐ Yes

If the family knew, how did it react?
☐ Support
☐ Rejection/retaliation

How did you recover from the incident?
(More than one alternative can be selected)
☐ I didn't recover yet
☐ Support group, help from friends, empowerment
☐ Family support
☐ Psychological treatment
☐ Psychiatric treatment
☐ No recovery was needed

Was there a police investigation?
☐ No
☐ Yes

Were charges pressed?
☐ No
☐ Yes

What would you like to happen?
(More than one alternative can be selected)
□ Identification of who leaked the archive
□ Removal of the content from the internet or from other apps
□ Indemnification
□ Punishment (penalty enforcement)

[This page only opened to those who answered negatively to the question "Were charges pressed?" and went straight to page 9 afterwards.]

Civil process
(More than one alternative can be selected)
□ Request for indemnification
□ Request for identification of the IP/mobile phone
□ Request for deindexation (removal) of the name from research mechanisms
□ Request for removal of content/link
□ Other: _____

Criminal process
(More than one alternative can be selected)
□ Slander (art. 139, Código Penal)
□ Insult (art. 140, Código Penal)
□ Threat (art. 147, Código Penal)
□ Extorsion (art. 158, Código Penal)
□ Rape (art. 213, Código Penal)
□ Child pornography (Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente)
□ Other: _____

Were other measures taken? Describe them:
_____

[This page only opened to those who answered positively to the question "Were charges pressed?".]

COMMENTARY
(If you report what happened, we ask that you omit people's names.)
_____

Consent [obligatory checkbox marking for answer submission]
    □ I authorize the use of the given information and confirm I had access to the research explanation page (www.projetovazou.com).