

A Critical Engagement with Piratical Opinion - MA (by Research)

by

Wayne Noble

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the requirements of the degree of M.A. by Research at
the University of Central Lancashire.

April 2012

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Abstract

A study of the intellectual property crime commonly known as ‘file sharing’ using the file sharing websites on which users display their activity and post comments. As a guide I will use a meta-theoretical framework first developed by Roger Sibeon and then expanded by Tim Owen to help focus the research through a post-postmodern return to sociological and criminological theory. This research also acknowledges a physical/biological component to all intangibility, internet and computer related activity and tries to build further a relationship between the physical and intangible spheres of existence. It is acknowledged here that individuals are not predetermined to commit certain actions because they are biologically programmed to do so, rather that genes can influence behaviour and behaviour can influence genes.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisory team for their sterling work; Dr. Tim Owen for his insightful observations and attention to detail and Dr. Terry Hopton for his encouragement and support.

I would also like to thank my wife Joanne, without whom this project would not have been possible.

Chapter One – Introduction

For this research it was necessary to complete an empirical study to provide the data to hang off our theoretical framework. Without data we cannot theorise on the motivations of file sharers nor can we substantiate the claims we make. It is worthy of note at this stage in the proceedings that any study of a network based society, such as that of the file sharers, cannot seek any claim to theoretical ‘closure’. It is my intention to echo the sentiments of Matthew David (2010) when he espouses a ‘*reflective epistemological diversity*’ (Ibid pg.165) when dealing with complex issues and to;

“...not seek reduction to any one level of explanation, and do not seek to impose an artificial closure, by which reality is put to bed under a seductively impenetrable theoretical blanket.”
(Ibid)

The object of this study is to add to the discussion and not to attempt definite conclusions which fulfil any subjective agenda, but rather to reflect the diversity displayed within this sphere of existence and practice ontological flexibility.

The main purpose of this project is to examine the use of Peer-2-Peer file sharing websites and their impact upon the publishing, music and motion picture industries. The study is located through a criminological focus due to the widely perceive nature of the activity, namely that file sharing is a criminal activity. Copyright theft and intellectual property crime represent substantial threats to the economic viability of those media industries involved, impacting upon Britain’s Digital Economy. Much weight has been given to the voice of industry during the discussion of file sharing, (indeed it has been allowed to set the agenda where discussions surrounding intellectual property are concerned) and comparatively little attention has been given to the opinions of the actual file sharers themselves. It should be remembered that as Fenwick (pg.55

2010) says “*the debate remains focused on issues of whether copying by consumers is ‘criminalising’ the millions of downloaders and file sharers*” and that “[T]hese activities are only illegal if they lead to commercial piracy” because those involved in the debate are “*not without their own economic self-interest*”. It is the intention of this study to examine the views of file sharers in order to extract meaningful interpretations and compare them with those already propagated in the popular consciousness. I shall do this with reference to criminological theory in order to help inform our sociological awareness of this subject. Each chapter focuses on a specific area of file sharing in order to breakdown the activity into its component parts so that we may examine each one in turn. This allows us to concentrate upon some important aspects of the digital native’s online existence and allow us to contextualise the findings with regard to criminological and academic behavioural theory.

The chronology of this research project is reflected in the arrangement of the chapters beginning with a discussion of methodology and meta-theoretical framework. Chapters Three, Four and Five examine the downloading of EBooks, Music (MP3s) and Movies (AVI) respectively as the three main forms of cultural capital that is exchanged over file sharing systems. This is in order to gauge their impact and popularity but also to examine the different attitudes towards each by consumers and their neutralisation techniques.

Chapter Six examines the social components of file sharing communities by looking at the activity which takes place on blogs, forum and other virtual comment spaces in which user interact with each other and how relationships and online presences are formed.

Chapter Seven is a discussion of the research at a broader level introducing theoretical concepts (such as drift and strain) whilst attempting to establish a flexible framework that acknowledges a human (or physical) component is present in all virtual activity.

Finally the research is concluded in Chapter Eight, followed by extensive appendices that correspond to each component part of the study and act as further information should the reader require it.

Chapter Two - Methodology

The research methodology uses a survey based approach in which data is collected from file sharing websites in order to observe the activity taking place therein. This follows the great sociological tradition of observational research, a mainstay of sub-cultural study but in an online context. It is by performing a mixture of quantitative and qualitative research that allows meaningful data to be extracted and studied from these online resources and takes the researcher to the source of the activity.

To begin with we must first decide the framework within which to collate this information to ensure consistency and continuity when we come to examine our findings. To this end, a database was designed to function as a tool to help compile information from the different websites we will be examining in this study. In a previous study (Noble 2010) I observed that when collating information from several web sources it became important to design a template that was flexible enough to accommodate all the sources used throughout the study. This may mean that although not all fields of information are entered into the database as information can vary from one website to another; it is important to maintain a certain standard in order to prevent confusion or any troublesome omissions at a later stage.

When designing this tool for empirical study I first had to decide which websites and which information to collect. Guidance for this I found in a previous study I had undertaken called '*The Future of the Book*' (Ibid) in which I completed a similar task using a database model I designed. Using my previous experience of collating such data and my knowledge of the pitfalls to be avoided in such an undertaking, I developed a new database from scratch; one which I believed would suit the needs of this study (see appendix one).

The next task was to decide which websites and which information to include in my empirical study and for this I again turned to my previous work in this field (ibid). Of the many and varied P-2-P websites available I needed to select sites which fulfil certain criteria. For example, do they have a have good level of visible activity with people using them, posting comments and displaying a high degree of participation? It is important not to forget that without such a visible display of user activity this research would fall at the first fence, it is the interpretation of user comments using theory which is the key to this study.

The selection of six torrent sites was done using a variety of internet search engine results and also a thread posted upon the Torrent Freak website which gives statistical data detailing the “*Top ten most popular torrent sites of 2011*” (Ernesto, 5th Jan 2011). In this post the author presents us with a list of the ten most visited torrent sites of the New Year along side their respective position in the same study the previous year. The websites chosen for study are designed to give a broad selection of both popular and obscure file sharing activity.

The P-2-P websites chosen for examination are:



The Pirate Bay - <http://thepiratebay.org/>



BT Junkie - <http://btjunkie.org/>



Kick Ass Torrents - <http://www.kat.ph/>



Sumo Torrents - <http://www.sumotorrent.com/>



Demonoid - <http://www.demonoid.me>



Fenopy - <http://fenopy.eu>

Figure 1:

Website addresses and icons

Survey research is used in this study as it constitutes the best means of gathering significant data regarding this area of research and follows in the sociological/criminological tradition of the observation and analysis of potentially deviant sub-cultures. The six websites chosen all demonstrate a good level of user activity and display technical data which may also prove useful in this study. As well as examining the comments of users and putting them through a criminological/sociological lens and employing a great deal of flexible reflective epistemology, we will be adhering to the meta-theoretical frameworks set out by Sibeon (cited in Owen 2009) and Owen (ibid). Owen expanded Sibeon's original framework to include bio-social forms of criminology and I believe it is a framework which can be transplanted and used to guide and inform other fields of research. Most notably it contains a set of guidelines to help maintain the validity of the research conducted and avoid possible pitfalls. These pitfalls manifest themselves in the form of 'cardinal sins', (as they have been dubbed) which are; reductionism, essentialism, reification, functional teleology and the conflation of agency/structure and time/space, the avoidance of which will be employed throughout this process to ensure *'metatheoretical development as part of the post-modern 'return to' sociological theory'* (Ibid). In short, this metatheoretical framework employs a complex and rich exchange of ideas and thoughts and rejects the restraining effects that *'post-structuralism and postmodernism have had on social analysis and research'* (Ibid). An ontologically flexible approach to social theory is required here in recognition of the broad diversity of human thought, action and discourse upon file sharing websites and minimise the likelihood of ascribing false rationalisations to subjects' behaviour. If we are to find a valid account for social theory in this context then we must remain fluid in our thoughts and ideas and resist the restraining notions that postmodernism has placed upon objectivity. Rather than declaring that a single postmodern theoretical framework, (such as

Foucauldian notions of power for example), can make the only claim to truth it is proposed here that explanations are from multiple origins encompassing a strand from many different traditional as well as Postmodern sources.

‘Cardinal Sinning’ does not seek to place restraints upon this flexible ontology, but rather to help as a guide to avoid false rationalisation by being anti-reductionist. We must avoid reductionism as it deflates complex issues, for instance it would be inaccurate to label all file sharers as merely criminal (as for example corporate press releases tend to do) as some sharing does not infringe. Neither must we be guilty of assigning characteristics which define a person (as essentialism does) or attributing agency where none is present, reifying an institution, association or sub culture. Our search must also not be so narrow as to reinforce preconceived notions; it must be broad enough to account for opposing views and not fall into the pitfall of functional teleology. We must free our minds by developing what some academics have called a ‘*criminological Imagination*’ (Barton, Corteen, Scott & Whyte 2007) and engage with theory, in order to acknowledge the enormous diversity of human experience. It is perhaps best to keep in mind the phrase ‘nothing is as it seems’ as we progress through this journey of discovery.

A data mining exercise commenced at the beginning of this project starting with particular reference to eBooks (electronic books/digital editions). I collected data from the top 50 eBook downloads from the six P-2-P websites already detailed here with results sorted (where possible) by order of the most seeded. This will give an indication of which are the most popular downloads at that time amongst file sharers because they will be the ones which have been downloaded the most.

Following this survey another one will be undertaken using the same criteria but concentrating on MP3 downloads and finally a third will concentrate upon an AVI search criteria (movies). This will allow us to cross compare the attitudes of MP3 downloaders with those that download eBooks and others that download movies to see if there are any significant differences between these two types of activity. A further survey of eBook, MP3 and AVI downloading will be repeated after approximately a six month interval so that further comparisons can be made and to see if there are any time/space factors that will help us understand downloading trends. This second set of surveys will involve a smaller catchment of data as it will examine some of the most useful torrent strands collected from the first study. This means that those surveys which did not register much data will be archived in favour of richer data streams from forums, blogs and other social spaces.

The main purpose of this empirical study is not to collect data of a technical nature (regarding the actual downloads themselves), but primarily to collect the views of the file sharers as they are expressed by themselves on the websites. This is of extreme importance as it is the nearest we can get to hearing the voice of those people who participate in P-2-P file sharing. Because file sharing is (to a large extent) anonymous it would be difficult to canvass the views of internet users through traditional channels (i.e. some form of official survey). The obvious problem would be who would you ask? Also what incentive would there be in taking part? There may also be a certain level of suspicion directed at any attempts to study file sharing activities due to aggressive media corporation attempts to clamp down on such activities. Previous studies of internet file sharing have concentrated their efforts upon college students. This form of functional teleology is to be challenged during this work alongside preconceived notions of what constitutes a 'pirate'.

When users place comments upon file sharing web pages they do so of their own volition. Their names are in most cases changed to a pseudonym, (presumably to protect their identities), although you will observe later in this study that on some occasions this is not the case. The anonymity that the internet affords means that we cannot be sure even of the gender of the person leaving the comments (unless perhaps they have a particularly masculine or feminine pseudonym, and even then it could be misleading). To some extent gender differences are removed amongst users, as indeed it is with ethnic origin, socio-economic status and age differences allowing for meaningful interpretation by those who care to do so. The interpretation of these user comments is conducted using the guidelines we have already examined here in an attempt to widen the field of study begun by previous studies which have focused solely upon samples of college students. It is with this methodological tool box that I hope to extract some practical information to help inform current criminological theory and challenge the dominant discourse regarding cultural practices and sharing.

The final stage of research is to examine further the social aspects of file sharing as some users have created screen personas for themselves, often linked to Facebook or Twitter accounts. Some users have blogs or have contributed to forums where various topics are discussed and where they form relationships and friendships with other users, creating bonds of allegiance to each other and the particular website they use. I hope to show in this study that file sharers exhibit a social dimension in their on-line activities and that perhaps this is a reflection of a digital culture populated by 'digital natives'. A 'Netizen' whose on-line existence can be as valid and hold as much importance to that individual's existence as their physical, real world lives. This could well be an expression of the 'self' liberated from physical constraints, in the same way that the word has been liberated from the printed page. In cyber space users are free to reinvent themselves, the

only boundary being their imagination with social incentives being the driving force by which interactions occur.

Whilst it would be rash to jump to conclusions before a rigorous examination of the evidence presented by this research, it would be useful to outline the branches of criminological theory which may help to inform upon this study. In particular the study of deviant subcultures and the work of Sykes and Matza may be extremely helpful when describing “*delinquency as a status and delinquents are role players who intermittently act out a delinquent role*” (Hopkins Burke pg.111 2005), as they drift in and out of deviant activity whilst neutralizing their criminal behaviour (Cohen 2009). This has proved to be a productive field of study for others such as Morris and Higgins (2009), Ingram and Hinduja (2008), Hinduja (2006) and Peace et al (2003) (all cited in Liang and Phau 2009 pg.3), and the intent here is to further our understanding of this topic by adding to the debate.

Theories of Differential Association may help us to understand the social factors which help determine the norms, roles and values of the actors and the influence of family and friends upon attitudes towards file sharing. Social Learning Theories such as those Sutherland and Cressey 1960 and Akers 1985 (cited in Gunter 2008 pp.55-56) have previously been used to help explain the ways in which the morals of individuals influence the degree to which they engage in criminal activities. In this study we shall consider the social factors at work in the data collected in this survey sample.

Another important theorist, which maybe of assistance in understanding file-sharers’ would be Robert Merton with his theory of strain (or anomie) in which he attempts to explain the motivations behind deviant behaviour. Although some have dismissed Strain Theory as not very

helpful when it comes to our understanding of file-sharing (Gelsthorpe pp396-397 2010), I hope to show that some understanding of the file sharers can be extrapolated from their comments using strain theory. In particular the ethics of file sharers will come under the spotlight when we examine what appears to be their anti-capitalist/corporate/comodification stance. Moreover it appears that *'piracy'* is perhaps founded on a gift culture with social bonds formed about the exchange of cultural capital rather than a financial exchange.

Stan Cohen's "*States of Denial*" (2009) may give us an insight into the workings of the file sharers' minds and how they justify their actions to themselves and others. It is my intention to present the reader with examples of these techniques in action (so to speak) as they distance their actions from the consequences which are often prescribed to them. It may also help us to examine possible trends of a habitual nature with file sharing as an automatic action stemming perhaps from a desire to conform to a peer group in which behavioural interpretations are learnt by example (Palmer 2007 pp.42-43)¹.

The discourse surrounding 'digital natives' will also help us to determine whether file sharing as a practice could find itself as a normative behaviour patterns. We now have a generation that grows up knowing how to use computers and navigate the internet at an early age and when those individuals have grown up only knowing downloading as their main source of acquiring cultural capital then (for them) it seems that downloading is not harmful in any way. As those who seek to protect old business interests find themselves aging and eventually dying , will it be this younger 'digital' generation that will dictate how the future philosophies and practices occur?

¹ Emphasis here is upon the cognitive behaviour displayed by file sharers and how it is shaped by the general melee of their on-line activities.

As more people live their lives in a virtual capacity with activities such as social networking we must ask ourselves what implications this has for the identity of the individual. As Palfrey and Gasser (pg.35, 2008) point out, “*Digital Natives are living more of their lives in networked publics*”, what impact will this form of existence have on issues such as privacy and Human Rights when more people place themselves on-line, creating a digital ‘self’ and acting as a social entity with others? These issues will perhaps be discussed by P2P file sharers when we examine their blogs, forums and social networking links and how technological developments have affected content and in turn users social and economic interactions (Zittrain pg.82 2008) later in this study.

What effect can this use of high technology have upon the development of the human brain for future generations? Will it signify a fundamental change in the way morality and intelligence are developed, as computer use becomes an increasingly central part of a person’s existence? Can a Digital Native have an effective split between mind and body, creating a dualism which allows them to behave in different ways?

The majority of user activity on P-2-P websites is either conducted anonymously or using a pseudonym to protect the user’s identity, however there seems to be an increasing trend toward people using a pseudonym which seem to be based on their real names. For example, if a user was called ‘John Smith’ then they may use the name ‘johnsmithuk1990’, which would give us some clues as to their name, location and possibly age. They may place a Facebook or Twitter link in their user profile with a passport style photograph and even mobile phone number making their true identity ever easier to establish. From this we must also look at the effects of anonymity upon the file sharing community. Does anonymity have a de-individuation effect upon the user’s behaviour which makes them perform actions that they would not normally.

Because the purpose of this study is to examine the use of file sharing websites and not to report or investigate the users for potential prosecution or legal action, steps have been taken to make users anonymous where it is thought necessary. The intention is to leave the field of study the way it was found and not to adversely affect any of the individuals in a way that they would find harmful, whilst at the same time not aiding and abetting any potential legal infringements. So if a user is referenced in this work that has a particularly revealing screen name, Facebook link or Twitter feed, their names will be obscured to protect their true identity. Issues surrounding identity and social networking will be discussed at length in a later chapter but for the moment it is important to note that many users place a lot of personal information about themselves on the internet, perhaps more than they realise.

Throughout this study I will be recreating the comments posted upon these file sharing web pages for the purpose of study along with screen names and torrent titles. It is important to remember that in all cases I have tried to capture the essence of the comments as it was written in many cases they are either incorrectly spelt, abbreviated or written in a manner quite often referred to as 'text speak'. Where necessary I will indicate where spelling and grammar has been altered and add any additional information which may be needed to clarify the text for the reader.

The difficulty here has been the interpretation of what ostensibly appears to be 'Pidgin English', whilst not changing the meaning and sentiments that motivated its authorship in the first place. I have taken pains to maintain the true meaning of statements made by users and not to place any erroneous interpretation upon them. It is difficult to determine the origin of these writing styles, whether it is an indication of poor education, popular culture or the use of English as a second language. I suspect that all three of the explanations are applicable to varying degrees and depended upon the circumstances of the individual who wrote them.

To help the reader orientate themselves further I have placed extensive appendices for each chapter at the end of this paper. Each appendix corresponds to its equivalent numbered chapter for easy reference and contains important details which would be impractical to include in the main body of text.

Chapter Three – eBook Survey

“The more things are forbidden, the more popular they become.” – Mark Twain.

The study of six websites commenced with a survey of the eBooks listed as ready for torrent download. The sites selected (in order of examination) were; Fenopy, Kick Ass Torrents (KAT), The Pirate Bay, Demonoid, BT Junkie and Sumo Torrents (see the appropriate appendix for each order of survey). Each site was searched by sorting the categories as they are featured on these websites, or typing ‘eBook’ into the search box. The results were then sorted (where possible) into descending order of the most seeded to the least seeded. By sorting results in this fashion we can assume that the most seeded will logically correspond to the most popular downloads as it has the most activity. Because it has the most activity it would be reasonable to assume that these torrent downloads would display the correct type user activity needed for this study, (i.e. comments, ratings etc).

With the exception of Demonoid, the top fifty downloads from each site were examined and logged on the specially designed database². This would give us an uneven spread of results with torrents displaying a high level of activity next to those with very little. With a study of this nature it is important to acknowledge the vast expanse of results and the necessity to narrow search results down to a manageable amount to avoid a bewildering plethora of results.

The database for this study was designed to record information about the content of the download, web page addresses, ratings and statistical data about the amount of seeds, leechers and in some cases previous number of downloads for each item. Screen captures were taken when items of particular interest presented themselves which could not be logged into the

² Demonoid was the exception because it only offered the top twenty downloads as a ‘Top Torrents’ option, otherwise it would only display listing in chronological order not by reference to the amount of user activity.

database. These items may be advertisements, file download details, avatars or simply taken as examples of web pages and other artefacts. It is important to remember that at this stage we will concern ourselves with the comments made and the types of content available for download.

Avatars and screen names will be discussed in greater depth later in this study.

An issue which became obvious early in the study was the unsuitability of the site Sumo Torrents for this study. Whilst displaying statistical data about downloads, there seems to be very little user engagement with discussion or comments. For this reason the study was reduced to five websites. However this site does give us some interesting information regarding links to social networking sites which will be discussed in a later chapter.

The content of the down loads varies from cook books, religious texts, health and fitness programmes to computing, magazines and sex manuals. What seems conspicuous by its absence is the lack of a strong presence of mainstream popular fiction of the type you would expect to see gracing the top ten bestsellers list of any high street book shop. The nearest we come to this are the comparatively few listings for “*Kindle eBooks Collection*” (Fen42, KAT6, PB1, BT25), “*Kindle Library – DRM STRIPPED – MOBI FORMAT*” (BT9) and “*New York Times Best Sellers Week 47 – P2P ePUB*” (PB43).

Most of the discussion on these torrents surrounds the possibility of the on-line retailer Amazon tracking a user’s digital content on their ‘Kindle’ device. The Kindle device is a tethered appliance which, like most tethered devices of this nature has “*the capacity to relay information about their uses back to the manufacturer*” (Zittrain pg.109 2008). One of the most interesting and revealing comments comes from the user known as ‘gglynn00’ who, in reply to several enquiries from other users’ states:

“I’ve had a Kindle for over 2 years and I’ve barely purchased anything from Amazon. I mostly use files from here (top 100 is a huge 20 gig library). The only real books I buy from Amazon are newer books that I can’t find anywhere else. I’ve had zero trouble from Amazon by having the files on my Kindle that are ‘not legit’”

(Torrent Survey 1 - The Pirate Bay - PB1)

From this comment it is clear that there is no overt political agenda or any mention of pecuniary matters, it appears to be simply a case of amassing a massive eBook library at little or no cost.

The user in this case does still purchase contemporary digital editions because they are not as freely available as their older counterparts. The possibility that some eBooks maybe older in origin could indicate that copyright infringement has not taken place, however it is unclear from the information collected from this torrent what the copyright status of these eBooks are. To establish this we would have to look at survey KAT6, which has the same file name and details but also contains a complete list of each book in the torrent.

Of the nine hundred and seventy six eBooks available in this download many listed here are what could be referred to as ‘classics’ by authors such as Dickens, Shakespeare, Plato, Verne, Dumas, Dostoyevsky and Frederick Nietzsche all of whom are long deceased and the copyright lapsed. The majority however are written by contemporary authors who are very much alive and whose copyright is current. The works of authors such as J.K. Rowling, Stephanie Meyer, Dan Brown, Jodi Picoult, Janet Evanovich, Charlaine Harris, Laurell K. Hamilton and Patricia Cornwell would indicate that this torrent would seem to constitute a considerable copyright infringement.

It is interesting to point out at this juncture that despite there being several eBooks written by the ‘Harry Potter’ creator J.K. Rowling, there are no official eBook editions of her books (Brads Reader 2010). But, file sharers have taken the time and manpower to produce them in order to share them with others. Not only does this indicate a missed opportunity made by that particular

publisher but also indicates a strong demand for electronic editions of popular contemporary books (Noble 2010 pp.20-22) amongst file sharers.

In fact there is much evidence to suggest that file sharers are also consumers, purchasing books in the customary fashion and using file sharing web sites simply to supplement their collections. For the torrent *“Nalini Singh – Guild Hunters 04 – Archangel’s Consort”* (DEM10), users have commented; *“This will tide me over ‘till my copy arrives”* (LucidDelight), *“... have bought it but wanted a LIT copy too”* (Omhurtado) and *“I have ordered my copy of this in July and I’ve been dying for it ever since”* (lotthedrinkeroftea).

We can find similar comments throughout this study such as those for *“The 4-Hour Body: An Uncommon Guide to Rapid Fat-loss2”* (DEM16); *“I ordered five signed copies”* (TJSinCowtown), *“I bought this and now I’m finding that when I’m not home I’m just using my kindle”* (omnom), *“I purchased this on my Kindle a few days ago”* (OmegaNemesis28) and *“... ya I spend money on it...”* (helllyesss).

A recent study by Envisional (2011) into the amount of infringement taking place in internet traffic states that only 0.2% of infringing activity is concerned with eBooks and Audio books. This places reading, as an activity, at the bottom of the list of file sharing past times, perhaps indicating that readers are more likely to buy artefacts than other forms of cultural engagements.

Also, there is evidence to suggest that file sharers are consumers of hand held electronic devices with many users making comments referring to the devices they have just bought or are about to buy; *“bought Kindle 3G + wifi Kindle”*(wuify1978; PB1), *“Just got a Kindle...”*(a03dugga; PB1), *“I’ve got an obscure e-reader...”*(NinpoLore; PB1), *“... I got a Pandigital Novel for Christmas...”*(pssyluvr; PB1), *“... now on iPad& iPhone”*(mxyzptik; PB1), *“works great with*

the Kindle app on my droid...”(xglitter; PB1) , “*Just bought nook for xmas*”(ynkswinnn1; PB43) , “*... uploaded the mobi to my kindle...*”(Sleazyx; DEM16) , “*These work great on the Kindle*”(aarrhmaytee; BT25) and “*I just got a Kindle for Christmas...*”(heehee79; BT47). We even have appeals to support the authors of intellectual property as for example the user Elros (PB1 - *Windows 7 Secrets 2009*) states; “*If you like this book please buy it and support the authors Paul Thurrett and Rafael Rivera*”, followed by a link to the Amazon listing for this product.

Some research has stated that the average file sharers are aged from 12 – 21 (Yar 2007 pg.100) which place them firmly within the education system, both at secondary school level and in some form of higher education (college or university). Previous studies have focused solely upon the student population implying that they constituted the bulk of file sharing activity, a claim which finds evidence to support this theory here in the form of large collections of educational textbooks. In the surveys FEN1 and BT2 (*Oxford University Press eBook Pack 652 books sorted PHC*), BT4 (*Routledge eBook Pack 867 Books Sorted PHC*) and BT8 (*Cambridge Univ Press eBook Mega Pack 1193 eBook PHC*), we see a large collection of academic text books which are no doubt supplementing the reading lists of many a poor student. This is obviously why media corporations have targeted schools and colleges for their own particular style of re-education (Yar 2006 pp.71-72) regarding file sharing in an attempt to discourage the practice amongst those that we could describe as ‘Digital Natives’.

The cost of academic books has long been a problem for students who increasingly find themselves under financial pressures, Wallace Wang (pg.14 2004) remarks that students often swap copies of scanned textbooks and that in some countries “*textbooks are unavailable at any price, so piracy may be the only way to get a copy of a particular book*”. As Rausing (pg.48

2010) observes; “*The inflation rate for scholarly monographs is high and prices are hyper-inflating for commercial academic journal, where three firms control over 80% of the market*”³.

Some users even suggest titles for uploading, for example the user ‘digmana’ (PB1) suggests a few titles “*because I’m getting books for my college courses for spring*” and ‘marklikestpb’ (PB1) who needs them for “*English and Poly Sci classes*”. It would not be beyond the bounds of reason to suggest that a young person, who has grown up downloading music and video from file sharing websites from an early age, would attempt to do the same with their academic text books when they reach an appropriate age. Indeed if they have grown up as part of a ‘gift culture’, developing a habit of downloading for free, it can hardly be a surprise that such people would apply this principle to other aspects of their lives.

A trait similar to that of education which we can see amongst downloads in this study is a quality of self improvement and advancement, sometimes with sinister overtones. Some subjects of the eBooks available here could be labelled as gaining the maximum return for the least effort or for getting an advantage over others by cheating or deception. For example, KAT47 “*Attract and Seduce Women with Hypnosis + Mistress By Mistake – MANTESH*”, coupled with KAT7 “*The Good In Bed Guide To: Female Orgasms – MANTESH*” would seem to indicate a deliberate strategy. Also if we combine the subjects of KAT29 “*The Secret Language of Business: How to read anyone in 3 seconds or less - MANTESH*” and KAT48 “*Increase your Influence at Work – MANTESH*” would certainly seem to suggest a desire to control and manipulate others whilst furthering your own aims. Similar topics to these are NLP (Non Linguistic Programming) Hypnosis and indirect suggestion (FEN25), Body Language (FEN33),

³ This argument highlighted by Rausing (pg. 48 2010) could itself be a form of neutralisation when it puts forward the notion that scholarly texts are price beyond the means of those hoping to study them, possibly an appeal to higher loyalties.

becoming an expert on any subject in two hours (FEN19), habits to influence others (FEN22), winning friends and influencing people (FEN23) and a guide to making women laugh (FEN11). Perhaps best described as ‘niche’ or as ‘self help’ it is these type of topics which make up the bulk of downloads contained in this study and it is a surprise that more mainstream publications don’t figure more prominently. Magazines and periodicals may perhaps be under greater threat from piracy than the average book with ‘Men’s Health’, ‘PC World’, ‘Popular Science’, ‘Men’s Fitness’, ‘PC Magazine’, ‘Playboy’, ‘PC Gamer’ and ‘PC Pro’ all present in the study and all freely available for download.

Some of the web sites studied displayed a strong presence of religious texts in particular Islamic texts, including the Quran. As the uploaders of these torrents are themselves private individuals and not recognised organisations such as academic establishments, charities or legitimate religious groups, we must wonder about the sources this information originates from. Further to this point we must question the veracity of each torrent’s content, with particular reference to hate speak and radicalism. Torrents are not open to peer review, in the same way as academic texts, so that if a user were naive enough to accept a downloaded text at face value, they could possibly find themselves with a misinformed or slanted view of a particular topic. If a torrent consisted of radical text how would a user find a more balanced view? Could this even be a tactic used by extremists to recruit and disseminate propaganda?⁴ If, for example, a young Muslim man was curious about Jihad but because of the controversy that surrounds this issue he could not engage in a frank and balanced discussion with his peers or mentors, he may turn to a torrent

⁴ Extremists already utilise the internet in pursuit of their goals (Taylor 2010).

downloading site for answers. There maybe a serious danger of that person receiving an inaccurate and extremist view of the subject rather than a moderate, more balanced view⁵.

One thing is certain, downloading religious texts (such as the Quran) would not significantly infringe copyright, but it leaves us with a bigger concern about the content of the texts and the means used to spread them. So perhaps, when an anonymous user makes the comment “*propagande!*” (BT7, *Livres Islamiques (French Ebook (A10) (54 in 1)) (upped by Samigh)*), for an Islamic themed torrent we should pay particular attention.

The fact that several web sites in this study (Fenopy & BT Junkie) list religious and politically themed content must give us pause for thought. It may be nothing more than a harmless exchange of views and materials similar to hundreds of web sites one could easily find with any internet search. But because of the nature of the conduit by which these materials are circulated and the target recipient it would be useful to investigate the nature and content of such downloads. Unfortunately, this is beyond the current scope of this research and would entail active participation on the part of the researcher.

Like religion we can see that political discussion is not beyond the scope of topics which crop up on torrent comment pages and sometimes occurring on the most unexpected torrents. The Pirate Bay torrent “*65+ Poker Strategy eBooks Collection (Doyle Drunson, Dan Harding)*” (PB10) is a download dedicated to said gambling pastime. But amidst the criticisms and compliments about the quality of the download there is a rather lengthy comment upon the evils of capitalism. The user (Quantum12) comments on how they believe the population is divided by individual

⁵ In his Television series ‘Generation Jihad’ (BBC 2010), journalist Peter Taylor makes a similar point with regard to young Muslim men turning towards extremist websites for answers about Jihad because of a fear amongst the Muslim community of discussing the subject.

desires which are fostered by the capitalist system and concludes their critique by entreating people to acknowledge the ‘slavery’ created by the ‘evil’ banking system and take action.

Is it possible that this demonstrates the attitude of file sharers towards the modern socioeconomic system of cognitive capitalism? The comment reads like a student Trotskyite pamphlet and is quite clearly Marxist in origin when it states that “*the heart of the enemy is the banking industry*” and “*the point is to keep you in permanent debt, and therefore an employee of the bank*”. The same comment by the same user appears again verbatim later in the same study (PB22: “*Windows 7 Secrets (2009)*”) and it is entirely possible that this user has posted this on other torrent downloads as it appears to have been ‘cut & pasted’ into the comments section of this torrent, possibly bringing it under the banner of ‘spam’.

The responses to this are as varied as the subjects and files which are available for download on this site. Many admonish the user for posting these sorts of comments believing this to be an inappropriate forum for political discussion. Others disagree with the sentiments posted by Quantum12, “*capitalism makes the competitive edge a benefit to all*” (liberaltrash PB22) and “*capitalism causes the unmotivated to work competitively*” (Sirbaba PB22). Some support the original post pointing out, “*you are here to pirate*” and “*you yourself are stealing someone else’s hard produced material*” (MangyCheshire PB22), in reply to a comment disagreeing with Quantum12. Some simply say “*please don’t moralise while downloading illegal material*” as they “*have already lost the moral high ground*” (sammydog PB22)⁶.

The purpose of this study is not to pass judgments on the political, moral or spiritual beliefs of file sharers. One thing we can say is that the responses posted here are in some cases articulate

⁶ Some torrents would appear to be overtly political in their subject matter; “*Palestine Peace not Apartheid by Jimmy Carter eBook*” (FEN15) and “*CIA Red Cell Memorandum on United States Exporting terrorism*” (KAT39), clearly fit squarely into this category.

and well thought out. Clearly there is intelligence and occasionally wit behind the responses. No matter how misguided we believe those beliefs to be or whether the reader has any sympathy with the sentiments held, one must acknowledge their level of commitment and actions. File sharing networks appear to be a non-rivalous community based on social exchange with cultural capital as the currency.

Chapter Four – MP3 Survey

The MP3 file format is the most common type when looking at any form of audio file download. There are other formats, such as WAV and WMA, but they appear few and far between. MP3 allows for varying degrees of data compression and portability amongst many different platforms from iPod, MP3 player, Android Phone and other computing devices. In a recent study of infringing uses of the internet, Evisional (2011) states that illegal music downloads constitute 2.9% of the total of infringing internet traffic, a much smaller amount that perhaps may be expected. This may reflect a consumer trend away from recorded music as a popular pastime in favour of other activities, such as television and film.

The first detail that becomes obvious from a study of MP3 downloads is the increase in user activity compared with the study previously carried out for eBooks. This may perhaps be a reflection of the popularity of music compared with reading as a past time amongst file sharers and as a cultural pastime amongst the population in general. Certainly the technology to operate MP3 downloads has been in circulation a lot longer than eBook readers which are comparatively new and still in their ascendancy as a medium for viewing electronic content.

The dominant style of music in this survey would seem to fall within the R'n'B/Rap/Pop categories, mostly recent releases with some that haven't even been commercially released yet. They consist of single songs as well as compilations and albums with almost everything having been recorded and released within the last two years.

As with the eBook study there is evidence that file sharers are willing to support artists in order that they should continue to produce new music. A phrase which is often repeated in the torrents originating from the uploader known as 'NoFs' is; "*For promotional use only... Remember to*

support the artist” (FEN15, PB22, DEM8). This could be viewed as something of a ‘get out clause’ to deny responsibility for infringement as it attempts to shift the blame onto the downloader rather than acknowledge any culpability in making it available. It shifts the onus onto the recipient rather than the vendor.

Many downloaders place great store by announcing their intention to support the artist with statements such as; *“If you like an artist pay for the albums to support them! I’m gonna pick it up when I get payed (sic)”*⁷ (phobiaof PB4), *“I shall buy this because they make good music”* (PopolVah2 PB6), *“... will buy original...”* (athlonia KAT31), *“I’ll buy this for sure”* (valtazar13 BT2) and *“I think I’ll buy this one”* (bosquepetrificado DEM12). Clearly if the artistic content of the download is thought worthy of purchase then it seems that plenty of downloaders are willing to do so. Some even express regret at having downloaded a torrent; *“Makes me feel awful (sic) downloading like this. I’m going to buy this album!!!”* (ralliraven - KAT38) and *“I respect (Eminem) too much to just steal their shit now. I’m going to buy the album”* (Jctwinbro - PB4). One file sharer claims that they would happily purchase a recording; *“but unfortunately I live in a place where the man who is selling CDs and DVDs has downloaded it and burned it himself. My country also charge(s) \$16 for every shipped package”* (x5452-EO - PB4).

This last statement would seem to suggest a black market in counterfeit goods, in this case a CD album that has been downloaded from a file sharing website, burnt to disc and sold on, a practice often confused with the act of digital piracy and file-sharing. This user states that CDs in their country have a \$16 levy, (presumably some form of import tax), placed upon each item making

⁷ This seems to represent an interesting reversal of neutralisation techniques in which an appeal to higher loyalties is made in favour of the artist.

the consumer turn to cheaper counterfeit goods. It is curious to note that despite the presence of free 'intangible' downloads from file sharing web sites; consumers still seem to be purchasing 'physical' goods. Could this be an indication of a poor society in which the average income will not stretch to the cost of an internet connection or portable electronic device? Yet the mere presence of this comment would seem to contradict this notion, unless it was posted using a tethered, tablet form of device (like an iPad or Blackberry).

The author Wallace Wang in his book entitled '*Steal This File Sharing Book*' (pg.150 2004) challenges the assumption that torrent downloads result in fewer CDs being sold. He would suggest that many people want to be sure they are going to enjoy an item before they purchase it with their hard earned money, a 'try before you buy' system. This may cause people to invest their money into music that they would ordinarily not purchase, broadening their musical tastes and generating extra venue for those artists involved. It would certainly appear to be the case from this study as many comments have been left expressing an intention to buy the product. What seems apparent here is that comodification has lead to popular music being reduced to the status of a transaction and no longer seen as a cultural artefact, that commercialization has stripped away the personal connection an artist has with their audience and promoting passive consumerism. Some of the users find other ways of supporting artists, comments such as; "...*saw them July 3 in Toronto...*" (Anonymous - KAT38) and "... *seeing them in March*" (SBfree DEM6) demonstrate how file sharers are willing to support artists by attending live performances. There is also an indication that, after spending money legitimately purchasing MP3 files, the user 'manda963' (KAT41) states "*My iTunes crashed and I had to replace \$40*

something dollars worth of music” and has used torrent downloads to replace these legitimately obtained files⁸.

For those that have or are intending to pay for legitimate copies, there are plenty either glad they haven't paid for content or are hostile towards the artist. For some torrent sharing is used as a way of making an informed choice on what not to purchase, comments such as; *“Downloading this just saved me from wasting money on this mediocre album”* (t3hveg - PB4) and *“I'm glad I didn't have to pay for this album!”* (Anonymous - BT11). Some users even go so far as to suggest that a particular artist is unworthy of a torrent listing, *“... please Pirate Bay stop humiliating yourself with this crap its not worth it”* (awesomemonkey8 - PB18), implying that certain standards must be maintained and that some file-sharers on this site see themselves as being above the crass commercialism which is commonly associated with corporate music industries. To this extent it could well be the case that the marketing of popular music has helped frame the attitudes towards it in the minds of its potential consumers. If popular culture is marketed as a commodity it can hardly be surprising that it is treated as such rather than a culturally enriching experience to benefit society⁹.

The hostility towards certain artists reaches a peak when we look at the torrents for the artists Lady GaGa (PB18), Eminem (PB4, BT2) and Kanye West (PB1, KAT13, BT3) all provoking controversial views between downloaders. What may seem surprising is that this hostility is not centred on that particular artist's attitude towards peer-2-peer file sharing (that is if they indeed have one), but rather to their success and wealth, in conjunction with the price of CDs. It may

⁸ In this case file-sharing constitutes a form of 'back up' service in which legally obtained data can be re-appropriated following accidental loss. An argument that makes an appeal to legitimise duplication for back up purposes only really works when a work has been backed up by that person for that person without a third party involvement. Obviously this user was either unable or unwilling to approach iTunes to re-acquire their possessions.

⁹ An appeal to higher loyalties may have to be made by content producers pitched towards the consumer.

well be that the social bonds which exist between artist and audience are weak allowing artists to be identified alongside corporate bodies as greedy and exploitative.

When music (or any other form of cultural capital) is seen as a commercial item, then as Condry (citing Taruishi 2004 pg.15) believes it teaches *“fans that music is simply a commodity, not a piece of the soul of an artist or group, and so fans have little compunction against simply copying music CDs”*. The connection between the artist and the fan is broken for example many downloaders seem to be keen to support the artist Eminem by stating their intention to buy his album, yet others appear disenchanted with his output and their perception of his wealth and status. The user ‘TowerMac’ (PB4) says *“these sort of artists are swimming in money”*, in response to a call to support the artist. This sentiment is echoed by ‘Crillie’ (Ibid) in the same comments thread when they state; *“He’s Rich. When ur (sic) out working for money to buy his album he’s bathing in money doing nothing”*, clearly an absurdity but the imagery is powerful and finds a lot of sympathy amongst other file-sharers.

A comment by ‘movieguy27’ (Ibid) elaborates further upon this premise:

“...why would anyone support mainstream artists for? (sic) Justin Beiber, Jay Z, Eminem, Green Day, Kesha, Lady GaGa are all rich. While you’re working and busting your ass for \$9 an hour at some shitty job these people are sitting in hot tubs full of money in mansions with more money then they know what to do with it. A person downloading an album instead of buying it won’t hurt them.”

This user is aggrieved by the success and fortunes these artists have acquired and show obvious dissatisfaction with their own circumstances. Perhaps thwarted ambitions and lack of opportunities lie at the heart of this sort of response or it could possibly be simple jealousy¹⁰.

Certainly if this was written by an adolescent we could understand why such an immature

¹⁰ Here strain and neutralisation go hand in hand when an individual’s deprivation is seen in relation to another’s perceived affluence.

thought is being expressed or maybe even by an individual who, having grown older has never matured beyond their formative years in their late teens. Immaturity could be said to effect an individuals ethical development, at any rate it clearly demonstrates how this individual seems intent on denying the victim status of this particular recording artist, in the process making it easier for them to justify their actions and help re-enforce the same actions committed by others. Today's informational society makes it easier for users to seek out like minded people which helps influence their actions by seeing their own opinions and beliefs confirmed by others.

A comment made on a Lady GaGa torrent expresses a more considered opinion of why users should torrent rather than pay for content; *"Keep downloading Lady GaGa!"*, they urge, *"Just don't support her with buying the CD and giving her money. Without money she will eventually stop making music"* (Hybrid_Pirate - PB18). The purpose of downloading for this user is quite simply an economic device to put this artist out of business, a manoeuvre that would harm the record company more than the artist themselves as the artist quite often signs away intellectual property rights to the record company. This would not appear to be an attempt to deny a victim of their status but rather to encourage victimisation in the name of a higher cause or loyalty. It conveys the idea that this artist is less worthy of financial support than others and should be infringed upon in order to put them out of business, rather than a strategy directed at the business itself and places cultural capital above the comodification of music. This may also say something about the way a consumer may identify themselves with what they consume and not wanting to be linked to certain artists and thereby seen as supporting corporate business.

Strategies directed at artists personally reach a sinister peak with calls that *"Kanye West should be murdered in a slow and torturous manner"* because *"he should be removed from existence"* (Myke420 - BT3). An anonymous user on survey KAT13 comments; *"go to murder Kanye and*

give money to have him put down”, to which another anonymous user replies; *“I will pay 50000 for his death”*. The obvious question is what has this artist done to provoke such an extreme response? The answer may lie in the comment posted by ‘Myke420’ (BT3) who accuses West of vanity, narcissism, duplicity and of being a racist. The user cites West’s alleged views on George Bush’s attitude towards black people and an apology made to artist Taylor Swift that he apparently recanted. These allegations whether they are true or not, would not merit the out of proportion response we find in this survey. A display of this nature may give us an insight into the maturity of downloaders (or at least of these particular ones) when we consider this ill conceived and contemptible incitement to commit violence. We can easily see that these comments are the products of a mind from which maturity, insight and wisdom is sadly lacking. What may have started out as genuine concern quickly descends into a rash, offensive and badly considered opinion. The ethical development of this individual seems to have been impaired, allowing the facilitation of extremist views, perhaps nurtured by the anonymity of the internet allowing norm transgression and leading to anti-social behaviour.

Torrent sites are no strangers to extremist views, some users known as ‘haters’ appear to be a vocal minority that post lurid, inflammatory and in some cases obscene comments in the oddest of places. From what seems like a fairly innocuous sounding torrent (Café Del Mar Vol.13 - BT15) we will see that a war of words has broken out giving us a typical example that shows how they are quite often political and occidentalist in nature. In this comment thread we see a conflict of opinions, the user ‘MaDgfx’ calls the former President of the United States of America George W. Bush *“a mass murderer/serial killer”* and maintains that *“9/11 was indeed an inside job”* to further Bush’s political agenda (i.e. the war on terror). These views, apart from being deeply offensive to some, smack of conspiracy theories and as maybe expected prompt

angry responses. Several pour scorn upon this user's belief whilst others simply engage in what appears to be little more than a slanging match, trading insults and obscenities. Similar results can be seen in the torrent BT5 *'Jazz Smooth Jazz Gold'*, a seemingly uncontroversial music download which contains a notice which says; *"Possible Passwords: 9/11 IS AN INSIDE JOB"*. This prompts the fury of users who pick apart this statement pointing out its many flaws and offences to taste.

Hate speak and 'haters' are at odds with the file sharing ethos of gratitude and *'sharing is caring'* amongst each other. It would seem that file sharers represent something of a fraternity dedicated to the freedom of music, film and books with just a few rogue elements that seem ungrateful and take without giving anything back to the community and posting inflammatory comments.

Thanks and facilitation is the currency that builds reputations upon these websites with uploaders setting great store by the quality of their contributions.

However, a study by Jorn Altmann and Zelalem Berhanu Bedane (2010) for Seoul National University shows us that this may not be the case. In their study they show that about 80% of eDonkey network file sharers are 'free riders' (Handurukande, Kermarrec, Le Fessant, Massoulie & Patarin 2006 cited in *ibid*), users who do not share files or share irrelevant files. Furthermore they state *"a study of Gnutella network showed that 70% of the peers do not share any files at all"*, and that *"63% of the peers who share some files do not get any queries for these files"* (Adar & Huberman 2000 cited in *ibid*). In another study the peer-2-peer network Gnutella also shows similar problems with 85% of users being free-riders (Hughes, Coulson & Walkerdine 2005 cited in *ibid*). All of this free-riding results in one of the most common requests made in file sharing, the call to *'seed'*. By seeding a user is keeping a torrent 'alive' and participating in the communal ethos at the heart of peer-2-peer networks of *'sharing is caring'* and appealing to

higher loyalties. The nature of file sharing appears to be a reciprocal one, in which uploaders are thanked and seeders praised whilst those free riders that *'hit and run'* chastised. An Exchange Mode of Internet Piracy would promote an equitable exchange of cultural data rather than the leechers which seem to be the common practice amongst so many file sharing network users (Kwong & Lee 2002).

Some downloaders look specifically for contributions from particular uploaders because they have established reputations for quality and integrity amongst their peers. Torrent names will contain the name of the artist, recording and year of publication but also the name of the uploader as an indication of quality and veracity. Trust is the key to success as an uploader; your torrents are free from viruses, spam and other harmful entities, your name is a Hallmark which guarantees a certain expectation of quality and speed.

A good example of this can be found in this torrent listing which appears like so:

"Hitzone 53 (2010) (MP3) (320kbit) (2CDs) 2Lions-Team"

(KAT50)

Here we have the name of the CD, year of release, file format, bit rate, number of CDs contained in this release and finally the name of the uploaders (in this example *'2Lions-Team'*). There is quite a lot of competition between uploaders to have the first upload or the best quality with success being measured by the number of downloads. Uploaders, calling themselves 'BUBANEE', 'NoFs', 'MJN', 'Horrorspoke', 'tntvillage.org' and 'JonnyBeans' (to name just a few) all compete for the top spot on torrenting sites with many appearing on several different torrenting networks simultaneously.

These uploaders engender loyalty and gratitude amongst downloaders with comments such as “NoFS is the only leading uploader” (TowerMac - PB4) and “Thank you NoFS. You are to the game. I owe half of my music collection to you” (IndustryKiller – BT2).

Some uploaders even personalize their torrents with graphics and logos similar to ones you find in corporate business. This design posted by the uploader ‘NoFS’ on torrent FEN15 clearly resembles the profile of a dog:



Figure 2:
Profile image for the uploader known as ‘NoFS’.

This behaviour appears territorial in the sense that spaces are defined and marked in similar ways to gang graffiti in physical spaces in the ‘real’ world. Could we even extent this analogy further and say that what we are seeing is the formation of ‘cyber gangs’? Individuals loosely banded together by cultural interests in music, file sharing and perhaps also economically marginalised and living in poor areas. P-2-P networks appear to be non-hierarchical with a system open to all

downloaders having an opportunity to climb the cyber social ladder by active participation in uploading. Status has to be merited by good conduct and altruism rewarded with privileges and kudos. In the file sharer ethos downloading for financial profit (i.e. in order to sell pirated goods) is frowned upon, contribution is expected but not obligatory and participation is its own reward resulting in social bonding and friendship.

The curious feature of this scenario is that there is no financial gain to be made from the recognition that such actions would bring, but rather it is entirely a way to amass kudos amongst a disparate ‘community’. Pseudonyms and screen names mean that the true identity of the uploader is never known, making the activity primarily a philanthropic one without true recognition and reward.

The spirit of sharing can perhaps be summed up with this comment from the user ‘tpbrocks77’ (PB4) who says:

“Did anyone take a minute to think... that the only good thing left in the world is TPB community? Think about it, people sharing, with nothing to gain from it. PIRATE TILL I DIE!!!”

Torrent sites may not be the lawless ‘Wild West’ style free for all as portrayed by the film and music industry. It may be the case that torrent sites are self policing with users unwilling to tolerate obscene or inappropriate comments. For example on the comments page for the torrent “Drake – Thank Me Later [2010-MP3-Cov][Bubanee]” (KAT4), a user by the name of ‘r00tH4ck3r’ has commented;

“Just to let everyone know, an obscene comment was removed from this torrent. While expressing yourself is highly encouraged here, please do so in a non offensive manner or your comment can be removed without notice. Thank you.”

The user 'r00th4ck3r' appears throughout the torrents studied on the Kick Ass Torrents web site and it is with some conviction that we can assume that this person is a site 'admin', with powers to remove offending comments¹¹. The very fact that someone is removing offending comments and fake torrents indicates the informal policing of torrent sites and that "*sometimes the absence of law has not resulted in the absence of order*" (Zittrain pg.129 2008). It is however unclear whether this policing is random and autonomously conducted or whether it is at the request of other users. If the latter should be the case then that would make the user part of the police 'force', relying on users to report infringements. Site 'admins' are also responsible for removing torrents at the request of a copyright holder whose to property rights are infringed upon by a particular web site.

Even individual users can find themselves out in the cold when they incur the censure of the torrent site's admin. In the Pirate Bay study there is an interesting exchange between the uploader 'BuBanee' and another user 'SpandauBaby' (survey PB18). After several posts discussing the artist who is the progenitor of this particular torrent (Lady GaGa), there then appears comments posted under the username 'Evil_Demonz_Are_Scary' claiming to be the user 'SpandauBaby' and stating;

"bubs bubs bubs.... It's me SpandauBaby, this whole Piratebay thing has gone to pot for me now. I've even lost my account now, I can't even get into my account anymore... I'm having to use this sub one instead. So I've lost my Pink Skull and everything and I worked so hard on here to earn it. Now it's all for nothing."

It is not known what this person has done to warrant having their account suspended or removed, or even if this is the person that they claim to be. If we accept it at face value then we could conclude that this user has infringed upon some particular rule(s) which the administrators of this

¹¹ A capability which presumably is not available to the average user but rather is a privilege that has to be earned.

site have taken exception to. This user does make reference to having contacted the Pirate Bay administrators but without success. Their intention therefore is to move their operations over to Demonoid under the sobriquet 'OddZod' and start their activities again.

This user has clearly put a lot of effort into achieving status amongst his/her file sharing 'peers' which is evident by the reference to a 'Pink Skull' which is awarded for uploading achievements on this site. This reinforces the notion of social status as a motivation amongst file sharers rather than simply an anti-corporate capitalism approach. To label all file sharers as anti-capitalist would be wrong, those supporters of George Bush (BT5 & BT15) would clearly not be associated with any left-wing philosophy.

The social incentive appears to be the encouragement of sharing for the public good in order to increase one's status amongst the peer group and earn privilege rights. This encouragement coupled with an absence of disapproval has helped file sharers rationalize their actions. It may well be that downloaders; down play the consequences of their actions amongst themselves making it easier to re-enforce neutralisation techniques. The system of contribution and reward will help to transmit the definitions, motivations and abilities which are required to prolong the practice of file sharing so long as it continues to produce positive outcomes for those involved.

Chapter Five – AVI Study

“Love for all and sharing is the first step to solving all the problems of humanity” – TOXiC iNK (PB32)

The third part of this survey is concerned with the practice of motion picture file sharing and it is here that we reach our zenith with user comments directly resulting from download activity. In the same way that activity increased from eBook downloads to MP3 downloads so again do we see a considerable jump in activity, the main difference being with this survey are the origins of the downloads themselves. Data from the Envisional (2011) report of infringing internet usage estimates that movie downloads account for 35.2% of the total infringing internet activity. This is the second highest category¹² making it a significant issue for Intellectual property rights holders and speculative law firms.

Movie downloads can be divided into two categories, the films which are currently showing in theatres and those which are not and are available to buy or rent on DVD, Blu-Ray or some other format that can be digitally re-authored. Those torrents that feature films which are still showing in cinemas originate from mobile handheld devices (mobile phones and Camcorders) which are used to record the film in a cinema and these can vary in quality depending upon the surreptitious nature of the recording process. These are known widely as ‘Cam’ torrents (short for camera or camcorder) and appear with the word ‘cam’ in the title of the torrent, for example; *“Paul 2011 CAM XViD – Dragon TrG”* (KAT17) clearly falls into this category.

Others known as ‘Telesync’ require the co-operation of cinema staff in the completion of their operation to ensure better quality of both sound and vision. It is alleged by the user ‘Osiris69’ (PB42) that in order to obtain a ‘Telesync’ copy the recording device has to be plugged into to

¹² Pornography accounts for 35.8% of the total file sharing activity (Envisional 2011).

the audio component of the cinema's projection equipment in order to record its audio output. This requires the recording device to be in close proximity to the projector and presumably the co-operation of the projectionist. When these type of downloads are listed on torrent sites the titles will appear with the word '*Telesync*' or '*TS*' in the title, for example; "*The Green Hornet 2010 TS XViD T0XiC iNK*" (FEN32) clearly states '*TS*' for the information of the downloader.

Because of the camera's physical proximity to the projector a '*Telesync*' will have a marginally better picture quality as the screen is viewed from the projectionist's vantage point and not viewed as it would be if you were a member of the audience. Therefore there would be no silhouetted persons getting up out of seats and walking across the camera view as is often commented upon by torrent users (KAT17). Both methods will still have the same problem of framing the shot as quite often the extremities of the screen will be lost dependent upon the position of the camera. Light is also a problem with some uploaders commenting that they have enhanced the picture in some way to compensate for the poor recording conditions, "*...may need to change the brightness and contrast*" (anonymous - KAT22). Other problems such as losing focus (HedoBum – KAT28) and when the "*audio isn't fully synced*" (WGMeets – KAT9) means that the cam option is a very poor substitute for a DVD or Blu-Ray 'rip'.

Evidence of collusion between cinema staff and '*pirates*' can be found in the comments of the torrent "*Robin Hood (2010) UNRATED DCDRipXviD – Maxspeed*" (BT12), the downloader '*bigolebutter*' has stated that they "*have comprissed (sic) a list of 25 top torrents which I have personally scrubbed and checked. Also I have made it possible to use my servers 50 gig line to download the movies from my server to your pc*". They then state "*Most are HD since I have a friend who is a manager at our local theater*". If this statement is to be believed then it is clear evidence of infringement by trusted cinema staff, in this case the manager.

This user does leave a trail which could potentially lead to their prosecution by posting “*cxax.cnetportal.net*” in their comment and stating “*you can donate by clicking the paypal donate button on the page*”. With movie companies and law firms looking for ways to find and prosecute those that facilitate file sharing of copyrighted material then financial transactions may play a future role in this activity. It may well be possible that inter-corporate co-operation would become acceptable for such corporate bodies in order to protect shared interests.

Another means of watching a film before its official release for home consumption is to obtain what is known as a ‘*DVD Screener*’ which is a preview copy made available to merchants, cinemas, film critics and other journalists. A ‘*screener*’ is distinctive because of the presence of a ‘*watermark*’ somewhere in the frame of the picture, usually this is a text message that reads something like; “*Property of Weinstein Company – Do Not Duplicate*” (PB21 – *The Kings Speech 2010 DVDSCR XviD AC3-NYDIC*) or “*For Awards Consideration only – Property of Paramount Pictures Corporation and Relativity Media*” (PB45 – “*The Fighter 2010 SCR XViD – IMAGINE*”). It may appear intermittently throughout the film or may be visible at all times during the whole duration of the movie¹³, however it seems that most torrent users are not so easily distracted by these visual deterrents. The users of torrent BT29 “*The Social Network 2010 DVDSCR XViD – WBZ*” have commented; “*...does not distract from the movie...*” (brocoli10), “*...it is not a big deal...*” (daddyrob69) and “*has the property stamp every so often and again it doesn’t detract from it*” (anonymous). A DVD screener can also differ from the finished product because, as one user points out (Se7en.pt – PB44) it will not contain any of the post product imaging or DVD special features one would expect to find on a normal commercial release. The presence of these pirated films indicates that the problem may originate from within the film

¹³ The intention presumably is to spoil the viewing experience in some small way and also to try and establish origins of any torrents.

industry itself, a study carried out in 2003 Lorrie Cranor (cited in Wang pg.156 2004) discovered that of 300 pirated films circulating on the internet 77% seem to have been leaked by industry insiders. Perhaps the motion picture industry needs to get its own house in order before it tries to pursue downloaders through the courts. Scholar and film critic Mark Kermode (2010) makes clear his belief that movie piracy is an industry problem and conjectures that when the film “*X-Men Origins*” appeared on file sharing networks before its official release it was taken from “*a very solid source, perhaps a copying house but from within the industry*”.

If you want a better quality of download then you will have to wait for the DVD or Blu-Ray of the film to hit the shelves of your local shops, where upon somebody will purchase it, ‘rip’ it and upload it to the internet. For example the torrent “*Inception (2010) DVDRipXVid – MAX*” (BT1) has prompted one user to say “*this is as good as buying the DVD*” (anonymous). Once a film has finished its cinema tenure, then traditionally it is released onto DVD, Blu-Ray and Pay-per-view Television channels (such as Sky Movies) it becomes a lot easier for the user of P2P networking sites to upload copies for others to download. Not only does this mean that the quality of torrents is vastly improved but also it means that the user is presented with a greater choice when deciding which torrents to download. Competition between uploaders is fierce with many reputations based upon quality and speed.

Some uploaders appear to have become synonymous with quality and speed, such as FXG and axxo (jjjwelch – BT1), however it seems that torrents uploaded by these persons are being monitored as one comment by ‘werner21’ (*Due Date (2010) DvDrip [eng] – FXG*) (DEM1) would seem to indicate; “*I wouldn’t touch FXG torrents with a 10ft pole. Last two times downloaded torrent under FXG name I received 2 illegal infringement notices from COMCAST, Obviously they are being tracked*”.

These screen names refer not to individuals but, as Fisk (pp.43-45 2009) points out, to the underground movement known as 'warez' groups which are primarily responsible for some of these uploads. But however these groups rely upon contributions from 'suppliers' (ibid) for unreleased material, here the uploader 'T0XiC-iNK' clearly states in there upload (KAT6) that *"iNK is currently a free agent looking for work, if you would like iNK'S touch, give me a email"*, followed by *"We are always looking for friends with unreleased DVD's, Screeners, R5's, Audio Cams, Silvers, ...and any other good sources you may have to offer"*. This appeal for material to upload is in keeping with the 'warez' ethos of finding new content and being the first to upload it. With no financial gain or profit uploaders compete against one another to be the first to obtain and upload content to the internet with the emphasis upon quality and speed the *"reward is prestige and respect among the other scene members, in addition to increasingly higher levels of access to pirated content"* (Fisk pg.44 2009), emphasising the social aspect of file sharing. But what of the actual process involved in producing uploads, in other words, how are torrents created?

To 'Rip' is a process in which the content of a DVD (for example) is extracted and becomes a computer file, usually becoming a size which is easy to manage on P2P networks (i.e. 700mb would conveniently fit onto a CD-ROM). A Pay-per-view 'rip' is similar as the practice requires the recording a film shown on a pay to view channel (such as Sky Movies for example) in order that it can be uploaded to the internet. In these cases the content falls into an 'analogue hole' created when *"digital content (is) transformed into an analogue signal (to reach the speaker, the screen or the printed page). At this moment, it is vulnerable to being rerecorded without its protective encryption¹⁴"* (Gillespie pg.197 2007). Blu-Ray 'rips' differ in quality and usually

¹⁴ Digital Rights Management (D.R.M.)

have a far greater file size which can be as much as four times greater than its DVD equivalent (4Gb compared to the 700Mb – 1Gb of the average DVD ‘rip’) and are often labelled as HD.

The larger file size would be a reflection of the quality and the amount of compression used in constructing the torrent, a bigger file may denote higher quality or a lower compression rate.

Another source of pre-release content is known as R5 which refers to the DVD region 5 (Russia) in which DVDs are frequently released there before they are in other areas of the globe. A DVD purchased legitimately in this region could be ‘ripped’ and uploaded to the internet via P2P networks in a matter of a few hours, making it available to a global audience. Similarly it can be purchased on-line and shipped to a country outside this region, thereby making it available before its official release.

On AVI torrents we can find a massive input of user comments and threads, expanding many times on themes and issues already raised by users in the previous studies. One of the most popular topics discussed by downloaders is the likelihood of them being caught and possible evasion strategies. One anonymous downloader (KAT1) wants to know if the FBI can track internet usage because “*my friend had gotten an email for downloading a lot in Pirate Bay and here in Kickass*”; to which another anonymous user replies “*no they can not I been using this for over 2 years*”. This user fails to acknowledge the covert nature of surveillance and perhaps considers that they have gotten away with it.

This blasé attitude towards file sharing is further displayed by requests for information on how to seed, thereby extending the life of a torrent and increasing its download rate. The general consensus of opinion seems to be that, what downloaders should do is, “*when your download is complete just leave alone and it will seed for others*” (opasnislovak - KAT6). The call to ‘seed’

is a cry heard throughout P2P networks, which derides scorn from some who believe that this denotes a 'nooby'¹⁵ and in some cases prompting a vitriolic hatred for those not doing their share to keep torrents 'alive'. File sharing networks can only exist if its users continue to make torrents available to others (seed), if users take without sharing (a process referred to as 'hit and run') torrents will in effect dry up.

The problem with seeding a torrent appears to be that it makes user's details available to those that seek to police peer-2-peer networks, especially the IP address of the user. This is the most common way that file sharers can be caught for their actions, but judging by the comments left on the torrents pages users are getting wise and finding ways to protect themselves. Warnings will be posted in popular torrents to warn others of the danger that they risk from the MPAA (for example) seeking to take action against the file sharer. A familiar sight is "*FLAGGED! Copyright INFRINGEMENT imminent! DO NOT DOWNLOAD*" (SonOfLiberty – PB41), "*got nasty letter from NBC Universal concerning copyright infringement*" (anonymous – BT31) and "*just got an e-mail from my IP regarding MGM/United Artists downloading copyright material*" (realisticdownloader – BT45).

Many users express their regret or chagrin at being caught whilst others seem determined to continue unabashed; "*I have received a few of them (infringement notices) in the last year. I continue to burn the movies and nothing has come of it as of yet*" (sisko707 – BT41); "*use ur(sic) neighbours wireless feed*" (crimson85067 – PB44); "*If you guys wanna download this without fear of stupid warnings, pm¹⁶ me I'll send you a private direct link*" (phatwarez – PB41); "*Look up EFF (Electronic Frontier Foundation) they have a form letter that basically tells*

¹⁵Someone unfamiliar with the workings of the peer-2-peer network.

¹⁶ Personal Message (PM)

Comcast they can fuck off cos it aint legal” (googeloop – BT40); *“download and install Peerblock”* (3catman – PB34). One user ‘turkchris’ claims that they work for an Internet Service Provider and that he/she has had to change their IP address on a couple of occasions , *“due to a certain movie with Leonardo Di Caprio in it”* (PB17). Similarly ‘Frankenstein123’ (PB17) uses Easy Hide IP which changes their IP every 5 minutes, whereas ‘celmario’ (ibid) simply uses the Wi-Fi at a MacDonald’s restaurant *“so I can download anon”* as does the user ‘Poonski_39’ (KAT22) who uses their college internet in an attempt to anonymise themselves. These sentiments are echoed by the user ‘Sci-Fi-Sumo’ (PB35) who suggests that *“if you are going to download high end stuff go to a Starbucks or somewhere with free Wi-Fi and download there”*. The use of enforcement techniques has, as Zittrain points out compelled *“citizens to perform their internet surfing in cyber cafes or public libraries, where they might limit their activities for fear that others are watching”* (pg.106 2008). It is this fear of surveillance and of a digital Panopticon that has also lead downloaders to use applications such as Tor (Crazy_freeman – PB7) which allows you to surf the web anonymously and prevent anyone tracking a users downloads, Proxy servers and VPN (Cranston – PB7) can also be used to hide internet activity. An alternative to the peer-2-peer networks are ‘cyber lockers’ such as ‘Megaupload.com’, which some say that if you download from these you are *“100% sure not to get caught or get your internet shut off”* (POQbum – KAT35).

Some users claim that this tracking of internet use is an invasion of privacy (Anonymous – KAT35) and others suggest direct action on the part of the user such as telling *“your ISP that you will drop them and go to someone else if they don’t stop monitoring your internet activity”*¹⁷

¹⁷ A higher loyalties appeal is being formed by this rhetoric of evasion and confrontation to foster an air of collusion between file sharers and a sense of common cause, subterranean values that mirror legitimate normative behaviour.

(Anonymous – KAT31). Also to help others to avoid being caught some users even cut and paste the details of their infringement letter into the comments post, here for example is the infringement notice sent to an anonymous user after they had downloaded the torrent “Let Me In 2010 DVDRIP READNFO XViD – T0XiC – iNK” (KAT46):

<p>anonymous 15 February 2011, 09:48 audio: 1 video: 1</p> <p>*****Warning this file has been tagged with copyright infringement and is being monitored. I just got hit with a copy right infringement email from my isp.</p> <p>This infringement notice contains an XML tag that can be used to automate the processing of this data. If you would like more information on how to use this tag please contact BayTSP.</p> <p>Evidentiary Information:</p> <p>Notice ID: 314-4794362</p> <p>Initial Infringement Timestamp: 2 Feb 2011 03:30:15 GMT</p>	<p>Recent Infringement Timestamp: 2 Feb 2011 03:30:15 GMT</p> <p>Infringers IP Address: ##.###.##.###</p> <p>Protocol: BitTorrent</p> <p>Infringed Work: Let Me In</p> <p>Infringing File Name: Let.Me.In.2010.DVDRIP.READNFO.XVID-T0XiC-iNK</p> <p>Infringing File Size: 793166250</p> <p>Bay ID: 459753edf77ab75f4e571ce64527753620f830fa793166250</p> <p>Port ID: Deleted for privacy</p> <p>Infringer's DNS Name: Deleted for privacy</p> <p>Infringer's User Name: Deleted for privacy</p>
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Figure 3:
An Infringement notice posted by anonymous user.

Curiously, this user neglected to remove their IP address from this Infringement Notice (removed here by the author) making it possible to locate their computer by means of IP tracing Internet services, as Wang (pg.57 2004) notes “Once the authorities know your IP address, they can track down you physical location just as easily as if they had your street address”.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter certain uploaders are becoming the targets of the internet security firms as this comment by user ‘JLT303’ (PB44 (Robin Hood (2010) UNRATED DVDRipXviD – Max) makes clear “I just avoid all of the ‘Imagine’ ULs (Up Loads)... they all get you the copyright infringement notice”. Others attempt to pathologise those that seek to enforce copyright law by labelling them as ‘vultures’ (piratewench2012 – PB7) that target (at

least in this instance) Pirate Bay users¹⁸. Some state that public outrage directed against the MPAA and the RIAA results in negative emotion amongst internet users (POQbum – KAT35). Yet again, here we can see clear use of neutralization techniques which in this instance condemn the condemners.

All of this inevitably leads to talk of capitalist evils and corporate America; *“The Pirate Bay is under attack by large corporations and governments to stop the largest free library in the world. We are actively supporting the Pirate Bay’s efforts in keeping online through donations and political influences”* (icl – PB44). The notion of ‘library’ in this instance is entirely erroneous as libraries are subsidised (usually by tax payers) and the authors, creators and artists of those works kept on library shelves receive remuneration for the use of their work.

Most political comment comes in the form of anti-capitalist/anti-American sentiments, occidental in nature many users seem to associate large corporate attempts to control intellectual capital with what they seem to perceive as some form of US imperialist colonialism. This reaches its peak when comments are left for films concerning military operations (PB31, PB50 and BT47) by America personal in which *“over equipped, gun toting American heroes”* (Steerage PB31) are allegedly projected as mirroring real life, at least in the popular imagination of some users and used to lambast American foreign policy (pxpierre – PB31). Some disagree, such as ‘graviteesfx’ (ibid) who states *“the common man doesn’t always agree with what goes on in government”* making a tacit acknowledgment that perhaps their government has a hand in unconventional practices. Another comment comes from ‘doodad’ (ibid) who believes the user ‘pxpierre’ to be French and proceeds to mock this user’s possible nationality, whilst reifying the

¹⁸ By creating a definable enemy it is easier to frame neutralisation techniques as a struggle against a deviant other.

notion that *“Muslims (will) take over your country”*, a direct reference to the War on Terror spearheaded by the USA.

In the comments for the torrent *“All star Superman (2011) STV DVDRiPXviD – NoGRP”* (PB50), there is a conflict of opinions surrounding the War on Terror in particular focusing on politicians such as Bush, Cheney and Rumsfeld and US companies like Blackwater and Haliburton concluding that all are complicit in a conspiracy to *“keep the Israeli Jews and Zionist American Jews Happy”* (Zakimar1). A lot of the comments are directed at the soldiers that serve in Iraq and Afghanistan causing offence and constituting hate speak. ‘Slandry’, claims to be an ex-service man/woman and is prompted to retort to allegations of killing children. A slightly more moderate voice is heard from ‘bidbow’ who chastises Zakimar1 for the offensive comments made towards service personnel but agrees with comments made about the motivations of George W. Bush and potentially *“wreck(ing) the stability of this world”*.

Some commenters have even questioned the political nature of the films they are downloading, *“Green Zone (2010) BDRipXviD – DEFACED”* (BT50) is one such film. ‘GodlyHobo’ has commented that the point of the film is to *“try and make you hate your country”* as they have interpreted the film as portraying *“Saddam Hussein’s top generals”* as the true heroes and of American soldiers in Iraq as *“doing bad things”*. One user ‘awareofthemuse’ believes that capitalism is at the root of the conflict stating in no uncertain terms *“CAPITALISM IS AS BAD AS RELIGION”* (Ibid).

This leads us into another contentious issue often discussed, that of religion and the expression of religious views on these torrent comments forums. The torrent *“Sunset (2011) Limited HDTVripXviD – ExtraTorrentRG”* (PB43) seems to be a film with some form of religious

content judging be the reactions of those that have downloaded it. Rather than displaying any sort of religious conversion after watching this film it seems only to re-enforce the notions that they already have, with atheist views such as “*organised religion is the biggest money grabbing scam around*” (gordo585) and “*religion is a method of control born of corruption*” (gatormatt). The religious amongst the users rebuke them with statements like “*religion taught me to love my neighbor*” (billdandy) and that an atheist is “*a lost person*” (catch311). It is interesting that despite the peaceful feelings that both sides profess to feel, (regardless of religious belief), they both practice aggressive language designed to inflame the other, demonstrating how religion and political conflict seem to be synonymous in the general consciousness; “*yes we kill in the name of God... or the name of Allah, what (will) you atheist will kill for? Atheists will kill for fear, anger, greediness... the natural instincts of monkeys*” (billdandy). This is unlikely to achieve the goal of reaching “*spirituality through love and harmony and peace*” (larsaglojsvik) that some on both sides appeal to.

The purpose of this study is not to debate the rights and wrongs of American foreign policy, religion or capitalism. Personal views should not and cannot be allowed to influence this study and have no place in the research methodology¹⁹, however by examining what is said we can perhaps understand those individuals who participate in this activity. From some of the previous dialogues we can see that those of a left wing persuasion are particularly vocal when it comes to expressing their views. This does not make everyone on the torrent ‘scene’ a Marxist, many espouse equal and opposite view points whilst other remain inert. Equally if those of a particular religious bent are more forthright in their opinions, this is not a reflection of the entire philosophy of downloaders. Also, while some actively acknowledge the downloading copyright

¹⁹ In order to prevent the ‘*cardinal sin*’ of functional teleology (see Owen 2009).

material is against the law in their particular domain, others refuse to acknowledge this or to even recognise the validity of intellectual property or the possible consequences of file sharing.

The Combating Online Infringement and Counterfeits Act (COICA) is discussed by some users, claiming that that the US government will use legislation to block internet access to certain websites, effectively censoring their citizens' internet access (blackvirgo, omarssito13 and johan_n76 - PB17). Some say that it could mean the end of file sharing in the US whilst others dismiss such claims stating that the US has historically been "*slow to adapt to changing environments*", presumably meaning that the inventive 'pirate' will be technologically ahead of the game, thus demonising the authorities for seeking control. In these circumstances the government is the bad guy, meddling in the lives of internet users whose online presence should be free to exist without restriction. Perhaps they identify more with their online selves than with their physical self and its concomitant conventional and parochial demands of district, nation state or even ethnicity and gender.

All of this is interesting and gives us an insight into the lives of file sharers, their backgrounds, religions and even political affiliations' but tells us little (beyond possible political motives) about why users file share. A common link between most users could be something as simple as the economic factors involved in the acquisition of cultural capital in a capitalist society such as Great Britain or America. Downloaders are not unwilling to spend money; on the contrary some studies have shown that file sharers spend more per capita than those who do not. There is evidence that file sharing constitutes something of a '*try before you buy*' type scheme²⁰, with many stating that they are glad not to have parted with their hard earned money for something

²⁰ This neutralisation technique could be conceptualised as a promise of future commitments, but although the intention maybe expressed the actual action may not take place (the promise is broken).

which they failed to enjoy; “...*much better than paying \$42.00 to see this in the theater (sic)*” (Victor.Raikkonen – KAT11) and “...*if I had paid 12 bucks to see this in theaters plus soda and popcorn I would have committed suicide in the theater (sic)!!!*” (s8s – BT37). Many users not only go to the theatre to see the film (zekeisaszekedoes - PB17, born2b – PB18, whatever89 – PB41, SARmedic – PB41) but also state that they intent to buy the product once it becomes available, acknowledging that the superior quality of the genuine article is what they desire with a ‘pirated’ copy acting as a mere stop gap (mafoster - PB7 and sekse – DEM19). Here the capitalist ideal of consumerism, ownership and property are being exercised as some file sharers seem impatient to ‘own’ their own copy with an emphasis on instant gratification and immediate access, perhaps fostered by the common experience of high speed internet usage.

There is also considerable discussion on the value of the cinema experience, the quality of films and the price of admission. Where users are economically poor access and consumption of cultural capital can forestall; “*I wanted to see this at the cinema but money was tight so I think I’ll download this one*” (jasonthrush – DEM14). Money is central to many downloaders’ habits it seems, some even believe that they have already paid enough money on different media in all its formats and own stacks of CDs and DVDs and now believe that gives them the right to download for free (Madazfuk, kevcc, Jocambay, Sillybunt, Suffolk & Skreamer - BT44). A practise known as ‘*price gouging*’ refers to the alleged illegal price fixing with consumers over charged for goods and services²¹, as one user (cire302 - ibid) puts it “*If the movie theatres (sic) stop charging an arm and a leg for the entrance of a new release I think I would stop watching download movies... its almost 100 a night if I take my whole family*”. More dissatisfaction about the cinema experience is expressed by an anonymous user (BT44) who bemoans their seating

²¹ Helping to deny the victim status by implying that their actions some how deserved retribution/censure.

and viewing arrangements plus the availability of tickets and the money spent over the years in attending theatre screenings in the past. Although this argument seems to have convinced many of the ethics of downloading intellectual property, it does not present a good argument to justify the activity (Wang pg.149 2004). It does seem to signify the most conspicuous display of the consumer backlash toward content manufacturers.

Some defend their downloading behaviour with reference to the previous behaviour of others, for example; for the torrent “The Social Network 2010 DVDSCR XViD – WBZ” (PB34) the user ‘sasha2333’ states “*since the dude stole the idea for facebook he really shouldn’t mind us stealing the movie*”. This technique tries to neutralise their own infringement by trying to draw a parallel between a creator’s actions and their own act of infringement. Thereby casting them in the same light, excluding themselves from any wrong doing and in so doing makes an appeal to higher loyalties. The appeal to steal is given a further dimension by condemning the condemner (Cohen 2009 pp97-98). By placing the creator’s actions within the sphere of free culture, the logic of this argument maybe demonstrated thus: “*If Facebook is free and he stole the idea for Facebook in the first place then why shouldn’t I steal the movie? Surely this should be free also?*” Also, this from the user known as ‘Xinthose’ echoes these sentiments and attempts to reify the notion of this film as a free commodity;

“Trent Reznor made this movie always with the notion in his head that it would totally be ripped off and distributed freely online. Just like his soundtrack for this movie, which is why he sold the soundtrack for \$5 and which is why I bought it because it was so cheap, instead of getting it for free and at a crappy bit rate”.

It would appear from this statement that the key to success is keep your prices low and people will buy. This is a sentiment echoed by the user ‘Thrill9333’ who claims to be a musician and states that there is more money to be made from touring than from album sales and also

that “*illegal file sharing is just free advertising*” (BT44), perhaps signifying that “*file-sharing is a part of a new emerging relationship between artists and audiences*” (David pg.146 2010). The user ‘branded72’ (BT44) believes that P2P file sharing is about more than just getting free entertainment, “*If I download a CD and love it, I will absolutely go out and buy it (if I have the coin to do so)*”, and further states that if they download a film that they enjoy then they will always buy the DVD so that they have “*the best copy available*”. Here this user is keen to stress the importance of financial constraints when they refer to having the ‘*coin*’ and making a good investment in expensive entertainment. As they say, should they download something that they hate “*I’m extremely thankful that I didn’t go out and buy it first, or pay to see it*”. In instances where a consumer does have a strong emotional attachment to an artist/creator then strong social factors will contribute to that artist receiving financial assistance. If a personal connection can be made between consumer and creator (origins, ethnicity, gender, nationality) then it seems more likely that a consumer will pay for digital content because they have taken a personal interest in that creator’s career.

As well as using P2P downloads as a way of assessing content for potential purchase this user also states that it has opened up avenues to cultural capital that they ordinarily would not have walked down. They state that they have encountered and liked many new musical groups that they would not normally have encountered without P2P sharing, supporting them by purchasing concert tickets costing anywhere from 5 – 50 (dollars presumably) per ticket. Also from the same torrent one user, ‘phunkjunie’, reputedly spent 97 (dollars) taking their children to a cinema and concludes “*dues paid, enough said*”. Similar sentiments are expressed on the same torrent comments thread by the user ‘MacManDude’ who states on the subject of movie downloads that they would never go to watch many of the movies that they have downloaded, although if they

feel that a film is particularly good they will purchase it²². Downloads, in these cases seem to find an audience that would not normally go to view such items and with the disenchantment of Hollywood's output being so verbosely expressed it can hardly be surprising to encounter comments such as *"I've paid these people thousands of my hard earned cash, now its my turn"* (heatgirl – BT44). Greed and poor quality are seen by this user and others as the problems of the entertainment industry, referred to simply as 'Hollywood' in another display of neutralization, appealing to higher cultural aims whilst condemning those that produce the cultural artefacts in demand. As Wang (pg.13 2004) observes that some consumers believe that the media industries have *"cheated consumers for years by conspiring to artificially inflate prices, so stealing is a way to get back... for the millions they already stole from their customers"*. Phau et al (2009 pg.4) similarly points out from their study that an anti-corporate attitude is a positive influence in the world of P2P networks. They also posit that the young consumers have less regard for the social consequences of their actions and that by participating in acts of infringement together they thereby make it a common occurrence and it becomes socially acceptable to their peer group. From this we can deduce that attitudes influence intentions and in turn behaviour, ala Theory of Planned/Reasoned Behaviour (Kwong and Lee pg.3) (Azjen and Fishbein 1977 cited in Liang 2009 pp.3-4) as a strategy to psychologically facilitate infringement.

Strangelove (pg.84 2005) suggests that *"[C]onsumers are carrying their resistance to paying for entertainment into the Internet environment"* and that this resistance²³ is part of a trend of falling prices for electronic entertainment devices which, according to Wolff (quoted in Strangelove *ibid*) has helped *"deflated entertainment value"*. In short, the acquisition of content for contents

²² Here again we have a promise of future commitment.

²³ Resistance directed against a deviant other that threatens a particular way of life forms another appeal to higher loyalties based on the self-defence of the group/society/sub-culture (Matza cited in Jones pg.175 2001).

sake has made the consumer accustomed to better value deals at lower prices and as music and cinema prices rise then “*the industry keeps giving the consumers every reason to get online and get their entertainment for free*” (ibid). Some would class these sorts of actions as ‘*culture jamming*’, a practice which seeks to “*challenge and destroy all forms of corporate intellectual property*” (Strangelove pp.104-105 2005) manifesting itself as a propaganda war in which commercial messages are re-interpreted in order to attack the authors (or more specifically the corporations that produce them). So endemic seems to be the notion of ‘*free*’ or ‘*gift*’ culture amongst internet users that in order to get a payment for an artistic work a creator/author may need to appear particularly ‘*deserving*’ or have a strong social bond with their audience and distance themselves from the corporate business associated with the name ‘*Hollywood*’.

Here it seems that the users of P2P networks have assigned agency to an entity referred to loosely as ‘*Hollywood*’, personified as a clique or cabal who represents corporate interests, controlling media messages and cultural capital. This sort of reification is replicated by RIAA and MPAA when they talk of ‘*internet pirates*’ as some form of homogenous group, coupled with an essentialist assignment of file sharing profiles which we can see does not stand up to rigorous scrutiny. From this study alone we can determine that not all file sharers are aged between 14 – 21, or even 14 – 30, as one user states “*I’m a 77 year old great grandmother*” (durren – BT44). Both sides of this conflict are guilty of the sin of reductionism, conflating their arguments until they are over simplified, thus removing the complexity and smudging the lines between right and wrong. It is unlikely that either side would admit this failing as it potentially weakens their arguments and shows cracks in their reasoning.

As we saw in the previous study of MP3 downloads there is evidence here that users are downloading digital content for other members of their family, friends and spouses. The torrents

“*Gullivers Travels [2010] R5 Line Xvid*” (KAT9), “*Yogi Bear DVDRipXviD – ARROW*” (BT18), “*Gnomeo and Juliet 2011 TS XViD – iMAGiNE*” (KAT14) and “*Tangled 2010 PPVRip Line XviD – TiMPE*” (KAT5) are all films targeted primarily at a younger audience, but the comments suggest that children are not the downloaders of such content but rather are the recipients courtesy of their parents. The youngest user appears to be an anonymous one (KAT5) who comments “*I am 13 and I loved it*”. The theory of differential association would have it that the primary peer group (in this case the parents) are socialising their children into deviant activities by downloading on their behalf. In times of financial hardship it seems that people are more cautious about how they spend their money and as costs increase then it becomes more important that customers get value for money and satisfaction. Given the transient nature of children’s attention in combination with the fads and trends of pop culture, and the lengths that some parents go to keep them occupied it is hardly surprising that they would download films for their amusement. But despite this some parents are still keen on the cinema experience as one anonymous user comments that after fifteen minutes of viewing a particular torrent they were convinced by his or her daughter to go and see the film in the cinema in 3D (KAT5). This may possibly be an indication that parents on low incomes need to be assured that they are spending their money wisely on films that guarantee to engage and occupy their children.

Sometimes it is these parents that, having downloaded digital content for their children, find themselves the target of the speculative invoicing (*‘Pay up or else’* schemes). This seems to exploit the gap between demands and means created by the thirst for the latest films and music alongside the inhibited income of people who want to experience these items. It must be remembered that such instances are civil litigations brought by private companies against individuals and are not instigated by government bodies such as the Crown Prosecution Service.

There is a distinct possibility that such schemes, whilst profitable for those that operate them and for the film studios and record companies that bank roll them, may be socially injurious on a much wider scale. For example, if a high fine is used to penalise a file sharer who does not have the means to repay that amount (as so many often are) then where is the money to come from? If that person is out of work, sick, disabled or claiming benefits then not only does that leave them in a dire predicament in terms of their living expenses and creating more hardship, but also that monies repaid in the form of compensation and fines comes indirectly from the welfare state. In short, it is the average tax payer who indirectly foots the bill for those who do not have the financial wherewithal to pay, ultimately resulting in less public money being spent on other, often essential services. Zittrain sums up the process of copyright enforcement by saying *“litigation can be expensive for the plaintiff and any victory hollow if the defendant cannot pay”* (pg190 2008), whilst Weinstein and Wild (2007 cited in David pg.70 2010) make the point that despite a small number of convictions and even less custodial sentences, it has made no significant impact on file sharing other than to *“encourage more covert forms of sharing”*. The only real winner in this scenario appears to be the engines of litigation which grind on regardless.

The fines imposed for those caught breaching copyright laws would also appear to be excessive and far beyond any possible total of losses incurred by any one user, a point which has been noted by Lessig (pg.200 2004) when he observes that in the US those accused of infringement are either paying all the money in the world in damages or almost as much to defend themselves in court. If a CD retails at between £5.00 and £15.00 then surely the fine should reflect the equivalent amount, in other words to be just the fine should be proportional, reflecting the loss of one CD sale not thousands. A fine of \$150,000 for a single infringement (ibid pg.187) would to some minds not only represent an impossible amount for an individual on a low income ever to

pay back, but also be in excess of the actual harm done and at odds with any possible utilitarian aspect that the law may possess. Could it be acceptable for a downloader to make amends for their infringement by simply going out and buying a copy? Or even what of those that have already purchased some form of copyrighted content but in a different format, is it right to be sued for downloading something which you have already purchased the rights to?

Some consumers may feel hostility toward the manufacturers of cultural content when they are required to pay more than once for the same content expressed in different media. For example some may argue that it is unfair for someone to have to pay for a CD when they may own exactly the same content on audio cassette, if all that you are purchasing is a license to enjoy the content without actually owning it is it fair to have to pay for it twice? Similarly, if someone has purchased an eBook reader why should they have to pay the same cost for a digital eBook file as they would for its physical counterpart when the production costs are vastly cheaper? The owner of the eBook could argue that the reader represents the paper and ink that the book is printed on and that these costs have therefore been paid by the consumer in advance, why then should they have to pay for it again?

The media industry's campaign of pursuing its own customers through the courts, according to von Lohmann (quoted in Lessig 2004 pg.205), has the effect of criminalising a large percentage of the population. The erosion of civil liberties in a frenzy of copyright protection measures could have a negative impact upon individuals that are labelled as '*lawbreakers*' as it changes the popular perception of that person once they have been thus labelled. It may be that over enforcement of the law coupled with excessive punishments help to trivialise it in the minds of

internet users, removing much of its gravitas and making it largely redundant²⁴. The answer may not lie in either stricter, more draconian law enforcement or even an opposite laissez-faire attitude towards intellectual property rights but, rather with a complete change in the way copyrights are collected by content creators. As Condry (2004) has previously observed, the focus should be upon “*devising new methods to support artists and entertainment companies*” in order to offset losses due to piracy and avoid “*the negative consequences of expanding enforcement of intellectual property rights*”.

²⁴ Excessive punishments have the negative effect of driving people underground to avoid detection. On the internet this would be simple using encryption and other software. The age old problem of proportionality is as current today as it was in that of Beccaria and Bentham.

Chapter Six – Avatars, Screen Names and Blogs

The growth of Peer-2-peer networking and the development of the Exchange Mode of Internet Music Piracy (Kwong and Lee 2002) have developed alongside the growth of social networking with both activities having similar traits. File sharers sharing files in a similar way to social networkers are sharing personal information (Berg 2007 pg.19). Saroiu (2007) has observed that P2P networks have been combined with on-line social networks (OSN) for the development and continual improvement of a number of key features associated with file sharing (i.e. searching, collaborating and performance of P2P networks). On social networks photographs, written fiction, poetry and political views can be exchanged and discussed, not for commercial gain but because of an enthusiasm and passion for their interests. It is this same passion which seems to drive file sharers and in particular uploaders to strive for better quality content and completeness. Trust, openness and decentralization; the basic components of the internet (Ananthaswamy 2011 pg.43), have spawned the currency in which file sharers trade uploads seeking approval in order to improve their status amongst their 'peers'. Perhaps by studying this discourse can we hopefully understand the situation better than simply the trafficking of digital data by an atomized on-line population?

Historically the use of peer-2-peer networks has been based on co-operation between the users in order to facilitate downloads and sharing. Initially, beyond comments left about the quality of the download it seems that very little was discussed, but over time the comments section for the individual torrents has slowly transformed into a meeting ground for users to come together and discuss various topics. We only have to look at the banter exchanged between the uploaders 'Bubanee' and 'SpandauBaby' (later purporting to be 'Evil_Demonz_Are_Scary' after being allegedly suspended under the former screen name) in the torrent "Lady GaGa – The Fame

Monster 2CDrip 2009 (cov+2CD)(BUBANEE)” during our study of MP3 torrents (PB18 – Chapter 3).

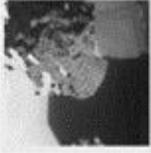
When we consider the similarities between these comments sections and some of the features displayed on social networking sites it can hardly be surprising to find that the two are drawing closer together. These two network activities can be conceptualized as the *'content layer'* in which information in the form of torrents are exchanged and the *'social layer'* “*where new behaviors and interactions among people are enabled by the technologies underneath*” (Zittrain pg.67 2008). Some torrent sites have social networking links posted on their pages for example; The Pirate Bay has Twitter links and a Facebook page, Demonoid has a Facebook page and although deemed lacking in information for this study the torrent site Sumo Torrents has an astonishing three hundred and forty six social networking links in its download pages. But by far the most active of those in this study is Kick Ass Torrents which not only has a thriving file sharing community but also has the forums, blogs, community discussion pages and a Facebook page.

Users give themselves screen names and avatars, even putting their email addresses, Facebook pages and Twitter feed details for all to see. Screen names can vary from ones which are obviously entirely fictitious in nature to ones which would appear to be very similar, if not the same as their actual name. When this is combined with an avatar which resembles a full face ‘passport’ style photograph we must wonder if these users realise the extent to which they are placing themselves at risk of detection. It may be not be very difficult to trace a peer-2-peer user from the information that they voluntarily put on these sites. Below is the profile page for the Kick Ass Torrent member ‘georgieboygwapoh’ which provides us with a good example of how indiscretion pervades this website:

georgieboygwapoh

PROFILE FRIENDS 4 COMMENTS 36 REPUTATION 406

User



Status Message:
HEY! ADD ME UP! ON FACEBOOK -->
@yahoo.com XD
Updated 5 months ago

Joined: 9 months ago
Last Visit: yesterday
Reputation: 406

User Achievements (19 opened)

Gold: Kickass Daily Dose Search Tycoon

Silver: Devoted Visitor Comments Captain Download Master Feedback Expert Enthusiast
Torrent Crawler

Bronze: Rare guest Feedback Pioneer Download Rookie Feedbacker Movie Inspector
Searcher

Simple: First Torrent Downloaded First Comment First Feedback First Status Update Supporter

Figure 4:

An example of a KAT users profile page.

The Wall

From this profile page information we can see that the user is a young male, first name 'George', with a full face photograph and an email address from which his Facebook account can found. Should someone wish to investigate this individual with a view to prosecuting them, (for copyright infringement for example) they could surreptitiously monitor them as they chatted on Yahoo (assuming that they did/do this in open chat rooms) or monitor their Facebook activity in order to compile a profile of information about that person. It may even be the case that as large corporations become more closely aligned to one another, the exchange of user data may become more established allowing those interested in profiling file sharers an additional avenue of investigation, with data exchange between corporate bodies being a matter of procedure. It is interesting to note that the users of this torrent site are keen to interact with each other both on and off the Kick Ass Torrents domain, for example when we look at the profile page for the user

'T###M####' we can see how this user interacts with other members, perhaps leading to that individual, potentially revealing private information about themselves.

The screenshot displays a user profile page with the following elements:

- User Information:** A profile picture of a young man, joined 10 months ago, last visit 7 months ago, and a reputation of 109.
- Achievements:** A 'Silver' badge for 'Torrent Crawler', a 'Bronze' badge for 'Rare guest', 'Feedback Pioneer', 'Download Rookie', 'Feedbacker', and 'Searcher', and 'Simple' badges for 'First Torrent Downloaded', 'First Comment', and 'First Feedback'.
- The Wall:** A comment from an anonymous user dated 01 August 2010, 10:09 asking for help with a Warcraft 3 torrent and providing a Hotmail email address. A reply from the profile user dated 05 October 2010, 13:50 provides instructions on how to install a program.

Figure 5:
An example of a KAT users profile page with comments.

If we are to assume that the information posted on this profile page is accurate then from this profile page, we have the full name of the young man in question plus a full face photograph which would make this individual easily identifiable and although we do not have an email address for this person we can see how others are eager to swap email addresses with other users. Here an anonymous user is asking for help and wants to be added on the Hotmail emailing service which would allow these two users to chat via MSN or source each others social networking accounts (should they possess one). An enterprising law firm (or as some may argue an underhanded law firm) could, with the help of a little social engineering create traps for these

users in order to bring prosecutions against them. We have seen how the police use the promise of prizes from fictitious competitions in order to arrest citizens that have tried to evade motoring offences, how long it will be before this sort of tactic is used against file sharers? This in itself may constitute something of a legal grey area as it could possibly be viewed as entrapment.

A person's *'digital foot print'* is the data trail that they leave as a result of computer activity and could potentially lead all the way to an Individual's doorstep, as people are leaving more information about themselves online than they perhaps realise. Young people appear to be more likely to participate in this sort of information indiscretion, when presented with statistics such as these provided by Zittrain:

"Fifty-five percent of online teens have created profiles on sites like MySpace... Twice as many teens as adults have a blog... A large part of the personal information available on the Web about those born after 1985 comes from the subjects themselves... in the United States, more than 85 percent of university students are said to have an entry on Facebook".

(pg.231 2008)

The users of Kick Ass Torrents have the facility to write their own blog which can be read by others online without any sort of membership security in place to prevent non-members from viewing the said web page. The user 'Jarar' has a blog entitled *"My KAT Story"* about how they came to use Kick Ass Torrents and how they made friends and became part of a community. They describe how they started off by downloading a torrent for their 'Nintendo Wii' device and were soon interacting, commenting and conversing with other members of the KAT community. To give the reader some idea of the bonds which are forged between users on this site we need to look at how 'Jarar' describes the other users they have frequent contact with. Jarar's first 'friend' was a user known as 'Xenomorph' and Jarar describes their delight at this event when they say *"I actually had a friend! I was part of this. I was part of KAT!"* Jarar then goes onto write about

some of the other users they became friendly with; 'BlatantJay' is described as an "*Awesome Guy!*", also they "*can't explain how friendly*" the user 'V3ndetta' is and asks why the user 'GayRobot' "*had to leave?*" But perhaps the most interesting of these tributes is the one that describes the user 'H#####' as their "*KAT mom*", implying some form of values or hierarchy based loosely on family ties. Inclusion and participation are the keys to understanding these types of peer-2-peer users, which seems at odds with the proposition of commentators such as Geert Lovink (cited in Strangelove pg.160 2005) who states that cyberspace is "*impersonal*" and "*dehumanising*".

Jarar concludes his or her first blog entry with the announcement that they have the status of '*translator*' with a 1000 reputation and simply stating their allegiance to the Kick Ass Torrents site, operators and community:

"I love contributing to KAT, because everything I do, I will always be one step behind what I should do (for KAT) I want to thank all of you for helping me feel (at) home. I can't thank you enough! And if you want ANYTHING done, you can count on me =)"

This blog has generated many positive responses with many describing the blog in glowing terms, expressing friendship and support. A comment made by 'USBdriver' is particularly interesting and may give us an insight into the mind of those in the KAT community when they say "*I almost cried when I read this... Such courage to stand along with the torrent community*". Strong emotions have been stirred with this talk of '*standing along*' implying that this user has taken a side in some sort of battle or conflict that is taking place, in which KAT users are taking part in a struggle against what they perceive as aggressive authoritarianism. Gantz and Rochester (cited in Gunter 2009 pg.16) also observe that "*digital pirates hold many beliefs about the ethics of their behaviour and find solidarity with other pirates sharing these beliefs*". We can elaborate further and suggest that a digital native learns neutralisation techniques and in turn closely

identifies with a particular site or community, forging strong emotional bonds which seem to empower them into taking a stand against what they see as draconian censorship or an attack on free speech.

Another blog which expresses similar sentiments is written by the user 'spark_plug_101', who explains how they joined the KAT site after one of their teachers told them they had downloaded a near perfect copy of the film 'Inception' from this site. Perhaps here more than anywhere we can see the direct effect of an authority figure in a primary peer group influencing an individual's behaviour. This user then goes on to explain how much they admire the site and the people, describing the achievements and reputation system as "*awesome*" and fellow users as an inspiration. This user goes on to say, "*I am proud to consider KAT as my virtual home*" and "*I must say that KAT is now a major part of my life. And I sincerely try to help with anything I can for the site, really!*" The responses to this blog are in similar vein with one user describing the blog as "*brave*" (MizzTree) and others agreeing that this is their "*virtual home*" (rena13) or "*a home away from home*" (esoess). Again here we have a peer group which is actively re-enforcing their notions of what it means to be a member of KAT and reifying notions of home and family, where community seems to take priority over downloading.

Whether these high morals are on the minds of users as they download the latest 'Lady GaGa' CD are debatable but what we can see here is that being part of a community and having that feeling of belonging to something is inspiring loyalty amongst community members²⁵. On-line communities could present users with new opportunities to forge social links and/or strengthen existing ones (Longhurst et al 2008 pg.194) with its combination of active participation and

²⁵ As Sykes and Matza (cited in Jones pg. 266 2001) state, delinquents (so-called) subscribe to conventional morality but assuage their feelings of guilt by using neutralisation techniques. In this example loyalty towards a community is the over-riding concern for file sharing social cohesion.

anonymity. Or perhaps users feel disenchanted with their everyday allegiances to work, school, family and state and are searching for meaning and belonging. Could it be an unwitting rejection of the capitalist culture which may seem to their eyes to be exploiting consumers, promoting ownership and commodification over community and sharing? With their consumption of cultural capital helping to define who they are their cultural values appear to transcend monetary ones.

As we enter an age where generations of '*digital natives*' maybe set to have greater influence over their '*environment*'. The norms for computer use and social interaction with the online '*self*' may come to have more meaning for individuals, providing escape from the actual physical world with its limitations, disappointments, boredom and thwarted ambition leading to a condition dubbed '*status frustration*'²⁶ (Albert Cohen cited in Macionis & Plummer 2008 pg.563). What we could call the '*Cyber Self*' may be an extension of an individual's personality, and present a vehicle to find meaning and belonging. Two aspirations commonly shared by most human beings and displayed in the physical world in churches, gangs, cults, societies, clubs etc. It may even be the case that behavioural models such as the Theory of Planned Behaviour (Kwong & Lee 2002 pg.3 and Svensson & Larsson 2009 pg.30) or the Theory of Reasoned Behaviour (Ajzen and Fishbein 1977 cited in Liang 2009 pp.3-4) will have to be re-assessed in light of this liberation from the physical.

What has also become obvious when examining these community pages is how closely are the functions of file sharing services replicating those of social networking sites? In fact it would appear that because of the community forums, screen personas and blogs, torrent sites like this seem to be forming a hybrid of social networking and peer-2-peer file sharing. The main attraction that this would have over ordinary social networking sites (i.e. Facebook) is that it

²⁶ Status frustration appears to be another form of 'anomie'.

involves the sharing of digital data, the one aspect that a legitimate mainstream social networking site cannot replicate. File sharers are already involved in the practice of sharing, but want the added means of socialising with other users on the network.

When we search the community forums for references to the social networking site Facebook, we find evidence to suggest that social networking and file sharing are activities which are coming closer together and may soon become synonymous with one another. Some users may migrate their online activity from networks such as Facebook to sites like Kick Ass Torrents because of the mixture of social chat and file sharing, as the user 'iWizKid' puts it "*I am more addicted to KAT than I was to FaceBook*" and another calls "*kickass the future Facebook*" (absolute_power). To add to this the user 'Darka-FuBAR' states that "*I don't have a Facebook account anymore... I deactivated it long time ago!*" and 'Bayfia' adds that "*I have a Facebook acct - never go there*" and "*I deleted my Facebook :P KAT just seemed like the obvious alternative to Facebook*" (zirakuta). In fact this last user also advocates the establishment of an 'About Me' page similar to those found on Facebook pages because "*regular users are nothing more than a face and a name, it would be nice if we could add a personality to the mix, it certainly would diversify the KAT community.*" Would it make sharing a more satisfying experience if you know the person you are sharing with? In the normal 'physical' realm we share with people that we know and are familiar with, and it helps us to form social bonds between individuals. Why not online also where the sharing already takes place?

One of the discussion threads found here is entitled "*Kickass Torrents Vs Facebook*" and it seems that because of the limitations placed on Facebook by the administrators of that site, Facebook members are turning towards torrent sites such as this to fill the gap created. Although their actions may not be wholly legitimate, it appears to be the interference that people most

resent. This interference occurs when Facebook pages are taken offline and user profiles are deleted because of inactivity, also approbation is caused when copyright and data protection issues are raised. An example is displayed in the open letter addressed to Facebook, written by the user 'H#####':

"Facebook approved and then 3 weeks later deleted a fan page for Kick Ass Torrents. There were no illegal activities taking place and therefore no reason to delete it!! FB refuses to give them an explanation!"

What maybe preferred here is a light touch, a laissez-faire attitude towards governance in which users self police, reporting those that abuse the facility and actively getting involved with the running of the website and admin. Zittrain makes the point that *"generally, order may remain when people see themselves as a part of a social system, a group of people – more than utter strangers but less than friends – with some overlap in outlook and goals"* (pg.129 2008). As we know from some criminological theories a certain amount of deviance is good for social cohesion as it helps to bond individuals against a deviant *'other'* (Macionis & Plummer 2008 pg.562).

In their study of a social-network-based P2P network topology algorithm for file sharing, Altmann and Bedane (2010) put forward a model in which users are required to reveal details about their identity and interact with other users in order to contribute their own resources to the P2P network. Social relationships are therefore required to prevent *'free riding'*²⁷ because a better service is dependent upon social relationships, as they state:

"The motivation for contributing resources comes from the already existing social relationship between peers" because *"the network is established based on social relationships, better service is only possible if a strong relationship exists"* plus, *"through the implementation of social*

²⁷ The name commonly used for P-2-P network users who download but do not share files.

network information, the anonymity, which free riders require, is not present” meaning, “they have to reveal their social relationship to other peers”.

Contribution and participation, according to Bauwens (cited in Papagiannis 2010), is the goal and one that is not motivated by financial profit. In this interpretation of P2P file sharing, values are intrinsic and not the means for achieving something else. Put simply, give and you shall receive. Saroiu (2007) also points out that social incentives are a key factor that encourages content sharing, not only for the public good but also for increased status amongst peers and further privileges amongst a hierarchy of users. The KAT social forums would seem to bear out this theory, with it series of rewards for contributions and participation coupled with a strong ethic and self policing of behaviour. A good example of someone that has climbed the social ladder in a file sharing network is a user known as ‘H#####’, who has a profile, a blog and a Facebook page all of which reveal details about them.



Figure 6: The similarities between the KAT profile and the Facebook profile.

From H#####’s KAT profile page you will observe that this member has accrued status with levels of Bronze, Silver and Gold participation in the different activities and actions which can be taken on Kick Ass Torrents. Clearly, the more you are active the better your kudos amongst your peers, which in this case has given her the status of ‘KickassTorrents staff’. Participation serves two functions; to increase the level of user

involvement in the active running of the site by promoting the user to the status of ‘staff’ as a reward for their personal involvement and also increased activity will help to keep torrents ‘alive’ as it is the ability of the user to actively ‘seed’ which facilitates downloads for others.

All this activity does however leave the user open to a certain amount of scrutiny with some users preferring to use the network anonymously. When it comes to the subject of anonymity H##### is unequivocal when she says:

“... no f'ing way would i like my real and full name published on this or any other site. i don't even use my real last name on Facebook! lol but that's just my view. I dont mind ppl knowing my first name but only if i give it out.”

But also in a separate thread she discusses her and other community members who have Facebook accounts and the potential dangers of mixing information across the two:

“u (sic) probably dont want to mix your facebook with your kAT connections...it would make it ALOT easier 4 the government 2 track your activities here.... I and a bunch of us from here have created separate fb profiles. we use our username as a first name and then KickassTorrents is our last name. i'm H#####KickassTorrents on there.....ADD ME!!!”

H##### acknowledges awareness that placing details about your activity may lead to unwanted attention from the authorities, yet despite this she appears to be quite indiscrete about her own personal details. In her blog she details a night out she recently had with a friend including location, details of a competition that was won and even photographs.

As a generation of digital natives grow up excited and accustomed to the possibilities that the internet can bring it is possible that more of their lives will be conducted on-line. Also, as this generation ages and becomes part of the hierarchical systems of government, business, family and other societal institutions, will we see changes in attitudes towards an individual’s digital presence which make the on-line component of people’s lives an accepted normal behaviour²⁸? The fears of today will become the fables of tomorrow as more people are

²⁸ As Yar (pp.68-69 2006) observes digital piracy is widespread as a social practice by people who otherwise consider themselves ‘law-abiding’.

“willing to put more of themselves into the network and are more willing to meet and converse with those they have never met in person” (Zittrain pg.234 2008). Commentators such as Michael Strangelove point towards these areas of discourse, stressing the importance of *“predominantly anti-market cultural zone[s]”* urging that *“[C]ontemporary cultural theory must pay more attention to decommodified online behaviour and non-market cultural activity”* (pg.161 2005).

Or could it be the case, as Condry (2004) believes, *“that file sharers are doing exactly what consumers are supposed to do: Get the most possible stuff for the least possible money”*. As he points out, digital piracy is remarkably pro-consumptive, in other words it encourages the internet user to seek out and consume cultural capital, an echo of capitalist principles (Sullivan cited in Condry 2004 pg.9). But as we can see a cluster of activities occur; we have acquisition, consumption, sharing and social bonds being formed alongside a desire to communicate which may result in a social relationship in which an individual cares about another. This process may form a social identity amongst individuals or a feeling of shared values by which they could use to loosely label and empower themselves. Festinger (1950 cited in Balestrino 2007 pp.18-19) proposed the notion of *‘informational social influence’* in which the individual needs beliefs and opinions to be reified by others and also provides a social goal with which to coordinate some form of shared interest. An example of this we can see with the individuals who banded together in order to perform the cyber-attacks on ACS:Law. It is interesting to see how those people took action against what they saw as a social offender that perhaps to their minds was victimizing them, thus helping to provide a *‘normative influence’* (Deustch and Gerard cited in ibid) to further justify behaviour and foster a sense of belonging, either to a group or cause. Although ACS:Law had *“brought the legal profession into disrepute”* (Judge Birss QC, quoted in Halliday 2011) by their *‘speculative invoicing’* scheme and the massive leak of secure data it has to be remembered that the ends do not justify the means and damages both sides.

We can also infer from the work of Cohen, (cited in Clinard& Meier 1989 pp.12-13) that deviant subcultures are born of the frustration generated by the post modern condition of capitalist society and offer an alternative

status and value system for the disenfranchised. There doesn't appear to be any central structure or organising body of administration, just a call to arms and a responsive audience with sufficient means to mobilise their efforts. This could possibly be explained with reference to Raymond Boudon (cited in Hopkins Burke pg.95 2005) who acknowledges that individuals do have choices which they exercise and in cases such as this "*come together with others and form coalitions of interest on which they act, and that it is in this way that social change can occur*". The social change in this instance was a relatively small one, that of disabling the internet capabilities of a small law firm, but when seen in conjunction with other similar action (such as attacks against bigger companies and government agencies) then perhaps claims of effecting social change may seem a more viable prospect. Let us not forget that it is technology that has facilitated these forms of resistance and as Zittrain points out "*A change in technology can change the power dynamic between those who promulgate the law and those who are subject to it*" (pg.105 2008). This has helped create what Dr Alex Krotoski (06/02/2010) calls a "*virtual, portable homeland*" when she talks about different political/terrorist groups operating in different countries with similar aims and objectives that can be linked together via the internet. As Lina Khatib of the University of London (Ibid) further states; "*the internet replaces the boundaries of a particular country for each of these groups and links them as if they all live in one place*". This form of 'Cyber Bulk-nisation' according to Krotoski (ibid) lets users filter their world view by selective readings and connections, "*cranks speaking unto cranks*" in order to re-inform their existence. Could the same be said about P-2-P file sharing networks? Forst (2009 pp.189-191) shows us how the internet can be used strategically as a 'rage enabler' and as we have observed before, P-2-P forums allow like minded people to come together, to communicate and to enlist. Simon (2005 quoted in Forst 2009) stated that the internet has directly contributed to a "*new breed of self starting terrorist*", and perhaps we also have the self starting intellectual 'pirate'?

Not all popular protests are done online, but as an old or less technically 'savvy' population is replaced by 'digital natives' and with the continued and sustained use of handheld digital devices, we may well come to see more of it. Of course internet freedom is to some extent a myth, when so many people access the internet

through tethered devices where internet access can be monitored and controlled by the service provider then the term 'freedom' will have to be looked at in context. Tethered devices mean a loss of anonymity potentially damaging freedom of speech. Whilst it is the case that internet access has become a human right, internet access which is unhindered by censorship, corporate advertising and regulation could be very difficult to find. Part of the file sharer creed appears to be a rejection of corporate advertising with some sites boasting about the lack of adverts and some users complaining about pop-up ads, particularly on the Pirate Bay website. Too many users see the use of advertising as 'selling out', of losing their independence or at the very least of being annoying and intrusive.

Whatever the socio-political beliefs of file sharing communities, 'Cybern norms' display a significant shift in the way that people express their values and appear to be fundamentally different from the current legally constructed system of norms (Svensson and Larsson 2009 pg.9). But, despite these new and challenging behaviours one thing seems certain; "*file sharing is not a milieu without norms or even processes of norm creation*" (ibid).

Chapter Seven – Discussion

As we have journeyed through this study of peer-2-peer file sharing websites those readers that have knowledge of criminological and sociological theory may have made a few observations. For instance the historical relevance of deviancy which may one day see so-called deviant acts as being normal or acceptable behaviour. Let us not forget the lessons that history can teach us, such as the period when homosexuality was once illegal but is now socially acceptable and widely acknowledged as a part of human behaviour, or teenage pregnancy, once seen as a massive disgrace and a great shame brought upon the family involved, is now no longer given the ignominious status it once held. Likewise it may some day transpire that file sharing is socially acceptable and no longer seen as a crime but as a normal part of everyday life. In a hundred years time academics may look back and wonder how ‘sharing’ had ever become a criminal activity.

This may seem to be something of a post-structuralist interpretation of the future, where this form of cyber crime (as it is seen now) may indicate that the power/knowledge balance has shifted in favour of the ‘pirates’²⁹ who seem to be better adapt at using technology, and can easily subvert the attempts to curb the copying of digital copyrighted material. But it could be that their ability to deconstruct the dominant discourse surrounding the subject of copyright theft, has spurred corporate industries into further attempts to place controls upon the media in a rejection of post modernism. If we consider the Foucauldian sense in which the dominant discourse has the power to construct the “*regimes of truth in any given historical period*” and that it “*is a product of prevailing power/knowledge relation*” (Gadd & Jefferson 2007 pg.43), we should bear in mind that such a notion depends on what we believe that dominant discourse to be. When a great deal of web chatter takes place outside arenas managed by corporate media, but rather in the cyber back streets and alleyways of the web, the online meeting places seem to have subsumed the function of public houses and other social spaces in the actual ‘physical’ world. It is estimated that there are six and a half million file sharers in the United Kingdom (David pg.112 2010) and if they are existing ‘virtually’ on-line, beyond prying eyes and being largely anonymous then

²⁹ Or users as they may become known, a term which does not make any distinction between the types of internet ‘use’.

perhaps the dominant discourse in this case is perhaps more *sotto voce* than we might think. Perhaps what the trend of file-sharing indicates is that we have more of a dominant '*unspoken*' discourse put into practice by a distributed network of virtual, anonymous actors that cannot be easily pinned down (ibid pg.72). This may explain the legal action threatened against university students in America as they are too easily identifiable as potential infringers of copyrighted material (ibid pg.62) from the profiling attempts of some corporate research. Legislation and civil actions undertaken as they apply specifically to file sharing and intellectual property crime, seek to "*combine general deterrence with rational choice perspective*" (Gunter pg.17 2009) in order to influence the consumer into considering a utilitarian balance between the potential benefit of downloading digital content for free, weighed against the pain of punishment. For this hypothesis to work, it would have to be widely perceived by consumers that detection and punishment were almost inevitable. However, it seems from this study and others that this fear of rebuke is very low amongst the file sharing population and as Gunter points out "*both pirates and non pirates seem to agree that prosecution is unlikely*" (ibid)

This brings us to the social construction of crime, plus how established criminological theory may help us understand the file sharing phenomena better. Simon Juden (pg.99 2010) believes that "*most people are not pirates or criminals, and would prefer instead to be legitimate users of authors' work*", a belief which goes against the industry constructed view. It is important to acknowledge that people are not structurally determined to commit crime, social mores and laws can change which make certain actions either criminal or legitimate. It seems from some of the evidence collected in this study that there is little of what could be classed as criminal intent amongst the file sharing population, rather a communal spirit based on sharing. This prompts the question, has cultural capital been devalued by a disposable and transient media with all its trends and fads, to such an extent that few are willing to pay for it? And has the quality of that cultural capital reached a point where it is no longer worth spending your hard earned money on in an increasingly expensive society?

File sharing may seem to be a curiously middle class crime. This we can understand with reference to a number of social factors needed to be in place before the 'crime' can be commissioned. For example, the proper

computer equipment and a broadband internet connection are desirable (but not strictly speaking mandatory), which usually means a place of residence, an income great enough to support the cost and adequate computer knowledge. The income must be sufficient to pay for the equipment to facilitate file sharing but not be so great that it becomes pointless as you can already afford to buy anything your heart desires. This however does not wholly apply as there may be a few individuals who do it for fun, for kicks or as part of a social network or group. There are some for whom file sharing would be extremely difficult if not impossible. Those on a low income or unemployed, the homeless, long term psychiatric patients and those with little or no computing skills or knowledge (the very young and the very elderly). Although it is true that current technology enables a user to commit acts that would ordinarily be beyond the scope of their capabilities, one must still have the means to purchase such devices. This may make piracy beyond the reach of those on very low incomes and could perhaps be reflected in the looting of mobile technologies which occurred during the riots of August 2011 in the United Kingdom (Mackenzie 2011).

Amongst the evidence collected in this study there is some which helps us to develop further a profile of some of these file-sharers. References to friends, offspring, siblings and parents all give us clues from which we could discern that person's social status. In fact it may be possible to say that torrent downloading is not only recognised and accepted amongst a file-sharers online 'peers' but also with their family peer group in the 'real world'. Often there is reference to a file sharer downloading content on someone else's behalf, or as a present for someone who has requested a specific title but can't afford the cost of a legitimate copy. Fisk (pp.125-127 2009) reports the reaction of a 21 year old student's family to a lawsuit brought against him by the Recording Industry Association of America, most notably the downloader is reported to have said:

"They felt it was unfortunate that I got caught, but I don't think they were disappointed in me because they also benefitted from it. I would make them CDs for Christmas and birthdays. My Dad loved all the oldies [CDs] I would make for him"

With this sort of acceptance from parents and peers, it would hardly be surprising that this study has found that most file sharers either do not acknowledge that they may have broken any laws, or view the laws as being

arcane or unfair. A similar result was concluded in a survey by Svensson and Larsson (2009 pg.45, 54-55, and 59-61) who concluded that the influence of social norms towards regulatory compliance could not be demonstrated on the respondents of their survey of file sharers. As Gunter (2009 PG.16) observes *“justifications and neutralisations are transmitted through the process of differential association”*, but as they also state *“less research attention has been paid to the influence of family on piracy”*. The politically active file sharer does not see themselves as deviant and will defend their actions against the efforts of others to stop them. The goals of conformity and the normative values that mainstream capitalist culture offers are in this respect, rejected. The goals they instead prefer are libertarian in nature with an anti-comodification stance rather than anti-capitalist *per se*. Some users have expressed a view that they are quite willing to pay for media but resent being forced into paying twice for the same content. This refers particularly to the different formats and editions of digital content and popular media, for example vinyl vs. CD, VHS vs. DVD etc. In some users minds the content remains the same despite the format and feel that they have already paid their dues refusing to be exploited anymore. This is similar to the argument that eBooks should be cheaper than their physical counterparts as the costs of producing an eBook are considerably lower because the consumer has already bought the paper and ink (in the form of the E-reading device), why should they be forced to pay twice? In some cases though, publishers have rather foolishly increased the price of digital editions to one that is in excess of the printed edition which coupled with the restriction of Digital Rights Management deter people from acquiring books by legitimate means (Noble 2010).

The aggression of peer-2-peer file sharers is predominantly directed at the corporations that provide the media rather than the artists that appear in them. Although during this study we have encountered what could be described as *‘hate speak’* directed at individuals, (some of them artists), most comments are complimentary towards the content of the download. It makes sense therefore to consider the possibility that file sharers may not be motivated by malice, but rather by an active engagement and positive interest in the creative talent behind the content. As Palfrey and Gasser (pg.91 2008) have pointed out, the disinhibition effect generated by

the anonymity of the internet could contribute to deviant behaviour. Certainly it appears to be relevant in some of the discourse we have seen in this study, (but it is important to keep in mind that anonymity does not necessarily guarantee deviance). Palfrey and Gasser posit that the lack of visual cues involved in exchanges upon the internet causes aggression, with individuals becoming emboldened by their anonymous status making it easier to neutralize any effects their comments or actions may have on others. Put simply if they can not see a victim, then to their minds there is not one and if a victim cannot identify them (the perpetrator) then there is no criminal act (Cohen 2009, pp.96-97).

It would seem from the comments examined in this study that most users are actively seeking out torrents by artists that they like and in some cases have already supported financially by either purchasing content or attending performances. There seems to be a balance between conformity and deviance, users seem to pick and choose how and where to spend their money, as we have noted previously. The disposability of the digital medium makes it easy to remove a download, deleting it should a user not like it. But as some users have stated they are willing to purchase a product if they like it, thereby adding a sense of permanence to an artefact and cementing the relationship between the author and audience. This has prompted some commenters to state that file sharing is the greatest form of free advertising an artist could get, reaching new audiences that would not normally listen to, let alone buy their creative output.

In so far as file sharers have been demonised and denounced as harmful by those seeking to enforce copyright restrictions, it must be pointed out that the means used to portray these internet users as *'folk devils'* perhaps do not reflect well upon the individuals seeking copyright control. Whilst file sharers break the law it does not then become within the purview of others to break the law in their pursuance. To enforce the law you must also uphold it or find yourself as morally reprehensible as those you target, the ends do not justify the means. As Gadd and Jefferson (2007 pg.58) state:

“The idea of societies undergoing profound changes being prone, periodically, to overreact to ‘old’ threats as if they were new and unprecedented, to scapegoat a few to protect threatened ways of life and to call for firm measures, has become, now a core sociological concept”

Litigation and exemplary punishments may have the opposite effect and encourage some file sharers to increase their activities, simultaneously driving them further underground beyond the means of law enforcement to pursue them. The whole tone and actions of copyright campaigns has been one of aggression and combat. They seek to paint in the minds of the public a war against good and evil with ‘pirates’ being the bad guys and the victims being the poor struggling artist or factory worker whose livelihood is dependent upon the music industry. In some cases this has proved to be a largely fatuous argument with many recording artists in debt to the very companies that seek to portray them as the victims of piracy. In perhaps the most notorious campaign waged by corporate media was the attempt to link internet piracy with terrorism a claim which could not be substantiated and was consequently withdrawn. It made the mistake, as is so often made with these sort of campaigns, of confusing claims made about file sharing with those made about the counterfeiting of ‘physical’ goods (clothing, handbags, hats, perfumes and other consumer goods) an altogether different form of intellectual property crime. But by confusing the two issues it is possible to inflate the projected crime figures and the threat allegedly posed, also allowing for the inclusion of other criminal activities (i.e. terrorism) which would ordinarily not be included in any such report.

So what actually motivates file sharers if they are not doing it to profit from the black market economy or using downloads as a means to fund international terrorism? In their study, Ramayah et al (2009 pp.206-213), seek to explain piracy amongst University students by reference to the Triandis model by which they argue that:

“...behaviour is determined partly by what people usually do (habit), what they feel towards a particular behaviour (affect), what they would like to do (intention), and by the expected consequences of their behaviour”.

They posit that habit is situation based, is performed without self-instruction (in other words unconsciously) and influences one's behaviour and attitude. Using the Triandis model (1980 cited in ibid) they state that habit encapsulates a pirate's acts, intentions, emotions and actions and is a product of past experiences on which they

will base future downloading activity. This may in itself sound an obvious conclusion but it is important to acknowledge that past actions do not predetermine future ones, they can only influence them. We cannot downplay the free will, agentic capabilities of the individual in changing their behaviour and future actions and to counter the urges of habit or other influences exerted upon them, but neither can we discount the transmission of values, definition, motives and abilities from individual to individual.

Before on-line digital piracy there was concern about home taping "*killing music*" here David (pg.23 2010) suggests that sharing is "*not just a technical possibility that created a cultural desire*", but seems to hint at a natural desire to share cultural capital. Statistics on this subject are in all cases to be treated with caution and seen in the context of the author and what they are trying to achieve, in other words to which side of the fence are these statistics generated from? Both sides can be equally as guilty of manipulating facts to suit their own ends, only by being impartial and objective can we hope to reach anything approaching the truth of the matter or a solution.

Routine activity theory could be employed to help us understand the file sharers and their downloading habits. It is a theory which places file sharing into a normative bracket of behaviour, as something that is just done like other deviant acts such as speeding or parking in disabled spaces. There is a small acknowledgement that the action is wrong but because it is done all the time by themselves and others then they will continue to do it. Added to this the effect of peer learning (Palfrey and Gasser 2008 pg. 97), a phenomenon which makes it easier for young inexperienced internet users to pick up bad habits from their older cohorts when managing their online interactions, it may lead us to the conclusion that we have a younger generation that is socialized into criminal behaviour. Social Control Theory, with its attachment, commitment, involvement and belief designed to forge closer links to legitimate pursuits (Barkan 1997 pp.199-201), would seem to equally apply to the reverse in this scenario. For Lessig (2004 pg.201) it is more a question of ethics, by which sense it is difficult for a modern generation to live their lives '*legally*' when many aspects of it contain a certain amount of illegality; "*These are the kids for whom behaving illegally is increasingly the norm*".

It may even provide us with a better understanding of file sharing when we look at the social element involved and the way users befriend each other using P-2-P networks. We can see how friendships influence excuses used to justify file sharing which, though they are many and varied quite often fall within the realm of neutralisation, techniques used to deny a victim their status. Peer groups help to re-enforce notions of neutralisation and we can see that in these cases a lot of emphasis is placed upon the supposed '*victim*' of the large corporations which pursue file sharers through the legal system. They seek to remove their victim status and portray themselves as the victim and in some cases the artist also has been exploited by a parasitic demagogue. From the study we can find examples of all five neutralisation techniques; denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of the victim, condemnation of the condemners and an appeal to higher authorities (Cohen 2009 pp.88-98).

As we have seen, quite often file sharers seek to place blame at the feet of capitalist culture for the proliferation of peer-2-peer networks, claiming that greed and the spiralling costs of new media make cultural capital too expensive for those on a low income. This is in tandem with a consumer culture which promotes acquisition and individual ownership, ingredients which could create the condition known as '*strain*' coined by Robert Merton. Strain is the shortfall between what people want and their means of obtaining it, the internet has made the process of getting what you want far easier and reducing that strain. In fact as people grow up with the internet and file sharing as a part of their lives from a very early age, it may seem to them that there is nothing inherently wrong with going onto the internet and getting the content that you want immediately. If it could be said that digital natives partly exist in a temporal sense upon the internet could it be that a person such as this could retreat from the social structure of the normal, everyday, physical sphere of existence and instead find solace in their on-line cyber-self? It is important that social science understands the psychic portion of human life and its effect upon the social world and how the two relate to each other (Gadd & Jefferson pg.2 2007). Could we extend this train of thought further and suggest that an individual brings aspects of their '*on-line*' self into their physical world (in terms of the patterns of behaviour and beliefs expressed) and that conflict is

created? This conflict is created between the *'physical'* self and the intangible *'on-line'* self because of the restrictions placed in the physical world upon the unbound realm of imagination and creativity and our means to gratify them? As Palfrey and Gasser (pg.25 2008) point out, *'Digital Natives'* have a crucial on-line component to their social lives which compliments and extends into their off-line social realm. If we take this notion into consideration then we can see the way that conflict and interaction are created, just as an action or gesture cannot be fully understood in isolation, the intangible and the physical at the same time compliment and contradict each other. How a user forms an image of their *'self'* is dependent partially upon the reactions of others and can be multifaceted, making a distinction between the social *'me'* and the individual *'I'* (Mead cited in Gadd and Jefferson 2007 pp.34-35 2007).

It maybe that the notion of differential reinforcement and other cognitive learning theories will come to have a different meaning when applied to a digital generation, who see values and customs as more ethereal, changing the nature in which they achieve a meaningful cultural exchange. As Hopkins Burke (pg.84 2005) points out such approaches have *"emphaised the role of environmental stimuli and overt behavioural response"*, with the notion of that *'criminals'* are in fact ordinary people who by chance happen to have been socialized into criminal activities (Tarde cite in ibid pg.85). Similarly, when Goode (1990 pg.50) writes about control theories he clearly states that: *"Control theory does not state that individuals with strong ties to conventional society will never engage in any deviant or criminal action"*, and that *"deviance and control are matters of degree"*. When applied to the internet and the vast amount and range of activity which takes place we can perhaps find sympathy with this and the Matza notion of *'drift'* (Gadd and Jefferson 2007 pp111-112). But are we in danger of ignoring an important biological element which, (although it does not predetermine individuals as deviants in the same way that social factors do not predetermine behaviour), may help us to understand offending behaviour in the broader context of crime generally (not just cyber related crimes)?

The immediacy of the internet with its emphasis upon gratification and sensation may be the factor that contributes more to the popularity of file sharing than the actual quality of the content that peer-2-peer networks

have to offer. As Neuroscientist Baroness Susan Greenfield (quoted in Krotoski 2010) points out internet use has a strong premium on sensation and is a triumph of the senses over the meaning. She goes on to conjecture:

“If you give a human brain an environment where actions don’t have consequences, if you give that brain an environment that is just literal, where there is no significance, might it not be the case that that brain stays in an infantilised state?”

Some suggest that it is this same immediacy, coupled with an overwhelming choice of data, which is hampering a digital generation’s ability to mature into well balanced, moral citizens (Palfrey & Gasser pg.191 2008). From this notion can we presume that social stimuli from our environment can effect human genes, switching them on and off, as posited by the work of Mat Ridley (pp.147 – 148 2000), and thereby effecting human behaviour and in particular brain development? The prefrontal cortex which helps to regulate behaviour and is believed to be the part of the brain which governs our moral development is alleged to be not properly developed in human teenagers (Palfrey & Gasser pg.166 2008). This, they posit, leads to a lack of maturity and impulsivity, with individuals making ill-informed choices about the consequences of their actions and unable to evaluate risk. This would obviously place them at a different stage of development from adults who presumably have reached their full potential, (although exactly how this is to be ascertained is unspecified). It hints at possible biological (and perhaps bio-socio theories) of human behaviour and forms of diminished responsibility (such as ADHD). G Neil Martin’s study of Human Neuropsychology (pp.424-427 2006) may help to strengthen this notion when he points out that essential neural characteristics continue to develop in the human brain until it reaches full maturity, with developments ceasing anywhere between the ages of 15 – 60 years of age. If we are to accept that some human brains continue to develop and thereby mature into an age long past the period commonly associated with that of puberty and adolescence and into their adult existence, then this may explain why some people never seem to grow out of offending behaviour. Put simply, it may be the case that deviancy (in the broadest sense of the word) is a form of immaturity with those offenders having not yet developed a fully rounded sense of moral judgment and unable to delay urges relating to gratification and consumption. This finds sympathy in the work of both Teo 2001 and Hill 2007 (cited in Phau et al 2009 pg.1) who state that digital

piracy is predominantly performed by intelligent young men who Hill alleges are still immature in their ethical development (ibid). If we were to look at this in terms of psychobiography we could see that this form of deviance could be influenced by the *'unique, asocial aspects of an actor's disposition, behaviour and self-identity'* (Layder cited in Owen 2007). If we take Owen's meta-theoretical framework and apply it in this situation we will see that genes can *'take their cue from nurture/the environment'* (Owen 2006a 897-917 cited in Owen 2007), the nurture in this instance coming via the internet and having an effect on an immature or under developed brain. Brain function and development are subject to a myriad of influences which help to shape our behaviour, actions and motives, as Ridley (pg.148 2000) points out; *"The brain, the body and the genome are locked, all three, in a dance. The genome is as much under the control of the other two as they are controlled by it"*.

Owen's Genetic-Social theoretical framework acknowledges the interplay between biological and social factors which influence human behaviour, showing how polymorphic and mimeomorphic actions can take place. The diagram on page 92 shows how it could be possible that biological and social stimuli can influence behaviour through a filtration of rational decision-making processes and emotional responses combined with sensory data. This seeks to explain human behaviour in a wider context than just the narrow sphere of cyber-crime, avoiding the cardinal sin of functional teleology. It is important to remember that all experience and decision making made by actors has to be grounded in a physical entity (the human body) and that physical entity is open to influences which can be quantified as both social and physical.

Individuals are alleged to exercise *'free will'* when it comes to acts of digital piracy, making (it appears) an informed, rational choice between the options of paying for digital content or not, (although plenty of file sharers are eager to suggest that if the quality of goods on offer was drastically improved they would be quite willing to pay for it). The influences exerted upon choice has increased drastically along with the scope and penetration of the internet into the lives of digital natives, data is incredibly diverse making it harder than ever to make correct decisions about the best choices. Distraction and boredom are common place with the fight for

hearts and minds played out in a transient sea of electronic images vying for a split second of our attention. Temptations can be immediately gratified without any embarrassment or stigma, many fantasies and desires can be fulfilled quickly and conveniently with the minimum of effort. Perhaps the key to developing our ‘digital self’ can be found in mental strength and moral fortitude which allows us to navigate a morass of digital flotsam and jetsam.

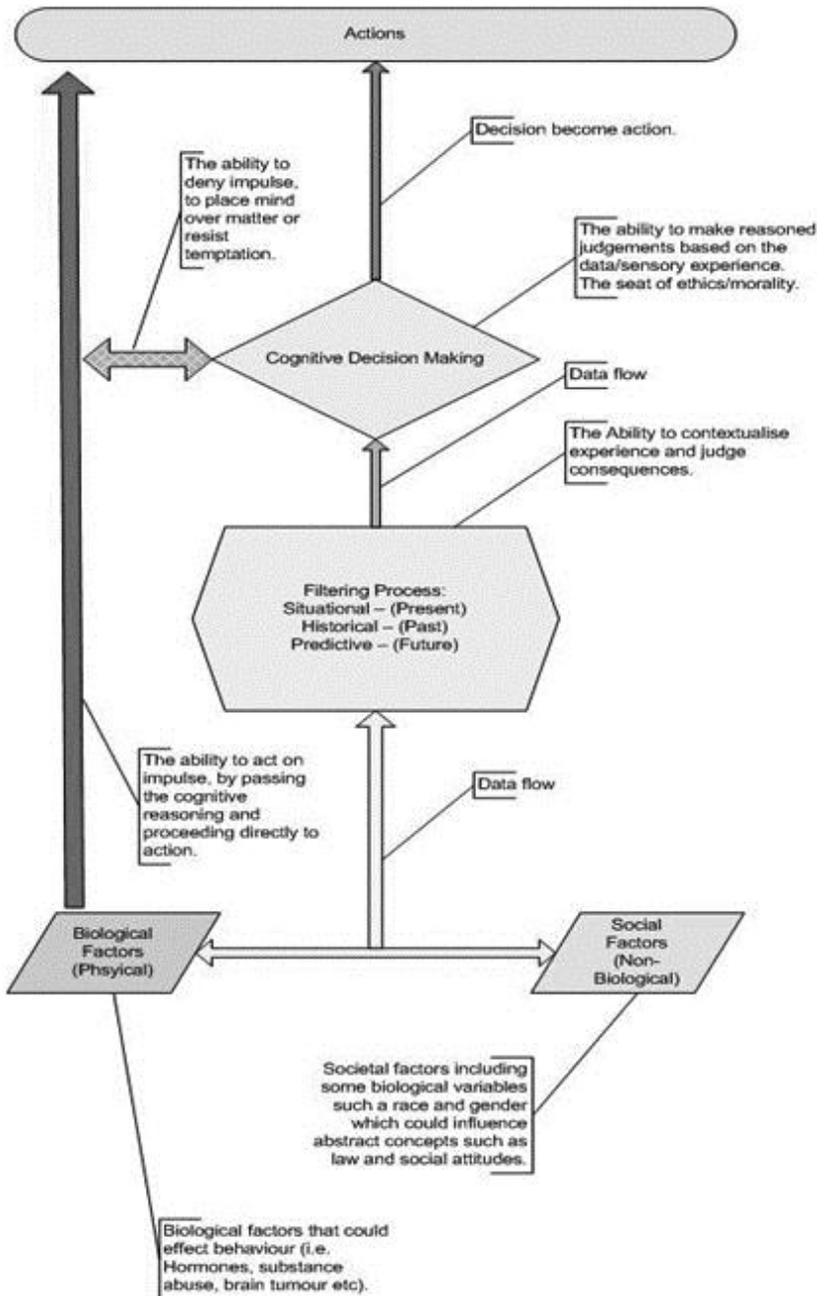


Figure 7:
 This framework attempts to demonstrate how cognitive decision making can be influenced by bio-genetic and social factors.

So, if we accept Baroness Greenfield's assertion (quoted in Krotoski 2010) that the literal environment of the internet may help us to understand our attitudes towards technology and the way it allows us to consume cultural artefacts, then in an age where choice is more widespread than ever before and delivery in some cases almost instant, it would perhaps seem archaic to a digital native that they should have to wait ... for anything. Why go to the shop or get a mail order CD/DVD delivered when at the touch of a button you can have the same thing in a few minutes, without actually leaving your armchair. Perhaps the decline in the ability of linear reading is directly proportional to the impatience and sense of immediacy that the internet fosters amongst digital natives. For example, how many readers of this document will read the conclusion first, before reading the arguments and hypothesis which lead up to it and put it into context?

From the insights we have gained by applying the various theories to the problem of online (or cyber) deviance, we can perhaps deduce that acts of deviance have three vital components that influence individuals when they commit (or don't commit) them: the social (Sociological), biological (Positivism) and psychological (Aetiology).

Three Components of influence

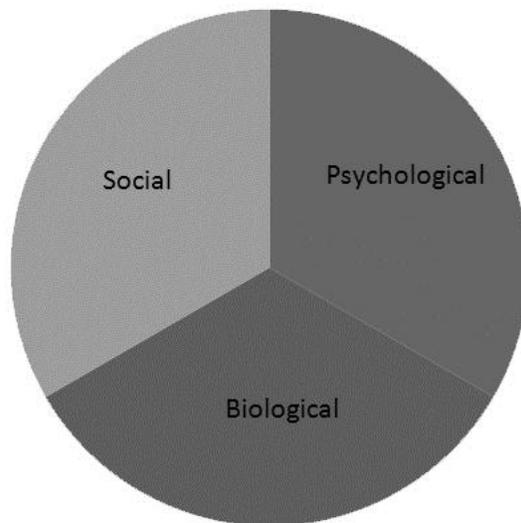


Figure 8:
The three components of influence.

- Psychological
- Biological
- Social

Biological variables could be such things that interfere with the normal³⁰ operation of the human brain and as such facilitate abnormal/deviant/unwanted/unwise behaviour in an individual. This may take the form of substance abuse, cerebrovascular accident/stroke, subarachnoid haemorrhage, intracranial tumour etc or other physical damage to the brain. Social variables at work on the individual can be abstract concepts such as morality, religious beliefs or the laws and rules by which the state is governed, or the informal yet no less binding rules of a gang or subculture and family peer groups which help shape our social environment. The final component is the psychological which will be largely unique to the individual and be influenced by the other two components of this theorem and the individuals' various cognitive processes. It is proposed that the psychological component consists of the conscious elements which show insight and attempts to resist (or comply with) the influence of the other two. Damage to the physical may effect the psychological in the same way that social influences can help define a person's identity; it is only when all three are weighed against each other and placed in order of influence that we can avoid over deterministic mono-theoretical analysis (such as Marxism) which decontextualise an object of study in order to frame an agenda. Explanations are multi-stranded with many influences at work upon the individual, each must be judged in context to the individual to arrive at a meaningful conclusion, remember Matt Ridley's parallel of the brain, body and genome dance (2000 pg.148).

The intention here is to create a working hypothesis which generates a naturalistic generalization without reducing the role of individual agency, but rather to create a macro meta-theory derived from common characteristics, conclusions and similarities. Keeping a flexible frame work and employing a reflective epistemology is essential to avoid the pitfalls of over simplified unified theory of crime deviance and to keep a "*general abstract theoretical principal*" (Mitchell quoted in Gadd & Jefferson 2007 pg.8) which uses a multi-factorial cluster of variables to promote a non-reductive multi-factorial explanation (Sibeon quoted in Owen 2009). We must not diminish the notion of the "*social actor as an entity that is in principle capable of*

³⁰ By '*normal*' it is meant here that the brain is in a state of grace unimpaired by physical damage or from the influence of foreign bodies i.e. substance abuse or coercive social factors.

formulating and acting upon decisions” (Owen 2009 cited in Owen and Powell 2011 pg. 746), as part of Post-
Postmodern meta-theory.

Chapter Eight – Conclusion

In this research it has been demonstrated how the intangible cannot be completely divorced from the physical, as the term ‘cyber-crime’ would suggest. Despite the ethereal nature of deviance over the internet all activity is ultimately grounded in the physical as there must be an individual at a computer terminal or mobile device performing actions based on decisions. These decisions are multi-factorial and are based in biological and social influences and how the two interact within the locus of the individual and groups at both the micro and macro levels respectively. Further research is required to understand this complex relationship between biological and social influences upon the free will of the individual. We must develop these notions and look at how morality is developed by individuals that are part of online communities and how this affects their conduct. As more and more people come to inhabit virtual online homelands, the boundaries between their physical existence and their online presence becomes blurred.

This raises fundamental questions about how we treat online crime and whether new paradigms are required which deal specifically with this, further separating ‘virtual’ space from ‘meat’ space. The study of deviance and behaviour, as it is concerned with uses of the internet, is to reflect the complexity of the physical world and we must acknowledge that no single theoretical paradigm will adequately rationalise all general behaviour. Therefore we must use a broad theoretical pallet that allows us to choose which explanation best suits or when to find new theories that fill the criteria. No single reductionist explanation of crime and deviance will do and the postmodern ironical stance which has been in vogue throughout the latter half of the 20th Century must take its place alongside the pantheon of competing academic voices.

This research has shown that resentment felt by those who use file sharing networks is directed predominately at the large media corporations that seek to enforce restrictions upon the web. But there is also evidence to suggest that consumers are willing to pay for I.P. if they feel it warrants the price or they have a connection with an artist/content creator. There is also evidence to suggest that traditional forms of cultural consumption, in

particular live performances by artists, are on the increase implying that consumers are willing to pay for a unique qualitative experience over the mass produced artifice of the recorded medium.

The convergence of social networking elements with file sharing activities would seem to be significant as it tells us that some individuals invest a form of 'emotional' currency into their online activities, developing friendships and such. Perhaps as a consequence of this they place themselves at risk of detection from those that patrol the internet looking for copyright infringers by the amount of detail they place about themselves on file sharing websites that have a social networking element. But by a curious quirk of fate it is exactly this data indiscretion and openness that makes the field so rich for the researcher and could provide the best evidence for social change and policy. We have seen how file sharers declare their allegiance to a file sharing network in the same way medieval knights would swear allegiance to a monarch, not merely as a source for downloads but as a way of life, with a system of values and ethics to be upheld. This may signify the use of P-2-P file sharing as an enhancement of the 'Netizen's' life in ways that their physical selves cannot achieve in their everyday lives and provide an alternative sphere of existence for them.

The internet constitutes the greatest area for social change in our modern world, with many cultural, political and philosophical changes in the 'real' world being directly affected by it. One question that social science researchers must now address is the possibility that emerging technologies and cultural practices can alter our biology and psyche in ways that we cannot yet understand. As more of human existence is commuted to virtual forums and intangible exchanges, we must acknowledge the significance that bio/genetic -social meta-theory may play in future research. It is my contention that nothing can be truly 'virtual' when all experience is grounded in the 'physical'. An understanding of our virtual self equally requires knowledge of that biological machine known as '*Homo sapiens*' and should science develop a feasible form of bio-technology then the ethical considerations (such as the ones discussed here) will be germane.

Appendix One – Blank Survey Document (Template)

Survey number	Position	Date	Torrent Site:
Webpage address			
Torrent Name			

No. Of files	Type of files	From Date	File downloads	Category of content
Seeds	Leechers	Fake	Password	Verified
Total Seeder & Leechers		Publisher	Pub date	Virus
ISBN	Author			

No. Of Comments	Rated Good	Rated Bad
Types of comments		
Technical		
Gratitude		
Advertising/Spam		
Aggressive		
Advertising		

Appendix 2 - eBook Survey

Fenopy survey One - eBooks

Position	Title	Activity	Comments
FEN1	Halal Haram List Of Ingredients torrent download	5219	1
FEN2	Playbooks torrent download	3674	1
FEN3	The Truth Of Fazail E Aamaal Partial Release 1 www islam co cc pdf torrent download	3511	1
FEN4	Sahih Bukhari Urdu All 8 Volumes torrent download	2313	1
FEN5	Advanced Sex Explicit Positions for Explosive Lovemaking Mantesh torrent download	1830	1
FEN6	Tafseer Ibn e Kaseer Urdu torrent download	1296	1
FEN7	Islamic Ebooks torrent download	2069	0
FEN8	Abdulbasit Abdulsamad Mojawwad MP3 Quran torrent download	756	1
FEN9	200 Ways to Revive a Hard Drive Mantesh torrent download	660	1
FEN10	Quran Translation In 37 Languages www islam co cc torrent download	2112	1
FEN11	How To Make Women Laugh Mantesh torrent download	629	1
FEN12	Female Orgasms Mantesh torrent download	621	1
FEN13	101 Short Cuts in Maths Any One Can Do torrent download	902	1
FEN14	Ahmed Alajimi MP3 Quran torrent download	928	1
FEN15	Palestine Peace Not Apartheid by Jimmy Carter E book torrent download	547	1
FEN16	Photoshop CSS All in One For Dummies 2010 Malestrom torrent download	3689	1
FEN17	Mens Health February 2011 Mantesh torrent download	359	1
FEN18	ISLAM QURAN MP3 Abdulbasit Abdulsamad torrent download	557	1
FEN19	How to Become an Expert on Anything in Two Hours Mantesh torrent download	488	1
FEN20	2009 Spring Football Media Guides torrent download	989	1
FEN21	Fluent English Perfect Natural Speech Sharpen Your Grammar Audiobook MANTESH torrent	1049	1
FEN22	Talk Less, Say More Three Habits to Influence Others and Make Things Happen	521	1
FEN23	How to Win Friends Influence People Mantesh torrent download	452	1
FEN24	Mathemagics How to Look Like a Genius Without Really Trying Mantesh torrent download	578	1
FEN25	NLP Hypnosis The Art Of Indirect Suggestion Stephen Brooks Audio torrent download	481	1
FEN26	Healing Drinks Juices Teas Soups Smoothies Mantesh torrent download	369	1
FEN27	PC World February 2011 Mantesh torrent download	512	1
FEN28	Hacking Firewalls And Networks How To Hack Into Remote Computers torrent download	942	1
FEN29	The Truth About Six Pack Abs h33t afn afg torrent download	2019	1
FEN30	Maximum Strength Get Your Strongest Body in 16 Weeks with the Ultimate Weight-Training Program	685	0

Appendix 2 - eBook Survey

FEN31	The Complete Guide to Google Android 2010 Edition 7summits torrent download	330	0
FEN32	Learn How To Draw PDF torrent download	319	1
FEN33	The Body Language Rules A Savvy Guide Mantesh torrent download	657	1
FEN34	77 Mental Toughness Secrets Mantesh torrent download	350	1
FEN35	The Ultimate Tea Diet How Tea Can Boost Your Metabolism Shrink Your Appetite torrent download	392	1
FEN36	Saad Alghamdi MP3 Quran torrent download	666	1
FEN37	1 000 Places to See Before You Die A Traveler s Life List Mantesh torrent download	1293	1
FEN38	Wireless Hacking torrent download	1025	1
FEN39	Portrait Photography Secrets of Posing Lighting Mantesh torrent download	446	1
FEN40	Oxford University Press Ebook Pack 652 Books Sorted PHC torrent download	874	1
FEN41	20 Self Hypnosis Sessions torrent download	285	1
FEN42	Kindle ebooks collection torrent download	846	1
FEN43	The Secret Language of Business How to Read Anyone in 3 Seconds or Less Mantesh torrent download	524	1
FEN44	Professional Android 2 Application Development 2010 Malestrom torrent download	812	1
FEN45	Upgrading and Fixing Computers Do-it-Yourself For Dummies, 8th Revised edition-Mantesh	332	1
FEN46	Perfect Digital Photography 2nd Edition 2009 Malestrom pdf torrent download	2800	1
FEN47	NLP Hypnosis The Ultimate Brain Total Mind Memory Ultramind torrent download	284	1
FEN48	J Priestly Corruption of Christianity rar torrent download	764	1
FEN49	Saud Al Shurain MP3 Quran torrent download	1964	1
FEN50	Solar Power for Your Home 2010 Malestrom torrent download	289	1

Appendix 2 - eBook Survey

Kick Ass Torrents Survey One - eBooks

Position	Title	Activity	Comments
KAT1	Stop Working ... Start Living: How I Retired at 36 ... without Winning the Lottery-Mantesh	875	9
KAT2	1000 Photoshop Tips and Tricks (Dec 2010)-Mantesh	728	10
KAT3	2,500 Retail Quality eBooks ePub (ipod,ipad,nook,sony reader)	1016	2
KAT4	Healing Drinks: Juices, Teas, Soups, Smoothies-Mantesh	610	1
KAT5	1,000 Places to See Before You Die: A Traveler's Life List-Mantesh	588	9
KAT6	Kindle Books Collection	1158	28
KAT7	THE GOOD IN BED GUIDE TO : FEMALE ORGASMS-Mantesh	476	3
KAT8	PC World – January 2011	481	14
KAT9	PC Magazine - January 2011	393	4
KAT10	200 Ways to Revive a Hard Drive-Mantesh	428	1
KAT11	Mens Health - February 2011-[Mantesh]	472	5
KAT12	Mathemagics: How to Look Like a Genius Without Really Trying-Mantesh	362	9
KAT13	The Truth About Six Pack Abs [afn_afg]	336	33
KAT14	How to Become an Expert on Anything in Two Hours-Mantesh	392	1
KAT15	12 Steps to Power Presence : How to Exert Your Authority to Lead	374	10
KAT16	PC World : February 2011-Mantesh	390	3
KAT17	How Sex Works: Why We Look, Smell, Taste, Feel, and Act the Way We Do-Mantesh	313	7
KAT18	Am I Boring My Dog: And 99 Other Things Every Dog Wishes You Knew	329	6
KAT19	Training Your Brain For Dummies-Mantesh	336	0
KAT20	77 Mental Toughness Secrets-Mantesh	354	1
KAT21	Popular Science January 2011	323	3
KAT22	Fun With Figures : Brilliant Mental Math Short Cuts that will Amaze Everyone-MANTESH	294	15
KAT23	Undress for Success - The Naked Truth About Making Money at Home-Mantesh	321	4
KAT24	Windows 7 Administrators Pocket Consultant 2010 New Edition Retail (www.ThumperDC.com)	292	0
KAT25	Top 100 Sexiest Women In The World 2010	299	8
KAT26	Men's Health - 100 Best New Tech Toys For Men - December 2010	278	6
KAT27	1000 Best Dog Training Secrets	299	8
KAT28	Practical Math Success in 20 Minutes a Day (Skill Builders)-Mantesh	277	0
KAT29	The Secret Language of Business: How to Read Anyone in 3 Seconds or Less-Mantesh	261	2
KAT30	Hacking for Dummies - Access to Other Peoples Systems Made Simple (www.ThumperDC.com)	284	9

Appendix 2 - eBook Survey

KAT31	Photoshop CSS All-in-One For Dummies (2010) - (Malestrom)	256	51
KAT32	Words That Change Minds: Mastering the Language of Influence-MANTESH	258	9
KAT33	101 Spy Gadgets For The Evil Genius	319	4
KAT34	The Word Brain: A Short Guide to Fast Language Learning (Volume 1)-Mantesh	257	0
KAT35	The Leader's Handbook: Making Things Happen Getting Things Done-Mantesh	249	6
KAT36	Hacking Digital Cameras	275	2
KAT37	Triple Your Reading Speed-Mantesh	239	6
KAT38	Computeractive :50 Easy PC Fixes-Mantesh	292	0
KAT39	CIA Red Cell Memorandum on United States "exporting terrorism	227	7
KAT40	O'Reilly Big Book of Windows Hacks	283	3
KAT41	Popular Science - February 2011 (Malestrom)	231	0
KAT42	Critical Choices That Change Lives: How Heroes Turn Tragedy	243	0
KAT43	Computer Active : Ultimate Guide to Windows 7-Mantesh	234	2
KAT44	The Fat Flush Fitness Plan	245	0
KAT45	Watching Earth from Space: How Surveillance Helps Us - and Harms Us-Mantesh	205	2
KAT46	The No Sweat Exercise Plan: Lose Weight, Get Healthy, and Live Longer-Mantesh	220	0
KAT47	Attract and Seduce Women with Hypnosis + Mistress By Mistake-Mantesh	232	5
KAT48	Increase Your Influence at Work – Mantesh	232	2
KAT49	The Digital Photography Workflow Handbook-Mantesh	214	4
KAT50	How to Bake: Your Complete Reference Book-Mantesh	197	3

Appendix 2 - eBook Survey

The Pirate Bay Survey One - eBooks

Position	Title	Activity	Comments
PB1	Kindle Books Collection	910	59
PB2	Advanced Sex: Explicit Positions for Explosive Lovemaking-Mantesh	667	1
PB3	How To Make People Like You In 90 Seconds Or Less-Mantesh	592	2
PB4	What Did We Use Before Toilet Paper?: 200 Curious Questions and	524	13
PB5	1000 Photoshop Tips and Tricks (Dec 2010)-Mantesh	514	3
PB6	How to Blow Her Mind in Bed: The essential guide for any man who	473	5
PB7	Photoshop CSS All-in-One For Dummies (2010) - (Malestrom)	446	19
PB8	200 Ways to Revive a Hard Drive-Mantesh	492	2
PB9	101 Short Cuts in Maths Any One Can Do-Mantesh	502	4
PB10	65+ Poker Strategy eBooks Collection (Doyle Drunson, Dan Harring	363	15
PB11	The Multi-Orgasmic Man: Sexual Secrets Every Man Should Know-Man	367	4
PB12	Female Orgasms-Mantesh	353	1
PB13	65+ Poker Strategy eBooks Collection (Doyle Drunson, Dan Harring	356	15
PB14	Mathemagics: How to Look Like a Genius Without Really Trying-Man	320	1
PB15	Men's Fitness : March 2011-Mantesh	349	1
PB16	PC Magazine : February 2011-Mantesh	345	1
PB17	Hacking - Firewalls And Networks How To Hack Into Remote Compute	321	6
PB18	How come an Expert on Anything in Two Hours-Mantesh	319	2
PB19	Mens Health - February 2011-[Mantesh]	282	5
PB20	The Body Language Rules: A Savvy Guide to Understanding Who's F	281	1
PB21	Talk Less, Say More: Three Habits to Influence Others and Make T	306	1
PB22	Windows 7 Secrets (2009) - (Malestrom)	252	46
PB23	The 4 Hour Body - Timothy Ferriss	256	4
PB24	Maximum Strength: Get Your Strongest Body in 16 Weeks with the U	270	2
PB25	Complete Book of Home Inspection, 4th Edition-Mantesh	260	0
PB26	The Complete Q&A Job Interview Book-Mantesh	270	0
PB27	PC World : February 2011-Mantesh	237	0
PB28	Photoshop Creative Issue 15 - Restore Your Old Photos-Mantesh	255	0
PB29	Wireless Hacking	230	5
PB30	77 Mental Toughness Secrets-Mantesh	225	3

Appendix 2 - eBook Survey

PB31	Learn How To Draw [PDF]	230	0
PB32	Healing Drinks: Juices, Teas, Soups, Smoothies-Mantesh	264	0
PB33	Wireless Hacking	241	5
PB34	77 Mental Toughness Secrets-Mantesh	219	3
PB35	Professional Android 2 Application Development (2010) (Malestrom	222	3
PB36	Portrait Photography: Secrets of Posing & Lighting –Mantesh	225	2
PB37	World Atlas - True pdf	217	7
PB38	Playboy - November 2010	219	4
PB39	Triple Your Reading Speed-Mantesh	204	3
PB40	Kaplan TOEFL iBT 2010-2011 (Malestrom)	225	4
PB41	Learning from Common Mistakes-Mantesh	225	0
PB42	501 Killer Marketing Tactics to Increase Sales, Maximize Profits	218	0
PB43	New York Times best sellers week 47-P2P PDF Epub	239	6
PB44	Seven Languages in Seven Weeks: A Pragmatic Guide to Learning Pr	196	1
PB45	Stop Working ... Start Living: How I Retired at 36 ... without W	192	0
PB46	1,000 Places to See Before You Die: A Traveler's Life List-Mant	213	3
PB47	Web Design For Dummies (2009) - (Malestrom)	214	9
PB48	1001 Motivational Quotes for Success: Great Quotes from Great Mi	182	5
PB49	The Complete Guide to Google Android - 2010 Edition (7Summits)	178	0
PB50	Illustrated Guide To The Human Body (8 Volume Set) - (Malestrom)	196	9

Appendix 2 - eBook Survey

Demonoid Survey One - eBooks

Position	Title	Activity	Comments
DEM1	1001 Math Problems: Fast, Focused Practice that Improves You	2623	9
DEM2	101 sex jokes	5096	25
DEM3	200 Ways to Revive a Hard Drive	5523	44
DEM4	2600 The Hacker Quarterly, vol. 27, no. 4 (Winter 2010-2011)	2429	10
DEM5	All series books by E. E. Knight: Age of Fire 1-5 and Vampire	998	10
DEM6	ConsumerReports Magazine February 2011	1714	14
DEM7	Ernest Hemingway - 11 Books - EPUB - MOBI	1586	13
DEM8	James Patterson & Michael Ledwidge - Tick Tock (Michael	1260	42
DEM9	Kindle Library ~ DRM Stripped - Mobi Format	1153	29
DEM10	Nalini Singh - Guild Hunters 04 - Archangel's Consort	694	30
DEM11	PC Gamer - February 2011	3770	15
DEM12	PC Magazine : February 2011 -Mantesh	2899	8
DEM13	PC Pro - March 2011 (Malestrom)	1518	4
DEM14	Ray Bradbury: Fahrenheit 451 (perfectly formatted) (epub &am	861	7
DEM15	Sex for Sale: Prostitution, Pornography and the Sex Industry	2695	7
DEM16	The 4-Hour Body: An Uncommon Guide to Rapid Fat-Loss, Incred	23054	153
DEM17	The Adobe Photoshop CSS Book for Digital Photographers 2010	1821	15
DEM18	Various survival and skills based ebooks	1056	10
DEM19	Why Do Catholics Eat Fish on Friday? The Catholic Origin to	1853	13
DEM20	Your Body The Missing Manual The Book You Should Have Been B	4051	17

Appendix 2 - eBook Survey

BT Junkie Survey One - eBooks

Position	Title	Activity	Comments
BT1	Ahmed Deedat eBooks	3258	17
BT2	University Presses Ebook Pack PHC	1377	13
BT3	Islamic eBooks	1769	8
BT4	Routledge Ebook Pack 867 Books Sorted PHC	1196	0
BT5	Wiley Hacking MySpace Mods and Customizations to make MySpace Your Space Aug 2006 eBook-BBL	898	13
BT6	IQ Puzzles Over 500 Mind Benders & Brainteasers	649	7
BT7	Livres Islamiques { French E-book (A10)[54in1]} [lupped by Samigah]	704	6
BT8	Cambridge Univ Press Ebook MEGA Pack 1193 eBooks PHC	1135	4
BT9	Starting Strength Ebook [2nd Edition]-Mantesh	576	16
BT10	Learning AutoCAD 2010 ebook PDF (2 Volumes) - RDX	549	0
BT11	ebook 15-MINUTE ABS WORKOUT [15 MINUTE FITNESS] - MANTESHWER-[farbg.com]	508	0
BT12	The Online English Grammar: English Today E-Book Version-Mantesh	474	16
BT13	30 Digital Photography Books - (Malestrom)	507	9
BT14	Human Body Encyclopedia Full Color Edition Ebook	417	13
BT15	The Grammar of English Grammars Ebook	411	10
BT16	65 Poker Strategy eBooks Collection Doyle Brunson, Dan Harring	406	10
BT17	- 10 Magic Tricks ebooks - Become a Magician!!	354	10
BT18	Sexology 20 PDF ebooks!	349	10
BT19	How to Get Anyone to Say Yes in 8 Minutes or Less The Science of Influence Ebook	276	1
BT20	Speaking Extra [Ebook] -Mantesh	277	0
BT21	Quranic Law[English E-book][Samigah]	286	3
BT22	ebook THE SECRETS TO GAINING MUSCLE MASS FAST ! - MANTESHWER-[farbg.com]	246	12
BT23	The Karma Sutra of Vatsayayana Ebook	246	10
BT24	Magnificent Memory	236	0
BT25	eBook collection for Kindle	308	0
BT26	Magnificent Memory	226	0
BT27	284 Amazing Rice Recipes - How to Cook Perfect and Delicious Rice in 284 Terrific Ways ebook {TechG	231	0
BT28	1001 Best Slow Cooker Recipes The Only Slow Cooker Cookbook You'll Ever Need Ebook	221	12
BT29	The Best of Adobe Photoshop Techniques and Images from Professional Photographers Ebook	206	0
BT30	11 Steps To Create A Successful Website Ebook	199	13

Appendix 2 - eBook Survey

BT31	Encyclopedia Of Ancient and Forbidden Secrets Ebook	205	16
BT32	The Art of Writing Speaking the English Language eBook PDF -L...	258	11
BT33	Popular Photography and Imaging Magazine March 2008 eBook-FEUIO	215	4
BT34	Hacking For Dummies Ebooks	193	9
BT35	15 CISCO EBooks Collection	227	10
BT36	2012 The End of the World Ebook	190	14
BT37	McGraw Hill CNET Do It Yourself Home Networking Projects Dec 2007 eBook-BBL	206	3
BT38	Burn the Fat Feed the Muscle Fat Burning Secret Ebook	190	10
BT39	50 Things Youre Not Supposed To Know ebook { TechGid }	184	4
BT40	Sookie Stackhouse 10 ebooks	228	0
BT41	Studio Lighting Techniques for Photography Ebook	188	1
BT42	How to Use Your Mind Ebook	177	1
BT43	A Positive Attitude Ebook	173	9
BT44	100 CookBooks, txt and pdf files	212	4
BT45	Lights, Camera, Capture Creative Lighting Techniques for Digital Photographers 2010 ebook { TechGid	175	0
BT46	The Kama Sutra of Vatsayayana Ebook	216	5
BT47	Kindle ebooks collection	210	29
BT48	Brain Games For Dummies Ebook TipsXplore	163	12
BT49	Your Guide To Healthy Sleep Ebook	157	9
BT50	Harlequin Blaze & Romance eBooks Collection sleclub	153	0

Appendix 3 – MP3 Survey

Fenopy survey Two –MP3s

Position	Title	Activity	Comments
FEN1	mecca torrent download	9760	0
FEN2	Kak priruchit drakona 2010 D CAM ELEKTRIKA torrent download	62440	0
FEN3	NICKI MINAJ PINK FRIDAY 2010 MP3 COV BUBANEE torrent download	21993	2
FEN4	EMINEM Recovery 2010 Full Album torrent download	56740	3
FEN5	Nelly Just A Dream torrent download	14362	1
FEN6	Rihanna Whats My Name Feat Drake HOT Struzzin torrent download	8690	0
FEN7	Eminem Recovery Retail 2010 NoFS torrent download	56888	1
FEN8	Eminem Recovery Retail 2010 NoFS ceasers palace info torrent download	39793	0
FEN9	Duck Sauce Barbra Streisand DJ Promo 320kpbs DeZ torrent download	11676	0
FEN10	Californication S04E03 Home Sweet Home HDTV XviD FQM eztv torrent download	5214	0
FEN11	Enrique Iglesias Tonight feat Ludacris Dirty Struzzin torrent download	5982	0
FEN12	Mumford And Sons Sligh No More Album torrent download	6174	0
FEN13	Diddy Dirty Money I m Coming Home feat Skylar Grey torrent download	4844	0
FEN14	pitbull Hey Baby Drop It to the Floor ft T Pain 2010 Sing torrent download	21791	0
FEN15	Wiz Khalifa Deal Or No Deal Retail 2009 NoFS torrent download	11701	0
FEN16	Eminem Feat Rihanna Love The Way You Lie mp3 torrent download	14807	0
FEN17	Britney Spears Hold It Against Me 2011 Single MJN torrent download	5004	0
FEN18	USHER DJ GOT US FALLIN IN LOVE FEAT PITBULL 2010 SINGLE torrent download	47421	0
FEN19	Kid Cudi Man On The Moon The End of Day torrent download	5036	0
FEN20	David Guetta The Best Of 2010 torrent download	26468	0
FEN21	Adele Rolling In the Deep 2010 Single SW torrent download	5446	0
FEN22	Jovanotti Ora Deluxe Version by G AsTRA 2011 torrented torrent download	7175	0
FEN23	Chris Brown Yeah 3X 2010 Single T1 torrent download	5050	0
FEN24	Mike Posner Cooler Than Me WEB 2010 SKITTLES torrent download	5192	0
FEN25	Trey Songz Bottoms Up feat Nicki Minaj 2010 Single MJN torrent download	33831	0
FEN26	Arcade Fire The Suburbs mp3 320 2010 trfkad torrent download	43830	2
FEN27	VA Until One Mixed By Swedish House Mafia 2010 torrent download	27626	0
FEN28	Alicia Keys The Element of freedom CDrip 2009 cov cd Bubanee torrent download	8574	0
FEN29	Rick Ross Ashes To Ashes 2010 MIXFIEND torrent download	4018	0
FEN30	Rihanna Rated R CDrip 2009 Cov CD Bubanee torrent download	8728	0

Appendix 3 – MP3 Survey

FEN31	Lil Wayne - 6'7" (6 Foot 7 Foot) (Feat. Cory Gunz)(Official Carter 4 Single) (Dirty.Cdq.No Dj).mp3	4952	0
FEN32	The Official UK Top 40 Singles Chart 23 01 2011 torrent download	3912	0
FEN33	Flo Rida David Guetta Club Cant Handle Me mp3 THE PHREAK torrent download	108050	0
FEN34	Dr Dre ft Snoop Dogg Akon Kush NEW Struzzin torrent download	3748	0
FEN35	Zain Bhikha torrent download	2181	1
FEN36	Gianna Nannini IO E Te320 kbps AsTrA Torrented torrent download	5291	1
FEN37	Chris Brown Feat Lil Wayne Busta Rhymes Look At Me Now Single SW torrent download	2205	0
FEN38	Flo Rida Who Dat Girl Feat Akon Struzzin torrent download	2936	0
FEN39	Lil Wayne Right Above It feat Drake 2010 Single MUN torrent download	29708	0
FEN40	One Tree Hill S08E12 The Drinks We Drank Last Night HDTV Xvid FQ torrent download	2542	0
FEN41	The Temper Trap Conditions 2009 320kbps 1337x torrent download	7402	0
FEN42	The Black Keys Brothers 2010 MP3 Cov Bubanee torrent download	41547	1
FEN43	Pendulum Immersion 2010 MP3 Cov Bubanee torrent download	38647	1
FEN44	Lady Gaga the Fame Monster deluxe Edition aac 256kbps torrent download	5452	0
FEN45	UFC 126 Anderson Silva v Vitor Belfort Xvid SINGLE FIGHT ONLY torrent download	1868	0
FEN46	Tai0 Cruz Dynamite torrent download	6648	0
FEN47	RICK ROSS TEFLON DON NEW 2010 torrent download	4652	0
FEN48	Foo Fighters Greatest Hits CDRip 2009 Cov CD Bubanee torrent download	12680	0
FEN49	Eminem Recovery Deluxe Edition 2010 torrent download	36092	0
FEN50	The Official UK Top 40 Singles Chart 30 01 2011 torrent download	3354	0

Appendix 3 – MP3 Survey

The Pirate Bay Survey Two – MP3s

Position	Title	Activity	Comments
PB1	Kanye West-My Beautiful Dark Twisted Fantasy [Explicit] @320kbps	6104	68
PB2	Wiz Khalifa - Black and Yellow [2010-Single@320][Tr]	4109	10
PB3	Black Eyed Peas - The Beginning (Deluxe Edition) 2010-DOH	4118	26
PB4	Eminem-Recovery-(Retail)-2010-[NoFS]	3774	202
PB5	Adele - 21_PROPER_320kbps_VRTX	3687	19
PB6	Mumford And Sons - Sigh No More (Album)	3471	22
PB7	Bruno Mars-Doo Wops And Hoooligans-2010-H3X	2898	16
PB8	Rihanna - Loud [2010-MP3-Cov][Bubaneel]	3368	25
PB9	Bruno Mars - Just the Way You Are [2010-Single][MJN]	2708	15
PB10	Wiz Khalifa - Black and Yellow [2010-Single@320][Tr]	2688	11
PB11	Bruno Mars - Grenade.mp3	2101	4
PB12	The_Script-Science_And_Faith-2010-CaHeSo	3067	14
PB13	Diddy & Dirty Money - I'm Coming Home (feat. Skylar Grey)	2653	6
PB14	Take That - Progress (2010) @ 320kbs	2710	14
PB15	Katy Perry - Firework [Single 2010]	2482	5
PB16	David Guetta - The Best Of 2010	2513	8
PB17	Eminem Feat. Rihanna - Love The Way You Lie.mp3	2334	11
PB18	Lady GaGa - The Fame Monster 2CDRip 2009 [Cov+2CD][Bubaneel]	2778	195
PB19	VA - Now That's What I Call Music 77 @ 320kbps	2445	27
PB20	Black Eyed Peas - The Time (The Dirty Bit) 256kbps CDQ [Wooz]	2228	8
PB21	Bruno Mars - Grenade.mp3	2218	4
PB22	Drake-Thank.Me.Later-(Retail)-2010-[NoFS]	2317	37
PB23	Just A Dream 2010 – Nelly	2196	10
PB24	Kid.Cudi-Man.on.The.Moon.II-The.Legend.of.Mr.Rager-(Retail)-2010	2357	30
PB25	Step Up 3D - The Soundtrack (2010)	2288	27
PB26	Nicki Minaj - Pink Friday [2010-MP3-Cov][Bubaneel]	2461	27
PB27	Rihanna-What's My Name (Feat. Drake) HOT ~Struzzin~	2083	2
PB28	Katy Perry-Teenage Dream mp3	2025	8
PB29	Chris Brown - Yeah 3X [2010-Single@320][Tr]	2047	9
PB30	James Blake - James Blake [2011] 320 kbps	2017	9

Appendix 3 – MP3 Survey

PB31	Mike Posner-Cooler Than Me- WEB-2010-SKITTLES	1912	2
PB32	Swedish House Mafia Feat Tinie Tempah-Miami 2 Ibiza-(Single)-201	1859	3
PB33	Enrique Iglesias - Tonight (feat. Ludacris)(Dirty)~Struzzin~	1880	6
PB34	Lil Wayne-Rebirth-Retail.Deluxe.Edition)-2010-[Nofs]	2118	59
PB35	Adele - Rolling In the Deep [2010-Single][SW]	1869	0
PB36	Taio Cruz – Dynamite	1281	18
PB37	James Blake - James Blake [2011] 320 kbps	1320	9
PB38	R. Kelly - Love Letter [2010 - album] @320kbps	1276	8
PB39	Drake - Thank Me Later [2010-MP3-Cov][Bubanee]	1413	22
PB40	Alicia Keys - The Element Of Freedom CDRip 2009 [Cov+CD][Bubanee	1531	53
PB41	David Guetta-Gettin' Over You (feat. Fergie & LMFAO).mp3	1253	5
PB42	Kesha - Cannibal (Album) (2010) (320kbps)	1391	11
PB43	Lil Wayne - Right Above It (feat. Drake) [2010-Single][MIN]	1224	5
PB44	Mike Posner-Cooler Than Me- WEB-2010-SKITTLES	1254	2
PB45	Rihanna - Rated R CDRip 2009 [Cov+CD][Bubanee]	1440	24
PB46	Maroon_5-Hands_All_Over_ (Deluxe_Edition)-2010-DOH	1292	21
PB47	Tinie Tempah-Disc-Overy 2010-BPM	1356	14
PB48	Far East Movement - Free Wired (2010) (Album)	1280	13
PB49	The Rolling Stones - Greatest Hits (2008) 320 vtwin88cube	1327	12
PB50	MICHAEL JACKSON GREATEST HITS [R.I.P.] [Bubanee]	1194	31

Appendix 3 – MP3 Survey

Kick Ass Torrents Survey Two – MP3s

Position	Title	Activity	Comments
KAT1	Eminem Feat. Rihanna - Love The Way You Lie.mp3	2587	76
KAT2	Katy Perry - Teenage Dream.mp3	2156	40
KAT3	Enrique iglesias ft. pitbull-I like it HQ.mp3	1906	20
KAT4	Drake - Thank Me Later [2010-MP3-Cov][Bubaneel]	2014	50
KAT5	Flo_Rida-&-David_Guetta_-_Club_Cant_Handle_Me_.mp3] [THE PHREAK]	1885	7
KAT6	David Guetta-Gettin' Over You (Feat. Fergie & LMFAO).mp3	1811	38
KAT7	Rihanna Ft. Drake - What's My Name (Remix).mp3-Attikiller	1574	10
KAT8	Pendulum - Immersion [2010-MP3-Cov][Bubaneel]	1623	116
KAT9	Merry Xmas - 4CD (2010) MP3 @320kbps + Covers	1662	58
KAT10	Rihanna - Rude Boy [.mp3]	1392	54
KAT11	Muse - The Resistance [mp3-320-2009]	1409	106
KAT12	The Decemberists - The King Is Dead [mp3-320-2011][trkad]	1378	10
KAT13	Kanye West - My Beautiful Dark Twisted Fantasy [2010-MP3-Cov][Bubaneel]	1379	107
KAT14	Timbaland ft. Justin Timberlake - Carry Out [.mp3] - NEW SINGLE	1318	17
KAT15	David Guetta & Akon - Sexy Bitch [.mp3]	1317	35
KAT16	White Lies - Ritual [mp3-vbr-2011][trkad]	1336	5
KAT17	Nicki Minaj - Pink Friday [Deluxe-2010-V0-mp3][TJ]	1305	25
KAT18	Shakira - Sale El Sol [Deluxe-mp3-320-2010][trkad]	1240	51
KAT19	Gorillaz - Plastic Beach [2010-MP3-Cov][Bubaneel]	1180	178
KAT20	[MP3@256kbps]Negramaro-Casa 69[IDN_CREW]	1174	5
KAT21	Florence And The Machine - Lungs [2009][320kbps]MP3-MT	1192	47
KAT22	Taio Cruz - Break Your Heart.mp3	1098	39
KAT23	John Mayer - Battle Studies [2009-MP3-Cov][Bubaneel]	1126	80
KAT24	Young Money ft. Lloyd - BedRock [.mp3] - NEW SINGLE	1077	28
KAT25	Jack Johnson - To The Sea [mp3-vbr-2010][trkad]	1105	68
KAT26	Mike Posner - 31 Minutes To Takeoff CD Rip [MP3-320][MUN]	1142	32
KAT27	IVAZ - Replay [.mp3]	1052	56
KAT28	Yeah Yeah Yeahs - It's Blitz [mp3-192-2009]	1031	5
KAT29	Top 1000 songs of the last 30 years [MP3] Nit-Release	1328	85
KAT30	VA - Clubland 18 - 3CD - 2010 Split Tracks [Min-MG Mp3]	999	39

Appendix 3 – MP3 Survey

KAT31	Taylor Swift - Speak Now [Deluxe-2010-V0-mp3][TJ]	1008	147
KAT32	Gorillaz - Plastic Beach [2010-MP3-Cov][Bubaneel]	954	180
KAT33	Kanye West - My Beautiful Dark Twisted Fantasy [Deluxe-V0-mp3-2010][TJ]	962	21
KAT34	Ministry Of Sound - Annual 2011 [MP3 @ 320][oan]	1043	46
KAT35	Kesha Feat 3OH13 - Blah Blah Blah [mp3]	886	21
KAT36	Bob Marley - Complete Discography [Mp3 - 256kpbs] [trtvillage.org]	1014	61
KAT37	Travie McCoy - Lazarus (2010-mp3) [JonnyBeans]	960	42
KAT38	Iron Maiden - The Final Frontier [2010-MP3-Cov][Bubaneel]	815	0
KAT39	Enrique iglesias ft. p!tbull-I like it .mp3	780	51
KAT40	Jason Derulo - In My Head.mp3	779	11
KAT41	Eminem - The Eminem Show [mp3]	835	20
KAT42	Train - Save Me San Francisco [2009-mp3-320] [Svc]	809	44
KAT43	The Doors - The Very Best Of 40th Av [MP3-M3U-Log-Cov-CD][Bubaneel]	813	37
KAT44	Tato Cruz - Dynamite [.mp3]	753	5
KAT45	Kings of Leon - Come Around Sundown [Deluxe-mp3-V0-2010][TJ]	758	50
KAT46	Jay-Z Feat. Alicia Keys - Empire State Of Mind [.mp3]	64	28
KAT47	Ludacris - How Low [.mp3] - NEW SINGLE	701	8
KAT48	Timbaland - Shock Value II [2009-MP3-Cov][Bubaneel]	750	80
KAT49	Aveneg Sevenfold - Discography (2001-2007) [mp3@320]	748	37
KAT50	Hitzone 53 (2010)[MP3](320kbit)(2 CDs) 2Lions-Team	733	8

Appendix 3 – MP3 Survey

BT Junkie Survey Two – MP3s

Position	Title	Activity	Comments
BT1	iTunes Top 5 new releases - December 2010	274167	9
BT2	Eminem Recovery Retail 2010 NoFS	25375	179
BT3	Kanye West-My Beautiful Dark Twisted Fantasy (Explicit) @320kpbs	21679	0
BT4	Black Eyed Peas - The Beginning (Deluxe Edition) 2010-DOH	19438	44
BT5	Jazz Smooth Jazz Gold	29217	67
BT6	Nicki Minaj - Pink Friday [2010-MP3-Cov][Bubaneae]	21183	73
BT7	Rihanna	19604	94
BT8	Drake Thank Me Later Retail 2010 NoFS	18199	70
BT9	Mumford And Sons Sigh No More Album	18263	32
BT10	Far East Movement - Like a G6 – Single	15961	38
BT11	Kid Cudi-Man on The Moon II-The Legend of Mr Rager-(Retail)-2010	17378	44
BT12	Kings Of Leon - Come Around Sundown(2010)(MP3@320kpbs)[h33t]2Lions-Team	14882	100
BT13	Bruno Mars-Doo Wops And Hooligans-2010-H3X	14226	56
BT14	Katy Perry - Teenage Dream FULL ALBUM 320kpbs [maxxcrime] [h33t]	15362	6
BT15	Cafe Del Mar Vol.13	23657	61
BT16	Katy Perry Teenage Dream mp3	12023	33
BT17	Cee Lo Green - The Lady Killer (Deluxe) -2010-[SW]	12603	51
BT18	Diddy & Dirty Money - I'm Coming Home (feat. Skylar Grey)	11362	14
BT19	Mike Posner Cooler Than Me WEB 2010 SKITTLES	11003	19
BT20	Black Eyed Peas - The Time (The Dirty Bit) 256kpbs CDQ [Wooz]	10757	41
BT21	Just A Dream 2010 – Nelly	10313	28
BT22	Lil Wayne Rebirth Retail Deluxe Edition 2010 NoFS	11870	80
BT23	D:Documents and SettingsDianeMyDocuments\$wedish.House.Mafia	10100	13
BT24	Trey Songz-Passion Pain And Pleasure-(Deluxe Edition)-2010-(NoFS	10868	52
BT25	Kid Cudi Man On The Moon II: The Legend Of Mr. Rager (320 Kbps)	9925	6
BT26	Tafsir Ibn Kathir all 10 volumes pdf	9599	11
BT27	The Official UK Top 40 Singles Chart 06-02-2011	11674	6
BT28	Rihanna Only Girl In The World 2010 Single MIN	8407	15
BT29	Drake Thank Me Later 2010 MP3 Cov Bubaneae	9007	30
BT30	David Guetta Gettin' Over You Feat Fergie & LMFAO mp3	7879	19

Appendix 3 – MP3 Survey

BT31	Xxxxxxx	11237	23
BT32	Michael Buble - Crazy Love [2009-MP3-M3U-Log-Cov-CD][8748	120
BT33	Wiz Khalifa Deal Or No Deal Retail 2009 NoFS	8946	17
BT34	John Mayer Battle Studies 2009 MP3 Cov Bubanee	8242	54
BT35	Taio Cruz - Higher (feat. Travie McCoy) [2010-Single][SW]	7578	5
BT36	The Script-Science And Faith-2010-CaHeso	8519	43
BT37	Lady Antebellum Need You Now Retail 2010 \\\'JB59	8788	34
BT38	[www.concen.cc] Jon Stewart Presents Earth: A Visitor's Guide t	7473	0
BT39	Ke ha Kesha Animal Deluxe Edition 2010 JB59	8587	18
BT40	A Day To Remember-parates Me From You [JonnyBeans]	7323	25
BT41	Ludacris Battle Of The Sexes 2010 FTD	7184	63
BT42	The Rolling Stones - Greatest Hits (2008) FIXED Mp3 320 vtwin88cube	8911	28
BT43	Foo Fighters - Greatest Hits CDRip 2009 [Cov+CD][Bubanee]	7748	83
BT44	Usher Raymond Vs Raymond Full Album 2010	7389	62
BT45	Lady Gaga - Born This Way (New Single) Feb 2011- Mp3VILL	7102	16
BT46	Chris Brown Ft Lil Wayne & Busta Rhymes - Look At Me Now [Single	6600	8
BT47	Rihanna (feat. Drake) - Whats My Name [2010-Single][SW]	6408	12
BT48	Bruno Mars Just the Way You Are 2010 Single MJN	6265	37
BT49	Kesha - We R Who We R (2010) (320kbps)	6263	20
BT50	VA - Now Thats What I Call Music 77 @ 320kbps	6743	74

Appendix 3 – MP3 Survey

Demonoid Survey Two – MP3s

Position	Title	Activity	Comments
DEM1	Adele- 21 - (Deluxe Edition)- [2011]- Mp3VILLe	8045	28
DEM2	Arcade Fire – Complete	1844	13
DEM3	Arcade Fire - Discography (2003-2010) [mp3@320]	16821	14
DEM4	Billboard Hot 100 19 February 2011	2520	16
DEM5	Billboard Hot 40 02-19-2011	2804	11
DEM6	Bright Eyes - The People's Key (2011)[ADVANCE](Conor Oberst)	19542	26
DEM7	Bruno Mars- Earth To Mars- (320 Kbps)- [2011]- Mp3VILLe	7146	31
DEM8	Eminem- Oh No- (New Single) Feb 2011 - Mp3VILLe	4001	22
DEM9	Glee Music- Season 2 EPS 13 - Comeback – Itunes	1650	8
DEM10	Howard Stern Show Mammory Lane 2-16-11	819	3
DEM11	Lady Gaga - Born This Way (2011)	669	3
DEM12	Let England Shake - P J Harvey	1738	7
DEM13	mumford and sons - sigh no more	1823	6
DEM14	Mumford And Sons Sigh No More][2010][mp3][320kbs][Hectorbus	17977	35
DEM15	OPWGKA - (Odd Future Wolf Gang Kill Them All) – Discography	674	4
DEM16	Opie And Anthony 2011-02-16-08&A-CF64k	1026	23
DEM17	Opie And Anthony 2011-02-17-08&A-CF64k	1047	26
DEM18	The Arcade Fire - The Suburbs	12958	26
DEM19	The Official UK Top 40 Singles Chart 13-02-2011	65	5
DEM20	The Official UK Top 40 Singles Chart 13-02-2011	15658	27

Appendix 4 – AVI Survey

Kick Ass Torrents Survey Three – AVI

Position	Title	Activity	Comments
KAT1	The Mechanic 2011 R5 LINE AC3-TOXIC-INK	52114	45
KAT2	127 Hours 2010 DVDS-AC3 XVID-TOXIC-INK	24404	1203
KAT3	Four Eyed Monsters Xvid VODO	19177	162
KAT4	The Mechanic[2011]R5 LineXvid-ExtraTorrentRG	26353	57
KAT5	Tangled 2010 PPVrip LINE Xvid-TIMPE	17983	454
KAT6	The Green Hornet 2010 TS XVID-TOXIC-INK	13376	1114
KAT7	S W A T Firefight[2011]BRrip Xvid-ExtraTorrentRG	15475	148
KAT8	No Strings Attached 2011 CAM Xvid-TIMPE	12232	135
KAT9	Gullivers Travels[2010]R5 Line Xvid-ExtraTorrentRG	11731	484
KAT10	The Sunset[2011]limited HDTVrip Xvid-ExtraTorrentRG	12199	85
KAT11	TRON Legacy 2010 TS XVID- IMAGINE	10742	1168
KAT12	Burke and Hare (2010) BDRip Xvid-AMMIABLE	12065	51
KAT13	The Tourist[2010]R5 Line Xvid-ExtraTorrentRG	9748	540
KAT14	Gnomeo & Juliet 2011 TS XVID – IMAGINE	13849	65
KAT15	Arctic Blast (2010) DVDRip Xvid-aAF	8805	139
KAT16	The.Mechanic.2011.R5.LINE.Xvid {1337x}-Noir	7835	47
KAT17	Paul 2011 CAM XVID-DragonTrG	9834	50
KAT18	Love And Other Drugs 2010.BrRip.Xvid-Noir	8956	522
KAT19	Legion The Final Exorcism 2011 DVDRip Xvid-UNDEAD	8751	19
KAT20	Little Fockers TS XVID V2 - IMAGINE(READ NOTES)	7457	658
KAT21	The Eagle 2011 TS XVID – IMAGINE	7812	18
KAT22	Sanctum 2010 TS Xvid – IMAGINE	6705	93
KAT23	All Star Superman 2011 STV DVDRIP Xvid-NoGRP	5749	91
KAT24	Sacrifice 2011 DVDS-AC3 XVID SAF-Cuk009 {DragonTrG}	5957	29
KAT25	Unstoppable[2010]DvDrip[Eng]-FXG	5155	72
KAT26	The Mechanic R5 LINE – IMAGINE	6327	41
KAT27	The Dilemma 2011 TS Xvid Feel-Free	5989	38
KAT28	The Mechanic 2011 TS x264 Feel-Free	5426	144
KAT29	Org Bak 3 2010 DUBBED DVDRip Xvid AC3-Rx	5887	48
KAT30	7 Khoon Maaf - DVDS-AC3 - Xvid - 1CDrip - [DDR]	8069	11

Appendix 4 – AVI Survey

KAT31	The Fighter 2010 SCR XVID-IMAGINE	4306	727
KAT32	[HorribleSubs] Naruto Shippuuden - 198 [720p].mkv	4171	13
KAT33	The Yes Men Fix The World P2P Edition 2010 Xvid-VODO	3825	170
KAT34	Love and Other Drugs[2010]DvdRip[Eng]-FXG	4699	3
KAT35	Kick-Ass (2010) RS XVID-MAXSPEED	3741	1193
KAT36	Patala House (2011) Hindi camrip MP3 Team ICTV@Mastitorrents	4188	25
KAT37	National Lampoons Dirty Movie 2011 DVDRip Xvid	3711	5
KAT38	Paul 2011 CAM Xvid Feel-Free	5023	5
KAT39	No Strings Attached 2011 TS XVID-DragonTRG	3402	9
KAT40	Life As We Know It 2010 TS Xvid – ILLUSION	3183	320
KAT41	Yogi Bear 2010 TS V2 XVID - IMAGINE(NEW SOURCE)	4164	43
KAT42	Paranormal Activity 2 Unrated 2010 DvdRip Xvid-Noir	3071	145
KAT43	Dark Metropolis.2010. REPACK.DVDRip.Xvid-WBZ	4387	11
KAT44	Little.Fockers.2010.DvdScr.Xvid {1337x}-Noir	3541	24
KAT45	Freight[2010]DVDRip Xvid-ExtraTorrentRG	3802	34
KAT46	Let Me In 2010 DVDRIP READNFO XVID-T0XIC-INK	4523	27
KAT47	Fair Game.2010.DVDSCR.XVID.AC3-T0XIC-INK	3286	181
KAT48	The Social Network.2010.R5.LINE.Xvid {1337x}-Noir	2699	640
KAT49	Harry Potter And The Deathly Hallows Part 1 2010 ts Xvid-WBZ	2885	214
KAT50	Takers.2010.R5.Xvid {1337x}-Noir	2552	542

Appendix 4 – AVI Survey

The Pirate Bay Survey Three – AVI

Position	Title	Activity	Comments
PB1	House S07E12 HDTV Xvid-LOL [eztv]	15167	20
PB2	V 2009 S02E06 HDTV Xvid-2HD [eztv]	15130	19
PB3	The Next Three Days (2010) DVDRIp Xvid-MAX	24500	80
PB4	Modern Family S02E15 HDTV Xvid-LOL [eztv]	16181	8
PB5	The Big Bang Theory S04E15 The Benefactor Factor HDTV Xvid-FQM [11243	24
PB6	Glee.S02E13.HDTV.Xvid-LOL.[VTV].avi	13016	6
PB7	Tangled 2010 PPVRip LINE Xvid-TiMPE	15820	106
PB8	Due Date BDRip Xvid-ARROW	9850	127
PB9	Glee.S02E14.HDTV.Xvid-LOL.[VTV].avi	9182	11
PB10	How.I.Met.Your.Mother.S06E17.HDTV.Xvid-LOL.[VTV].avi	9863	21
PB11	How.I.Met.Your.Mother.S06E16.HDTV.Xvid-LOL.[VTV].avi	9271	20
PB12	Modern Family S02E16 HDTV Xvid-LOL [eztv]	11336	0
PB13	Faster DVDRIp Xvid-ARROW	8775	169
PB14	House S07E13 HDTV Xvid-LOL [eztv]	8756	11
PB15	V 2009 S02E07 HDTV Xvid-2HD [eztv]	9081	14
PB16	The.Green.Hornet.2010.TS.XVid-T0XIC-iNK	10975	223
PB17	Inception (2010) DVDRIp Xvid-MAX	10134	426
PB18	Unstoppable (2010) DVDRIp	12340	64
PB19	Chuck S04E15 HDTV Xvid-LOL [eztv]	8569	14
PB20	Californication S04E06 HDTV Xvid-LOL [eztv]	7706	11
PB21	The Kings.Speech.2010.DVDSQR.XVID.AC3-NYDIC	10207	100
PB22	The Big Bang Theory S04E14 The Thespian Catalyst HDTV Xvid-FQM [7296	23
PB23	The Vampire Diaries S02E14 HDTV Xvid-2HD [eztv]	7753	18
PB24	Gossip.Girl.S04E15.HDTV.Xvid-2HD.[VTV].avi	8340	5
PB25	Two and a Half Men S08E16 HDTV Xvid-LOL [eztv]	7479	12
PB26	Fringe S03E13 HDTV Xvid-LOL [eztv]	7248	16
PB27	The.Mechanic..2011.R5.LINE.AC3-T0Xic-iNK	12398	77
PB28	The Big Bang Theory S04E16 The Cohabitation Formulation HDTV Xvi	6857	23
PB29	Desperate Housewives S07E14 HDTV Xvid-LOL [eztv]	7060	6
PB30	No Ordinary Family S01E15 HDTV Xvid-LOL [eztv]	7887	7

Appendix 4 – AVI Survey

PB31	S.W.A.T Firefight[2011]BRrip Xvid-ExtraTorrentRG	9687	94
PB32	127.Hours.2010.DVDSCR.AC3.XviD-TOXiC-iNK	8978	177
PB33	Gossip.Girl.S04E16.HDTV.XviD-2HD.[LTV].avi	7655	3
PB34	The Social Network 2010 DVDSCR XviD-WBZ	6539	140
PB35	Despicable Me DVDRip Xvid-iMBT	5814	147
PB36	The Mechanic[2011]RS LineXvid-ExtraTorrentRG	9445	18
PB37	Gulliver's Travels[2010]RS Line Xvid-ExtraTorrentRG	7196	61
PB38	The Tourist[2010]RS Line Xvid-ExtraTorrentRG	7075	38
PB39	Burlesque DVDRip Xvid-ARROW	6492	50
PB40	The.Mechanic.2011.TS.XviD-TOXiC-iNK	7579	60
PB41	True Grit 2010 SCR XviD – IMAGINE	6518	193
PB42	Megamind (2010) SCR XviD AC3 – IMAGINE	5997	163
PB43	The Sunset[2011]limited HDTVrip Xvid-ExtraTorrentRG	6063	54
PB44	Robin Hood (2010) UNRATED DVDRip Xvid-MAX	4211	223
PB45	The Fighter 2010 SCR XviD – IMAGINE	5000	101
PB46	The Sunset[2011]limited HDTVrip Xvid-ExtraTorrentRG	5605	58
PB47	The Expendables (2010) DVDSCR Xvid-MAX	3893	273
PB48	Get Him to the Greek (2010) DVDRip Xvid-MAX	3820	260
PB49	Iron Man 2 (2010) DVDRip Xvid-MAX	4000	270
PB50	All Star Superman 2011 STV DVDRip Xvid-NoGRP	3861	58

Appendix 4 – AVI Survey

Demonoid Survey Three – AVI

Position	Title	Activity	Comments
DEM1	Due Date[2010]DvdRip[Eng]-FXG	140835	83
DEM2	Elephant White 2011 WORKPRINT XVID AC3 SAFcUk009 {DragonTrG}	24138	94
DEM3	Hereafter (2010) DVDRip Xvid-MAX	6609	35
DEM4	Inside.Job.LIMITED.BDRip.Xvid-DEFACED	27061	51
DEMS	Jackass 3 2010 UNRATED DVDRip Xvid AC3-VISION	1584	22
DEM6	Jackass 3D UNRATED DVDRip Xvid-DEFACED	2264	33
DEM7	Jackass:3D.UNRATED.DVDRip.Xvid-DEFACED	5657	42
DEM8	Morning Glory DVDRip Xvid-DEFACED	4699	50
DEM9	Paul 2011 CAM XVID SAFcUk009 {DragonTrG}	35597	220
DEM10	Sanctum (2011) R5 Line Xvid By Megaplay	4550	31
DEM11	Sanctum 2011 R5 LINE XVID – IMAGINE	1917	23
DEM12	Sanctum.2011.R5.LINE.AC3.XVID-TOXiC-iNK	6242	59
DEM13	The Green Hornet 2011 R5 LINE AC3 XVID-TOXiC-iNK	3021	33
DEM14	The Green Hornet R5 DVDRip H264 AAC - DD (Kingdom Release)	6551	22
DEM15	The Green Hornet[2011]R5 line Xvid-ExtraTorrentRG	1941	7
DEM16	The Next Three Days (2010) DVDRip Xvid-MAX	131697	60
DEM17	The.Green.Hornet.2011.R5.LINE.AC3.XVID-TOXiC-iNK	4201	26
DEM18	The.Mechanic.2011.R5.LINE.AC3-TOXiC-iNK	126227	98
DEM19	Tron Legacy (2010) PPVRIP IFLUX	3504	32
DEM20	Unknown 2011 TS AC3 XVID SAFcUk009 {DragonTrG}	6516	131

Appendix 4 – AVI Survey

Fenopy Survey Three –AVI

Position	Title	Activity	Comments
FEN1	THE TOURIST 2010 R5 H264 ENG J70 torrent download	75526	0
FEN2	Titanic 1997 720p Dual Audio English Hindi BRRIp aaaevilacharya torrent download	41616	0
FEN3	The Next Three Days 2010 DVDRip Xvid MAXSPEED torrent download	28724	0
FEN4	18 Year Old Virgin UNRATEDDVDRip aaaevilacharya torrent download	32744	1
FEN5	Tangled 2010 Bluray 720p DTS x264 CHD torrent download	4715	0
FEN6	Outlander 720p Dual-Audio{English-Hindi}BRRIp aaaevilacharya	23389	0
FEN7	TRON Legacy (2010) DVDRip Xvid-MAXSPEED	23789	1
FEN8	Unleashed 720p Dual Audio{Hindi-English}BRRIp aaaevilacharya	15122	0
FEN9	HOT TUB TIME MACHINE:720P.DUAL{ENG-HIN}BRRIp.AAAEVILACHARYA	15889	1
FEN10	Wanted--2008-Dual-Audio Hindi-English DVDRip-aaaevilacharya	22937	0
FEN11	Inception 2010.480p.Dual-Audio{Hindi-Eng}BRRIp.aaaevilacharya	22034	0
FEN12	The Fighter (2010) DVDRip Xvid-MAXSPEED	17040	2
FEN13	Tales of Kama Sutra-Perfumed.Garden(2000)DVDRip.aaaevilacharya	12490	0
FEN14	The Fighter 2010 720p BluRay x264-REFINED	7124	0
FEN15	Tucker and Dale Vs Evil 2010 Xvid AC3 WORKPRINT SAF-Cuk009 {DragonTG}	8024	0
FEN16	Open Season 3..Dual-Audio{Hindi-English}BRRIp.aaaevilacharya	10447	0
FEN17	Sanctum 2011 R5 LINE AC3 XVID-TOXIC-INK	8787	2
FEN18	Just Go With It 2011 TS XVID – IMAGINE	9386	0
FEN19	Ratatouille (2007)[Dual Audio{Hindi-Eng}]BRRIp.aaaevilacharya	7966	0
FEN20	I Am Number Four TS XVID IMAGINE	10451	6
FEN21	Hereafter 720p BluRay x264-TWIZTED	5978	0
FEN22	Unstoppable (2010) DVDRip Xvid-MAXSPEED	10001	0
FEN23	Equilibrium-2002-BRRip-720p-x264-{Simba}	9119	0
FEN24	How Do You Know 2010 DVDRip Xvid-Original	11742	0
FEN25	Unknown 2011 TS AC3 XVID –IMAGINE	8789	1
FEN26	Death Race 2 . 2010 DVDRip aaaevilacharya	13082	0
FEN27	Yogi Bear DVDRip Xvid-ARROW	10426	2
FEN28	Morning Glory DVDRip Xvid-DEFACED	6041	1
FEN29	Tangled 2010 PPVrip LINE Xvid TIMPE	10065	3
FEN30	Megamind (2010) DVDRip Xvid-MAXSPEED	6146	0

Appendix 4 – AVI Survey

FEN31	Disney MEGA Collection 1937-2008	2424	0
FEN32	The Green Hornet 2010 TS XVID TOXIC INK	8564	1
FEN33	S.W.A.T FIREFIGHT[2011]BRRIP XVID-EXTRATORRENTRG	6886	0
FEN34	Ken Park 2002 DvdRip-H264 350-MB By Ali Baloch	8207	0
FEN35	Its Kind of a Funny Story 2010 DVDRIp Xvid-AMIAABLE	6357	0
FEN36	http://fenopy.com/torrent/The+Eagle+2011+TS+XVID+IMAGINE/NJYONZI4NG	0	0
FEN37	Rubber 2010 720p BluRay x264-CINEFILE	1900	0
FEN38	Turning 30 - DVDRIp - Xvid - 1CDRIp - [DDR]	2229	0
FEN39	BLACK.SWAN.2010.BLU-RAY.X264.720P.DTS.MYSILU	2754	0
FEN40	Drop Zone-1994-BRRIP-720p-H.264-(SIMBA)	3423	0
FEN41	The Happening-2008-BRRIP-720p-x264-(SIMBA)	2364	0
FEN42	Easy A 2010 BDRip Xvid-iM8T	5756	0
FEN43	NO ONE KILLED JESSICA 2011 HINDI DVDRIp XVID E-SUB XRG	2416	0
FEN44	Law Abiding Citizen *2009* [DVDRIp.Xvid-miguel] [Lektor PL]	1636	0
FEN45	Hall Pass 2011 TS XVID Feel-Free	3195	0
FEN46	The Mechanic DVDRIp Xvid-ZHONGGUO	996	0
FEN47	Inside Job 2010 LIMITED 720p BRRIP x264-HDLITE	3164	0
FEN48	Jackass 3 UNRATED 720p BluRay x264-TWIZTED	1676	0
FEN49	The Matrix Trilogy 1999-2003 720p BluRay x264-CHD	1575	1
FEN50	Scott Pilgrim vs the World (2010) DVDRIp Xvid-MAXXSPEED	5060	1

Appendix 4 – AVI Survey

BT Junkie Survey Three – AVI

Position	Title	Activity	Comments
BT1	Inception (2010) DVDrip Xvid-MAX	222372	842
BT2	The Next Three Days (2010) DVDrip Xvid-MAXSPEED	260049	152
BT3	The Sorcerers Apprentice (2010) DVDrip Xvid-MAX	138309	636
BT4	Season of the Witch (2011) DVDrip Xvid-MAXSPEED	222846	682
BT5	TRON Legacy (2010) DVDrip Xvid-MAXSPEED	153494	999
BT6	The Fighter (2010) DVDrip Xvid-MAXSPEED	139236	999
BT7	Inception (2010) DVDrip Xvid-MAXSPEED	105508	999
BT8	Unstoppable (2010) DVDrip Xvid-MAXSPEED	85823	232
BT9	The Kings Speech. 2010. DVDSOCR.Xvid.AC3-NVDC	66050	266
BT10	The Chronicles of Narnia 3 (2010) DVDrip Xvid-MAXSPEED	104572	100
BT11	Jackass 3D UNRATED DVDrip Xvid-DEFACED	50694	203
BT12	Robin Hood (2010) UNRATED DVDrip Xvid-MAXSPEED	55530	626
BT13	Faster DVDrip Xvid-ARROW	46623	172
BT14	Due Date BDRip Xvid-ARROW	44427	300
BT15	How do you know	55239	85
BT16	Scott Pilgrim vs the World (2010) DVDrip Xvid-MAX	45293	520
BT17	Get Him to the Greek (2010) DVDrip Xvid-MAXSPEED	36246	597
BT18	Yogi Bear DVDrip Xvid-ARROW	41032	186
BT19	The Mechanic 2011 RS LINE AC3-TOXIC-INK	41072	158
BT20	Hereafter (2010) DVDrip Xvid-MAX	61713	45
BT21	127 Hours 2010 DVDSOCR AC3 Xvid-TOXIC-INK	40790	355
BT22	greenhornet2011 uofbob	39139	373
BT23	Iron Man 2 (2010) DVDrip Xvid-MAX	32837	709
BT24	Battle Los Angeles 2011 CAM Xvid READ NFO LKRG	47958	108
BT25	Megamind (2010) DVDrip Xvid-MAX	47336	18
BT26	The Adjustment Bureau 2011 TS Xvid - IMAGINE	47520	48
BT27	I Am Number Four TS UOFBOB	45200	126
BT28	Just Go With It 2011 TS Xvid - IMAGINE	44396	106
BT29	The Social Network 2010 DVDSOCR Xvid-WBZ	33854	575
BT30	Machete (2010) RS Xvid-MAX	30139	547

Appendix 4 – AVI Survey

BT31	Despicable Me DVDrip XviD-IMBT	28779	463
BT32	London Boulevard[2010]BRrip XviD-ExtraTorrentRG	52199	15
BT33	Burlesque DVDrip XviD-ARROW	29272	170
BT34	The Karate Kid 2010 Uncut BRrip 720p H264 AAC Jbr	31258	270
BT35	The Green Hornet 2010 TS ~PoisonGasRipz~	31281	373
BT36	Just Go With It 2011 TS XVID - IMAGINE	36532	106
BT37	Wall Street Money Never Sleeps (2010) R5 XVID-MAX movie	30227	448
BT38	Legend of the Guardians (2010) DVDrip XviD-MAX	35071	106
BT39	Hall Pass - 2011 - SAFcuk09	33999	281
BT40	Knight and Day (2010) R5 XVID-MAXXSPEED	33665	54
BT41	The Switch DVDrip XviD-VAMPS	28397	406
BT42	Unknown 2011 TS AC3 XVID -IMAGINE	33362	53
BT43	Megamind 2010 SCR XVID AC3 IMAGINE	29450	126
BT44	Hot Tub Time Machine 2010 R5 XVID MAX	24432	325
BT45	Inside Job LIMITED BDRip XviD-DEFACED	23933	458
BT46	Green Zone (2010) DVDrip XviD-MAX	22981	55
BT47	Rango 2011 TS XVID - IMAGINE	20818	444
BT48	How To Train Your Dragon 2010 720p BluRay x264-CBGB	33648	60
BT49	Easy A (2010) BDRip XviD-IMBT	34765	184
BT50		23826	395

Appendix Five – Avatars, Screen-names and Blogs.

H##### Blog

****Adopt an Uploader**** program

posted 13 May 2011, 05:35:26

****Adopt an Uploader**** program

If an uploader has a couple of torrents than need to be seeded then post it ONLY IN THAT THREAD and someone can come along and volunteer to help with as many as that person wants to, for as long as their able to....maybe a week or so.

As an uploader, post just about 3 of your torrents that need to be seeded the most.

When the downloader chooses to help out, that person needs to reply to the uploader and let them know they are "adopting" you for a week.

**DO NOT POST THE LINK HERE OR IT WILL
BE DELETED!!!
GO TO THE OFFICIAL THREAD!!**

6 comments

I won a trip to Mexico!!!!

posted 06 May 2011, 08:55:21

My friend and neighbor H##### and I were suppose to go for a walk tonight but she changed her mind so we went to a bar tonight instead so we can celebrate C#### De M###. Well, we didn't know it but there was some DJ's that were coming in to broadcast live and give away some free stuff including a trip to P#### V#####, Mexico.

We were drinking Margaritas all night and I was very drunk!! So I went up to the stage and they threw a t-shirt at me, so that was the first thing I won. The second thing was a big ass belt buckle!! Wanna know how I won that?? hahahahaha!!!!

My drunk ass self was up in front of the stage with the other ppl and they were asking to see some boobies from the girls there and the girls showed them! Well, i have slightly more class than that...not much but a little more...it gets better.... so since I wasn't gonna show my tits, I thought of something better to show them!! So I yelled up to them on stage and told them I can motor boat myself and the dj said "ok that's great, you can motor boat yourself....OOOHHH....you can MOTOR BOAT YOURSELF??? Well get up here and SHOW us!!! " So I got up on stage and motor boated myself!!! hahahahaha and that's how I won the belt buckle.

This is how I won the free trip to Mexico....

I entered my name (twice) into the drawing. The first drawing was for tickets to see the Doobie Brothers. They're cool, I wouldn't mind seeing them. So this guy named John won. Next was the trip to Mexico.... They drew a name but the paper was BLANK!!! So they had to draw another one and that's when they said it...my name!! I was in soooo much shock!! I still can't believe it!!

So my friend H##### and I are going to leave our kids behind and take a trip together! :D





Translators can NOW confirm Subtitles and Languages!!!!

posted 27 April 2011, 22:25:38

The Wizards (Admin) just made it possible for our KAT translators to play more of a role here.

You are now able to confirm and delete the languages and subtitles in the movie torrents.

This is not a job for everyone. We have a great team of translators who have proven to be hard working and trustworthy enough to be given this task.



For Moderators

languages (11566)

subtitles (3)

No Strings Attached (2011) DVDR NL Sub NLT-Release (Divx)	English (confirmed) , Dutch (unconfirmed)	
Diary Of A Wimpy Kid 2010 720p BRRip x264 (mkv) [TFRG]	English (confirmed) , Italian (unconfirmed) , German (unconfirmed) , Spanish (unconfirmed)	
Una Parola Per Un Sogno[XviD - Ita.Ac3]	Italian (confirmed) , Persian (unconfirmed)	
The Rite 2011 XviD BRRip DTRG - SAFCuk009	Unknown (unconfirmed)	

****Questions & Answers****

Q- How do I know where the language is for that specific movie?

***A*-** Many times they are listed in the description and sometimes it's not very noticeable right away. You can also go to the site that it's uploaded at also and they typically have it listed there.

Q- How do you add a language or subtitle that isn't there?

***A*-** Both the Language and Subtitles will have a + which will give you a drop down menu so you can choose.

IF there are more than one L or S, you must refresh the page after each selection.

A big thank you to Jarar for putting this in the idea box!!

What does it mean to be a Super User?

posted 25 April 2011, 03:56:08

What does it mean to be a Super User?

Super Users of Kickass Torrents are chosen because of the selfless work they have done here but have expected nothing in return but the love of helping others This is a very important job to have BUT not everyone will get to be one.. You can look at it as a step closer to being a mod but not all super users will become mods.

Super Users are the eyes and ears of the site and mods. You are the VIP's of the site. It is your job as a super to help the site out, to help us keep it clean from the bad comments not only the forum but in the torrent comments too. And basic cleaning of the forum or reporting fakes.

You are no longer just users, you have an important position here that very few have and it deserves the same respect and acknowledgment that the mod team deserve but you are also here as an example to others. Our KAT members will be looking to you as someone to show them what's right and wrong and as peace keepers and problem solvers.

You're not expected to come on here and work your butt off like us mods do but if your GOAL, as a Super User, is to become a mod, then you may want to pick up a little slack around here to show us how SERIOUS you are about becoming a mod. Feel free to pm us if you want a specific job or even if you're open to allowing us to assign you one. Finding fakes is another way to show it but please don't allow the forum to suffer either.

You Super Users are so valuable to the mod staff and we all appreciate you so much for ALL you do!! THANK YOU!!

my notes and links

posted 25 August 2010, 05:40:07

this is just a quick reference for me.....

These are the compatible trackers, use these

<http://exodus.1337x.org/announce>

<http://tracker.openbittorrent.com/announce>

<http://tracker.publicbt.com/announce>

<http://tracker.ilibr.org/announce>

<http://tracker.token.ro/announce>

<http://tracker.istole.it/announce>

<udp://tracker.istole.it:80/announce>

<http://tracker.xpear.de/announce>

<udp://tracker.publicbt.com:80/announce>

<udp://tracker.openbittorrent.com:80/announce>

the best nero...no code needed

<http://www.kickasstorrents.com/nero-8-ultra-edition-8-3-2-1-pc-multilanguage-t3985466.html>

best win XP... key included

<http://www.kickasstorrents.com/microsoft-windows-xp-se7en-ultimate-royale-sp3-t4031610.html>

kat toolbar.... <https://addons.mozilla.org/en-US/firefox/addon/204325/>

thread ... <http://www.kickasstorrents.com/community/show/2241/>

VUL threads... <http://www.kickasstorrents.com/community/show/5245/>
<http://www.kickasstorrents.com/community/show/5293/>
this <http://torcache.com/torrent/XX....XX.torrent>
TO
<http://torrage.com/torrent/XX....XX.torrent>
Kat fake finder
<http://www.kickasstorrents.com/api/>
SableSlayer says....."other than not using windows, sandbox the file if your going open it and if you dont have to open it, then upload it to a online virus scanner.
Virustotal as guys already used, is one of the best.
another one I like to use is: <http://virusscan.jotti.org>"
<http://www.bbcode.org/reference.php>
go to this link. you will have true seed/leech stats in yr description.
asfunction:_parent.group.openLink,<http://torrent-stats.info/index.php>

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