

**ALASKA STATE LEGISLATURE  
HOUSE JUDICIARY STANDING COMMITTEE**

January 26, 2026

1:04 p.m.

**DRAFT**

**MEMBERS PRESENT**

Representative Andrew Gray, Chair  
Representative Chuck Kopp, Vice Chair  
Representative Ted Eischeid  
Representative Genevieve Mina  
Representative Sarah Vance  
Representative Mia Costello  
Representative Jubilee Underwood

**MEMBERS ABSENT**

All members present

**COMMITTEE CALENDAR**

OVERVIEW(S): DEPARTMENT OF LAW

- HEARD

HOUSE BILL NO. 47

"An Act relating to crime and criminal procedure; relating to generated obscene child sexual abuse material; relating to the powers of district judges and magistrates; relating to teaching certificates; and relating to licensing of school bus drivers."

- HEARD & HELD

**PREVIOUS COMMITTEE ACTION**

BILL: HB 47

SHORT TITLE: GENERATED OBSCENE CHLD SEX ABUSE MATERIAL

SPONSOR(S): REPRESENTATIVE(S) VANCE

01/22/25	(H)	PREFILE RELEASED 1/17/25
01/22/25	(H)	READ THE FIRST TIME - REFERRALS
01/22/25	(H)	CRA, JUD
03/11/25	(H)	CRA AT 8:00 AM BARNES 124
03/11/25	(H)	Heard & Held

03/11/25	(H)	MINUTE (CRA)
03/13/25	(H)	CRA AT 8:00 AM BARNES 124
03/13/25	(H)	Heard & Held
03/13/25	(H)	MINUTE (CRA)
03/18/25	(H)	CRA AT 8:00 AM BARNES 124
03/18/25	(H)	<Bill Hearing Canceled>
04/24/25	(H)	CRA AT 8:00 AM BARNES 124
04/24/25	(H)	Heard & Held
04/24/25	(H)	MINUTE (CRA)
04/29/25	(H)	CRA AT 8:00 AM BARNES 124
04/29/25	(H)	Moved CSHB 47 (CRA) Out of Committee
04/29/25	(H)	MINUTE (CRA)
04/30/25	(H)	CRA RPT CS (CRA) NEW TITLE 3DP 3NR
04/30/25	(H)	DP: PRAX, HALL, RUFFRIDGE
04/30/25	(H)	NR: HOLLAND, HIMSCHOOT, MEARS
05/16/25	(H)	JUD AT 1:00 PM GRUENBERG 120
05/16/25	(H)	-- MEETING CANCELED --

**WITNESS REGISTER**

STEPHEN COX, Attorney General  
Office of the Attorney General  
Department of Law  
Anchorage, Alaska

**POSITION STATEMENT:** Gave an overview of the Department of Law.

CORI MILLS, Deputy Attorney General  
Civil Division  
Department of Law  
Juneau, Alaska

**POSITION STATEMENT:** Answered questions during the Department of Law overview.

ANGELA KEMP, Deputy Attorney General  
Criminal Division, Department of Law  
Juneau, Alaska

**POSITION STATEMENT:** Answered questions during the Department of Law overview.

REPRESENTATIVE SARAH VANCE  
Alaska State Legislature  
Juneau, Alaska

**POSITION STATEMENT:** As prime sponsor, introduced CSHB 47 (CRA).

ISAIHA SMARDO, Staff  
Representative Sarah Vance  
Alaska State Legislature

Juneau, Alaska

**POSITION STATEMENT:** Gave a summary of changes in CSHB 47(CRA), Version I, on behalf of Representative Vance, prime sponsor.

TREVOR STORRS, President/CEO  
Alaska Children's Trust  
Anchorage, Alaska

**POSITION STATEMENT:** Gave invited testimony in support of CSHB 47(CRA).

COLETTA WALKER, representing self  
Homer, Alaska

**POSITION STATEMENT:** Testified in support of HB 47.

### **ACTION NARRATIVE**

[1:04:43 PM](#)

CHAIR GRAY called the House Judiciary Standing Committee meeting to order at 1:04 p.m. Representatives Mina, Vance, Costello, Underwood, Vance, Kopp, Eischeid, and Gray were present at the call to order. Also present were Representatives Galvin and Holland

### **OVERVIEW(S): Department of Law**

[1:05:50 PM](#)

CHAIR GRAY announced that the first order of business would be an overview of the Department of Law.

[1:06:02 PM](#)

STEPHEN COX, Attorney General, Office of the Attorney General, Department of Law (DOL), referred to a PowerPoint presentation, titled "Alaska Department of Law" [included in the committee file], and introduced his team on slide 2.

CHAIR GRAY asked whether there have always been two Civil Division directors.

MR. COX deferred to Ms. Mills.

[1:07:53 PM](#)

CORI MILLS, Deputy Attorney General, Civil Division, Department of Law (DOL), answered no, it was a budgetary item two years

ago. She explained that there are 16 different sections in the Civil Division, all overseen by one director, which was too much work for one person. To resolve this issue, resources were reallocated with the addition of a second division director to provide more support to supervisors. She expressed appreciation for the legislature's help in getting this across the finish line, adding that it was a zero cost the state.

[1:08:56 PM](#)

MR. COX resumed the presentation and introduced the staff in the Executive Office on slide 3.

CHAIR GRAY asked what Chief Assistant Attorney General (AAG) Anne Helzer is working on.

MR. COX stated that Ms. Helzer is helping with the regulatory reform initiative. He shared his understanding that she was hired 2-3 years ago.

MS. MILLS confirmed that Ms. Helzer was hired under former Attorney General (AG) Treg Taylor. She said most AGs have special assistants, which is a role she has always filled.

CHAIR GRAY questioned the duties and responsibilities of Senior Litigation Counsel, John Skidmore.

MR. COX said he asked Mr. Skidmore to tackle the department's top priority, which is public safety. He discussed his new quality of life initiative, explaining that he had asked Mr. Skidmore to think about what can be done to better tackle lower-level offenses, like retail theft and public disorder offenses, and partner with the city on this front. He stated that Mr. Skidmore is skilled at training new attorneys and could have a great relationship with the city, which could help facilitate an "all government approach" and enable DOL be the single point of contact for the state when tackling these complex issues.

CHAIR GRAY asked how many attorneys Mr. Skidmore would be supervising.

MR. COX answered several assistant district attorneys (DAs) - one from Anchorage, and one from the Matanuska-Susitna (Mat-Su) Valley. He described Mr. Skidmore as a "force multiplier," adding that he would be able to facilitate through his soft skills and relationships with the entire department, as well as other executive branch agencies.

[1:16:36 PM](#)

CHAIR GRAY asked Mr. Cox to expound on how DOL has been able to create a new division and focus on lower-level crimes without impacting public safety at no cost to the state.

MR. COX said this is a great example of leveraging resources to do more with less. He shared examples of ways to leverage resources with the city attorney's office in the Municipality of Anchorage (MOA) by aggregating misdemeanor offenses and cross designating cases to ultimately be a "force multiplier" on that front.

CHAIR GRAY asked whether this new initiative would operate in the Mat-Su valley.

MR. COX clarified that he thinks of this as a new initiative, not a new division, adding that Mr. Skidmore is now in the Office of Special Prosecutions.

ANGELA KEMP, Deputy Attorney General, Criminal Division, Department of Law (DOL), clarified that this initiative would be tackled in Anchorage first before expanding to the valley. She said a special prosecutor has not been named yet. Bringing city attorneys on to help with the bigger cases would be a "force multiplier," and help tackle recidivist offenders, for example.

[1:20:40 PM](#)

CHAIR GRAY asked whether Mr. Skidmore asked for this position or whether he was a demoted.

MR. COX said it's important to set the scene. He described how he learned the "ground truth" of what was going on in the department and where he should focus, as well as who the leadership team should be. He said he approached Mr. Skidmore about his desire to promote Ms. Kemp. He said he asked him whether he would like to serve in this new role, and Mr. Skidmore said yes, which made the conversation easy. He clarified that Mr. Skidmore is absolutely part of the leadership team and he relies upon him daily.

[1:22:52 PM](#)

REPRESENTATIVE MINA asked how the relationship between DOL and the city operated before the creation of this new position.

MR. COX explained that lower-level crimes were being pushed aside and siloed. He said cross pollinating between divisions and breaking down siloes is one of his primary focuses.

MS. KEMP stated that DOL has always had a relationship with the municipality, adding that MOA does the bulk of misdemeanor prosecutions. She said the AG brought new energy and reinvigorated that relationship with his desire to work together with limited resources. She assured the committee that Mr. Skidmore would be excellent at training new attorneys and would be a "force multiplier."

[1:26:45 PM](#)

REPRESENTATIVE EISCHEID asked whether the municipality had approached DOL for assistance on the quality of life initiative and how that genesis came to be.

MR. COX said it was one of his top priorities. He had asked Mr. Skidmore to gage the city's interest in the initiative and found that they were very interested in felony retail theft cases among others, so it was an easy start to the partnership at a working group level. He added that the goal is to take policy out of this issue and develop a partnership that works and leverages each other's authorities.

CHAIR GRAY questioned the solicitor general's duties.

MR. COX provided historical context to the solicitor general's role from the 1990s. He explained that in any state, the state, circuit, and supreme courts are influencing and governing the laws of the state, while simultaneously, being influenced by the cases and opinions coming out of other state and circuit courts. Often, the U.S. Supreme Court won't get involved in a case unless there's a circuit split. So, the idea was for the solicitor general to articulate and amplify the state's voice in these cases to help shape the governing law. He reported that to date, the state has been asked to join over 1,000 multi-state amicus briefs and joined between 500-600 since the start of the Dunleavy administration. He explained that he has spent a lot of time on nights and weekends reading through these briefs to ensure that if the state were to join, it's consistent with the state's laws, and that boomerang issues were not present, which could come back and harm the state's interests in another litigation. The new solicitor general would be taking on the bulk of this work to help evaluate multi-state amicus briefs

that come in, as well as the hundreds of multi-state letters that are received. Her goal is to deliberately and thoughtfully enhance Alaska's interests.

CHAIR GRAY shared his understanding that the position was created for someone with a deep knowledge of Alaska's history and state law to compartmentalize where these amicus briefs fit. He asked what made Ms. Lorence the most qualified person for the role.

MR. COX clarified that he has a building full of experts on Alaska law, and 150 civil lawyers who are the state's best lawyers regarding Alaska law. He said he was looking for someone who has very good relationships with other solicitor general offices to facilitate a reciprocal relationship and multi-state coordination, which Ms. Lorence provides.

CHAIR GRAY asked whether Ms. Lorence had passed the Alaska Bar Association (ABA) exam.

MR. COX responded no, she has not taken the exam; however, she has been temporarily admitted to practice by the ABA. She has submitted an application and passed the Multistate Professional Responsibility Examination (MPRE) and said he doesn't anticipate any forthcoming issues. In response to a follow up question, he said Ms. Lorence was excited at the opportunity to serve Alaska and is working with criminal appellate lawyers to ensure that Alaska is being represented in the best interest.

[1:39:31 PM](#)

CHAIR GRAY questioned the amicus brief related to Watson v. Republican National Committee, explaining that if the U.S. Supreme Court were to rule against the petition, Alaska's absentee ballot law would effectively be invalidated. He asked why the state took no position on this case given its impact on rural Alaska.

MR. COX said he had no authority to take a position on that controversial case. Instead, he had the opportunity to articulate Alaska's special position with respect to its geography and remoteness, and in support of neither party, explain the real-world effects if the U.S. Supreme Court were to change the rules. He expressed his hope that the brief would be read and taken into account as the court makes its decision.

[1:43:22 PM](#)

MS. MILLS spoke to the number of amicus briefs authored by the state, which is few, despite receiving many. She recalled a brief related to the Federal Communications Commission and how certain money was provided. Similarly, in this instance, the state detailed the drastic consequences it would have on Alaska, without taking up support for either side.

[1:44:53 PM](#)

CHAIR GRAY asked whether the Watson case was controversial among Alaskans and whether the governor advised DOL not to weigh in on the issue.

MR. COX shared his understanding that its highly controversial in any state. He explained that any brief filed, position taken, or multi-state letter joined by the department is in consultation with the governor and other executive branch agencies. He added that when doing so, it's prudent to consider past positions taken by the state during the Dunleavy administration.

[1:47:27 PM](#)

MR. COX resumed slide 3 and described the remaining members of his team. He continued to slide 4, "Department Mission," which read as follows [original punctuation provided]:

The Department of Law upholds the rule of law, protects public safety, and provides high quality legal representation to executive branch agencies for the benefit of all Alaskans.

MR. COX touched on the quality-of-life initiative, which would take an "all government approach" in partnership with city and federal agencies to leverage resources and allow more to be done with less.

[1:51:31 PM](#)

CHAIR GRAY shared his understanding that the MOA prosecutes violations of the municipal code, and the state prosecutes violations of the criminal code. He asked whether this initiative would empower the municipality to prosecute state crimes.

MR. COX said DOL recently signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) that would allow cross designation and for the city to

prosecute state felonies for retail theft, for example. In response to a follow up question from the chair about the type of quality-of-life crimes that could be prosecuted under this initiative, he said there are two prongs: retail theft and public disorder offenses. He explained the city has done a lot of good work, closing [homeless] camps and proposing ordinances that would enhance quality of life, but this would allow for cross designation of state prosecutors to help with rights of way and camping prosecutions while bringing other tools to the table as well, such as using the state's civil authorities to seek abatement for nuisances like drug houses.

[1:54:27 PM](#)

CHAIR GRAY shared his understanding that the Anchorage Police Department (APD) is working on diversion programs that would divert people to treatment rather than prison at the point of arrest, and asked whether DOL is supportive of those efforts.

MR. COX said he's looking at ways to take an all-government approach to this and tackle it from multiple angles. He added that DOL is developing its own diversion policy that would have a quality-of-life component. He considered factors such as community service or treatment opportunities in partnership with private sector and nonprofits.

MS. KEMP explained that if APD takes a pre-arrest posture with focus on funneling low-risk offenders out of the criminal justice system, the state could focus on other gradations of tackling the problem. For example, if a repeat offender is continuously committing trespassing crimes and the diversion program isn't working, that could be where Mr. Skidmore steps in to facilitate the prosecution. She said it's about finding ways to rethink existing tools and address the complexities.

[1:58:36 PM](#)

REPRESENTATIVE COSTELLO recalled that the MOA signed on to an amicus brief that supported the review of Grants Pass v. Johnson decision under the Bronson administration, which allowed the state to go after unlawful camping. She asked how this would impact the quality of life initiative.

MR. COX said that was an important case because it allowed the municipality to introduce several municipal ordinances on this front. He deferred to Ms. Kemp, as he was not working in government at the time.

MR. KEMP shared that she was prosecuting cases in Juneau at the time of the Grants Pass decision and recalled that it was challenging for law enforcement and business owners because the conduct and had to be tolerated. She said the U.S. Supreme Court's decision to overturn the ruling empowered local cities to more meaningfully tackle these issues.

[2:01:58 PM](#)

CHAIR GRAY expressed concern that there would be a more stringent criminalization of homelessness without investing in treatment. He emphasized the high need for alcohol and substance abuse treatment and sought to confirm that this is not about criminalizing poverty.

MR. COX said DOL's focus is on crime. He reiterated the need for an all-government approach, and that Mr. Skidmore would bring a lot of experience and relationships to the table on this issue. In response to a follow up question about whether DOL would support a statutory diversion program like other states have, he opined that this should be a tool of prosecutorial discretion to ensure that it's consistently applied. He explained that sometimes in other states there's an uneven application of diversion programs, so preserving it as a prosecutorial tool would be ideal.

[2:05:52 PM](#)

at-ease

^#hb47

**HB 47-GENERATED OBSCENE CHLD SEX ABUSE MATERIAL**

[2:11:54 PM](#)

CHAIR GRAY announced that the final order of business would be HOUSE BILL NO. 47, "An Act relating to crime and criminal procedure; relating to generated obscene child sexual abuse material; relating to the powers of district judges and magistrates; relating to teaching certificates; and relating to licensing of school bus drivers." [Before the committee was CSHB 47(CRA).]

[2:12:16 PM](#)

REPRESENTATIVE SARAH VANCE, Alaska State Legislature, as prime sponsor, introduced CSHB 47(CRA) with a PowerPoint presentation [included in the committee file]. She summarized slides 1 and 2, which stated that HB 47, would combat the creation, possession, and distribution of artificial intelligence (AI) generated child sexual abuse material (CSAM), adding that AI enables the creation of virtual sexual images of children indistinguishable from reality. She continued to slide 3, which read as follows [original punctuation provided]:

AI or computer-generated CSAM poses many dangers to children, including:

- Perpetrators can now generate, alter or collage depictions of children that are indistinguishable from depictions of real children.
- They can use parts of images of real children to create a composite image that is unidentifiable as a particular child, and in a way that prevents even an expert from concluding that parts of images of real children were used.
- Sexually explicit depictions involving children—even if no physical abuse occurs during their creation—has significant psychological and long-term impacts on the children depicted.
- Artificially-generated or computer-edited CSAM further re-victimizes actual child victims, as their images are collected from the Internet and studied by artificial intelligence tools to create new images.
- Child predators can also use artificially-generated or computer-edited CSAM to extort minors and their families for financial gain.
- Overwhelming law enforcement's capabilities to identify and rescue real-life victims, child safety experts warn.

REPRESENTATIVE VANCE continued to slide 4, which showed news headlines emphasizing the acceleration of AI and CSAM. She turned to slide 5, which showed another article, titled "AI is overpowering efforts to catch child predators, experts warn," and read as follows [original punctuation provided]:

- Creates demand for harmful content.
- Blurs legal boundaries for enforcement.
- Overwhelming law enforcement's capabilities to identify and rescue real -life victims, child safety experts warn

REPRESENTATIVE VANCE advanced to slide 6, which read as follows [original punctuation provided]:

INCREASE IN AI-GENERATED CSAM:

According to the IWF study between October 2023 and July of 2024 over 3,500 new AI-generated criminal child sexual abuse images were uploaded to one dark web forum alone.

AI CSAM FEATURING KNOWN VICTIMS:

Perpetrators increasingly use fine-tuned AI models to generate new imagery of known victims of child sexual abuse or famous children.

MORE SEVERE IMAGES:

Of the AI-generated images confirmed to be child sexual abuse on the forum, more images depicted the most severe Category A abuse, indicating that perpetrators are more able to generate complex 'hardcore' scenarios.

REPRESENTATIVE VANCE played a YouTube video from the Internet Watch Foundation that captured the issue and its impact on children in further detail.

[2:21:41 PM](#)

REPRESENTATIVE VANCE turned to slide 7, which read as follows [original punctuation provided]:

State Laws that Criminalize AI-generated or Computer-edited CSAM

Research by ENOUGH ABUSE has documented that 38 states have enacted laws that criminalize AI-generated or computer-edited CSAM, while 12 states and D.C. have not. Montana was added to this list just in the last couple of weeks. More than half of these laws were enacted in 2024 alone. The National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC) reports that in 2023 alone, it received 4,700 reports of CSAM involving generative AI technology.

REPRESENTATIVE VANCE continued to slide 8, which defined obscenity and read as follows [original punctuation provided]:

EXTENDS ALASKA'S EXISTING PROHIBITIONS ON CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE MATERIAL (CSAM)

- Includes artificially generated images depicting identifiable children

EXPANDS CRIMINAL LAW TO COVER ENTIRELY SYNTHETIC, YET REALISTIC AND OBSCENE IMAGES OF MINORS

- • Depicts conduct under AS 11.41.455.
- Meets obscenity criteria under the Miller Test.

Exemptions: Protects employees and contractors of interactive computer services, ISPs, and telecommunications providers detecting/reporting illegal materials.

REPRESENTATIVE VANCE concluded on slide 9, which read as follows [original punctuation provided]:

HB 47 Generated CSAM

- Holds perpetrators accountable for exploiting children's digital likenesses
- Enhancing law enforcement tools
- Strengthens safeguards for children

REPRESENTATIVE VANCE noted that the new material is primarily in Section 2, on page 2 of CSHB 47(CRA). She credit the chair for the inclusion of the Miller Test under the obscenity laws. She explained that pornography is protected under the First Amendment; however, obscenity is not. When it comes to abusing children, the Miller Test has been utilized in the obscenity laws to add further protection without raising constitutional concerns. She further noted that the bill includes exemptions for internet service providers and telecommunications professionals to allow them to safely detect and report illegal material without fear of legal repercussions. She stated that passing the bill would greatly strengthen protections for Alaskan children, create clear legal guidelines, and empower law enforcement to respond effectively to the rapidly evolving threat.

[2:26:03 PM](#)

ISAIHA SMARDO, Staff, Representative Sarah Vance, Alaska State Legislature, on behalf of Representative Vance, prime sponsor, gave a summary of changes in CSHB 47(CRA), Version I, from a

written explanation of changes [included in the committee file], which read as follows [original punctuation provided]:

Title Change: to remove " relating to the powers of district judges and magistrates."

Section 2. Amends Paragraph (b) to provide a contractor of a technology company who, while acting in the scope of employment, accesses the prohibited material solely to remove the material would not be held criminally liable.

Section 4. Adds a new Paragraph AS 11.61.127(b)(2) to provide that an employee or contractor of a technology company who, while acting in the scope of employment, accesses the prohibited material solely to remove the material would not be held criminally liable.

CHAIR GRAY recalled that it's easier to prosecute a CSAM crime when the victim is an identifiable child. He asked how an unidentifiable is addressed in the bill.

REPRESENTATIVE VANCE referred to Section 2, on page 2 of the bill, and explained that under current law, the child must be identifiable, which is difficult for the prosecution. She stated that the bill would allow AI generated likeness to be prosecuted as well.

[2:29:25 PM](#)

REPRESENTATIVE MINA asked whether anything in the bill would allow the state to hold a company liable for creating AI generated CSAM.

REPRESENTATIVE VANCE said the bill is all encompassing for criminally prosecuting an individual. She noted that she has another bill that seeks to hold technology companies accountable, but CSHB 47(CRA) would update Alaska statutes to include AI generated images.

CHAIR GRAY announced that the committee would hear invited testimony on CSHB 47(CRA).

[2:31:24 PM](#)

TREVOR STORRS, President/CEO, Alaska Children's Trust, gave invited testimony in support of CSHB 47(CRA). He shared that

Alaska has the highest rate per capita of child abuse and said the bill would ensure that the state's legal system keeps pace with emerging threats by addressing a critical gap in state law. Advances in AI technology has allowed for the generation of images that are indistinguishable from real children, which has a profound lifelong impact [on victims]. He said CSAM normalizes exploitation, fuels demand, and perpetuates harm. The bill would interrupt that cycle and align the state with the national and international legal landscape to ensure that individuals who create, possess, or distribute this content can be held accountable. He urged support for the bill.

[2:34:21 PM](#)

CHAIR GRAY opened public testimony on HB 47.

[2:34:46 PM](#)

COLETTA WALKER, representing self, testified in support of HB 47. She said Alaska's children deserve protection, not loopholes for predators. She said she would like to see the state rise up to the occasion and be at the forefront with strong legislation against these perpetrators.

[2:35:59 PM](#)

CHAIR GRAY closed public testimony and announced that CSHB 47(CRA) would be held over.  
#

[2:36:55 PM](#)

CHAIR GRAY gave a preview of the committee's agenda for the year, which would be framed around addressing the high rates of incarceration and substance abuse, the long wait-time for pre-trial disposition, and the mental health challenges among people in the Department of Corrections (DOC) system. He referenced several novelty diversion efforts aimed at keeping people out of the criminal justice system and expressed his hope that the committee would support these. He pointed out that participation in therapeutic courts has good outcomes and said he would like to take a closer look at removing barriers to alternative courts. He touched on geriatric parole, which would allow individuals over the age of 60 to get released on parole after a certain amount of time served. This, he said, is in the interest of the Alaska public because DOC's greatest expense is healthcare. Research shows that the older someone is, the less

likely they are to reoffend. He pointed out that fewer people are being paroled and questioned the barrier to parole for eligible individuals; and further questioned the optimal caseload for prosecutors and defense attorneys. He said the committee would be considering racial disparities and how to better address them, specifically in reference to the Office of Children's Services (OCS). He said he would like to explore the Division of Juvenile Justice (DJJ), and the relationship between OCS, DOC, and DJJ. He expressed a desire to take a more holistic view of these issues and discuss public guardians and the pipeline from poverty to the criminal justice system. Finally he questioned the safety of DOC's inmate population, and said he wants to know that if someone is assaulted, harmed, or murdered in a DOC facility, that they have recourse, and that the investigation is taken seriously.

[2:46:32 PM](#)

#### **ADJOURNMENT**

There being no further business before the committee, the House Judiciary Standing Committee meeting was adjourned at 2:46 p.m.