

**Implicit Theories of Paedophilia:
Professional and Trainee/Non-professional Understandings of Paedophilia in Modern Society**

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by

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Abstract

Paedophilia has become a major social issue; although, there remains considerable ambiguity in how society understands and perceives this phenomenon. This thesis will investigate professionals' as well as trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia and their explanations for the current social outcry. This is an inter-disciplinary, mixed-design piece of research, using both qualitative and quantitative methods, with professionals' ($n=28$) and trainee/non-professionals' (study 1, $n=60$ / study 2, $n=188$) respectively. Professional implicit theories of paedophilia were found to be fragmented with no unified definitions or understandings. Professionals' believe paedophilia to be a moral panic, caused by a number of factors (the media and changing perceptions of risk). Although, the professionals' do not believe that the general public have a good understanding of paedophilia, research with trainee/non-professionals' reveal that their implicit theories of paedophilia tend to be mixed, reflecting both, popular sensationalistic stereotypes and current professional understandings from this research as well previous research. Professionals' and trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia seem derived from socially constructed beliefs, not from psychological traits and/or individual differences.

Chapter 1

Theoretical Background and Literature Review

Theoretical Background and Literature Review

“Our children are no longer allowed to walk to school, and the landscapes of fear that we paint for them are populated not with trolls, wolves or wicked witches, but with paedophiles, satanic abusers and generically untrustworthy adults.”

(Tudor, 2003; 239)

Introduction

Paedophilia has been defined as “a severe public health problem of staggering proportions” (McDonald Wilson Bradford, 2000; 248), with the paedophile being construed as a major bogeyman in society (Silverman and Wilson, 2002; Cohen, 2002; McAlinden, 2006A). Paedophilia has become a high profile media issue, increasing exponentially over the last 10 years or so (Greer, 2002; Silverman & Wilson, 2002; Cohen, 2003; McCartan, 2004; McAlinden, 2006A), with an almost daily presence in the print and news media, as well as long-running media campaigns (‘for Sarah’ by News of the World/The Sun, 2001ongoing). Consequently, paedophilia is central to modern society (McAlinden, 2006A), being both a moral panic (Cohen, 2002; McAlinden, 2006A) and major social risk (Furedi, 2002).

Paedophilia has developed into a hot research topic within the social sciences, with research mainly focusing on understanding paedophilia, its causes, behaviour and treatments (Howitt, 1995; Silverman & Wilson, 2002). Despite the high volume of research into paedophilia it has not resulted in a sense of academic and applied clarity/cohesiveness has not resulted (Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; O’Donohue, Regev & Hagstom, 2000; Van Dam, 2001; Silverman & Wilson, 2002). There is not only a need to define and explain paedophilia; there is also a need to comprehend the current social understanding of paedophilia. This understanding has happened, but to a limited degree (Bell, 2002; Silverman & Wilson, 2002; Evans, 2003; McCartan, 2004), and as such needs to be built upon. The question must be asked has an increase in awareness of paedophilia in society led to an increase in society’s understanding of paedophilia. Previous research seems to suggest that there has not necessarily been an increase in understanding paedophilia in modern society, particularly as there seems to be a lack of professionals’ consensus, media misreporting (Silverman & Wilson, 2002), government indecision and contradiction; especially in regard to public disclosure of sex offender information (Assinder, 2006, June 20: bbc.co.uk; ‘Sarah’s Law to Start in Months’, 2007, April 9: TheSun.co.uk; Dodd, 2000, July 24: Guardian.co.uk; Morris,

2000, July 31: Guardian.co.uk; Travis, 2007, April 11: Guardian.co.uk). Hence, it is important to understand what society thinks in regard to paedophilia and how this comprehension has been facilitated.

This thesis hopes to uncover current perceptions of paedophilia in modern society by focusing on two distinct populations (professionals' and trainee/non-professionals') who have an important role in the social construction of paedophilia through the 'double-hermeneutic' model of reflexive modernity (Giddens, 1991). The double-hermetic model of reflexive modernity indicates that as society modernises professional knowledge filters down to the public, therefore increasing public understanding and resulting in the public becoming their own 'experts'. This reinforces the socially constructed nature of modern society; especially in regard to social concerns, like paedophilia (Scott, 1995). The double-hermeneutic model of reflexive modernity also reinforces the link between explicit and implicit theories in society (Furnham, 1984), which may happen through the media. Consequentially, understanding professional and trainee/non-professional comprehensions of paedophilia will help us to understand the current crisis of paedophilia in modern society and why it shows no signs of diminishing.

Theoretical perspective

The current research is applied in nature and will adhere to two theoretical approaches, namely realism and inter-disciplinarity, both of which are essential for the design, methodology, data collection and analysis of the research.

Realism is central to this research as paedophilia has become a growing concern in modern society (McDonald Wilson Bradford, 2000; Cohen, 2002; Silverman and Wilson, 2002; McCartan, 2004; McAlinden, 2006A). It is vital that the research implements a real-world approach to studying paedophilia, because as research and scientific philosophy indicate, study in the social sciences should reflect social life, and a realism-based design is the most effective mechanism of achieving this (Denemark, Ekstrom, Jakobsen & Karlsson, 2002). A realism based research approach will also permit the data collected to be applied to current as well as future policy and practice (Robson, 2002). At its core realism states that there is a 'real world' which exists independently of our own explanations and insights into it (Potter, 2000), and this is particularly salient in relation to paedophilia. We know children are physically and sexually abused (Brooks-Gordon et al, 2004; Mc Gee, Garavan, de Barra, Byrne, & Conroy, 2002), with the actual abuse existing independently of society's definitions

and comprehensions of paedophilia, which can be thought of as a social construction (Scott, 1995). This is particularly salient in that there are no general and/or concrete definitions of paedophilia (O'Donohue et al, 2000), and this reiterates the need for a universal approach to understanding it.

In conjunction with this approach, this thesis will focus on psychological theories, in an interdisciplinary context and as such the core theoretical grounding of this research will be in social constructionism (Burr, 1995). Social constructionism states that society is a socially constructed reality, which adapts through time and space (Gergen, 1973); as such we are born into a socially constructed reality and we work to adapt our lives around the 'society' that we live in (Berger and Luckman, 1966). A core aspect of psychology focuses on the individual and their interactions within society, therefore the discipline is inseparable from other social sciences (politics, the media, sociology, anthropology, criminology and sociology), especially in the fields of social and applied psychology, with other areas of psychology contributing greater or lesser amounts (memory and perception in cognitive psychology; personality in individual differences; life-span development in developmental psychology). Hence, one cannot attempt to address the understanding of, and impact of, paedophilia in modern society by narrowly limiting the theoretical perspectives simply to psychology.

PhD Method

The current thesis will implement a mixed design methodology, taking a qualitative approach with professionals' and a quantitative approach with trainee/non-professionals'. This design is necessary in gathering the appropriate data from each population (Sternberg, 1988), and it reflects the exploratory nature of this thesis. Each population will be sampled, tested and analysed separately; therefore the researcher will be unable to compare directly and/or contrast the data from either.

It is salient to realise that constant debate is occurring in the field of research methods concerning the use of qualitative and quantitative research methods, with the majority of researchers choosing one methodological approach over the other (Hammersley, 1992; Robson, 2002). The debate focuses on the methodology, theoretical positions and the generalisability of the data invoked by both approaches (Hammersley, 1992). With qualitative research being closely associated with the social sciences (sociology, criminology and politics; Bryman, 1988), and originally developed out of the anthropological tradition started by Mead, Frazier and Malinowski (Flick, 2006). Whereas, historically traditional psychology

has mainly utilised a quantitative research paradigm, although this is starting to change, particularly in the applied field, as the discipline has instigated the more frequent use of qualitative research methods (Flick, 2006). Current trends in research methodology have seen a shift towards a more mixed methodology based approach in order to get the best of both techniques; however this paradigm is not without its problems (Bryman, 1992).

Research Aims & Questions

This research aims to uncover the current understandings and perceptions of paedophilia, as well as the reasons for its current social construction as a widespread social phenomenon. As a result this thesis is exploratory in nature, and based on a series of research questions rather than carefully delineated hypotheses, because the researcher does not wish to limit the scope or potential of the research by placing theoretical boundaries around it. Consequently, the research findings may not be able to provide a concrete understanding of paedophilia. The core research questions in this thesis are:

- What are professionals' and trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia and paedophiles?
- What are the potential explanations of the current 'public health scare' of paedophilia, both societal and individual?
- What is the influence of the media on our everyday life; and how have this affected perceptions and understandings of paedophilia in modern society?

The current research should hopefully have theoretical applications to the research field as well as real world applications; indicating where improvements can be made in regard to public understanding and education, current policy directions, future research and media approaches. It is hoped that the research will provide insightful and original knowledge that will help interpret the current social phenomenon of paedophilia, by allowing the populations in question to reveal their implicit theories in their own way. It is thought that this will provide a stronger and more cohesive explanation for the said phenomenon.

Literature review

Even though this thesis uses two different research paradigms (qualitative and quantitative) with two different populations (professionals' and trainee/non-professionals') to examine the same phenomenon (implicit theories of paedophilia), the literature and theoretical perspectives are the same for both research studies. The literature review will start broadly by discussing social constructionism, modernisation and the media, demonstrating how they contribute to the understanding of paedophilia in modern society, as well as highlighting the current social risk and moral panic surrounding paedophilia. The literature review will then focus on paedophilia. It will examine definitions and research on paedophilic behaviour, personalities, cognitions and offending behaviours and treatments, before coming to a working definition of paedophilia. The literature review will conclude with a discussion of implicit theories, including, how implicit theories develop, and what previous research on implicit theories has uncovered, particularly in regard to sex offenders. Therefore, indicating why implicit theories are central to understanding current perceptions of paedophilia.

Social Constructionism, Modernisation and Paedophilia

Paedophilia is “a severe public health problem of staggering proportions” (McDonald Wilson Bradford, 2000; 248), society's darkest taboo (Cloud, 2002), and a major modern moral panic (Cohen, 2002; McAlinden, 2006A). This raises the pertinent question of why has the social crisis/realisation surrounding paedophilia happened now, remembering that paedophilia has existed for centuries (Kincard, 1998). There has been a significant increase in public awareness surrounding paedophilia in the past 20 years (Taylor and Quayle, 2003), especially after a number of high profile cases including the Sarah Payne case in 2001 (McAlinden, 2006A). It, therefore, is important to look at the construction of society as well as the construction of the paedophile, because without truly understanding both one can not fully comprehend and deal with this current phenomenon.

Society is a socially constructed reality that adapts and changes depending on the cognition of the individuals involved. This is why society adapts over time and space (Giddens, 1991). Social constructionism is defined by the twin concepts of meaning (the act of defining) and power (the motives for the definition); that all concepts are transitory and specific. Burr (1995) indicates that the core of the social constructionist position revolves around four basic premises, all of which are developed via the use of language and communication. These

premises are (a) knowledge which is developed via experience, (b) everything is culturally and historically specific, (c) social processes sustain current knowledge, and (d) complex processes of social interaction construct reality. This approach follows on from the idea that psychology is closer to history than to science, for psychology allows for the definition of social reality in relation to particular times, places and cultures; and not as a series of strict unchanging processes (Gergen, 1973). It is important to remember that social reality is not only defined by psychology but by other disciplines such as sociology, which defines social constructionism as the notion that we are born into a socially constructed reality and that we have to adapt our lives around it (Berger & Luckman, 1966). This is reflected in Giddens' (1991) idea of reflexive modernisation, which argues that society and the individual constantly re-evaluate life (social, technological and scientific) in relation to new information being produced. Both society and the individual are constantly adapting. Modern social life is a socially constructed reality which can adapt and change over time, in regard to the meaning and power attributed to it by its members. Meaning, that science does not provide comprehensive truths, only 'until further notice' truths, which are open to falsification (Giddens, 1991). Consequentially, there is a link between modernity and radical doubt, which creates uncertainty and anxiety for people living in the 'risk society' (Giddens, 1991). This is crystallised though specific issues, like paedophilia and child protection (Scott et al, 1998).

Ideological shifts have never been as central to society as they are in today's modern world, for although we live in a global village we are all still members of our individual cultures (Giddens, 1991). Giddens (1991) argues that modern society is both global and local, suggesting that it is impossible for people to opt out of modernisation, as we are all aware of the risk and issues involved. This increase in the public awareness of risk is achieved through the impact of the media (it is important to point out that the media are more than a single construct or field; there are many different types of media that may have similar as well as different impacts on people), which plays a central role in reflexive modernisation. Reflexive modernisation can, however, lead to social conflict. This is generally highlighted through ideological issues (the construction of childhood, sexuality, freedom, morality and justice). As we move towards a global society there comes the realisation that not all individuals, groups or even cultures look at the same concepts in the same way. The awareness of this diversity calls for changes in the definition of global social concepts; therefore leading to the ideological evolution of society and the potential for paradigm shifts. These shifts can happen slowly (the Middle Ages) or rapidly (the twentieth century); but is it with an historical perspective that we deem previous generations to adapt to change slower than we currently do; or is it because we are living through current changes that we see them as being more

dynamic? Nonetheless, for these adaptations to occur there needs to be direct support from the individual members of that society (Cohen, 2002) and an important way of doing this is via the use of communication (Burr, 1995), which is epitomised by the media in modern society (Gamson, Croteau, Hoyes & Sasson, 1992; Howitt, 1998; Cohen, 2002).

A perfect example of reflective modernisation in modern society is childhood. Childhood is a social concept (Postman, 1994), and it can be viewed as an ideological risk factor; for it is constantly evolving as society develops, thereby resulting in a degree of uncertainty surrounding it as a concept. Not all societies have similar interpretations of the world (Haviland, 2002) and it would be naive to assume that the construction of childhood is similar on a global level (Jenkins, 1996). This is especially true when we consider that our modern western conceptions of childhood are based on moral conceptions and therefore have more to do with the social-ethical development of society (Cunningham, 1995; Jenkins, 1996; Carsaro, 1997), than the biological construction of the child.

Childhood is thought of as a relatively new concept that has come about since the start of the fourteenth century and has increased with the spread of education and socialisation (Jenkins, 1996). As childhood developed as a concept, the family adapted to incorporate it, with children moving from its periphery to its centre (Cunningham, 1995). The twentieth century has been dubbed as the 'century of the child', for the child has become the focal point of society, with increased social benefits and other developments implemented to aid children (Cunningham, 1995). Within the last century childhood has progressed from being a clearly defined stage with boundaries and roles that children could not 'develop' out of until a certain stage or boundary had been achieved. However, by the end of the century, children were beginning to be regarded as young adults and the same boundaries that existed before were not being enforced with the same rigour (Cunningham, 1995).

Western society has reached a stage at which childhood has become more obvious and independent than at any other stage in history (Cunningham, 1995). This indicates that childhood is a social construction, for it adapts and changes over time in relation to the power and meaning it maintains (Burr, 1995). A product of the uncertainty arising from the evolution of childhood there has been a recent outburst in public scares and moral panics over child-related issues (Ridell, 2002, March 17: Guardian.co.uk). This reinforces the paradox of childhood, though the inconsistent way in which society views modern children; as both dependent and independent, as asexual and sexual, as well as good and evil (Cunningham,

1995; Livingstone, 1998; Scott, Jackson & Backett-Milburn, 1998; Roberts, 2003, September 21: Guardian.co.uk).

This disparity is crystallised in the confusion surrounding childhood sexuality. In previous generations sexual relationships between children and adults were viewed as being the same as adult-adult relationships (socially, sexually and even in relation to marriage) (Cunningham, 1995). As childhood has developed it has moved further and further away from this perception of adult-child sexuality, towards the current view where child and adult sexual relations are socially taboo. The current belief in childhood innocence is reinforced by the belief that children are asexual creatures and any sexual contact that they experience will corrupt them, thus leading to irreversible harm (Cunningham, 1995). However, in the last half century there has been a shift towards children being treated as mini-adults. This has led to them becoming exposed to more sexualised images and becoming sexualised themselves (Roberts, 2003, September 21: Guardian.co.uk), subsequently creating a paradox in regard to childhood sexuality. On one hand society sexualises childhood and children, while on the other hand it portrays children as sexually innocent, and becoming outraged when people take advantage of children sexually.

Besides being a temporal concept, childhood is also a cultural one, which is highlighted by childhood sexuality. It is important to remember that, when viewing cultural differences in relation to childhood sexuality, we should attempt to do so in a non-ethnographic fashion, looking at each practice and approach in terms of its cultural context as well as meaning. One of the strongest cultural prohibitions is the incest taboo, with all cultures condemning it (Haviland, 2002). There are many arguments as to why this taboo exists, ranging from biological reasons (Willner, 1983; Haviland, 2002) to the social constructionist standpoint (Kortmulder, 1968; Levi-Strauss, 1969; Maisch, 1972; Fox, 1975). However, not all societies feel the same way about childhood sexuality and paedophilic behaviour as they do about the incest taboo (Spain, 1987).

Many non-western and traditional societies have 'rites of passage' (an experience that a person must undergo to achieve another state/stage in development) that can involve childhood sexuality and which some would consider as having paedophilic tendencies. Nonetheless, these traditional peoples believe these events to be vital for the continuing development of the child (Green, 2002). For instance, the Siwans (North Africa) believe that a lack of anal intercourse between men and boys is abnormal (Ford & Beach, 1951). The Aranda Aborigines (Australia) believe that it is customary for men to have a 10 or 12 year

old boy as a lover (until the boy reaches manhood and gets his own lover) (Ford & Beach, 1951). The Tharo (Papua New Guinea) believe that from the age of 10 boys should swallow the semen of older men, to aid their development into manhood (Bauserman, 1997). Traditions exist for girls as well. The Simpu (Taiwan) believe that in the case of minor marriages the girl should move into her future husband's house as a child to be brought up together as 'siblings' (Wolf & Huang, 1980). These examples indicate that the sexual and developmental practices encouraged in some societies are alien to those understood and practiced in the West. They challenge our ideas about child sexuality as well as child development and therefore seem deviant/dangerous to us (Brain, 1977).

The notion of alternative practices being constructed as deviant and dangerous comes to play a salient role in modern society, which has become characterised as a risk society (Giddens, 1991; Beck, 1992; Scourfield & Walsh, 2003). Beck argues that the current risk society is a result of the industrialisation and modernisation of society, including advancements in technology, which produce a series of unpredictable side effects, which in turn threaten our everyday life. This proposes that society's realisation of the negative outcomes of modernisation is post hoc in society, and therefore the only course of action left is damage limitation. However, the solutions that society creates to cope with the current problems, in turn, aid the development of future problems and the risk never really disappears; it just adapts and fades. The core factors of the risk society are that the problems are complex in terms of causation, they are unpredictable, they are not limited by time and space, they are not detectable by physical senses and that they are a result of the development of human society (Beck, 1992). This indicates that society can be compared to a laboratory, with socialisation progress being viewed as experiments that sometimes have disastrous effects but aid us in our progress forward (Ungar, 2001). These five factors revealed to be intrinsic to the risk society can seemingly be applied to social (paedophilia) as well as physical (climate change) risks.

The issues that evolve in the risk society are intrinsic to the construction of modern society and therefore are manageable, but not reversible (Hier, 2003). This is something that especially comes to the fore in relation to paedophilia, with some authors arguing that the panic surrounding paedophilia is unsolvable (Kinard, 1998), while others stating that paedophilia is an easy topic to ignore in order for us to feel safe within society (Cloud, 2002). However, it is difficult to reject and deny knowledge once it has been released into the public arena, as we are constantly aware of it and this changes our perception of the original issue. The manageable but not solvable nature of risk results from the shared responsibility for the negative outcome; this negative outcome is spread across all of society and not limited to one

group (car pollution and the decay of the ozone layer, or the sexualisation of childhood and paedophilia). Although Beck (1992) was discussing environmental issues, research indicates that Beck's definition can be transferred to social and personal concepts/ideas of risk (Giddens, 1991; Scourfield & Walsh, 2003). Overwhelmingly, child protection has now become the focal point of risk discourse in modern society, with risk management becoming central to how the social services deal with child related issues (Scourfield and Welsh, 2003). Modern society has developed an 'audit culture' in general, but especially in relation to child services which has moved us away from merely a child welfare orientation to that of child protection (Scourfield and Welsh, 2003). This shows an interface between public concern and policy surrounding childhood and child abuse, on all levels (Scott, Jackson & Beckett-Milburn, 1998).

Giddens (1991) however, has argued that there is no evidence to indicate, and as such it is unrealistic to assume, that modern society is any riskier than previous ones. Giddens argues that modernisation has made it impossible for anyone to be unaware of threatening issues and that this realisation means that it is no longer possible for members of society to live in ignorance of danger, and therefore potentially everyone is at risk. As modern society's core values (childhood, democracy, education, morality) adapt, in turn these changes influence individuals' opinions towards related matters (child abuse, childhood sexuality, human rights, voters' rights). This is particularly potent in relation to paedophilia, with many authors arguing that children currently are not at more risk than previously, but that we are simply more aware of the frequency of this abuse within society (Howitt, 1995; Jenkins, 1996; Taylor and Quayle, 2003). This viewpoint is a result of the interaction between the personal and the social in modern society, for modernity radically alters society's institutions as well as the most personal aspects of daily life (Giddens, 1992). Therefore, the question could be asked, does the liberalism that accompanies ideological evolution lead to a wider understanding of the deviant uses of the concept, and as such is the idea of risk merely a self-fulfilling prophecy?

The word 'risk' in the phrase risk society may be inappropriate for what Beck (1992) is describing, as Beck's notion of risk seems to be closer to Knight's (1921) concept of uncertainty. Knight (1921) believes that risk is a collection of precise probabilities where the potential outcomes are known, and that uncertainty is immeasurable, without countless unknown outcomes. The idea of uncertainty seems to link in well with Beck's concept of modernisation bringing unknown outcomes that were not perceived at the time of development and are only known post hoc. Research suggests that people do not like

uncertainty in their lives (Furedi, 2002), therefore they make risk reduction decisions, because people will choose a riskier decision over an uncertain one (Ellsberg, 1961). Interestingly, the competence hypothesis (Heath & Tversky, 1991) states that the decisions people make can be affected by their perceived knowledge of the subject area. This may lead them to make a greater number of uncertain decisions if they believe that they are knowledgeable of the processes involved in decision-making and the possible outcomes (Heath & Tversky, 1991). This is crystallised through the interactions within the creation of expertise, the dis-embedding of knowledge and modernisation of society, all of which help create new risks as well as increase the current degree of uncertainty; for no-one is an expert and simultaneously everyone is an expert (Giddens, 1991; Beck, 1992).

Decision-making research indicates that the intolerance of uncertainty principle plays an important role in the choices that people make. Intolerance of uncertainty theory (Buhr & Dugas, 2002) indicates that a person finds it unacceptable to tolerate the possibility of a negative outcome no matter how small the possibility of it occurring (Dugas, Gosselin & Ladoucer, 2001). Research indicates that intolerance of uncertainty stems from the creation and maintenance of worry (Buhr & Dugas, 2002). Tallis, Davey and Capuzzo (1994) found that up to 38% of people in the general population worry at least once a day. This suggests why people have the desire to make decisions that reduce risk and increase certainty. These decisions may not always be the most optimal, but the higher degree of certainty is reassuring (Fox & Weber, 2002), and increasingly this has become more common in society. Hence, the intolerance of uncertainty theory may be transferable to ideological and social concepts, because definitive reactions to uncertain concepts reduces ambiguity and allows for the positive reinforcement of existing ideas (stereotypes).

Consequently, there appears to be parallels between intolerance of uncertainty and terror management theory (TMT) (Pyszczynski, Greenberg & Solomon, 1999). TMT argues that different forms of human behaviour are developed as coping mechanisms to deal with the anxiety that exist around death. These coping strategies develop from a dual-component cultural anxiety buffer: (a) cultural worldview, and (b) self-esteem. The cultural worldview is a construction of reality that provides the person with a permanent social structure and shared belief system, which allows for the development and maintenance of personal self-value and the belief in the ability to symbolically/literally transcend death. In contrast the self-esteem concept indicates that a sense of value is achieved when a person lives up to the existing cultural world-view. These concepts are social constructs and are fragile, indicating

the need for people constantly to reinforce them. This highlights the perpetual need for reinforcement of personal meaning (cultural world-view) and value (self-esteem), and as such it relates back to the idea of social constructionism and its effect on social life (Berger & Luckman, 1966).

The author believes that the concepts surrounding fear of death can be applied, to the anxiety surrounding uncertainty as well as the concept of social risks. This would indicate that people are anxious about the uncertainty of living in a modern social risk society where there is a lack of certainty because the core beliefs of society are constantly adapting via reflexive modernisation. Individuals are constantly worrying about new threats to their existing cultural worldviews and this can damage their self-esteem. Consequently, people cope with this uncertainty by reinforcing their world-view (the dominant cultural worldview) in turn will raise their self-esteem. This coping mechanism relies on the existing social constructions in which the individual exists; however if the existing social construction is flawed, then so too will be any response related to it. There are issues here with how people cope, whether it is by tying themselves to specific ideologies (Fromm, 1942) or joining particular existing social groups/parties (Curtis, 2004) who, they believe, can provide them with the necessary solutions to the changes in ideology that modernisation causes.

Personal definition is partly defined by the series of groups of which people are members. You may actively be a member of a group (by selecting to join voluntary groups, jobs, etc) or you may be a member by default (you have little choice, you are automatically a member; race, nationality, gender). Being a member of a group gives definition, a world-view, and allows for social interaction (Forsyth, 1995). However, this social cohesion does not replicate to other groups outside of the individual's own. The in-group/out-group bias states that members of groups tend to view more positively the actions of their own group (the in-group) as opposed to those of other groups (the out-group) (Forsyth, 1995). This helps to reinforce the homogeneity of the in-group, as well as to reinforce existing ideas about the out-group, allowing the out-group to be portrayed as fundamentally different from the in-group. This is reinforced by stereotyping (shared social generalizations about members of other groups) (Hogg & Vaughan, 1998) and the group attribution error (inference of individual's ideas/beliefs from those stereotypical ideas/beliefs of the group of which the person in question is a member) (Bower & Crano, 1994).

This intra-group conflict, as well as the negative labelling of other groups, leads to the reinforcing of the dominant cultural group and their worldview, which in turn leads to the

identification and potential rejection of the minority out-group. Becker (1963) defined this process as social labelling theory, which states that those considered as deviants or members of the out-group are viewed as fundamentally different from the in-group who constructs them as such. This becomes reinforced, because the dominant in-group create the rules and the roles that define other groups as insiders or outsiders, thus leading to the deviant group being labelled as outsiders and consequentially being deemed morally and socially different to the in-group. Hence, the outsiders use these labels to define themselves and start to believe/accept what the majority says about them (Becker, 1963), resulting in the creation of self-fulfilling prophecies (expectations/assumptions about individuals/groups that influence interaction and cause said individuals/groups to act in expected ways) (Jussim, Eccles & Madon, 1996). Thereby, meaning that the in-group believe the deviant out-group to be more organised and dominant than it really is (Cohen, 2002), and creating a perceived need for the dominant in-group to deal with the potential threat.

This societal reaction to risk is best reflected though the current threat and outcry surrounding the concept of stranger danger. For, even though paedophiles are seen as the major scapegoat of modern society (Brongersma, 1984; Kincard, 1998; Silverman & Wilson, 2002; Taylor & Quayle, 2003). There is little knowledge of the actual numbers of paedophiles in the community; there is an expectation that these numbers are high (McDonald Wilson Bradford, 2000). But, this proposition is actually false because other forms of childhood sexual abuse, as well as other forms child abuse (domestic violence, incest, physical abuse), are actually more prevalent in society than paedophilia is (La Fontaine, 1990; Howitt, 1995; Silverman & Wilson, 2002; Fitch, 2006).

One of the ways in which the dominant in-group reacts to the perceived threat of the out-group is through the use of moral panics (Cohen, 2002). A moral panic is an overblown social concern relating to the negative or anti-societal actions and/or ideologies of a certain event, group or sub-culture by society, which sees the actions as being destructive to modern life (Cohen, 2002). Moral panics tend to focus around specific groups of 'folk devils', for example, paedophiles, young males, drug users (Cohen, 2002), who are vilified and branded as deviant by society,. These folk devils suffer from a form of offender apartheid (whereby society excludes and morally rejects them) (Kleinhaus, 2002), and which, when reinforced through deviancy amplification (that the issue is so salient in society that anything that is related to it is seen as it) (Cohen, 2002), leads to an extreme social response that often overshadows the threat of the actual problem (Silverman & Wilson, 2002). This in turn creates a need for a solution, generally an emotional response that is not always well

conceived and usually with severe repercussions for the current folk devils (Klienhaus, 2002; Silverman et al, 2002; Soothill et al, 2002). Moral panics have been described as a social construction that helps to deal with the problem at hand (Hier, 2003) which in this case happens to be paedophilia.

Cohen (2002) argues that moral panics evolve and are resolved in the same way as disasters. Moral panics pass through a series of stages: warning (awareness of deviant behaviours that could potentially threaten society); impact (an event that triggers the deviant behaviour as a moral panic in the public mindset); inventory (taking stock of the moral panic, throughout this stage deviancy amplification occurs, generally through the media); and, reaction (solutions are formed and executed to end the moral panic). Therefore, it seems plausible that social/cultural/moral and physical disasters may have similar processes and solutions; especially since there is no one definitive definition of what a disaster is (Quarantelli, 1998); given that a disaster can be defined as social vulnerability (Gilbert, 1998).

However, this is not the only interpretation of the construction of moral panics. Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) indicate three different theoretical perspectives of which Cohen's thesis is only one. Cohen's theory is closely linked to Goode and Ben-Yehuda's concept of the interest group model of moral panics, which perceives moral panics as unintended and unplanned outcomes of crusades perused by moral groups. The second theoretical perspective is the elite-engineered model where the moral panic is a conscious/deliberate outcome of manufactured campaigns designed to divert attention away from the actual crises. This is closely linked to the work of Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke and Robert (1978) who argued that moral panics are mechanisms employed by the ruling classes to mystify the existing crisis in society and as such the media disseminates these panics, but does not create them. The third definition of moral panic that Goode and Ben-Yehuda discuss is the grass-roots model, which is where the moral panic is created through the anxieties of the normal public, and that they are reinforced and/or perpetuated by the media or government. According to the grass-roots model the media and government can not create moral panics; these panics have to be based on public anxieties that already exist.

One recognises that all three models put across by Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) have validity, and to that extent, argues that, for a sustained moral panic to occur, there needs to be an input and reaction from all three areas (the media, the public and the government) as represented in the figure 1.1. Although it is possible to have social concern and outcry resulting from the combination of any one of two factors, for a moral panic to occur there

needs to be an interaction between all three factors. This reinforces the complex dynamism of the modern risk society reflecting calls in the moral panic literature to take better account of the complex interactions that exist in modern society (Mc Robbie & Thornton, 1995).

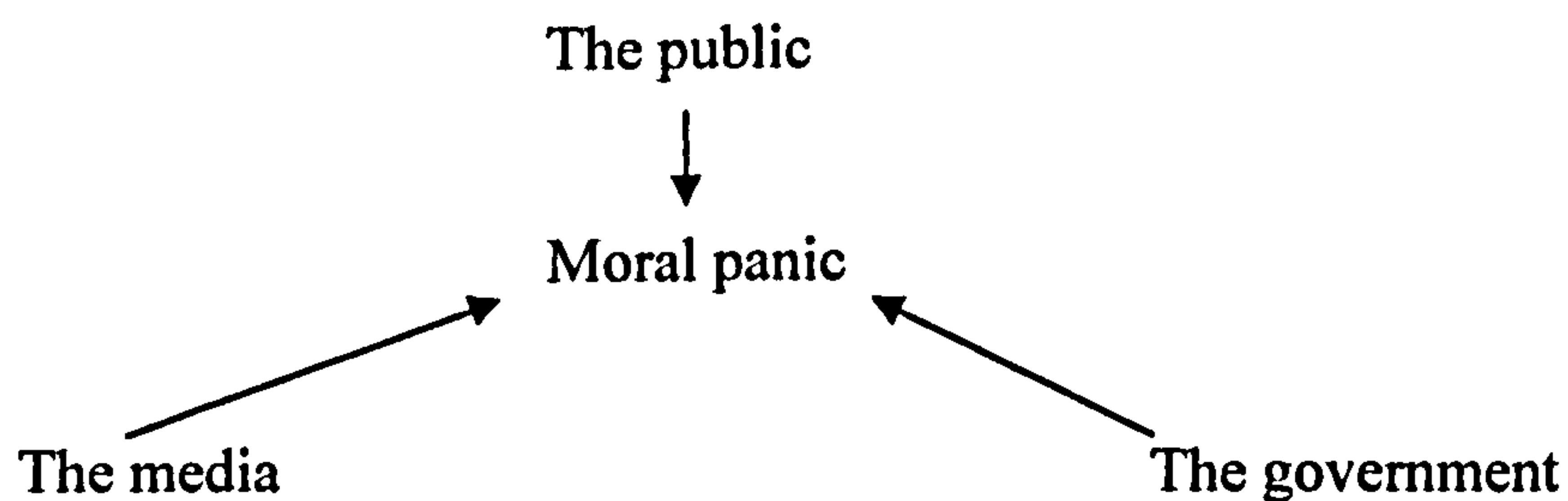


Figure 1.1 A diagram showing the most salient influences on the development of moral panics

Moral panics play an important role in modern society, in that they work to reinforce popular ideals, as well as stabilise social order (Hier, 2003). As a result they emphasise the core ideological beliefs of the society that they occur within (Thompson, 1998), which reinforces the social norms propagated by the dominant in-group and they seem to act as a coping mechanism, allowing members of society to deal with the congruent issues at hand. The construction of moral panics is aided by the media, which dominates modern society and plays a major role in the social construction of deviance (Cohen, 2002). Not only do the media report the news; they can help create it (Cohen & Young, 1981). The UK has become a breeding ground for moral panics with one replacing the other instantaneously or sometimes even before the previous one has completely finished (Thompson, 1998). This leads to the proposal that moral panics may not be separate entities but that they can be interrelated, because they can continue on from one another and reflect wider social issues (the ideological risk factor) (Thompson, 1998).

Moral panics in a modern risk society allow for a degree of control, generally by the government (the introduction of the USA Patriot Act [2001] which allows for increased control over the population in order to protect it from the terrorist threat (Moore, 2003)). This is so that the population feels confident and in control in relation to the undercurrent of fear, anxiety and uncertainty that exists. The consequence of this is that generally a more conservative manifesto gets implemented and reinforced (the removal of certain civil liberties being seen as acceptable for the 'greater' good, for instance wire and phone taps), thereby diverting people from the actual issue at hand, the ideological social risk factor. Moral panics can be viewed as coping mechanisms to deal with deviant aberrations in relation to the uncertainty created by the evolution of social ideology in modern risk societies.

Research into the risk society (Hier, 2003) and moral panic (Thompson, 1998; Ungar, 2001; Soothill & Francis, 2002) literature indicates that these issues generally develop around specific themes. Hence, it can be predicted that as the risk society continues to develop there could be an increase in moral panics (Hier, 2003), as a result of the fear created through risk consciousness and the labelling of all risk as negative (Furedi, 2002). One can have a social risk factor (childhood) and associated moral panics that exist as independent but related sub-factors (domestic violence, neglect, sexual abuse, etc), and therefore these two concepts can be viewed as being interconnected in terms of a factorial model. Interestingly, there seems to be an escalation in deviance with the addition of each new sub-factor, therefore reiterating the perceived risk of living in modern society (Giddens, 1991; Beck, 1992). Moral panics are used to order the risk society on an operational level, reinforcing the group and stabilising it against any potential problems that may arise unpredictably out of societal development (Hier, 2003). This suggests that the ideological social risk factor never goes away, but gets broken down to lesser more manageable parts (moral panics). This process works to help society positively reinforce its current beliefs, aids in the maintenance of current social identity, and sustains the majority opinion, so that the individual does not have to confront the real issue at hand. Hence the moral panic and the risk society work together to 'benefit' social order. This process is transpired through the media, which reinforces the prominence of both the moral panic and the ideological risk factor in modern society, giving the public the impression this deviance is being dealt with, stabilised or normalised.

Paedophilia and the Media

The media plays an important role in the modernisation of society (Giddens, 1991), and is the dominant means of communication in society. The media acts as the main conduit for the development and delivery of ideas relating to risk in modern society (Tulloch & Lupton, 2001), and the accompanying moral panics (Silverman & Wilson, 2002; Cohen, 2002). This is especially salient in the UK which has been characterised as a media-centred society (Howitt, 1998, Cohen, 2002).

Social constructionism is partly enabled by the media through their core tenet of communication. However, the media is not just one single organism. It is constructed from a plethora of different formats (television, radio, print, and the internet) and uses different mechanisms to promote its cause (fiction and popular culture, current affairs). It would,

therefore be irresponsible to portray this vast and complex landscape as one homogenous sector, and as such this thesis will focus on the news and current affairs sector of the media (i.e., the press and broadcast media).

The role of the media in society can be viewed in a number of ways; as the main method for the dissemination of information, the shaping of public perception and a mechanism to reinforce societal attitudes (Greer, 2002). In doing this the media have the dual function of reporting as well as creating the news (Cohen & Young, 1981). This potentially results in the media having a great deal of power and influence, in that it can shape and influence public opinion, while at the same time inform society in a quick in-depth fashion that legitimises the subject, thereby re-establishing the creditability of the story (Mc Quail, 2000). Howitt (1998) argues that the media can affect public opinion by utilising one of three potential models. The first model is the cause and effects one, whereby the media have an impact on the public (positive or negative) as a result of its reporting of the story. The second is the uses and gratification model, which suggests that the use of the media is limited and its impact is restricted to the degree to which the public adheres to the information it provided; as in how it effects their lives and helps them understand their current situation. The third model is the cultural ratification one, which states that the role of the media is to stabilise society by reinforcing its core beliefs and maintaining the status quo. These models highlight the interaction between the media, the public and the government; especially in relation to the social constructionism of reflexive modernisation in the risk society.

Howitt (1998) suggests that the public and the media may use each other to justify cognitive distortions that may arise in the reporting and creation of news via social interactions. This leads to the issue of how the media reports and constructs crime, for it has been argued that the media portrays certain types of crimes to make a commercial profit and to promote good business (Friendly and Goldfarb, 1968; Reiner, 2002). The media would argue that if the public does not want to read the stories it produces then the public would not support it (Cohen and Young, 1981; Howitt, 1998; Greer, 2002). This implies that the media selects stories to sell papers or increase viewer numbers, indicating involvement in a repetitive cycle with its target audience, in that they carry stories that are alternative and interesting in order that people will buy their product. In effect members of the public aid in the selection of stories by revealing what they want to know, and therefore what they want to buy. Hence, the cycle is set in motion. People continually buy the stories they want and the media will run these stories because it supports their interests (i.e., making money) (Gammon, Choteau,

Haynes & Sassoon, 1992; Howitt, 1998), demonstrating that the media and the public have a symbiotic relationship.

This relationship is highlighted most clearly in the presentation of crime in the media. Undoubtedly the public is interested in crimes that involve sexual or social deviance. The media focuses on those abnormal and deviant crimes, because they attract the attention of the public and as a result boost sales (Reiner, 1997). Interestingly, these crimes tend to focus around matters concerning sexual deviance (underage pregnancy, paedophilia), violence (domestic violence, assault and battery) or a combination of the two (rape) (Greer, 2002). Chibnall (1977) provides a set of criteria, which explains how the media decides whether a crime story is important enough to be portrayed. The piece must contain either (1) a visible/spectacular act, (2) graphic presentation, (3) deviance, (4) sexual/political factors, or (5) individual pathology. This approach gives the impression that the construction of crime news is quite similar to other forms of entertainment (Howitt, 1998), for it has to have elements of novelty, shock, deviance and celebrity.

The media are one of the main mechanisms in the development and maintenance of moral panics (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994; Thompson, 1998; Cohen, 2002), and acts as a tool to sustain social order and reinforce current belief systems (Hier, 2003). However, this is not a simple casual relationship because the public has to be accepting of the media before any moral panic can take hold (Cohen, 2002). The media are partly aided in the creation of moral panics by moral entrepreneurs (Becker, 1963). These are individuals or groups that push for social change on the premise that the moral foundations of society have failed and as such need to be fixed (Mary Whitehouse, Child Line, etc) (Becker, 1963). They work to address their own agendas under the pretence of helping society, and help turn social issues into moral crusades (Becker, 1963).

One of the most significant and prevalent moral panics of recent years has been that of paedophilia (Silverman & Wilson, 2002). This is clearly reflected in the frequency and format with which the UK media discuss paedophilia. Research indicates that sex crime (Greer, 2002), especially paedophilia (Cricher, 2001), is very common in the UK press, which tends to discuss paedophilia in a fearful and negative light. The negative, fearful and emotional language used to discuss paedophilia in the UK media, especially by the tabloids (Thompson, 2005), reinforces its status as a moral panic. Headlines have included: 'Kelly's weirdos' (Blackman, 2006, 20 January; Mirror.co.uk), 'Vile sickos sulking in high places'

(Parsons, 2003, 20 January; Mirror.co.uk), 'Britain's got perverts' (Patrick, & Nathan, 2007, 16 June 16; Thesun.co.uk), 'Paedo caught by perv site' (Flynn, 2006, 21 November; TheSun.co.uk), 'My brave girl caged a monster' (Coles, 2007, 13 January; TheSun.co.uk), and 'Pervs on the loose' ('Pervs on the loose', 2007, 2 August; thedailystar.co.uk). However, this emotive and reactionary language is not just limited to the tabloid press. The broadsheets often follow suit, all be it in a toned down fashion: 'Don't betray Sarah now' ('Don't betray Sarah now', 2000, 6 August; guardian.co.uk), 'Mobs and monsters' (Younge, 2000, 14 August; guardian.co.uk), and 'Child-killers on the loose' (McKie, 2000, 7 September; guardian.co.uk). In conjunction with headlines this language continues in the articles, with paedophiles being described as perverts, monsters and beasts (Thompson, 2005; Greer, 2003). The media further complicates the reporting of paedophilia by not differentiating between the different types of sex offenders, with all being labelled as paedophiles (Thompson, 2005). This results in a further escalation of the moral panic. This slanted media reporting contributes to the social construction of paedophiles and child sexual offenders as threatening and inhuman, therefore reinforcing the myth of stranger danger (Silverman and Wilson, 2002). The media are seen to contribute to the moral panic of paedophilia, and the resulting emotional reaction (Cricher, 2002; Silverman & Wilson, 2002). The clearest example of the media significantly contributing to the moral panic of paedophilia can be seen in the News of the World campaigns surrounding Sarah Payne.

The News of the World ran a series of anti-paedophile campaigns, arguing for stricter government procedures, including the introduction of the public disclosure of sex offender information, in the wake of the abduction, sexual abuse and murder of Sarah Payne in 2000. Sarah Payne was eight years old when on the 1st July 2000 she was abducted from outside of her grandparent's home in West Sussex, where she was on holiday with her parents. Sarah Payne's body was discovered on the 17th of July. A post-mortem revealed that she had been sexually abused before death. A national manhunt commenced to find her killer, resulting in the capture, trial and prosecution of Roy Whiting. The News of the World campaigned on behalf of the Payne family, with their permission and support (Day, 2000, 12 December; Guardian.co.uk). It wanted to see the introduction of 'Sarah's Charter', which contained 13 policy changes in relation to sex offenders, the last of which was 'Sarah's Law' (Cricher, 2002). Sarah's Law is based on America's 'Megan's Law' (Silverman & Wilson, 2002), and calls for the full public disclosure of all registered sex offender information in the UK (Cricher, 2002). The News of the World ran its 'Name and Shame' campaign to convince the government to implement Sarah's Law.

The News of the World launched the 'Name and Shame' campaign in on 23rd of July 2000. It highlighted some of the UK's most prolific paedophiles and child sexual abusers, with the paper arguing that public disclosure was the most effective mechanism to allow parents to appropriately, and successfully, protect their children from child sexual abuse. The News of the World published two sets of paedophile details on the 23rd and 30th of July, with the latter leading to the Paulsgrove riots (Cricher, 2002), before calling off the campaign on the 6th of August after a 'Summit on Sarah'. The paper wanted to focus on obtaining 'Sarah's Charter'. At the time the News of the Worlds campaign received mixed reactions. For although the media supported Sarah's Charter they condemned public disclosure (Cricher, 2002), particularly by The Sun (Hodgson, 2000, December 13; Guardian.co.uk.), The Guardian and The Observer ('Don't betray Sarah Now', August 6th, 2000; The Observer). The News of the World was also condemned by policy makers and the government; with the Association of Chief Officers of Probation threatened court action (Morris, 2000, 31 July; Guardian.co.uk), the Association of Chief Police Officers condemned it (Morris, 2000, 31 July; Guardian.co.uk), and Jack Straw (the then Home Secretary) and Ann Widdecombe (Conservative MP) objected to it, stating that the News of the World coverage was irrational and harmful (Dodd, 2000, 25 July; Guardian.co.uk.). However, the Payne family were positive about the News of the World campaigns (Day, 2001, 12 December; Guardian.co.uk), and there seemed to be wide spread public support (Cricher, 2002), which led the News of the World to justify its actions (Hodgson, 2000, December 13; Guardian.co.uk.).

The News of the World was successful in getting 12 of its 13 conditions in Sarah's Charter implemented, excluding Sarah's Law (Cricher, 2002). This is still the case, however this may change. The government initially rejected Sarah's Law claiming it would drive paedophiles underground, off the register and make them a bigger potential threat to children (Plotnikoff & Woolfson, 2000). These concerns were reinforced as Sarah's Law is in direct opposition to the Human Rights Act (2000), which guarantees people, among other things, a right to privacy. However, the government's opinion on the viability of this controversial law has changed in recent years, becoming complex, confusing and worryingly inconsistent. Although, the government initially rejected Sarah's Law (Dodd, 2000, July 24: Guardian.co.uk; Morris, 2000, July 31: Guardian.co.uk), it then reconsidered its position ('No.10 admits Megan's Law problems', 2006, June 19: bbc.co.uk; Assinder, 2006, June 20: bbc.co.uk), agreed to implement it ('Sarah's Law to Start in Months', 2007, April 9: TheSun.co.uk) and then quickly backtracked, rejecting the entire premise (Travis, 2007, April 11: Guardian.co.uk); before agreeing to partial public disclosure (Home office, 2007).

The News of the World campaign was partly responsible for the moral panic surrounding paedophilia that swept Britain at the start of the twenty-first century, and which is still in existence today. At the time few could have known that the death of one little girl (Sarah Payne) and the actions of one newspaper editor (Rebecca Wade, News of the World) would have had such an inflammatory effect on the public (Cricher, 2002; Silverman & Wilson, 2002). The development of the name and shame campaign shows how the News of the World seized on public concern and reinforced social boundaries, while at the same time promoting a level of unrealistic fear and paranoia over an already sensitive issue (Silverman & Wilson, 2002). The newspaper played on the irrational fear of parents, warning of stranger danger, and the corruption of the nation's children as a result of the sexual practices of a number of harmful deviants. They did not however, discuss the threats of abuse to children within the home (incest, domestic violence, and neglect), which are far more prevalent in society than the threats from solitary, sexual predators (Howitt, 1995; Briere & Elliott, 2003). The News of the World's crusade in turn transformed the social concern surrounding paedophilia into a moral panic, as people started to see indicators of paedophilia everywhere and demanded more be done about it. Also, because of the infusion of other types of media influence into the melting pot ('Brass Eye Special – Paedophilia', Morris, July 26, 2001: Channel 4; 'The Hunt for Britain's Paedophiles', June, 2002: BBC 2; 'Exposed: The Bail Hostel Scandal', November 8th, 2006: Panorama, BBC 1) the public idea that this was a major social concern was reinforced. This particular case demonstrates how paedophilia is a social construction which has adapted over time through reflexive modernity; with the media acting as the main catalyst for this change and contributing to the current social risk and moral panic of paedophilia in modern society.

Paedophilia

Paedophilia is a major moral panic in modern society (Cohen, 2002; McAlinden, 2006A). It has been described as "a severe public health problem of staggering proportions" (McDonald Wilson Bradford, 2000; 248). This has been fuelled by media speculation and selective reporting (Silverman & Wilson, 2002; McAlinden, 2006A) that creates an irrational and fear-based response to paedophilia in society that does not accurately reflect existing knowledge surrounding paedophilia (Howitt, 1995). Despite the current high-profile nature of paedophilia there is no easily accessible or widely accepted definition or explanation of the causes, the behaviour or the most effective treatments available. Child sexual abuse is one of the most misunderstood crimes in modern society; particularly, as society denies the

occurrence of, underestimates the frequency of (O'Grady, 2001), and under-reports paedophilia (West, 2000; Simmons et al, 2002).

There are many potential explanations for the under-reporting of child sexual abuse and paedophilia. These include the grooming techniques used by paedophiles; the attitude of the victim towards the offence (particularly if they feel embarrassed, ashamed or even partly responsible for the abuse); the victim feeling threatened by the offender; victims, or their guardians may think that the offender may be believed over them; and that the victims, or their guardians not wanting to be exposed to any extra trauma (Miller, 1997). Also, the attitude of the police towards reports of child sexual abuse can impact upon the degree to which they are reported (West, 2000). Although there is under-reporting of child sexual abuse (Nichols, Kershaw & Walker, 2007), research evidence suggests that reporting has improved, though legislative changes like the Sexual Offences Act 2003 (Walker, Kershaw & Nichols, 2006). However, these legislative changes have also affected how sex crime is recorded and categorised, therefore making it difficult to compare report rates before and after they happen (West, 2000; Walker, Kershaw & Nichols, 2006). Official research shows that the reporting of 'most serious sexual crime', which includes child sexual abuse, has increased in recent years (West, 2000; Nichols, Kershaw & Walker, 2007), from a total of 41,125 cases in 2001/02 (Simmons et al, 2002) to 43,755 cases in 2006/07 (Nichols, Kershaw & Walker, 2007); however, this is not seen as being a representative figure. In an attempt to better understand the true extent of sexual offending in modern society we can also examine victim surveys, the most prominent of these being the British Crime Survey (BCS). The BCS asks adults, aged 16 or over, in England and Wales, with Northern Ireland and Scotland having their own versions, about their experiences of crime. The aim of the BCS is to provide the government with a true picture of the actual crime rates, especially with regard to under-reported crimes as well as with participants' experiences of the criminal justice system. However, the BCS has not been particularly successful in uncovering the under-reported levels of childhood sexual abuse mainly because people are not willing to disclose this information in the BCS interview (Nichols, Kershaw & Walker, 2007), or even in the self completion questionnaire (Coleman, Jansson, Kaiza & Reed, 2007). The inability of the BCS to reveal the under-reported rates of child sexual abuse is compounded because the BCS does not include crimes against children under the age of 16 (Wilson, Sharp & Patterson, 2006; Maguire, 2007), therefore child sexual abuse. However, the Offending, Crime and Justice Survey (OCJS) does measure crimes perpetrated against and by children, although it does not cover sexual assault (Wilson, Sharp & Patterson, 2006). Consequentially the results of the BCS in regard to levels of paedophilia and childhood sexual abuse are too unreliable to report

(Nichols, Kershaw & Walker, 2007). This results in an over reliance on official statistics, which as previously demonstrated, are also unreliable. How therefore do we promote the reporting of childhood sexual abuse and get a realistic picture of the degree of childhood sexual abuse currently occurring in the UK? The most sensible approach seems to be through encouraging people to report abuse when it occurs, increasing public education on child sexual abuse and improving police responses to claims of child sexual abuse (Miller, 1997).

Defining the paedophile

A paedophile has been defined as a person who gains sexual gratification from contact with pre-pubescent children (La Fontaine, 1990; Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; Silverman & Wilson, 2002). However, a paedophile does not necessarily have to offend against children (Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; American Psychological Association [APA], 2000; World Health Organisation (WHO), 2007), or even come into contact with children (child sexual abuse imagery and the use of the internet) (Taylor & Quayle, 2003). Both clinical (APA, 2000; WHO, 2007) and legal (Sex offences act, 2003) definitions of paedophilia are more restrictive than the academic definitions and this disparity in professional definitions of paedophilia exacerbates the current confusion. The APA has redefined its classification of paedophilia in every edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders [DSM]. Paedophilia has ranged from being a sexual deviation and a sociopathic condition (APA, 1953); a sexual deviation and classified as a non-psychotic medical disorder (APA, 1968); a paraphilia with the offenders being defined as people who were interested only in sexual acts with pre-pubescent children (APA, 1980) and which later adapted to include paedophiles who also had an interest in adult-adult sexual relations (APA, 1987). Recently, this was changed so as to define paedophilia as a sexual paraphilia, stating that the offender has to be at least 16 years of age as well as being at least five years older than the victim; that the victim is not older than 12 or 13 years; and that the offender has serious sexual urges/fantasies that are causing them distress or that they have acted on (APA, 2000). These constantly adapting and conflicting definitions of paedophilia have resulted in expert opposition towards the DSM classifications, referring to them as vague, poorly defined, lacking reliability and lacking validity as a tool (O' Donohue, Regev & Hagstom, 2000). This has lead to calls for the DSM classification of paedophilia to be abandoned by practitioners (Marshall, 1997). Furthermore, the ambiguity and inconsistency surrounding definitions of paedophilia is exacerbated by the World Health Organisation (WHO) (WHO, 2007), which defines paedophilia as a mental and behavioural disorder. WHO describes paedophilia as a disorder of sexual preference,

indicating that it is, “a sexual preference for children, boys or girls or both, usually of pre-pubertal or early pubertal age”.

The difficulty in defining paedophilia is exacerbated when it is considered against other forms of childhood sexual abuse, especially child sexual abuse; which is often used in the literature as a blanket term to cover all abuse and all child sexual offenders (Rind, Tromovitch & Bauserman, 1998). However, not all forms of childhood sexual abuse are similar, with different offender typologies (child sexual abuser, paedophile, incest abuser, etc) offending in different ways, both within their typologies and with regard to other typologies. A child sexual molester/abuser is someone who sexually abuses a child for their own personal gratification, using the child as a sexual aid to bring them pleasure (Goldstein, 1999).

A paedophile may not necessarily be classed as a child sexual molester, for they may not offend against the child (Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997), or they may not wish to harm the child and they may believe that they are in ‘love’ with the child (O’Carroll, 1980; Brongersma, 1984). Alternatively, because incest offenders offend within the family, as such the abuse is not just limited to the adult/child relationship (brother-sister incest), and this abuse usually has little to do with sexual attraction, unlike paedophilia (incest is generally focused around adolescent children (La Fontaine, 1990)). Consequentially, you may have a paedophile that may not offend against their children, but will offend outside of the family (Howitt, 1995).

O’Carroll (1980) and Brongersma (1984) state that true paedophiles see their ‘relationship’ with children as not being abusive, but rather as a loving and reciprocal one, that is the equivalent of a ‘normal’ adult inter-personal relationship. This coincides with research indicating that paedophilia maybe a sexual lifestyle choice, and once the offender has aligned himself/herself to that ‘sexuality’, it can be difficult for them to adapt to another form of sexuality (O’Carroll, 1980; Taylor & Quayle, 2003). Which helps explain why the majority of paedophiles believe that they are being victimised for their lifestyle and that paedophilia is the final modern sexual taboo to be broken (Leo, 1983; Brongersma, 1984)? Concurrently it is important to realise that paedophiles suffer from cognitive distortions and illogical thought processes, which enables them to rationalise their deviant behaviour, meaning that they do not perceive themselves as being the abuser, but ‘the lover’ or ‘the victim’ (Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997). This cognitive dissonance allows them to continue with their offending behaviour. By not seeing themselves as the offending party they can view themselves in a positive light and therefore believe that they are aiding the child and not harming them (Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; La Fontaine, 1990).

The Paedophile: Actions, Interactions and Reactions

The complexity surrounding definitions of paedophilia does not diminish upon an examination of their personalities, behaviour, offences and potential treatments. Paedophiles are more likely to be male offenders (Dobash, Carnie & Waterhouse, 1997). Female paedophiles are believed to be rarer and thought to offend in a different manner (Howitt, 1995). However, paedophilic abuse is thought to have an effect upon the victim regardless of what gender the offender is (La Fontaine, 1990). Offences by female offenders are thought to be more harmful and to have a greater impact upon the victim (Howitt, 1995) because the abuse may start at an earlier age (Howitt, 1995). Also, male victims of female paedophilic abuse may not report it because they may feel that their claims will not be taken seriously (Saradjian, 1996).

Known paedophiles are generally from working-class backgrounds (La Fontaine, 1990), with a disorganised family system in childhood (Howitt, 1995). They are usually middle-aged (Blanchard et al, 1999), with a number of them being married at some point (Groth & Burnbraum, 1978). Interestingly, paedophiles seem to be employed in a diverse variety of careers (professionals', white collar worker, blue collar workers and unemployed) (Wilson & Cox, 1983), although this seems to contradict research stating that paedophiles come from working-class backgrounds, especially when their levels of intelligence are examined. Cantor, Blanchard, Robichaud & Christensen (2005) conducted a meta-analysis on research into paedophiles' intelligence. It revealed that existing research findings are disparate, with some studies suggesting that paedophiles have a lower IQ than the control population, whereas other studies suggest that there are no differences in IQ between paedophiles and the control population. Interestingly, the meta-analysis also revealed IQ differences between different groups of sex offenders, with sex offenders against children generally being found to have lower IQ's (Cantor et al, 2005). Unfortunately, there was not enough relevant data for Cantor et al to be able to examine the IQ of sex offenders in terms of class or careers; although it seems unlikely that paedophilia is solely a working-class phenomenon, but it may be that non-working class offenders are more adept at silencing victims of paedophilia (La Fontaine, 1990). The majority of paedophiles arrested and prosecuted maybe from working-class backgrounds, which could contribute to the skewed perception and comprehension of paedophilia in modern society.

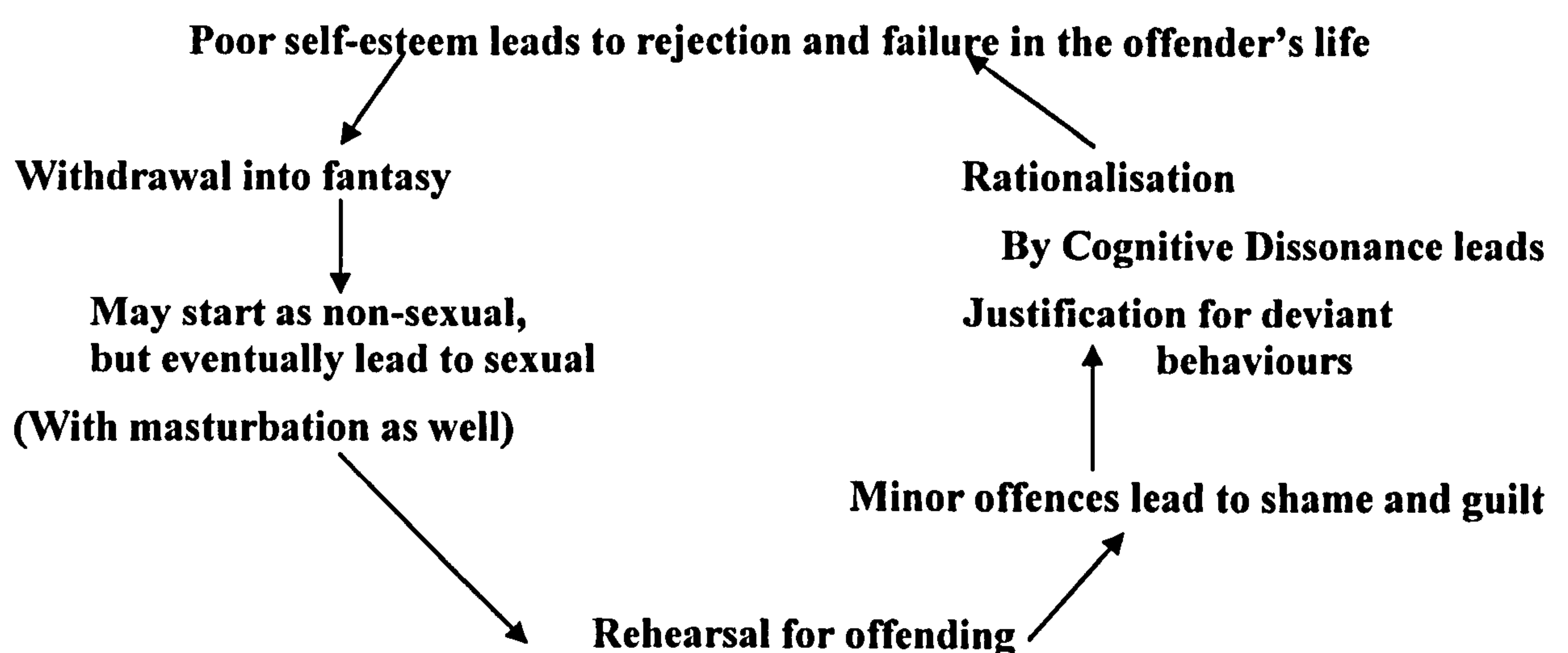
Paedophilia has been depicted as a mental illness (Bagley, Wood & Young, 1994), a mental deficiency (Blanchard, Waston, Choy, Dickey, Klassen, Kuban & Ferren, 1999), an

abnormality in developmental (Lee, Jackson, Pattison & Ward, 2002) or as the result of the cycle of abuse (Bagley et al, 1994; Howitt, 1995; La Fontaine, 1990). Research indicates that paedophiles tend to suffer from higher levels of social introversion, sensitivity, loneliness and depression (Wilson & Cox, 1983), with poorer interrelationship as well as social skills (Blanchette & Coleman, 2002) leading them to feel that they are socially isolated (Taylor, 1981). Research reveals that paedophiles believe that they can connect better with children than they do with adults (Whiskin, 1997). Consequentially, the paedophile claims that the relationship that they have with the child is a mutual and loving one, with the child 'victim' being seen the equivalent of an adult lover (O'Carroll, 1980; Brongersma, 1984).

One of the main explanations for paedophilic behaviour is the cycle of abuse argument, which states that individuals who have been sexually abused in childhood will go on to reciprocate this abuse in later life (Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; Silverman & Wilson, 2002). Although, paedophiles may use the cycle of abuse as a legitimate argument to explain their abusive behaviour (Howitt, 1995; Taylor and Quayle, 2003), there are many issues with the credibility of it. As girls are more likely to be victimised by paedophiles than boys (La Fontaine, 1990; Leberg, 1997), the cycle of abuse argument falters when explaining female paedophiles. However, somewhat paradoxically, there are more male paedophiles than there are female ones (Bentovim, 1993). This paradox once again raises the issue of whether or not female paedophile sexually offend differently than males; or does society actually perceive female offending, particularly paedophilic offending, as being markedly less serious than that of male paedophiles? Does this give rise to the suggestion that females are not perceived to be as dangerous as males and, as such, the public do not require the same degree of protection?

Another major criticism of the cycle of abuse argument is that paedophiles use it as a defence mechanism, a lie, or an exaggeration of the truth, in order to get more lenience in court or to justify their behaviour when in treatment (Kleinhaus, 2002). However, some researchers dismiss this explanation and state that at some point we should start listening to the paedophile, because one cannot assume that they are lying all the time (Li, 1991). This issue is complicated by the dichotomous interpretation of the cycle of abuse stated by some offenders, where they claim that when they were abused it was traumatic, although now that they are the abuser it is a demonstration of love and affection (Taylor & Quayle, 2003). This puzzling interpretation raises the question, should we believe the offender's explanations of their abuse?

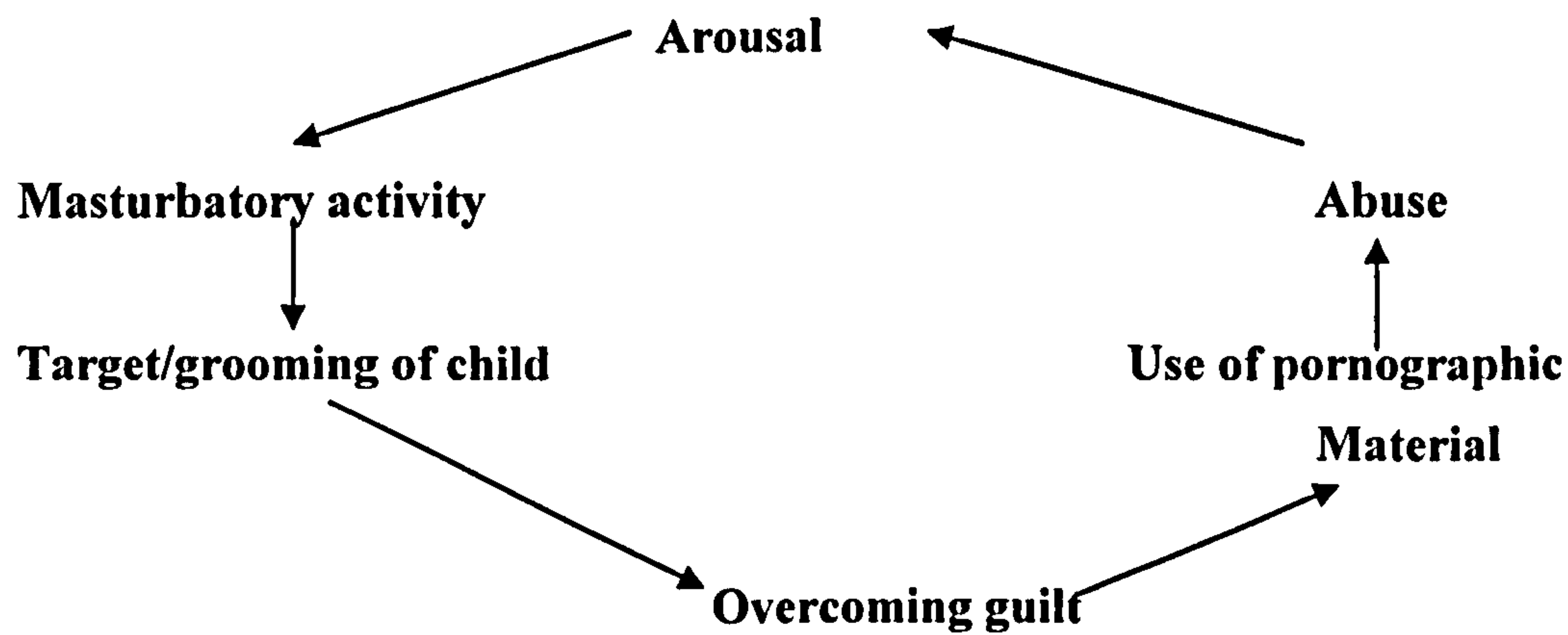
Paedophiles do not always sexually and/or physically abuse children (Howitt, 1995; Taylor and Qualye, 2003); for some can achieve sexual arousal from chatting online with children, looking at child abuse imagery, or though having non-contact time with children (Silverman & Wilson, 2002; Taylor and Qualye, 2003). This raises the question: how and why do paedophiles start to offend against children? The main cycle of offending behaviour was developed by Wolf (1984; Cited in Silverman & Wilson, 2002; 58) (Figure 1.2). This commences with the offender's poor self-worth, which leads to self-rejection, withdrawal, the development of fantasies, escapism, grooming which in turn leads to sexual offending, guilt and acceptance of guilt. When the cycle starts again the offending always increases, as such becoming more dangerous.



Wolf (1984; Cited in Silverman & Wilson, 2002; 58)

Figure 1.2 Wolf's cycle of paedophilic offending

Bentovim (1993) also developed a model for the development of paedophilic behaviour (Figure 1.3). This model starts from the premise that the paedophile has a sexual interest in children; and as with Wolf's model, Bentovim believes that the cycle is self-reinforcing and leads to more violent behaviours. Bentovim (1993) goes on to state that the paedophile in question becomes involved in an extensive paedophilic ring that reinforces their belief as well as justifies the deviant behaviour as a group norm that is a natural part of social and sexual development. This rationalisation process allows the cycle of paedophilic behaviour to continue indefinitely.



(Based on Bentovim, 1993:145)

Figure 1.3 An adaptation of Bentovim's cycle of paedophilic offending.

Interestingly, Bentovim (1993) sees the use of pornographic material as being an essential aspect of the paedophilic cycle of abuse. In opposition to this, many paedophiles state that they are anti child sexual abuse imagery and that fantasy alone is a powerful motivator for them (O'Carroll, 1980; Howitt, 1995). However, it should be noted that the pornographic material used by paedophiles may not be the deviant pornography (photos/videos of child nudity, of children being abused), but may be more mundane (ordinary photos of children, movies/TV programmes/magazines aimed at children); and as a result may encourage greater use of fantasy by the offender (Howitt, 1995). Although there is a taxonomy of child abuse imagery that ranges from the non-erotic/non-sexual images to sadistic/bestial imagery, all of which can be accessed via the internet, research fails to establish a direct link between viewing child sexual abuse imagery and committing child molestation (Taylor & Qualye, 2003). Although, there always has to be a child sexually abused to produce said images or movies, ipso facto it is always child sexual abuse, even if it is indirect and the paedophile is not abusing the child themselves (Taylor & Qualye, 2003).

The models illustrated in Figure 1.2 and 1.3 indicates that paedophiles go through a cycle of behaviour leading up to their offences. The models suggest that the cycle when repeated results in the development of distorted thinking that becomes essential to the paedophile's deviant lifestyle (Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997). The cycle of paedophilic behaviour seems quite similar to that of a serial killer; for they too pass through stages of dejection, withdrawal, fantasy, offending, distress over the offence, justification leading to distorted thinking and then repeat offending (Mitchell, 1997). Demonstrating that distorted thinking is central, not only to paedophilic offending, but to other forms of criminal offending as well (Hollin, 2002).

According to O'Carroll (1980) and Brongersma (1984) paedophiles believe their abusive relationship with children to be a balanced and loving one. Consequentially, the formation of a paedophilic relationship may be viewed as similar to the formation of a normal adult sexual relationships (attractiveness, proximity, familiarity, reciprocity and similarity; Hogg & Vaughan, 1995). This premise would explain why paedophiles are sexually attracted to certain types of children, certain age groups and why they may rate and develop attractiveness in the same way as adults do in 'normal' relationships. This process leads them to view their behaviour not as harmful, but as acceptable and that they are helping the child to develop sexually and provide them with a mutually loving relationship (O'Carroll, 1980; Brongersma, 1984). Many 'true' paedophiles (not incest offenders or child sexual abusers) state that they do not wish to harm the children that they are involved with, and do not use child sexual abuse imagery (as they find it degrading and humiliating to children). This has led many of them to state that they can not understand why people would want to 'abuse' and harm children (Howitt, 1995). The cognitive distortions (that the child enjoys it, they are helping the child develop, etc) that the paedophile suffers from enable the abuse to continue. They enable the paedophiles to justify their behaviour, and in turn allow them to protect themselves from perceived social disapproval, avoid cognitive dissonance and protect their self-esteem (Milhaildes, Devilly and Ward, 2004). Cognitive distortions are a central factor in the commencement and continuation of child sexual abuse (Burn & Brown, 2006). They develop from underlying causal theories that the paedophiles have about themselves, their victims and the surrounding world (Ward & Keenan, 1999; Burn & Brown, 2006); and believed to develop across the lifespan starting in childhood (Burn & Brown, 2006). These cognitive distortions are reinforced when the offender comes into contact with other paedophiles that positively reinforce their deviant lifestyle (O'Carroll, 1980; Taylor & Quayle, 2003).

Once a victim has been selected then the grooming process can begin, and this process continues throughout the abuse. The paedophile uses a number of techniques to get close to the child including threats, violence, bribery, games and friendship (Erikson, Walberg, & Seeley, 1988). Wyre (1987) indicates that grooming is a process that the offender moves through, rather than a random set of behaviour, with the main focus being to separate the child from their surroundings and emphasise the importance of the relationship with the offender (Wyre, 1987; Leberg, 1997). The physical grooming techniques consist of a 'reach and retreat' method, whereby the offender initiates a series of sexual/physical activities which will continually escalate unless the child becomes uncomfortable or distressed, when the offender

will stop and then retreat to a safe point (O'Carroll, 1980; Taylor, 1981, Howitt, 1995). It is important to state that the paedophile wants the child to remain comfortable in the relationship (O'Carroll, 1980) as, if they are not comfortable, they may report the abuse and therefore end the offending (Leberg, 1997). However, grooming is not just related to the children themselves, but, it is a three-pronged approach that includes/affects the child, the community (parents, friends, family, and community) and the institution (working with children). In all three cases the important aspect is trust (McAlinden, 2006B) which seems to concur with the importance of trust in modern society, and its impact on individuals (trust meaning a leap of faith, whereby certain premises are accepted as a given because they allow for continued existence within the modern risk society, but this is undermined by the actualities of modernisation, with everyone and no-one being experts) (Giddens, 1991; Fuerdi, 2002).

As a result of the grooming process the child now may suffer from a distorted worldview, believing that they have no one to turn to and that the abuser is the only one that cares for them. This belief may result in the child permitting the abuse to continue because they may desire the attention that it brings (Leberg, 1997); indicating that the abuser has coerced and brainwashed the victim to a point that they no longer see the 'relationship' as wrong or destructive. Subsequently, these cognitive distortions may lead to the victim seeing the relationship as a natural part of their development and thus establishing a starting point for the cycle of abuse (Howitt, 1995).

Paedophiles have no typical offending behaviour; they do not all offend in the same fashion with the same frequency or level of intensity (Howitt, 1995; La Fontaine, 1990). Research with victims of child sexual abuse indicates that sexual intercourse is often not the most prevalent form of paedophilic abuse. Research has found that non-physical sexual abuse was more common, followed by physical sexual abuse; and that sexual intercourse was the least common form of abuse (Baker & Duncan, 1985; Dobash et al, 1996). However, as the psychological, physical and sexual relations between the paedophile and the child are not equal (remembering its purpose is to give sexual gratification to the abuser, often at the expense of the child, who does not and is not able to give consent the same way another adult would), the paedophilic relationship is therefore always abusive (Howitt, 1995).

Despite the patterns proposed in the cycle of abuse not all children who are abused react in the same way and not all go on to abuse in later life (Howitt, 1995). The abuse may have a number of effects on the child. They may see it as a natural part of development, thus starting a cycle of abuse (Howitt, 1995). The child may become aroused by the abuse and this will

therefore impact upon future emotional and/or sexual relationships (Bader, 2003), or the abuse may produce a 'stigmatising effect' resulting in the child blaming themselves for the abuse (Haywood, Kravitz, Wasyliw, Goldberg, & Cavanaugh Jr, 1996).

Finally, the treatment of paedophiles is a complex and difficult issue to resolve, especially because no-one is sure of the cause of paedophilia (McDonald Wilson Bradford, 2000; Nurcombe, 2000). It is argued, that because sex offending develops via a multitude of factors, the optimal approach to counteract this phenomenon effectively should be a multi-disciplinary approach (Howitt, 1995). Consistent with other aspects of paedophilia, there is a lack of professional clarity on the successful treatment of paedophiles. Some authors, like Freud, believe that paedophilia is a long term condition and seemingly resistant to treatment (Gay, 1995). When treatments do work it should not be assumed that all treatments work equally well for all offenders (Howitt, 1995), and that the main role of treatment is manage behaviour (Howitt, 1995). However, other authors believe that paedophilia is not incurable and that we should not think of it as so (Hari, 2002, March 25: New Statesman). Ultimately, despite the consternation surrounding the potential for the successful treatment of paedophilia, it is suggested that all treatment should be based on the assumption that paedophilia is treatable and that the condition could be cured (Howitt, 1995).

Research into treatment of paedophilia reveals that the most effective methods seem to be those that focus on suppressing the psychological and physiological aspects of paedophilia (McDonald Wilson Bradford, 2000), as well as approaches which emphasise both victim empathy and victim understanding (Howitt, 1995). For that reason sex offender treatment programmes are based on offenders' admissions of guilt (Howitt, 1995; Silverman & Wilson, 2002), although non-admission may not bar paedophiles from treatment, but may require extra counselling (Silverman & Wilson, 2002). However, there are a number of barriers to successful inclusion on sex offender treatment programmes do exist including: if the offenders are foreign; if they have an IQ lower than 80; if they are mentally ill; or on appeal (Silverman & Wilson, 2002).

Paedophile treatment programmes in the UK are generally based on Cognitive Behaviour Therapy (CBT) (Silverman & Wilson, 2002), and these programmes (the Sex Offender Treatment Programme (SOTP)), force the paedophile to confront and rectify their distorted thinking patterns (Silverman & Wilson, 2002). The CBT programmes for paedophiles/sex offenders have been compared to the 12-step Alcoholic's Anonymous (AA) programme for alcoholics (Valcour, 1990). The vast majority of sex offender treatment programmes exist

within the prison system. However, prison research shows that SOTP has a very good short-term success rate, but long term results show high levels of relapse outside the prison (Beech, Fisher, Beckett, and Scott-Fordham, 1998). Beech et al (1998) also found that offenders from low deviancy and low denial groups, as apposed to offenders from the high deviancy and high denial groups, were more likely to benefit from SOTP. Longitudinal research shows that the effectiveness of sex offender treatment programmes remains unproven, although there are some indications of a decline in relapse rates for those offenders who have received treatment (Brooks-Gordon et al, 2004). All the research carried out on sex offender treatment programmes has been conducted in modern westernised countries; as such there is no evidence to suggest that these approaches are applicable or work in other cultures.

There are a number of community-based treatment programmes/centres for treating paedophilia, including, until recently, the Wolvercote Clinic ('Top paedophile clinic shuts', 2002, June 31: bbc.co.uk; Harrison, 2007). A new community support scheme has been developing out of Canada in recent years, Circles of Support and Accountability, in which lay people volunteer to support paedophiles in the community upon release by providing them with support and helping them to regulate their behaviour (Silverman & Wilson, 2002; Wilson, Mc Whinnie, Picheca, Prinzo & Cortoni, 2007). This strategy has been seen as an effective mechanism for encouraging restorative justice within communities towards sex offenders and is discouraging offenders from going underground and/or re-offending (Wilson et al, 2007). The Circles of Support and Accountability programme has had some success both nationally and internationally (Silverman & Wilson, 2002; Wilson et al, 2007). The Circles of Support and Accountability programme also reinforces previous research showing that offenders who receive support, personal and public, especially during treatment will be at a reduced risk of future re-offending (Silverman & Wilson, 2002).

Another potential approach to the treatment of paedophilia is drug treatment, with the main outcome of being similar to that of CBT, in that the drugs work to suppress sexual desire, suppress deviant behaviour, and reduce victimisation (McDonald Wilson Bradford, 2000). How do the drug treatments achieve this? Research shows that certain areas of the brain can have an impact upon sexual behaviour and therefore the targeting of these areas can have positive effects on the reduction of deviant sexual behaviour (McDonald Wilson Bradford, 2000; Stone, Winslade & Klugman, 2000). For example, Serotonin impacts on sexual drive and therefore increasing the serotonin levels of paedophiles will result in a reduction of their sexual drive (McDonald Wilson Bradford, 2000). There are a number of pharmaceutical treatments available for paedophilia including, estrogens, neuroleptics, antoadrogens,

mexdroxyprogesterone acetate and specific serotonin reuptake inhibitors, all of which have been shown to effect paedophiles' testosterone levels, decreasing their sexual drive and their sexual offending (Stone, Winslade & Klugman, 2000). However, serious side-effects linked with some of these drugs, particularly estrogen and neuroleptics has led to a decrease in their use (Stone et al, 2000). Although there is evidence that drug treatments do work in controlling paedophilia (Stone et al, 2000) some professionals' believe that more research is needed, by both the government and drugs companies, to examine the effectiveness of using drug treatment in regard to treating paedophilia (McDonald Wilson Bradford, 2000).

Harrison (2007) states that the UK does not currently have an effective treatment programme for paedophilic offenders. This conclusion is reinforced by Brooks-Gordon et al (2004) who, through a systematic review of current treatment programmes, suggest that the majority of existing treatments remain unproven, sometimes with a lack of success. In conjunction with this, the potential for the widespread implementation of treatment for paedophiles and sex offenders has been curtailed because of the social denial of paedophilia/child sexual abuse (Howitt, 1995). Treatment is expensive and has to be constantly justified, and funding is easily lost (Howitt, 1995). However, it is still important to try to help these offenders and to recognise that re-offending rates are generally reduced in those offenders who have received some form of treatment as opposed to those who have received none (Bagley & Thurston, 1996). Despite this, Brooks-Gordon et al (2004) caution that unproven treatment programmes can potentially be as damaging, or more damaging, to the offender as no programme.

As this literature review has indicated paedophilia is a complex and ambiguous term. The author realises the importance of providing a working definition of paedophilia to be used in this thesis. Paedophilia is best understood as a person, male or female, who has an orientation towards children, boy or girl, which fulfils a sexual desire or need for them, and which may or may not involve them offending, viewing child sexual abuse imagery or have contact with other paedophiles/sympathisers. Paedophiles may have a psychological pre-disposition towards children but never act on it. This definition recognises that a sexual interest in children is intrinsic to the paedophile, but that individual differences play a salient role in their cognitive distortions about paedophilia, their severity and type of offending, as well as their responses to treatment.

Implicit Theories and Paedophilia

The aim of this thesis is to better understand the crisis of paedophilia in modern society. This will be done through uncovering professionals' and trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia, resulting in understanding of why paedophilia has become the social crisis that it has. Implicit theories are those that exist unconsciously within people's minds (Wegner & Vallacher, 1977; Furnham, 1988; Sternberg, 1985) and are discovered through research (Furnham, 1988; Sternberg, 1985), as apposed to explicit theories which are empirically tested theories, that can be derived from implicit theories (Sternberg, 1988). Implicit theories are related to all aspects of life (Sternberg, 1988) and have been shown to be consistent over time (Franiuk, Cohen & Pomerantz, 2002). Individuals develop and learn implicit theories through their interactions in the world at large (Ward & Keenan, 1997; DeFrates-Densch, Smith, Schrader & Rique, 2004), meaning that implicit theories are often based on common sense perceptions and understandings of the world (DeFrates-Densch et al, 2004). However, because implicit theories are based on personal experiences and constructions they can be incorrect (stereotypes) (Levi, Stroessner & Dweck, 1998; Plaks, Stroessner, Dweck & Sherman, 2001) or maladaptive (cognitive distortions) (Ward & Keenan, 1999; DeFrates-Densch et al, 2004).

Implicit theories are used in a multitude of ways (DeFrates-Densch et al, 2004), including in people's understanding of themselves, of other people and social situations (Sternberg, Conway, Ketron & Bernstein, 1981; Chiu, Hong & Dweck, 1997; Ward & Keenan, 1999). Hence, implicit theories are quite similar to scientific theories (Furnham, 1988; Ward & Keenan, 1999). Implicit theories are thought to be important in how people make and maintain their judgements about other people and the surrounding world (Mc Connell, 2001; Spinath et al, 2003), particularly in regard to social perception (Chiu et al, 1997) and stereotype maintenance (Levi et al, 1998; Plaks et al, 2001). Two schools of thought have developed in regard to how people use implicit theories: entity theorists and incremental theorists (Anderson, 1995; Dweck, Chiu & Hong, 1995; Chiu et al, 1997). Entity theories suggest that we view our own and other people's personality traits as fixed and stable, whereas incremental theories indicate the opposite; that we see our own and other people's personality traits as malleable and changeable (Dweck et al, 1995; Chiu et al, 1997). Although it is recognised that entity and incremental theories are dichotomous, it has been suggested that people can actually use both sets of theories, however it is thought that one set of theories will be dominant to the other (Dweck, Chiu & Hong, 1995). These different approaches indicate that individuals will react to themselves, other people and situations in

specific ways. Entity theorists react with a higher degree of helplessness to their own behaviour and a more retributive approach to other people's transgressions (Dweck et al, 1995), as well as having a stronger tendency to take part in group stereotyping (Levy et al, 1998). Whereas, incremental theorists will display a more mastery-orientated approach to their own and a more rehabilitative approach to other people's transgressions (Dweck et al, 1995); and are less likely to take part in group stereotyping (Levy et al, 1998). Interestingly, these approaches to implicit theories would appear to coincide with professionals' and trainee/non-professionals' theories of paedophilia, although there is no research evidence to directly support this proposition. Research with trainee/non-professionals' seems to suggest that paedophiles are regarded as a homogeneous group, as having fixed personality traits that are unchangeable, and as such not advocating treatment, but castration or incarceration (McCartan, 2004); which seems to suggest that lay people are entity theorists. Opposite to this research with professionals' suggest that they regard paedophiles as individuals, with adaptable personalities and therefore being capable of change, resulting in them advocating treatment (Howitt, 1995; Hari, 2002); and this would suggest that professionals' are incremental theorists. This proposition seems realistic because of each population's relative exposure to paedophiles. With the professionals' having a higher degree of exposure to paedophiles this could explain their dynamic and malleable perception of this population, whereas the public's relative lack of exposure could explain why they are more likely to view the paedophiles' attitudes and behaviour as static.

As implicit theories are shaped through peoples interactions with the world, and because they impact upon how people interpret the world (Dweck et al, 1995; McConnell, 2001; Spinath et al, 2003), it would be logical to suggest that implicit theories may be closely tied with notions of social constructionism. Central to social constructionism is the act of communication (Burr, 1995), which in modern society is the function of the media (Greer, 2002), particularly as the media has become intrinsic to modern life (McQuail, 2000; Greer, 2002). Although, researchers are not fully aware of the impact of the media on the public's perceptions and understandings of issues (McQuail, 2000), current thought seems to suggest that the media have some impact on the general population (Howitt, 1998). The potential impact of media in the development of implicit theories is possibly two-fold, first through the interaction between public and professional knowledge, and then through the interaction between implicit and explicit theories. For even though, implicit and explicit theories are separate entities they do overlap, with implicit theories providing the starting point for explicit theories (Furnham, 1984), which in turn can affect the original implicit theories and therefore suggesting a cyclical progression. This is demonstrated by the fact that professionals' implicit theories act

as a starting point for research that develops explicit theories (Furnham, 1984). The relationship between implicit and explicit theories is crystallised by the double-hermeneutic model of reflexive modernity (Giddens, 1991). This states that professional knowledge spirals in and out of concrete sites of knowledge and as such these concrete sites of knowledge are constantly being re-cast. The transition of knowledge happens through the media in modern society, and the main outcome of this mechanism is the constant adaptation of implicit theories. This in turn promotes adaptations in explicit theories, which is particularly salient for the social construction of the current phenomenon of paedophilia.

Implicit theory research has had a long history in psychology (Wegner & Vallacher, 1977; Furnham, 1988) focusing on areas such as intelligence (Sternberg et al, 1981; Sternberg, 1988; Spinath, Spinath, Riemann & Angleitner, 2003), personality (Wegner & Vallacher, 1977), abnormal psychology (Wegner & Vallacher, 1977; Furnham, 1984; Furnham & Rees, 1988; Furnham & Kuyhen, 1991; Furnham & Bower, 1992), as well as in areas of addiction (Furnham & Lowick, 1984) and crime (Furnham & Henderson, 1983; Spinath et al, 2003; Mihailides, Devilly & Ward, 2004). Recently there has been an expansion of implicit theory research into the area of sex crime, but this is a growing area particularly in regard to paedophilia. Previous implicit theory research on sex crime has examined the self-perception of rapists (Polaschek & Ward, 2002; Polaschek & Gannon, 2004) and paedophiles (Marziano, Ward, Beech & Pattison, 2006); as well as some theoretical work on the implicit theories of sex offenders (Ward, 2000; Mihailides, Devilly & Ward, 2004) and child molesters (Ward & Keenan, 1999). However, this is a growing area, with more research needing to be done. Implicit theory research is also a growing field outside of psychology as well (Dweck, Chiu & Hong, 1995), with research being done in other social sciences, including medicine, economics, statistics, law, education (Furnham, 1988), sociology and criminology (Unger, 1986; Turner, 1987; Sparks, Girling & Loader, 2001). This cross-disciplinary research reinforces the importance of implicit theories in modern society (Furnham, 1988); especially in regard to socially sensitive issues and topics of social concern (Sparks, Girling & Loader, 2001). As such, highlighting the social constructionist nature of implicit theories and their relation to social context (Sparks, Girling & Loader, 2001).

Research into implicit theories uses a number of traditional methodologies (Furnham, 1988). The first of these methodologies is self-report, which uses of interviews and open-ended questionnaires, and is one of the more common methods used (Furnham & Henderson, 1983; Sternberg, 1985; Polaschek & Gannon, 2004; Marziano, Ward, Beech & Pattison, 2006). The self-report approach allows the participants to explain their implicit theories to the researcher

in their own words, therefore permitting them to give honest and realistic explanations. However, the self-report method can be criticised in that the participant may not be able to successfully describe their implicit theories and in that the participant may feel obligated to give the researcher certain responses or, especially with interviews, the researcher may bias or misinterpret the responses (Furnham, 1988). Another method used to uncover implicit theories is through test data, whereby the participants are given existing and robust psychological tests and asked to rate themselves and/or others (Furnham, 1988). The test data method has a rich history in implicit theory research within psychology (Furnham & Henderson, 1983; Furnham & Lowick, 1984; Mihailides, Devilly & Ward, 2004). However, test data research is also problematic. Because of the tests selected, the participants' ability as well as comprehension of the tests, as well as the instructions provided could all potentially affect the results. The final approach generally used to uncover people's implicit theories is through observation. This approach involves studying participants in their own environments and inferring their implicit theories from their daily actions and interactions (Furnham, 1988). Observation may be the purest way to uncover implicit theories, but it is also the most complicated approach; in that observation can be affected by researcher bias, misunderstanding and interference, as well as participant bias (Furnham, 1988; Robson, 2002). Observation is used to uncover implicit theories, but generally not in psychology, being mainly used in sociology and criminology (Sparks, Girling & Loader, 2001). The most common method in psychology being either self-reports (Furnham, 1988; Sternberg, 1988) or test data (Furnham, 1988; Dweck et al, 1995).

Aside from the methodological issues previously mentioned, research surrounding implicit theories can be criticised on the grounds of: is the research really measuring participants' implicit theories or their explicit theories? Research using self-report and observation methodologies seem to be more likely to report implicit theories than test data; this is because these methodologies allow the participants to give the responses that they want. Subsequently their implicit theories are more likely to emerge than in test data studies. Hence, the author believes that self-reports are the most effective approach to use in the discovery of implicit theories (Sternberg, 1985; Furnham, 1988), and as such will use this approach in the current research, using qualitative self-reports (semi-structured interviews) with the professionals' (Sternberg, 1988) and quantitative self-reports (open-ended questionnaires) with the trainee/non-professionals'. As previously stated the mixed design approach will allow for the best results to be gained from each population (Sternberg, 1988).

Construction of the Thesis

This chapter has focused on the research aims and objectives of the thesis, as well as the literature review and rationale. Chapter 2 will outline the qualitative research with the professionals', stating the methodological approach taken. It will argue the usefulness of qualitative research as a tool (its advantages and disadvantages, its credibility, both within and without psychology), the use of 'semi-structured' interviews in the study and the data collection procedure, before reflecting on the qualitative approach.

Chapter 3 will discuss the data analysis techniques used in the qualitative research, before going on to discuss results, addressing the professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia, their understanding of the public's perceptions of paedophilia and the current phenomenon of paedophilia in society. It will also discuss the professionals' implicit theories of the psychology and treatment of paedophilic offenders and the mechanisms of the social construction and social control of paedophilia, (the media and the government).

Chapter 4 will outline the methodology, results and discussion of the two quantitative research studies with the trainee/non-professionals', and because of the nature of the quantitative research, the methodology, results and discussion of each study will be discussed separately, before summing up in a general discussion.

Chapter 5 will draw the thesis together, discussing the results of the two different research paradigms, independently and collectively. It will then go on to indicate the potential outcomes and applicability of this research, and the possibilities for future research it has generated.

Chapter 2

The Qualitative study: Methodology

The Qualitative study: Methodology

Introduction

Building on the previous chapter, this chapter will discuss the methodological approach used in the qualitative research with professionals'. The chapter will start by discussing the nature of qualitative research, its advantages and disadvantages, as well as its credibility, within and without psychology. It will then justify why semi-structured interviews are the most effective data collection technique for the current research and follow with a discussion of the current research methodology highlighting the design, participants, materials, procedure and ethics used in the study. I will conclude the chapter by reflecting upon the procedure, as is the standard with qualitative research, and commenting upon my personal research perspective, how and why the study was designed, as well as the potential implications of this on the research, findings and interpretation.

The Rationale: Aims and Objectives of the Study

The purpose of this research is to discover professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia, as currently there is no coherent definition of paedophilia, paedophiles, or what typical paedophilic behaviour is (La Fontaine, 1990; Howitt, 1995; van Dam, 2001). This is particularly salient because paedophilia is currently perceived as "a severe public health problem of staggering proportions" (McDonald Wilson Bradford, 2000: 248). This study will, therefore, focus on professionals' who work directly in the areas surrounding paedophilia and in related fields (probation, charities, Non-Government Organisations [NGOs], the police, members of the media, academia and therapists), as their implicit theories inform policy, research and the public. In doing so they contribute to the social construction of paedophilia. This research is important in understanding current conceptions of paedophilia in society, because if professionals' are not providing a sensible, realistic and comprehensive message on the subject, then it is relatively unlikely that society will therefore have a realistic position on paedophilia.

The current study will focus on a number of issues surrounding professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia, including what paedophilia actually is, the psychology of the offender, the actual offences, the media and paedophilia, the government's understanding of and reaction to paedophilia, and the public's perception and understanding of paedophilia. As this research covers a wide spectrum of issues around paedophilia, it will enable us to

determine if professionals' actually have an established grounding in regard to paedophilia, what they believe paedophilia to be and why it has become such a modern pariah.

Method

Rational for using Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is generally perceived as not being simple or straightforward. This is because there is a degree of ambiguity involved, with a diverse range of prescribed methodologies and procedures to interpret research findings (Miles and Huberman, 1994). There is not one distinctive qualitative methodology. Consequently it is important to identify what qualitative research is, what it investigates and how it does so, before going on to discuss what qualitative methodology was used in this study and why.

Qualitative research is a prominent methodology used mainly in the social sciences (Bryman, 1998; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Flick, 2006). It was originally established in anthropology to study indigenous cultures (Bryman, 1998), before branching out to other related subjects, such as psychology, sociology, health care, business studies and education (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Qualitative research studies social phenomenon in-depth, by focusing on a specific population (Bryman, 1992) and is interested in determining how a population constructs its own reality and views its own lives 'from the inside' (Hammersley, 1992; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Hayes, 2002). Qualitative research investigates meanings, believing that everything is contextual and that there is no real world, suggesting that we construct our own realities. Qualitative research is inductive and rejects natural science as a model for research (Hammersley, 1992).

The canon of qualitative research includes studying archives (Miles and Huberman, 1994), ethnography (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Atkinson and Hammersley, 1998), interviewing (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Bryman, 1998; Mason, 2002), focus groups (Greenbaum, 1998) and case studies (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Flick, 2006). Care is needed when selecting the most appropriate data collection procedure because this may have prescribed data analysis techniques; and it is essential to understand that all aspects of qualitative research are inter-related (Tesch, 1990). Potential approaches to qualitative data can include content analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Neuerdorf, 2002; Krippendorff, 2004), discourse analysis (Potter and Wetherell, 1987) or conversation analysis (ten Have, 1999). Recently, qualitative research has also developed the use of computer software packages like NUDIST (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Barry, 1998; Flick, 2006) or ALTAS/ti (Barry, 1998; Flick, 2006).

All research methodologies need credibility, and in some respects this has been harder for qualitative research to attain (Miles and Huberman, 1994), especially in some areas of psychology. Although, some authors state that psychology has only recently started to use qualitative research mainly within the confines of applied research (Miles and Huberman, 1994), although, this is not the case as psychology has a rich history of qualitative research (Hayes, 2002). However, qualitative research developed a poor reputation in psychology with the advent of behaviourism. Behaviourism deemed qualitative research to be unscientific because of its over reliance on the analysis and interpretation of the data by the researcher, and therefore increasing the possibility of researcher bias (Hayes, 2002). However, psychology in recent years has seen a steady move back to the use of qualitative methods (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Hayes, 2002; Flick, 2006) despite quantitative research still being the dominant research paradigm (Flick, 2006).

Qualitative research has both advantages and disadvantages. This methodology is advantageous as it provides the researcher with rich, in-depth data sets (Silverman, 1993), allowing them to discover original findings, sometimes beyond the scope of the original research questions (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Bryman, 1998). Also, qualitative data has ‘undenability’ in its output which is very convincing to readers of the research, especially policy makers (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Qualitative research is, however, a very labour intensive approach and results in many problems for the researcher in the field, including issues with sampling, an increased possibility of researcher bias, issues with validity as well as reliability, and a lack of generalisability of findings (Miles and Huberman, 1994). This is especially true with regard to the ‘truth’ of the data gained from qualitative research in terms of what is actually said, how it is said, and how much is imposed by the researcher (van Dijk, 1997; Mc Kie, 2002). Subsequently, qualitative research can be open to accusations of the social construction of data (Dingwall, 1997) and potential researcher bias in interpreting the data (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Gudmundsdottir, 1996; May, 2002; Flick, 2006).

Researchers constantly debate the usefulness of qualitative versus quantitative research methodologies, with the latter generally seen as more reliable, valid and scientific (Hammersley, 1992; Flick, 2006). Interestingly, some authors have argued the superiority of one methodology over another as well as the incompatibility of both types of methodology. Others have argued that these diverse methodologies can be used together to achieve a more valid and reliable set of data than either separately (Hammersley, 1992; Silverman, 1993; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Hayes, 2002; Flick, 2006).

Why use qualitative research in this study?

This research is exploratory in nature, because the researcher was seeking to uncover professional implicit theories of paedophilia, in an attempt to further understand this sensitive and controversial social phenomenon. The researcher is interested in the meanings that professionals' attach to paedophilia, and as such the researcher wants the participants to be able to give in-depth, reflective and personalised responses to the topics at hand as well as raise any issues they themselves think to be relevant. This is only really achievable via qualitative methods (Bryman, 1992). This research is inductive in nature, as it attempts to describe and apply meanings to the phenomenon of paedophilia and as such is interested in the contextualisation of the participants' implicit theories (Hammersley, 1992).

The current methodological position is strengthened by previous research (Sternberg, 1988) has indicated that a quantitative approach may not be the best in examining professionals' implicit theories. Sternberg distributed a series structured and unstructured questionnaires to a group of professionals' to measure their implicit theories of intelligence, creativity and wisdom. This resulted in a series of relatively poor response rates. Although Sternberg indicated that these response rates were respectable for professionals', it led the current researcher to decide that the qualitative method was the most effective for measuring professional implicit theories. In particular, it was decided that a series of semi-structured interviews would be carried out with a sample of professionals', because of the flexibility, fluidity and sense of control they give to the participants (Mason, 2002).

Design

As there is no consistency within findings or methodology used in paedophilic research, a grounded theory approach was selected for this research. This approach is seen as the most effective in counteracting inconsistent/incomplete theoretical perspectives (Neuendorf, 2002). Grounded theory states that understanding comes from a close observation of reality, which in turn permits the development of theory. Although core grounded theory dictates complete immersion by the researcher in the field in question (Neuendorf, 2002), this was not possible with this study because of the broad and undefined nature of the participant group. The researcher therefore decided to permit the participants to describe their own implicit theories of paedophilia, hence using a self-report method (Furnham & Henderson, 1983; Sternberg, 1985; Polaschek & Gannon, 2004; Marziano, Ward, Beech & Pattison, 2006). The grounded

theory approach is central to the current research for a number of reasons. It adheres to the core tenets of creation and utilisation of implicit theories which indicates that implicit theories are discovered, not produced (Sternberg, 1985; Furnham, 1988), and as such have to be drawn out of participants (Sternberg, 1985). Also, the aim of this research is to solidify and generate concrete theories of paedophilia based on the opinion of professionals', and grounded theory offers the best method for achieving this (Strauss and Corbin, 1997). By enabling the professionals' to reveal what they personally think in regard to paedophilia, and with minimal guidance from the researcher, the participants' implicit theories should emerge.

Qualitative research has a number of diverse data analysis techniques open to it, including the technique that the current study will use, content analysis (Miles and Hubermann, 1994; Neuendorff, 2000; Krippendorff, 2004), or what can sometimes be called thematic qualitative analysis (Hayes, 2002; Flick, 2006). Content analysis is generally based on textual material which can include, but is not limited to interviews, journals, books, focus groups, etc., but can also include TV programmes, movies, maps, and art work. Content analysis allows the researcher to infer meaning to, and produce an understanding in relationship to material/phenomenon that would be generally otherwise un-observable for one reason or another (Neuendorf, 2000; Krippendorff, 2004). This is consistent with the exploratory nature of this study in its attempt to clarify the complexity surrounding professional implicit theories of paedophilia. This research is inductive; therefore the core themes and concepts were allowed to emerge through the analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Because semi-structured interviews were used in the study, a number of loose preliminary concepts and themes were identified prior to the analysis (Appendix A). These were subsequently expanded upon, updated and re-categorised during the analysis of the transcripts (Murphy and Dingwall, 2005).

Semi-structured interviews were used because they allowed the professionals' the freedom and fluidity to address the topics at hand in anyway that they saw fit (Mason, 2002). The semi-structured interviews were developed around certain pre-established themes, developed from the literature. However, these pre-established themes were not an exhaustive list, and some leeway was given for alternative and original issues to emerge by themselves from the data (Krippendorff, 1994; Flick, 2006). The current study reflects the core aspects of content analysis, which is that content analysis is used to confirm what is already known (Leites and Pool, 1942; cited in Krippendorff, 2004; 45); that it is used to settle disagreements between specialists (Leites and Pool, 1942; cited in Krippendorff, 2004; 45); and that content analysis

is to used to reflect the attitudes, interests and values of population groups (Berelson 1952, cited in Krippendorff, 2004; 45-46).

Participants

A wide variety of professionals' were selected and categorised into three groups (academics, media, practitioners), with a final participant population of 28. Although initially there was a desire for a fair distribution of professionals' across all three groups, this was in fact not possible, given poor returns from the media group.

However, even though the media group was small, participants in both the practitioner and academic groups talked about their knowledge of the media's perception of paedophilia through their past encounters and personal experiences with the media or previous research projects with the media.

Initially the researcher decided upon a purposive sampling technique (the participants are selected on purpose to help the researcher formulate theory; Robson, 2002). A list of potential participants was developed from professionals', who have published in this field (academics); who work as editors, or journalists for newspapers/television news media that covered paedophilia (media); and work for charities or with offenders in one form or another (practitioners). For instance, participant 1 is a member of the paedophile unit, participant 8 a university lecturer who researches and teaches in regard to paedophilia and participant 17 covers child sexual abuse/child sexual murder stories for a prominent TV News channel.

The purposive sampling began with an internet search for relevant participants (i.e., online newspapers archives were examined for reporters who had worked on child sexual abuse stories; psych-info and web of knowledge, as well as university web pages, were used to find academics who worked in this field), which was then followed up by looking at the potential participants employers or companies websites, or in some cases their personal websites. This sampling technique worked well in regard to the academic, media and some practitioner participants (members of children's charities). However said approach did not work with all the participants. For instance, when contacting members of the police, probation or therapists their employers, agencies or units were contacted and they the relevant participant was suggested or volunteered. Some potential participants where disregard because they did not

Group A	Group B	Group C
<u>Practitioners (13)</u>	<u>Media (5)</u>	<u>Academic ** (10)</u>
Police Participant[s] 1, 21, 22, 24	Editor Participant[s] 4, 23	Criminologist Participant[s] 2, 9, 20
All are police officers working nationally (1), regionally (24) and locally (21 & 22) on sex crime/paedophile units.	The editors of two local/regional newspapers; one in Northern Ireland (23) and one in England (4)	Lecturers in criminology at UK universities; researching sex crime/paedophilia, moral panics, the media and vigilantism (2, 9, 20).
Probation Participant[s] 25, 26	Journalist Participant[s] 3, 12	Psychologist Participant[s] 6, 8
Both worked in the same probation unit, dealing with child sex offenders in the community.	They report for national broadsheets; with one also working in TV and doing research (3,) and the other also writing for some redtops (12).	Lecturers in psychology at UK (6) and Irish (8) universities; researching mainly paedophilia and the media to a lesser degree (6); as well as paedophilia and the internet (8).
Therapists Participant[s] 5, 15, 16	TV Reporter Participant[s] 17	Media Studies Participant[s] 10
Working in a high secure sex offender unit (15); with the other two (5, 16) having previous experience done so, but now working independently.	Reports for a national TV station [covering child sexual abuse i.e., Sarah Payne, Holly Wells and Jessica Chapman, and the Michael Jackson trail]	A lecturer in media at a UK university; researching media and sex crime.
Charities/NGO Participant[s] 11, 13, 27, 28*		Sociology Participant[s] 7, 18, 19
One participant works for national children's charity (13), one for an international one (11) and two for a regional one (27, 28).		Lecturers in sociology at UK universities; researching risk (18); childhood and child protection (18); and moral panics (8).
		English Participant[s] 14
		A lecturer in English at American university; researching child sexual abuse, paedophilia and literature.

* One participant (28) spanned the practitioners and the media group (they used to be a reporter and then went to work for an NGO).

**Although the academic group allegiances were defined by their job titles (after they were selected based on their research criteria) some of them crossed boundaries into other academic and related fields.

Table 2.1:

A table showing the composition of the three different participant groups

work directly in the field or were not knowledgeable enough to be included in the research. For instance, some media participants who sparingly covered paedophile stories, and certain academics who taught as well as researched paedophilia but it was not their main forte.

Two batches of letters (appendices B and C) were sent out to 49 potential participants with 22 participants (45%) ultimately taking part in the study. The remainder declined to be interviewed, did not respond or agreed in principle then did not re-establish contact. Some of the participants who declined, ignored or dropped out of the study would have been worthy additions (one being a leading crime reporter, another leading researcher in risk and moral panic research, and an alternative member of the national police sex crime unit). However the range and knowledge base of the participants gained from purposive sampling was more than adequate for the current study. As a consequence of exhausting the purposive sampling technique the researcher changed to a snowball sampling to gain the rest of the participants (where existing participants help the researcher identify other potential participants; Robson, 2002). This produced another six participants. The new participants gained through snowballing were volunteered by existing participants (participant 22, 26 and 27) or fellow researchers (participant 21, 23, 25 and 28), all being past and/or present colleagues (charities/NGOs, police and probation), or research associates (practitioner and academic fields). The snowball sample added significantly to the research, often reinforcing or providing alternative/original perspectives on the same position, career, research or issue. This resulted in a total of 28 participants, which was unfortunately still short of the preferred 30 participants. However at this point it was decided that a sufficient number of interviews had been carried out and that the analysis should begin (Table 2.1).

Materials

The semi-structured interviews were developed in conjunction with the literature review and the research questions posed for this thesis. The interviews were mainly participant-led, with the researcher providing a series of topics (appendices A and D), which were individualised for each participant. There were commonalities across the interviews, with most interviewees being asked about certain issues (why the modern outcry over paedophilia has occurred?; the role of the media in relation to the paedophilia 'outcry'?; people's understanding of what paedophilia is) before going on to cover related specific issues (paedophilia, moral panics, the media, public opinion, the law, childhood, scapegoating and paedophilia, risk society). There was also a convergence in the questions asked within certain groups (practitioners), and to members of the same sub-groups (the police), dealing with the same themes (appendices A

and D). The nature of the research was such that certain themes were raised within diverse groups and sub-groups, while simultaneously there were certain themes that were addressed only to specific participants.

Procedure

Initial requests for participants were sent out (Appendix B), although when it was realised that a smaller than acceptable sample had been gathered, a second series of requests for participants was sent out (Appendix C). This batch also included the participants acquired through snowballing sampling. The aim of the letters was to inform the participants of the study, explain its aims and objectives and ask the recipient if they wished to participate. The reason for two slightly different letters, one for each batch of participants, was that as the research developed the study was continually evolving and although neither the study nor the aims had changed, it was important to be transparent to maintain academic integrity. The participants were told that they would be contacted again within two or three weeks via telephone or e-mail to see if they wished to participate in the study. At the second point of contact the researcher, in conjunction with the participant, established a date for the interview as well as its nature (face-to-face or via the telephone).

The interview started with the participant signing a consent form, laying out the aims and ethics of the research (Appendix E). Although prior to the start of the semi-structured interview the researcher established its general content, this was flexible enough to adapt to the participants responses and the direction of any given interview. With participants being allowed to discuss anything that they personally believed to be salient in regard to paedophilia and/or their profession at the end of the interview, however, the vast majority of participants chose not to do so. Each interview generally lasted approximately one hour, with some exceptions. The participants were then thanked for their time and input, asked if a follow-on interview could be arranged if necessary, before being asked if they would like to receive feedback on the research post completion. An example of an interview is included in appendix F.

Post transcription the participants were contacted, as much as possible, to enquire if they wished to have a copy of their interview transcript and some agreed but the majority did not. The majority of the participants requested a copy of the results, which reinforced their commitment to the research, that they believed it to be valid and that it bridged a gap in the literature.

Ethics

Carrying out ethical research is central to modern psychology. This is, however, potentially more significant in qualitative research because of the nature and style of data collection (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Before carrying out the current research, the researcher met all the necessary ethical research guidelines laid down by the British Psychology Society (BPS) (BPS, 2000). One of the main ethical issues involved in this piece of research was the need to ensure participants' informed consent. This was achieved by having full disclosure at all points in the study as well as requesting that the participants sign a consent form prior to the interview (Miles & Huberman, 1994; BPS, 2000; Flick, 2006). The participants were made aware of their right to withdraw from the study at any time, as well as being assured that their participation in the study would remain anonymous and that the only person who knew of their participation would be the researcher. Additionally, the researcher assured the participants that there would be complete confidentiality of their statements and participant anonymity in the final write up of the study, as well as in relation to any resulting publications (Miles & Huberman, 1994; BPS, 2000; Flick, 2006). The participants were asked if they gave their permission for the interview to be tape-recorded or if they wished the interviewer to hand transcribe it during the interview. The vast majority of participants consented to have the interview recorded (92%). The researcher assured them that the transcriptions and copies of the material would be appropriately destroyed or returned to them if they so wished (Miles & Huberman, 1994). All of these ethical issues were addressed in preliminary letters and contacts with the participants and they were reiterated in the consent form that the participants signed and discussed prior to the start of the interview.

Reflection

As previously suggested, reality is a socially constructed phenomenon; there is no true objectivity (Berger and Luckman, 1966; Ellis & Bocher, 2003). This means that the role of the researcher is as subjective as that of the participant (Smith, 2003). As such, there has to be a consideration of the researcher's role as well as personal narrative in the research process (Ellis & Bocher, 2003). This is central to qualitative research (Neuendorff, 1994), because there is a great deal of personal subjectivity by the researcher in developing and interpreting the research (Gudmundsdottor, 1996). The main mechanism for counteracting this subjectivity in analysis is for the researcher to be reflective and take a personal account of their research choices, research practice and interpretation of results (Coffey, 2007).

I decided to use a mixed model design, primarily as previous research on implicit theories suggested that this was the most optimal approach. Also, because mixed design approaches are gaining popularity within the social sciences (Bryman, 1992). The qualitative research with the professionals' was somewhat daunting, because I had never done anything like this previously and my previous research grounding had been in the quantitative tradition. Therefore, the qualitative approach involved a shift in my mindset and a need to think multi-dimensionally (Ellis and Bocher, 2003). Initially I felt out of my depth and somewhat isolated, particularly because I struggled with the epistemological and ontological aspects of this research, which were never issues that I had encountered previously with quantitative research. Addressing these issues reinforced my belief that understanding reality is about focusing on perception and contextualisation, that there is no 'real' world and therefore how we perceive the world affects how we interpret it (Ellis and Bocher, 2003; Rapley, 2007).

My research/academic position derives from a liberal social constructionist perspective. Although I believe that there are moral rights and wrongs, these are not absolute but are shaped by the context in which they occur. As a result of this I have a tendency continually to question my beliefs, which leads to a feeling of self-doubt tempered with a realisation that not all is as it seems. Although this means that I cannot always see the most obvious solution/explanation of any given issue, it does mean that in seeing many diverse perspectives I can easily link together a multitude of different theoretical perspectives. This personal perspective was borne out by both my academic and personal experiences, especially through growing up in Northern Ireland and travelling widely. These experiences opened my eyes to the realisation that there is myriad of different constructions of the world, not all of which are moral and justifiable, but all of which are personal to the people who believe them. It is our role both individually and as psychologists to understand and, where if necessary, counteract these constructions. This is intrinsic to research on paedophilia because even though it is an all too common, horrific and traumatic crime, paedophilia is unfortunately misrepresented and greatly misperceived in society.

In conjunction with my supervisors a number of different qualitative research methods were discussed, resulting in the decision to use interviews because they would permit a greater degree of flexibility with the participants, in a way that none of the other qualitative methods could. I then deliberated over what type of interviews to use (structured, semi-structured or closed), after carrying out wide reading and talking with other researchers (including fellow

PhD and research students, other academics and my supervisors). Ultimately I settled upon a semi-structured approach.

The criterion for participant selection, and their resulting group allocation, was then decided upon and the sampling techniques agreed. Although this group allocation was self-evident for both the academic and media groups, it was somewhat more problematic in regard to the practitioner group, with the researcher not being sure who qualified for inclusion within this group and how it should be constructed. This group initially consisted of professionals' who worked indirectly or directly with paedophiles and in related areas, which was a pretty wide mandate. However, as the research developed this group took on a life of its own, resulting in a group with not only the most diverse range, but also the largest range of participants.

As previously stated the initial sampling method used was a purposive technique, but this eventually transformed into a snowball sampling technique when participant responses dried up prior to the full sample being collated. This shift in sampling techniques reflects previous findings that interview recruitment can happen through "an ad hoc and chance basis" (Rapley, 2007; 17). This meant that as researcher I had to be open to the possibility of trying new techniques as well as realising when I had exhausted any given sampling avenue (Rapley, 2007). I believe that the sampling approaches taken in this study (purposive and snowballing) were the most efficient for the current research, because these techniques were able to provide the most relevant participants. As previously indicated I started sampling by looking on the internet, in research journals and with agencies for relevant participants. An initial list was drawn up, irrelevant or weak candidates discarded, and the most optimal participants approached (those professionals' who worked in, reported on or directly researched the field). This produced a broad and inclusive sample; this covers the full spectrum of professionals' who work in the field of paedophilia. The snowballing sample reinforced the coherence and breadth of the purposive sample, because they were recommended by sampled participants and/or research associates. Although the recruitment procedure altered through the course of the research, I was pleasantly surprised by the level of positive feedback from potential participants, especially from those that did not necessarily want to be or could not be involved in the study. Generally, the majority of those that showed an interest in the study partook in it; however, some potential participants rejected the premise of the thesis, sometimes quite harshly, and did not want to be involved. Initially this upset me, but after consideration and discussion with others these criticisms were seen as the personal perspectives of the individuals and not realistic criticisms of the study. Also, some potential participants did not reply to the letters.

Although, I believe that both sampling techniques used were the most effective, there was still a possibility that I may have influenced the development of the sample. For instance, were the participants that I contacted the best ones to approach, and were those who agreed to participate the most optimum? I believe to be the case as all the participants work in relevant fields relating to paedophilia and in the social construction of paedophilia, including policing, probation, academia, and the media. Also, by having the wide variety of participants (Table 2.1) it meant that I could provide a credible cross-section of professional understandings of paedophilia making the research more applicable. Could I have pursued other potential participants? Yes, but decisions had to be made and the researcher was happy with the sample obtained. Also, there is an inherent problem in using a self selecting/snowballing sample, which is that the research may be biased by a sample that agrees with it rather than questioning it. Although this is a relevant concern because of the selection of participants used and the variety and quality of their responses I do not believe that this is a pressing problem and certainly not a debilitating one,

I then thought about and decided upon the general content as well as direction of the interviews (Rapley, 2007). The interviews tended to focus on the participants' areas of expertise, which meant that paedophilia and important aspects of their jobs would be discussed. Although the research themes were developed from the existing literature on paedophilia, because of the reflexive nature of the piece not everything that was discussed in the interviews was related to the initial literature (Rapley, 2007). This meant that there was some content disparity between the research cited in the literature review and that which is discussed in the findings. This is not, however of major concern, because I believe that it was essential for the participants to voice what they perceived to be important issues surrounding paedophilia (the debate between paedophilia and homosexuality (participant 17), under-age sex between same age partners (participant 8)), especially if I had not already addressed these. Hence, the research is giving a true representation of the current implicit theories surrounding paedophilia among professionals'. However, one problem in allowing the interviews to be participant specific is that there may not be an overlap in interview content between different participants. Nonetheless, I still believe that this was the best approach to take because it reinforces both the grounded theory and social constructionalist viewpoints of this thesis.

I carried out all the semi-structured interviews, both face to face and over the phone. For the face to face interviews I would travel to meet the participants at their convenience. The interviews happened in a variety of different locations, including, hotel receptions

(participants 5 and 22), participants' offices (participant 1, 2, 4, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25 and 26), at participants' homes (participant 6 and 17), sometimes in their gardens (participant 17), as well as at a conference (participant 20). The different interview locations set different tones for each interview, and may have impacted upon each interview (Rapley, 2007). I found that when I interviewed participants in their offices the interviews were more formal, and often interrupted (participants 2, 4, 24 and 26), whereas in other locations, especially when the participants had selected the locations themselves, the interviews were more informal and frank (Participants 5 and 17). Despite this flexibility some interviews were done by phone because of logistical constraints ($n=11$), which included some participants feeling that, because of their commitments, they may have been unable to see me on any given day (participants 3, 11, 14, 12), and potential timetabling clashes (participant 9, 10, 27 & 28), and/or travelling issues (one participant lived in America, participant 13; and another two participants 8 and 15 in the Republic of Ireland). Also, some interviews were scheduled to happen in person, but issues arose and they had to be carried out by telephone (participants 10, 27 and 28). For example, I was in Northern Ireland interviewing certain participants (participants 23 and 24), but other participants could not be available at that time (participants 27 and 28). Also I was to interview one participant at a conference, but they withdrew and the interview could not easily be rescheduled (participant 10). I found telephone interviews to be quite problematic with a greater potential for problems and/or mistakes, including bad lines (participants 12 and 28), time differences (participant 13) and being cut off (participants 15 and 27). To compensate for some of these potential problems I was provided with a speakerphone and a quiet room.

The vast majority of the interviews were recorded on Dictaphone ($n=26$) with the participants' consent (Rapley, 2007). Two participants, however, did not give their consent and their interviews had to be handwritten. These interviews were problematic, as I found it difficult to split my concentration between note taking and engaging with the participant (Rapley, 2007), even though the participants in question talked slowly and reiterated statements and comments where necessary. The recorded interviews did not always run smoothly either and on one occasion the cassette snapped after the interview and had to be repaired (participant 11). On another occasion the batteries failed in the Dictaphone (participant 6), and in another interview I put the cassette tape in the wrong way round, resulting in the machine not recording and needing to be re-started (participant 17). These issues were frustrating and time consuming, but the participants were understanding and patient. As a result I learnt always to be prepared, because although one thinks that

everything will go well this is not necessarily so. The recorded interviews, although sometime problematic were still easier than those which were handwritten.

I took a friendly, professional and relaxed approach with the participants, allowing them to take the lead in the interviews. I spoke only to ask preliminary questions, to change direction of the interview if required, to ask alternative questions or to respond to questions and concerns raised by the participants. On occasions some participants asked for my perspective on the issues being discussed (paedophilia, moral panics, the media and crime) (participants 5, 10 and 27) with some interested in what I thought. On these occasions I considered my answer carefully, not wanting my response to affect their responses or the course of the interviews. For example, when asked about paedophilia I suggested that it is a complex phenomenon and not well understood (participants 5, 6, 13 and 22). Also, when I was asked about the News of the World's campaigns I questioned if they had a positive outcome and believed them to be motivated by sales, not social concern (participant 10). I believe that responding to the participants' questions was advantageous to this research, as it made them feel at ease, allowing them to frankly and openly discuss paedophilia, thus making it easier to uncover their implicit theories. I also dressed appropriately and talked to the participants in a respectful manner, using their title where appropriate, therefore indicating that I respected them, their profession and as such opinion.

Interestingly, one of the biggest issues faced was the lack of engagement by some of some participants during the interviews, which was more difficult in some respects during the telephone interviews. Although some professionals' gave in-depth responses to research themes, as well as discussing their own topics of interest (participants 6, 17 and 22), others simply addressed the research themes in the most direct format possible (participants 3 and 8). This was frustrating and annoying, and I tried to approach the same issues from alternate angles at different times, sometimes returning to same issues or asking for further comment. This did not always work and I had to realise that the individual differences of each participant had a role in how they addressed the themes. It was difficult to establish a rapport with some of the participants, and some of the interviews were not as interactive as they could have been (Rapley, 2007). This was as not bad as initially suspected, because during the transcription I discovered that even in the briefest interviews the participants still addressed the issues and research themes, albeit in a more succinct fashion.

The recorded interviews were not all transcribed immediately after the interviews. Initially they were transcribed straight from the Dictaphone by simply listening to the material and

transcribing it, through a process of stopping, starting, pausing and adjusting as necessary. This process started immediately after the conclusion of each interview. However, this soon became problematic and I was provided with funds to purchase a transcribing machine. But this took a time to purchase, which resulted in a lag between the interview and the resulting transcription. Nearly all the interviews therefore had occurred, by the point that the transcribing re-started. Although, this was somewhat problematic for the analysis of the data, I still agree with the decision to halt the transcribing process until the proper equipment was available because the overall quality of the data has improved. This time lag may have had an effect upon the transcription and analysis of the data, but this is not particularly significant because the analysis is addressing the themes emerging from the participants' responses, and not their moods, emotions or approaches to addressing the researcher.

The transcription process was initially difficult; for it was the first time I had done something like this. Also my typing speed and skills were initially lacking. There were many other issues to address, including not being able to make out what the participant was saying on the tape, either because of their voice tone or volume or the presence of background noise (participants 6, 13 and 17). On these occasions I did the best I could and if I could not decipher a word or sentence, I noted it on the transcription and moved on. In retrospect, this may not have been the best technique to counteract the problem, but I felt uncomfortable putting words or concepts into the participant's mouths. Also, there was a problem with some of the tapes, in that there was a disparity between the end of one side of the cassette and the start of another (participants 4, 6 and 17). In these situations I left it blank, but explained why this was the case, because I did not feel comfortable in putting in contrived or estimated information. Also, there were issues with some of the cassettes used, for some of the cassettes snapped in the Dictaphone (participants 11 and 28), some of them did not record properly (participants 6 and 17) and the speed of some varied from recording to recording. The majority of these issues were easily solved and did not present any major problems, with the snapped tape getting repaired, and the transcribing machine having a number of speeds so that tapes could be slowed down. I was thankful that these tapes could be salvaged and therefore did not mind the reduction in quality or the extra time needed to transcribe them. In retrospect, I am glad that I transcribed the tapes myself, for it enabled me to engage with the material early on, which allowed some of the themes to emerge during transcription and prior to the analysis stage (Rapley, 2007).

The content analysis commenced with a re-reading all of the transcriptions, from which themes started to emerge (Rapley, 2007). These responses were grouped together into 15

separate issues (the crisis of paedophilia, what is paedophilia, etc.), where all the themes were separated into overarching and sub-themes (Flick, 2006; Hayes, 2002; Krippendorff, 2004; Miles and Hubberman, 1994). During the analysis it became apparent that certain themes and sub-themes bridged a multitude of different issues and therefore were placed in as many issues as was necessary. There were also links put at the end of each issue to indicate which other issues could be looked at in terms of similarity. This enabled different issue to be examined both separately and in unison where necessary. Nonetheless, it could be argued that the researcher may have unconsciously biased the results through personal and their theoretical viewpoints which may have affected the theme development, issue construction and ultimately the write up of the analysis (Rapley, 2007). As previously stated, my theoretical viewpoint is that of a liberal social constructionalist and I find paedophilia both an abhorrent and a misunderstood crime, all of which has probably affected my interpretation of the findings. Although I found myself agreeing in general with the majority of the participants' responses, this was not the case for all; the professionals' responses coincided with my liberal, yet realistic view of paedophilia. Both my implicit and the professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia are geared towards understanding it, which again highlights their initial and prolonged interest in partaking in this research. My own implicit views of paedophilia were not fundamentally challenged by the research, but re-affirmed. When they were challenged I questioned this remembering that social construction was the core theoretical position of this research. It is therefore important to understand that both the professionals' positions and my responses are socially constructed. With this in mind the analysis was proactively done with a focus on neutrality (Rapley, 2007). All the themes and sub-themes were analysed a number of times by myself and by two other psychology postgraduate students, both having experience of qualitative research, to counter any claims of bias (Hycner, 1985). Although, these concerns are realistic, the researcher does not consider them to be problematic; for the themes emerged by themselves from the professionals' interview transcriptions. The need to choose where to place difficult or multi-dimensional themes and sub-themes was in fact a rarity.

The analysis resulted in the creation of a flowchart displaying how the different issues link together, which themes sit well in tangent, therefore laying out the construction of the write up (Figure 3.1). Interestingly, after the first draft was written a number of these issues were dropped from the discussion (i.e. child sex tourism and some of the material on the construction of childhood). This is because upon reflection, and in conjunction with my supervisors, I realised that all the material contained in earlier drafts of this thesis was not directly related to addressing the research aims of this thesis. The discussion was streamlined,

and the material put aside to be published at a later date as a separate paper. The final draft of the qualitative section of this thesis reflects only the relevant and essential material relating to the core research aims of the research.

I faced many ethical issues during the research process. Although I did my best to prepare for all eventualities (confidentiality, anonymity, disclosure, debriefing and feedback) (BPS, 2000), this was not always possible, and as such I dealt with rising concerns when necessary. As previously indicated, I discussed the ethics of the research in the preliminary letters to the participants, as well as at the start of each interview. For the practitioners and the academics this discussion of ethics seemed to be only a matter of course, as they had previous knowledge and experience of these issues. For the media participants the ethical discussions were more salient, particularly as they had concerns surrounding both confidentiality and anonymity (participants 3, 4, 12, 17 and 23). During the interviews ethical issues sometimes came up and were appropriately and efficiently addressed. For instance, one participant wanted to be named in the discussion and results section (Participant 6), however when I suggested that this would be inappropriate and inconsistent with the writing up of the data, particularly in regard to the other participants. A few participants (participants 2, 10 and 22) asked if I had interviewed certain people, or wanted to know who I had interviewed, I thanked them for their interest, noted the names they suggested, but told them that I could not disclose that information. One participant (participant 26) had taken part in research before. Having had a negative experience they wanted confirmation that this would not be the case this time. We discussed what they feared was going to happen (misquoting, lack of confidentiality, no anonymity) and I countered all of these concerns by offering to give them a copy of their transcription to check and allowing them to look at the finished research if they so wished. During the transcription, analysis and write up stages ethical issues continued to emerge. These included what data to use, whether it was ethical only to use recorded data or all data collected (Robson, 2002). In conjunction with my supervisor I agreed to only use the actual interview data. Relating to whether the transcriptions were accurate reflections of the interviews, I offered the participants copies of the transcriptions to check (Miles and Huberman, 1994), and if there was a problem the recording was consulted and changed as necessary. Also, in regard to the destruction of the interview material, the participants were offered their tape-recorded interviews and transcriptions back at the end of the process to dispose of.

After completing the research, and upon reflecting upon my approach, I believe that the research was positive, with the methodology taken being the most effective in uncovering

professional implicit theories of paedophilia. This research resulted in some positive and interesting findings, which will be discussed in depth in the next chapter. Although I recognise the limitations of the current research (generalisability, researcher influence and sampling), I feel that it gives a good depiction of current understanding and attitudes towards paedophilia by professionals' working in the field. However, upon reflection, if I was to carry out this research again I would do it in a more focused fashion by having two stages to the qualitative research, starting with a series of open interviews before moving on to the semi-structured interviews. In conjunction with these changes I would also ask certain questions more consistently across participants and groups (the impact and realism of Sarah's Law, the influence of the media). Despite these reflections, and the limitations, the current research has produced positive, as well as applicable results, and consequentially is publishable.

Conclusions

This chapter provided an overview to the research methodology used in the qualitative study with the professionals', as well as the explanation as to why certain methodology and procedural decisions were made. This feeds into the following chapter which discusses how the interview data was analysed. The research findings follow, and will be interpreted in regard to the existing literature and the research questions.

Chapter 3

Qualitative Results, Analysis and Discussion

Qualitative Results, Analysis and Discussion

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will start by indicating how the semi-structured interviews with the professionals' (practitioners, academics and members of the media) ($n=28$) were analysed, including why content analysis was selected as the most efficient data analysis technique, how it was used, what themes emerged from the analysis and how these feed into and shaped the discussion of the results. The chapter will then move on to discuss the findings of this research through examining the professionals' collective and individual implicit theories, and relate these findings back to the existing literature (chapter 1), therefore addressing the professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia, their understandings of the causes (social, psychological and developmental) and consequences (treatment and legal responses) of paedophilia. It will also address their perceptions of the current crisis of paedophilia (the public perceptions of paedophilia, if there is an increase in the volume of paedophilic offending, the causes of the current crisis of paedophilia and whether paedophilia is a moral panic).

DATA ANALYSIS

As previously stated (Chapter 2) the semi-structured interviews with the professionals' was analysed via content analysis (Miles and Hubermann, 1994; Neuendorff, 2000; Krippendorff, 2004), or what can sometimes be called thematic qualitative analysis (Hayes, 2002; Flick, 2006). This approach allows the researcher to infer meaning to, and produce an understanding of, material/phenomenon that would be generally otherwise un-observable, for one reason or another (Neuendorf, 2000; Krippendorff, 2004). As the current research is inductive, the core themes and concepts were allowed to emerge by themselves through the analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994). However, a series of loose preliminary concepts and themes, based on the interview topics, were identified prior to the analysis (Appendix A), for instance; 'What is paedophilia?', 'The role of government (national/local) in dealing with the problem of paedophilia', 'The role of the media in society' and 'Global risk society, moral panics and paedophilia'. These preliminary concepts only acted as a starting point for the researcher to understand the data, and were subsequently expanded upon, updated and re-categorised during the analysis of the transcripts (Murphy and Dingwall, 2005).

The transcripts were analysed in two ways. First, by testing relationships between phenomena inferred from one body of texts (Krippendorff, 2004). The main themes and issues that emerged through the research (what is paedophilia; what is the role of the media in society; etc) were examined together as one comprehensive whole. This allowed the researcher to highlight the main understandings, attitudes and opinions of all the professionals interviewed, consequentially allowing for a clearer depiction of paedophilia to emerge. Secondly, the researcher analysed the data by comparing similar phenomena inferred from different bodies of texts (Krippendorff, 2004) which will allow for any differences within (between members of probation, the police, charities/NGOs and therapists in relation to paedophilia) and between the three different groups (practitioners, the media and academics).

Assertion analysis (Krippendorff, 2004), a form of semantical content analysis, was used to analyse the data. Assertion analysis allows for the categorisation of particular objects through their meanings (the varying attitudes to paedophilia, the impact of the newspapers on the public's understanding of paedophilia, current perceptions of childhood and its relation to the current perception of paedophilia) (Janis, 1943/65; cited in Krippendorff, 2004; 45). Consequentially, the categories and issues emerge from participants' responses to each of the areas addressed in the semi-structured interviews (Appendix F). This open coding allows the researcher honestly to infer the professionals' implicit understandings, attitudes and opinions on paedophilia. Great care was taken by the researcher in analysing this data, to ensure that the codes established themselves and were not unconsciously shaped by the researcher's agenda (Miles & Huberman, 1994; van Dijk, 1997; Mc Kie, 2002; Flick, 2006). Throughout the analysis the researcher was in constant contact with other researchers, both fellow PhD students and the researchers PhD supervisors, who commented on the approach taken and who verified the analysis (Hycner, 1985).

The data analysis started during the transcription of the interviews, with the researcher listening to the participants' responses and identifying certain key ideas/themes that kept recurring within and between the interviews. Subsequently, the researcher read and re-read each interview transcription, both in reference to itself and to the other interviews, highlighting and commenting on important themes, ideas and quotes from each question/statement or research theme (Appendix E). As such similar themes, issues and quotes ("...okay, paedophilia is sexual interest and attraction towards pre-pubescent children" (participant 5), "...well paedophilia is a sexual interest, an erotic interest in under-aged people really..." (participant 6)), were grouped together ('a sexual attraction to children', 'erotic

attachment between adults and children', and 'sexual attraction to under aged people'), super-ordinarily categorised ('a sexual attraction to children') and labelled accordingly ('paedophilia') (Appendix F). This meant that each of the emergent overarching, and subordinate, research themes were extracted from the participants' transcriptions; therefore enabling the researcher to highlight the diversity and the complexity of the professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia.

The analysis resulted in a series of prominent research themes, and corresponding sub-categories, that were grouped together for ease of discussion:

- What is paedophilia?
 - A. What is paedophilia?
 - B. The paedophilic relationship.
 - C. The cycle of abuse.
 - D. Treating paedophiles.
 - E. Technology and paedophilia.
- The media and paedophilia?
 - A. What is the role of the media in society?
 - B. The media and social responsibility.
 - C. The media and its role in the current paedophilia outcry.
 - D. The News of the World.
- The government and paedophilia?
 - A. The government's role in dealing with paedophilia.
 - B. Interaction between the government and the media.
 - C. Sarah's Law.
- The public perception and understanding of paedophilia.
 - A. The current 'moral panic'/'crisis' in paedophilia.
 - B. Paedophilia and risk.
 - C. How well does the public understand paedophilia?

Although a detailed and concise content analysis of the data was carried out on the data, not all of the sub-categories were utilised in the final discussion; paedophile rings ('What is paedophilia?'), child sex tourism ('What is paedophilia?'), local vs. national media ('What is

the role of the media in society?’), previous developments in technology (video and camera) and paedophilia (‘Technology and paedophilia’), the role of the media in society (‘What is the role of the media in society?’) as well as international law and paedophilia (‘The law and paedophilia’). These sub-categorises were excluded from the final discussion because, although interesting, they did not complement the original research questions and the researcher, in conjunction with their supervisors, thought it was inappropriate to include them.

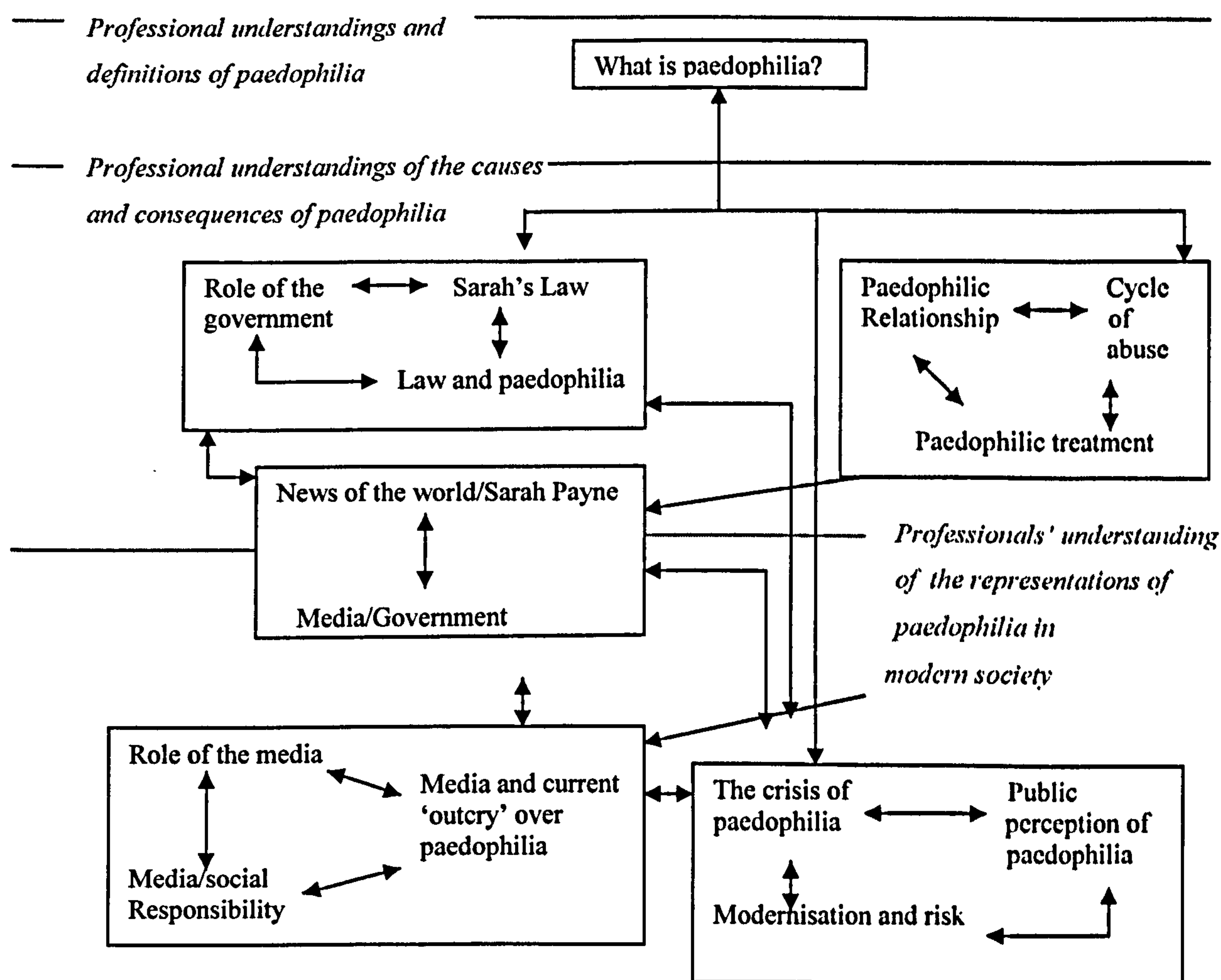


Figure 3.1 Flow chart of the analysis of the qualitative research into paedophilia

A flowchart was developed in regard to the emergent research categories, which allowed for an easier discussion of the professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia and its conception in modern society (see Figure 3.1). The analysis will first address professional understandings and definitions of paedophilia (‘What is paedophilia’, ‘Technology and paedophilia’), then professional understandings of the causes and consequences of paedophilia, (‘What is paedophilia?’, ‘The paedophilic relationship’, ‘The cycle of abuse’, ‘Treating paedophiles’, ‘The government’s role in dealing with paedophilia’, ‘Interaction between the government and the media’, ‘Sarah’s Law’) and finally the professionals’ understanding of the representations of paedophilia in modern society (‘Paedophilia and risk’, ‘The current ‘moral

panic’/’crisis’ in paedophilia’, ‘What is the role of the media in society?’, ‘The media and social responsibility’, ‘The media and its role in the current paedophilia out cry’ (including, The News of the World), and ‘How well does the public understand paedophilia?’). This approach enables a clear path through the analysis, by establishing what the professionals’ understand paedophilia to be, before going on to examine what they think of the current social phenomenon and public perception of paedophilia. As previously indicated the analysis will be discussed by combining existing theory and research (Chapter 1) with the emergent thematic analysis to bring the relevant conclusions to the foreground (Krippendorff, 2004). However, new literature, that was not present in the literature review, will be introduced into the discussion where appropriate to reflect the emergent and reflexive nature of the current research. Consequentially, the discussion of the interviews will allow the researcher to draw inferences on current conceptions of paedophilia among professionals’, as well as suggesting future directions for research and practice in this field.

Professional Understandings of Paedophilia

Defining Paedophilia.

There is a general consensus among a broad cross section of the professionals’ (participants 5, 8, 9, 11, 15, 16, 19, 21, 14 and 28) that “...paedophilia is sexual attraction towards pre-pubescent children” (participant 5) (La Fontaine, 1990; Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; Silverman & Wilson, 2002).

However, as one NGO representative believes, simply referring to paedophilia as a sexual attraction is too loose an understanding, instead arguing that “...I suppose paedophilia is a parahilia which is a sexual.... Or a psychological term for sexual attraction. A paraphilia’s strict definition is exclusive; it’s someone who is, or being attracted to primarily, exclusively, pre-pubescent children” (participant 28). But some professionals’ counter the idea of paedophilia being a exclusively sexual, with a member of probation suggesting that a paedophile is someone who “...for whatever purposes, whether its to do with emotional congruence or whatever, targets children for their sexual relationships and all other inclinations, you know, it might be about power” (participant 26). This is reinforced by a criminologist, who suggests that “...I think it is a sort of omnibus catch-all thing that is really, for, widely regarded inappropriate behaviour towards children, rather than actually being a specific definition.”(participant 20). This disparity between the professionals’ reinforces the existing literature, in that there is no unified professional understanding of

what paedophilia is (van dam, 2001); with some authors offering narrow definitions (La Fontaine, 1990; Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; Silverman & Wilson, 2002) and others offering more expansive ones (Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; APA, 2000; Taylor & Qualye, 2003).

Interestingly, it is mainly practitioners (participants 5, 9, 11, 15, 16, 21 and 28) and academics (participants 8, 11, 14 and 19), who suggest that paedophiles are in the main sexually attracted to pre-pubescent children, whereas the media professionals' do not. These professional disparities may be explained in that both the practitioners and the academics deal with, and study, paedophilia on a daily basis and may therefore they may have a better understanding of it than members of the media. This is illustrated by one current practitioner, who is former reporter, indicates media professionals' knowledge on paedophilia is based on their experience of covering child sexual abuse stories and not through explicit theories, for "...the issue that most news editors and news organisations face, they are sending out general reporters to cover quite a specialist area. If you're working from a hack on a weekly newspaper through to somebody on the [named omitted] or [name omitted] news, when a story breaks to do with child paedophilia, or sorry child sex abuse or anything connected with it, like paedophilia, or internet pornography it is usually a junior, a reporter with no specialist knowledge of it that is covering it. You know the [name omitted] don't have a paedo correspondent or anybody else, wish they had because it covers so many potentially different areas from you know probation issues, through to health services, through to social services, through to... looked after children, and all of those things" (participant 28).

Paedophilia and Variations of Child Sexual Abuse

The complexity and ambiguity surrounding paedophilia is exacerbated because the practitioners (participants 13, 15, 24, 25 and 26) believe that there are many different manifestations of child sexual abuse, which are, as one therapist stated "...clinically speaking (they) are very, very different" (participant 15). This reiterates previous research, in that although there are similarities between the different typologies of child sexual abusers they are not indicative of one another as they display differences in their behaviour, attitudes and offences (La Fontaine, 1990; Howitt, 1997; Blanchard, 2002). For instance, practitioners discuss ephebophilia, which a member of the police believes to be an adult who is sexually attracted to post-pubescent children (participant 21); which corresponds to the actual definition (a sexual deviant whom gains sexual gratification from contact with children aged between 14 and 17 years) (Blanchette & Coleman, 2002). However, a therapist incorrectly

defines ephebophilia "... as [in], not actually having the sexual preference for children, but just actually having the preference for someone that is more vulnerable" (participant 15). This intra-practitioner disparity is interesting and important, for it suggests that there is a degree of ambiguity in professional knowledge, not only surrounding paedophilia, but also in regard to other variations of child sexual abuse. However, this professional disparity in regard to ephebophilia may be explained in that ephebophilia is a relatively new concept, which may be poorly understood and therefore not sufficiently used in practice. Therefore more research may be necessary before it can be accurately understood and/or appropriately defined.

Another example of practitioner disparity is in their understandings of child sexual abuse imagery. The majority of the participants agree with one therapist, that "...you know, the whole looking at child pornography is illegal in itself anyway, and it could.... it can be viewed as a sexual deviancy in itself anyway" (participant 15). Despite this consensus the professionals' particularly police officers could not reach agreement on the potential link between viewing child sexual abuse imagery and committing child sexual abuse. With one police officer believing that "...viewing and doing is a huge area, under researched and we are still by no means certain of a connection" (participant 1) (Taylor and Quayle, 2003); whereas, contradictory to this, another police officer suggests that "...‘oh, pornography’, because that’s where a lot of it seems to start with, from my understanding" (participant 22) (Bentovim, 1993). This disparity among members of the police reinforces the general ambiguity surrounding child sexual abuse imagery among professionals', particularly practitioners, (participant 8), stressing the need for more research.

Explanations of Paedophilia

Practitioners and academics reinforce the complexity surrounding definitions of paedophilia, by suggesting that it could be "...a condition" (participants 13 & 27), "...a mental illness" (participant 14), "...behavioural" (participant 13), or "...a paraphilia" (participant 28). Alternatively, and somewhat controversially, one academic suggests that "...one way to look at paedophilia is that as its function in our world today, it’s not so much a natural condition as it is a cultural gesture, or a manipulation that we badly need in our culture to do a lot of work for us." (participant 14). However, this claim needs to be addressed contextually, for the academic is a researcher in English literature, focusing on the constructions and understandings of sexuality within popular culture. This professional disparity in explaining

paedophilia reflects the constantly adapting clinical explanations (American Psychological Association [APA], 1953; APA, 1968; APA, 1980; APA, 1987; APA, 2000), which reveals no established classifications of paedophilia and those that do exist are poorly constructed (O'Donohue, Regev & Hagstom, 2000). This seeming incongruity around practitioner and academic understandings of paedophilia is interesting, as well as disconcerting, because these two groups work in similar fields and collectively help set policy agendas. That it raises the question of whether or not the current knowledge on paedophilia is based on strongly held beliefs and relatively few facts (Musk, Swetz & Vernon, 1997), or not?

The Usefulness of the term Paedophilia

The majority of professionals' were critical of the term paedophilia (participants 3, 16, 17, 20, 22, 24, 26 and 27). One academic, a criminologist, states, the term paedophilia has lost its value, believing that "...Paedophilia is anything that you think is inappropriate behaviour, relative to the commotion of any particular moment. So I don't think that it particularly had any particular value, but whatever value it had has been undermined, and I think we are in a very sad and serious situation." (participant 20). A therapist reinforces this, stating that "...the downside is that the word paedophile is now used; it is used in the playground as a form of abuse for Christ's sake. It has become distorted the same way that schizophrenic did in the 90's, the same way that spastic did in the 70's and 80's. They have become terms of abuse they have become part of a vernacular rather than giving us the ability to understand." (Participant 5). This reinforces the differences between the clinical (American Psychological Association [APA], 2000), legal (Sex Offenders Act, 2003) and academic definitions of paedophilia (La Fontaine, 1990; Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; Silverman & Wilson, 2002).

Interestingly, one practitioner believes that the term paedophilia has been inappropriately used by the media (participant 28) (Greer, 2002; Silverman & Wilson, 2002). However, this belief is countered by a journalist, who accurately understands the professional perception of paedophilia, in that "...a lot of people think that paedophilia is an unhelpful word because it has been hi-jacked and demonised, and therefore it needs to be used less. It does not fully cover the full range of behaviours that are correctly carried out within the full remit of its offenders; it doesn't cover the full spectrum." (participant 3). This disparity maybe explained by the possibility that individually reporters may understand paedophilia, but that when they report it they do so in line with cultural perspectives and/or editorial norms.

The Paedophile

Participants, mainly practitioners (participants 1, 6 and 15), felt that "...sex offenders against children are not spottable, generally, socially from any other group of people" (participant 6). Leading one police officer to state "...it could be your family; it could be my family, I could have a brother, I could have an uncle.... Or I could have a cousin, or I could have a... Somebody who is doing what I deal with. None of us are immune to it." (participant 1). One psychologist states that "...I think that it's a bit dangerous just to think that paedophiles are psychologically and socially radically different from the rest of us." (participant 6). Reinforcing that paedophilia is thought to be more widespread than generally acknowledged, and that paedophiles are generally 'normal' individuals, making them difficult to identify and stop (Howitt, 1995; Silverman & Wilson, 2002).

Gender and Paedophilia

This research (participants 14, 17, 21 and 24) supports previous findings that although the majority of paedophilic offenders are male (Dobash, Carnie & Waterhouse, 1997), it is possible to have female paedophilic offenders as well (Howitt, 1995). Practitioners, particularly members of the police argue that "...there are female child sex offenders as well as male offenders; but the degree of reporting is much less. Female offenders are looked at in a different way from males, usually as compliances (i.e., Myra Hindley and Rose West). The sentencing of female offenders is the same as males, by judges anyway, the same sorts of evidence are necessary as well. But everyone seems to turn a blind eye until they have no choice but to look at it." (participant 24). This leads some professionals' to suggest that there is less reporting of female offenders because society views certain behaviours differently when perpetrated by women, for "...a lot of the behaviours, even which are, we would read as suspicious with a man, but not for a woman it makes it simply.... Lets put it this way, in a cynical or right wing way, that women can get away with it ..." (participant 14). This is built on by one newspaper editor, stating that "...female abusers; there is a different perception to them as apposed to male abusers. The idea that these offenders are less dangerous, less culpable and that the abuse has little to no effect on the victim; this whole idea of the female teacher and the 15-year-old schoolboy. This divergent perspective sends the wrong message"

(participant 24). In consequence, the professionals' reiterate previous research suggesting that regardless of the gender of the perpetrator any form of paedophilic abuse can have an effect upon the victim (La Fontaine, 1990), and that female sexual abuse may actually have a more detrimental effect on the victim (Howitt, 1995; Saradjian, 1996).

Sexuality and Paedophilia

Professionals' also discussed the myths surrounding the perceived links between sexual orientation and paedophilia. For as one academic, a criminologist, argues "...it has generally become thought that because homosexual cases have had such a high profile, that homosexuals at large are a danger to children. I think that that's an unfortunate consequence, and its certainty affected the teaching profession and social work profession." (participant 9), reflecting previous research that the majority of paedophilic offending seems to be heterosexual in nature (Howitt, 1995).

Interestingly, one media participant, a TV reporter, in agreeing that the majority of paedophilic sexual abuse murders tend to be heterosexual in nature (Howitt, 1995; Greer, 2002), asks, "...why does sexuality have to be linked to paedophilia?" (participant 17). Which is intriguing, because a particular sexuality does not necessarily predispose a person to paedophilia; as such, if there is a link between heterosexuality/homosexuality and paedophilia, it is not a straightforward one. This consequentially begs the question is paedophilia a separate sexuality (O'Carroll, 1980; Brongersma, 1984; Taylor & Quayle, 2003) or is it just a typology of sexual abuse (Howitt, 1995)?

Grooming and the Paedophilic Relationship

Even though some participants may agree that paedophiles may have a closer affinity to children as apposed to adults (Whiskin, 1997), the professionals' do not consider the paedophilic relationship to be a balanced one, because children "...are more open to manipulation or suggestion" (participant 15) than adults and that paedophiles are "...quite skilled in dealing with children" (participant 6). Consequentially, they believe the paedophilic relationship to be based on power and control over the child, with paedophiles using their cognitive distortions to convince themselves that it is a mutual relationship and then grooming the child into believing the same. A cross section of the professionals' (participants 6, 22 and 25) suggest that "...how the child reacts to that will depend on how

much that child's been groomed, it could be that the child is, you know being physically abused along side this and is literally scared for their life and well being, and being coerced into it." (participant 25) (Erikson, Walberg, & Seeley, 1988).

Interestingly, even though the professionals' recognise the harmful nature and negative impact of paedophilia, some, mainly practitioners and academics (participants 6 and 22), believe that to a certain degree some children may feel that they are getting something out of it. For, one police officer states "...because they [the children] are getting attention, because of their own vulnerabilities, playing the victim here... coming from the victims side, it could be that the children have had a fairly shit life themselves and this means every thing to them and the sexual side is part of a much bigger picture for them, and once that sexual side is beginning and up and running, then this is all part of the conditioning." (participant 22). This bizarre and seemingly illogical stance is reinforced by a psychologist stating that the "...child might be beguiled by expressions of affection, genuine or not that might be offered to them, if they are not getting that affection elsewhere" (participant 6). The professionals' therefore seem to believe that the grooming process allows the paedophilic abuse to continue, sometimes for years, because it can result in the child developing cognitive distortions, believing the abuser to be the only person that truly cares for them (Leberg, 1997). This in turn may lead the child to believe the paedophilic relationship is a natural part of development and become the starting point for the cycle of abuse (Howitt, 1995).

Professionals' Understanding of the Causes and Consequences of Paedophilia

Causes of Paedophilia

Only a few of the professionals' (participant 6, 8, 15, 22 and 26) discussed the potential causes of paedophilia, these were mainly academics and therapists, who propagated a variety of different explanations concerning the causes of paedophilia.

Biological Causes of Paedophilia

Some professionals', a psychologist and a therapist (participants 6 and 15), discussed the biological explanations of paedophilia. These participants suggested that paedophilia maybe be linked to high arousal (participant 15), or "...some sort of brain mechanism" (participant 6); both of which are in line with previous research stating that paedophilia could be a mental illness (Bagley, Wood & Young, 1994) or a mental deficiency (Blanchard et al, 1999).

Interestingly, the psychologist (participant 6), even though generally accepting of the biological explanations of paedophilia discounted some aspects, like handedness (Bogaret, 2001) for “...even if it’s true... is true, if it does lead to paedophilia, it remains to be answered”. There was also the possible genetic explanation for paedophilia, “...there’s not much evidence which suggests that siblings are more likely to become paedophiles” (participant 6). Although this disparity seems odd and somewhat contradictory, it may however be explained by this participant’s academic viewpoint as a criminal/social psychologist. However, this dichotomy does highlight the inherent complexities and ambiguities surrounding paedophilia.

Social and Psychological Causes of Paedophilia

Two of the therapists interviewed noted that paedophiles tend to be “....emotionally very immature people who do struggle with adult relationships” (participant 5) as such suggesting paedophiles have “...difficulties in actual sustaining, actually developing in the first place and also sustaining any sort of romantic relationship with an adult; its so much easier with a child” (participant 15). These practitioners reinforce earlier research suggesting that paedophiles suffer from higher levels of social introversion, sensitivity, loneliness and depression (Wilson & Cox, 1983), with poorer interrelationship/social skills (Blanchette & Coleman, 2002), resulting in them feeling socially isolated (Taylor, 1981). However, contrary to this some criminal justice practitioners, the police and probation, suggest that with some “...you do pick that up with some of them, that they’re very full of themselves” (participant 22), and that paedophilia can be linked to feelings “...about power” (participant 26). This finding is interesting because it raises the question: does the paedophile’s poor social and interpersonal skills (Blanchette & Coleman, 2002) mean that they come across as arrogant to others in social situations, therefore explaining the sense of social isolation that they feel (Taylor, 1981)? One psychologist states “...I think that [there] is good evidence to believe that those sexual offenders towards children can engage, at some level with reasonably effective relationships with adults.”(participant 6), and this can be seen in paedophiles’ grooming behaviours (Howitt, 1995; McAlinden, 2006B).

It is therefore important to ask, if paedophiles cannot successfully engage in appropriate relationships with adults, why not? One psychologist believes that this may be because paedophiles may not have the motivation and/or interest in adults, believing that this maybe explained by “....two things; not being able to relate socially and emotionally with adults, or

it could be not being able to relate sexually with adults... with women.” (participant 6). This is consistent with research which showing that paedophiles tend to have disorganised family backgrounds in childhood (Howitt, 1995), in turn leading to an inability to sustain marriage in later life (Groth & Burnbraum, 1978).

Some practitioners believe that there are psychological problems that can help to explain paedophilia. One therapist states that paedophiles “.....have (the) larger amount of clinical problems than any other population” (participant 15). This finding is in line with research showing paedophiles to suffer from higher levels of loneliness, depression (Wilson & Cox, 1983) and borderline personality disorder (Nurcombe, 2000) than the normal population. Another therapist reinforces this viewpoint, arguing that “...a lot of the men that I work with have borderline learning disabilities as well, so you’ve got a cognitive impairment. They tend to be lacking in social skills, they have very limited emotional intelligence and very poor empathy skills as well.” (participant 5) (Blanchette & Coleman, 2002). However, this perspective does counter the belief that paedophiles, even those with poor social skills, are able to use sophisticated grooming techniques (McAlinden, 2006B).

Professional’s, mainly practitioners and academics (participants 5, 9, 15, 16 and 19), believe that the paedophiles’ poor social skills and psychological problems lead to them developing cognitive distortions around their offending. One therapist states that “....a true paedophile is someone who will feel more comfortable with a child, will not feel threatened by a child, possibly believes or perceives himself as having a mutual relationship with that child as well. So, as well as the physical attraction, there is the emotional attraction there on top of it.” (participant 5). A member of the police reinforces this by stating that “... I do think that there are those as well that are so embedded into it that they honestly believe that the child did love them, and that the child did want sex with them and this was a fairly balanced, sharing relationship, you know.” (participant 22). Interestingly, one therapist attempted to counter the idea of the paedophilic relationship, by stating that society “...couldn’t really understand what a mutual support, self-support of a 40 year old, or a 50 year old or even a 30 year old would be with a 14 year old adolescent” (participant 6), which reinforces what paedophiles have previously stated (O’Carroll, 1980; Brongersma, 1984). Separate from this, a number of practitioners and academics (participants 5, 6, 21, 22, and 26), believe that these cognitive distortions are used by paedophiles to justify their deviant behaviour and continue their abuse (La Fontaine, 1990; Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997). Members of probation argue that, “... I don’t think that it’s something that’s believed on a.... in a core level, on a core level no. I

think it's a post-hoc rationalisation," (participant 25), and that paedophiles use this argument "... primarily to defend their position, rather than something that they could actually, if you like academically defend." (participant 26). This confirms previous research showing that paedophiles suffer from cognitive distortions, which allow them to believe that they are in 'love' with children they abuse, that paedophilic relationship one of equals (O'Carroll, 1980; Brongersma, 1984), that paedophilia is a legitimate sexuality (O'Carroll, 1980; Taylor & Quayle, 2003), a lifestyle choice (Brongersma, 1984; Leo, 1983), and that the sexual abuse of the child is helping them (La Fontaine, 1990; Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997).

However, as one psychologist cautions "...I think one needs to be a little bit careful, if you just say that paedophiles are fabricating, making excuses up, it means that anything that they say to you has got no informative foundation other than about their excuses. And I'm not sure that is the case. I think that over the fact that paedophiles report what they believe about their relationships with children are reporting it as they see it. They are reporting their experiences as they are aware of them as they know them" (participant 6) (Li, 1991). This coincides with the views of one probation officer that "...they're [the paedophiles] the only ones that really know what's, in here, and I don't think that we can quite get really in there anymore than I could get into your head right now." (participant 26). Consequentially, some professionals' (participants 5, 15, 16 and 19), believe, as stated by one therapist, that "...I really wouldn't want to say, yea that's absolutely true or that's absolute bullshit. Ahem, because I think that you are looking at a very complex mechanism that's going on there. I think quite often we are looking at people who are emotionally very immature, people who do struggle with adult relationships and misinterpret, consciously or unconsciously, wilfully or un-wilfully, the nature of their repertoire and their friendship with a child." (participant 5).

Developmental Causes of Paedophilia

Both practitioners and academics (participant 6, 8 and 15) believe in, as one psychologists states, the "...whole idea of a criminal career, like a delinquent career and therefore a paedophilic career" (participant 6). A therapist suggests that the idea of a paedophilic career may even remove a degree of culpability from the offender, for "...ok you can't excuse what they have done, but this, this and this may have led them to become like that, you know. They may have had a really awful life... and they have just sort of become this person." (participant 15). However, the idea of a paedophilic career seems to contradict previous research, which

suggests that only a minority of paedophilic offenders, generally high risk offenders, will go on to re-offend against children (Soothill, Harman, Francis & Kirby, 2005). The paedophilic career explanation although, does however support research suggesting that paedophiles believe that their attraction to children is a sexual lifestyle choice and as such they align themselves to this 'sexuality' making it difficult for them to adapt to another form of sexuality (O'Carroll, 1980; Taylor & Quayle, 2003). This suggests that even though paedophiles can be prevented from re-offending through treatment, there is no cure and their tendencies will remain (Guest, 2007, April 15: Independent.co.uk.).

The Cycle of Abuse Argument

Some professionals', particularly practitioners and academics (participants 6, 8, 15, 19, 22 and 26), believe that the cycle of abuse argument is realistic, for as one therapist states "...I mean there's no doubt that it does exist. A lot of the guys that I work with in here have been abused, but.... whether that's sexually or physically or whatever.... and in a lot of cases yea it can lead to offending." (participant 15) (Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; Silverman & Wilson, 2002; Taylor and Quayle, 2003). Nonetheless, the same therapist cautions "...but I really do disagree with labelling the cycle of abuse as being the be all and end all. I mean I certainly agree that for some sex offenders it can be a contributing factor, but you know, as with any psychological construct there's never going to be just one thing driving it, it's a combination of things that sort of amalgamate to make you who you are." (participant 15). Which is reinforced by a cross section of social science academics (participants 8, 9 and 19) who state that "....there are many, many, many, many other people who have been abused in some sort of a way as a child but do not go on to abuse themselves" (participant 8). Interestingly, one sociologist, a former probation officer (participant 19), compares the paedophilic cycle of abuse to the domestic violence cycle of abuse, in that the common perception of violent offenders is that they are violent because they saw their fathers being violent towards women. Interestingly, said sociologist believes, this is not necessarily the case, because "...you know, I, I have spoken to plenty, when I was a probation officer I had plenty of clients who said that their experience of witnessing domestic violence had the opposite effect and made them think that they would never hit a woman" (participant 19). These findings show that although the professionals' believe that sexual abuse in childhood can have serious effects, one of which being the cycle of abuse, that not all victims of childhood sexual abuse will go on to offend in later life (Nurcombe, 2000).

Consequently, this has led some practitioners to believe, as one member of the probation service does, that "...research claims that it [the cycle of abuse] is not a primary risk factor, in

somebody that will commit sex offences against children” (participant 25). Therefore “...That’s not to say that it doesn’t have an effect, I wouldn’t say that it’s a causal relationship, no I would say that it could be a feature of somebody, but that would be more.... but there are people who have been abused that don’t go on to abuse, you know” (participant 25). This assumption seems plausible because the impact of previous sexual abuse does not seem to play a causal development role in paedophilic offending; specifically it is omitted from many of the cycles of paedophilic offending behaviour (Wolf, 1984, cited in Silverman & Wilson, 2002; 58; Bentovim, 1993). Particularly, as one probation officer states the cycle of abuse argument can not explain the lack of female paedophilic offending, for “...I guess one of the things, that I have always found a curious facts around the matter; it’s mostly men who abuse, its mostly female children who are abused and its not female children who go on to abuse in latter life.” (participant 25). This gender difference between the paedophilic offenders (Bentovim, 1993) and victims of this abuse (La Fontaine, 1990; Leberg, 1997) is consistently found in the literature. However, caution must be exercised here for these assumptions are based on the cases that have been reported and, as indicated previously, there may be a difference in how we view actual/potential paedophilic behaviour by the different genders.

Some practitioners therefore suggest that there is “...a whole spectrum of other factors that come into the equation” (participant 5) apart from the cycle of abuse. The participants believe that these factors include, potential “...gaps in [their] emotion and social development” (participant 5); and that “... it could also include, the patients brother leaving inappropriate magazines around that he might find or witnessing parental promiscuity, all of these other factors could contribute and certainty those kind of factors that I have mentioned I have seen clinically as well people have sort of have walked in on their siblings having sex or whatever, whether its covertly or not, sort of being promiscuous.” (participant 15). Also, “...I think that’s more in the sense that someone might go on to develop very dysfunctional behaviour patterns or attachment styles, or those sorts of issues which can influence offending.” (participant 25). These explanations are consistent with the previous literature (Taylor, 1981; Wilson & Cox, 1983; Bagley, Wood & Young, 1994; Blanchard et al, 1999; Blanchette & Coleman, 2002; Lee, Jackson, Pattison & Ward, 2002). Consequentially, the cycle of abuse can be seen as just another potential cause (La Fontaine, 1990; Bagley et al, 1994; Howitt, 1995).

Interestingly, some professionals', mainly academic and practitioners, believe that paedophiles may use the cycle of abuse argument to justify their behaviours, for "...it's easy for people to bring this up as an excuse for their behaviour" (participant 9); and that "...it's something that can be used to feed into stilted thinking around offending" (participant 25). This would support the belief that sex offenders use the cycle of abuse as a defence mechanism, a lie, or an exaggeration of the truth, in an attempt to get lenience in court and/or justify their behaviour in treatment (Kleinhaus, 2002). Thus the practitioners suggest that the cycle of abuse argument may be used differently by different offenders, for "...those that are high risk tend to use that pretext for an excuse more than those who are of a medium or low risk" (participant 21). Interestingly, members of the police service (participants 21 and 22) reveal that "...we don't get that [the cycle of abuse argument] as much as you would imagine" (participant 21), which seems contradictory to earlier findings that paedophiles use the cycle of abuse argument to justify their behaviour (Howitt, 1995; Taylor and Quayle, 2002).

Even though these findings do not conclusively support the validity and reliability of the cycle of abuse, with some professionals' remaining sceptical (participants 9 and 26), whereas as other professionals' are more positive about its influence (participant 6). Therefore reinforcing the need to listen to the paedophilic offender because they might not be constantly lying (Li, 1991)

Treatment and Paedophilia

As has been previously indicated in this thesis, there is a great deal of ambiguity and uncertainty surrounding paedophiles, paedophilia and its causes. It is therefore appropriate to question if the ambiguity inherent in other aspects of paedophilia is also relevant in relation to the treatment of paedophiles?

Purpose of Treatment

Interestingly, only a small number of practitioners, mainly members of probation (participants 15, 25 and 26), discussed the purpose of treatment with paedophiles. These practitioners believe that the treatment of paedophilia to be an ambiguous and controversial issue, with one member of probation reinforcing existing research in that "...yea it's not a medical condition, so there isn't a cure and that's the first thing." (participant 25) (Gay, 1995; Guest, 2007). However, this contradicts alterative research suggesting that paedophilia is not necessarily incurable (Howitt, 1995; Hari, 2002, March 25: New Statesman).

Some practitioners, mainly those that work in treatment with offenders, agree with existing research (Howitt, 1995; Silverman & Wilson, 2002), stating that the treatment programmes for paedophiles tend to examine their "...deviant sexual arousal" (participant 15). Probation practitioners stated that treatment tends to focus on "...certain issues about responsibility, certain issues about decision-making, certain issues about getting in touch with your own feeling and stuff like that, and about relating these to your experiences, and the decisions you make subsequently" (participant 26). Another member of probation builds on this, believing that treatment looks to raise "...awareness and insight into behaviour, it's about developing strategies for managing and coping with risk. It's about developing alternative ways of meeting people, developing social communication; you know bring people who are isolated more in to contact more with other people in an appropriate forum." (participant 25). This means that "...you are asking them to deconstruct values that they have constructed over a number of years, or decades perhaps that have become very entrenched in terms of a defences mechanism, if you think about it being an ego defence mechanism. There's a lot of stuff there, you are asking them to basically deconstruct that, to strip it away, to rebuild something that's appropriate, that's functional, that's less risk" (participant 25). Consequentially, the practitioners (participants 15, 25 and 26) believe that the best way to achieve these psychological changes is through "...cognitive behaviour orientated therapy" (participant 15) (Howitt, 1995; Silverman & Wilson, 2002). This is reflective of previous research stating that sex offender treatment, if it is to work, requires in the first instance an admission of guilt (Howitt, 1995; Silverman & Wilson, 2002), the confrontation of distorted thought patterns (Howitt, 1995; Silverman & Wilson, 2002), and furthermore, a focus on victim empathy/understanding (Howitt, 1995).

However, it is also important to realise, as already stated, that paedophiles may suffer from a number of psychological disorders that may affect treatment. For as one therapist states, "...you have to deal with, the most prevalent issue, the most important problem first, you know so no matter how you do it there are going to be other things that you are going to unearth, so stripped down. So a lot of sex offenders generally will have depression and anxiety anyway, sort of, before you try and do any treatment with them. So you try and take away what they are, you know you will make those problems kind of worse, so you need to try and counteract that generally." (participant 15).

Location and Providers of Treatment

Practitioners (participants 16, 25 and 26) believe that the location of treatment programmes is important to the offenders' progress, because as one therapist states "...some offenders respond exceptionally well to a community-based programme [rather] than a prison-based programme" (participant 16). In the UK the majority of sex offender treatment programmes occur in prison, with the majority of community-based facilities usually being supplied by the probation service. Alternative facilities and programmes either fail, like the Wolvercote clinic ('Top paedophile clinic shuts', 2002, June 31: bbc.co.uk; Harrison, 2007), or succeed, like Circles of Support and Accountability (Wilson, Mc Whinnie, Picheca, Prinzo & Cortoni, 2007), on their own merits. Thus, it is important to look at the two main treatment settings, prison and the community, both of which are very different and can have a significant impact on any treatment programmes supplied therein. For example, as both therapists and probation professionals' argue that in prison ".....you didn't have the temptation, the opportunities that they would have in the community" (participant 16), where with community-based treatment programmes "...we have the ability to say to them, and expect them to practice what it is that we are talking to them about and we do have some, some links in being able to follow that up" (participant 26). This is consistent with research highlighting that not all treatments work as well as each other, or equally well across different types of sex offenders (Howitt, 1995; Brooks-Gordon et al, 2004), and that offenders' individual differences should be taken into account when deciding what treatment programmes to place them on and where these should be placed.

Prison Based Treatment Programmes

Practitioners believe that prison based treatment programmes are somewhat "...easier, if not as rewarding" (participant 26) to deliver, because in prison you have a "...captive audience" (participant 16) and that "...the environment is the same for all" (participant 26). Contrary to this view, the probation service indicate that prison-based programmes are not perfect, for offenders believe "...I'm required to do it if I want to get my parole' perhaps, there will be various pressures you know, if I want to go back to my family, if this, that, the other and so on. So there will be those, what I call instrumental pressures, there'll be other things like... 'it breaks the day up, it gives me something to do, it gets me out of that, gets me out of you know'.....Well if you do you know, there's all sorts of other issues, and you back on to your wing and you carry on with this sort of normalised life, but very regimented life. And you go back and you share all your things with the other sex offenders as well, as in how it takes you, and as in how it takes them, you know that there is nowhere else for you to go" (participant

26). However, as the same probation officer states, the main issue with prison-based programmes are that "...you can't practice anything that you've learnt out in the world; you've got to wait to the time of your release" (participant 26). Therefore, do prison based sex offender treatment programmes actually work? Research shows that they have some limited success, but that in general they do not work (Brooks-Gordon et al, 2004). The question therefore arises: are these programmes an effective use of time and resources, and if not what could they be replaced with?

Treatment in the Community

Community-based treatment programmes, as prison-based treatment programmes, have their own problems, particularly in regard to the monitoring of paedophiles. Members of the criminal justice system, the police and probation, believe that you can not effectively monitor paedophiles in the community, because "... risk management is a huge issue for somebody that is released on license, or somebody who receives a community rehabilitation order because you don't know what they are doing a lot of the time, you know and even if somebody's high risk and they are being required to attend twice a week to a group as well, you know there's police intelligence, etc., etc., you still don't know." (participant 25). These concerns are reinforced by a therapist who agrees that on "... community-based programmes, when people will come along one day, one afternoon or one morning a week, and the other days of the week they function in quite a different way than they do on that day." (participant 16). This is compounded by police participants who question the effectiveness of monitoring paedophiles in the community, because although "...they do conform, but does that prevent them from re-offending? No it doesn't, it doesn't prevent them from re-offending. I think it has some sort of preventative measure to it, I'm not convinced it definitely does, they can work around their obstacles," (participant 22). Despite this the police do believe monitoring sex offenders in the community does serve some social purpose in that "...I think it also satisfies society to a certain degree that we are seen to be doing something, whether we are actually doing something effective," (participant 22). These findings indicate that the current community-based approach seems to be based on public protection as well as risk management (Ferguson, 1997) and seems to have had some success (Fitch, 2006; Home Office, 2006; National Probation Service, 2006).

Both therapists and probation officers were quite critical of the probation service within the UK and the service that it provides. One probation officer comments: "...my concern is

that... were as in the national health service you have more freedom to try treatments that haven't necessarily been accredited, at least on a national level, in probation its accredited programmes, and if it's not accredited you don't receive.... It doesn't feed into your targets which are set by the government; therefore it's not in the interest of the probation service as, as a business if you like about whether to do this" (participant 25). One possible explanation for this disparity, is that the NHS may be more open towards, as well as more understanding of, treatment and treatment alternatives, because they understand that "...yes, SOTP will take X number of years" (participant 15), whereas this does not seem to be the case within probation. Consequentially, there was a call from the probation participants for the probation service to expand its current treatment objectives, with one wanting treatment parameters expanded to include "...groups that currently aren't eligible for group work treatment, such as disabilities, women, offenders under the age of 21, offenders who might receive a diagnosis of psychopathy, and generally they're screened now for that as well, personality disorder, whether there are drug or substance misuse issues, you're also talking about a quite a cross-section of people that don't speak English" (participant 25). This call for the expansion of treatment and an increase in treatment parameters for the probation service was echoed by another member of the probation service who stated that "...I would like more money to be poured into [probation], so that I can go to more.... so that I can be trained further, so I can hear what the latest successful theories might be in terms of their application and so on, to network and liaise and so on, and to develop staff training and stuff like that, so I'd like more money for that. I'd like more money for more, more user friendly rooms and so on; I'd like more money in terms of support networks out there, for both offenders and victims, instead of those resources being closed down." (participant 26). These views indicate that probation officers feel that a shift in current probation policy towards sex offenders is necessary in the UK. However, it is important to keep in mind that these are only two members of probation and that none of the other participants, particularly the practitioners directly criticised probation. This raises the question: do these criticisms reveal issues within the probation service or evidenced based understanding of necessary changes to the probation service? These findings reiterate calls for greater support, better treatment parameters and more funding (Howitt, 1995; McDonald Wilson Bradford, 2000). However, this needs to be tempered with an understanding of how improvements are possible when the some of the available treatments have only been shown to have a limited, if any, impact on paedophilic offenders (Brooks-Gordon et al, 2006), that that new treatments may be untested, especially given limited funding.

Some practitioners (participants 16, 25 and 26), also believe that there needs to be a better provision of alternative and additional services for sex offenders in the community. One therapist, who has a significant amount of experience in community-based work, states that “...the Wolvercote clinic, I have absolutely no doubt that that form of therapeutic message is, by far and away, the most effective for... more deviant and more high risk offenders, that would be released into the community” (participant 16). This view supports research arguing that high deviancy and high denial groups are the hardest to treat, with the Sex Offenders Treatment Programme [SOTP] having little impact (Silverman & Wilson, 2002). Therefore, these offenders may be more likely to need structured help within the community. In accordance with this certain community rehabilitation programmes, like Circles of Support and Accountability, have been shown to help manage offenders in the community through reducing their risk of re-offending and promoting their successful reintegration back into the community (Wilson et al, 2007). The same therapist however argues that community rehabilitation programmes could be aided by re-opening facilities like the Wolvercote clinic, but that even though there was “....government support for re-opening that facility, and in fact building more of those sorts of facilities, and three years down the line that has not happened and there doesn’t appear to any likelihood of that happening in the foreseeable future” (participant 16) (‘Top paedophile clinic shuts’, 2002, June 31: bbc.co.uk).

Sex Offender Treatment and Support Networks

Practitioners, particularly therapists and members of probation, all of whom work in a therapeutic role (participants 15, 16, 25 and 26), believe that a support network is vital in the treatment of paedophiles, especially in “....cases where family and friends will play a major role in their lives from that point onwards” (participant 16). A member of probation clarifies support as “...you are talking about positive support and people that you can rely on, and people who will help you to get through this, people who will help to face up to things and you can talk to them frankly and they can turn round and lend you a sympathetic and possibly critical ear and so on like that, very important, yea.” (participant 26). One therapist believes that support networks part an important role in the therapeutic process, because if “...a man that is progressing though therapy and doing well, and then is going back into a non-supportive friends or family situation, he can actually have a pull back effect, where the friends and family make it impossible for the person to move on.” (participant 16). Another therapist re-iterates the importance of the positive support of friends and family, because “...I mean certainly... if they have something to live for you know, that might be a little bit

dramatic, but you know. If they have someone on the outside that's going to be there when they get out, who is helping them through this, then yea, they've got that sort of emotional support." (participant 15). These findings reinforce research highlighting that support networks for paedophiles in treatment are helpful in the prevention of re-offending (Wilson et al, 2007), specifically if this comes from friends and family (Silverman & Wilson, 2002). However, while support in treatment is important, it must be the appropriate type of support, for "...Yea and I can have a family that could be the most abusive family in the world: that may be supporting me in a strange sort of twisted sense. So not necessarily, the case I think, and I think it's always horses for courses." (participant 26).

Unfortunately, as one therapist states not all offenders get the same degree of support, but most offenders do seem to get some form of support (participant 15). This is somewhat surprising, and illogical, because research shows that the public have a negative attitude to paedophilia (Silverman & Wilson, 2002; McAlinden, 2006A). This paradoxical finding becomes more salient when coupled with the realisation that the majority of child sexual abuse occurs within the home (Howitt, 1995; Briere & Elliott, 2003), and therefore the victims, their friends and family may all be related to and/or know the offender. The same therapist goes on to state that this seeming dichotomy could be explained in that, "...you know if you put yourself in the parent's position, it's your child; it's your son, whatever. So... it's that kind of unconditional love thing... I'm not a parent myself but I can imagine I can put myself in there shoes that.... I would want to try and help and whatever, it's your kid and it's the right thing to do. So some of them do have still have support, some of them not as much but they are still in contact or whatever." (participant 15). Interestingly, this seems to suggest that some people may be able to separate the offenders from their offences and able to offer them support and help. Despite this result more research needs to be carried out in order to confirm whether this is a realistic assertion or not.

Paedophiles Awareness of Society's Attitude Towards them and Treatment

Practitioners, mainly therapists and members of probation, (participants 15, 16 and 27), believe that paedophiles are aware of society's perceptions of them and that this can impact upon their success in treatment. One therapist believes, "...I definitely think that the media has some negative effect, I don't think that there is any real doubt over that. I mean I know anecdotally from prison services and stuff, you know in the standard prison service culture you have sex offenders that are the bottom of the food chain they are really kind of

look down upon by other types of offender. So if these sorts of ‘name and shame’ campaigns come out and they have the guy’s picture in the paper then they can be in for a bit of intimation. But I don’t think it’s clinically useful to have all that sort of stuff...” (participant 15). This reflects existing research that incarcerated paedophiles are not easily accepted by other inmates (Silverman & Wilson, 2002), which may lead to feelings of isolation and depression that could result in a higher likelihood of re-offending upon release from prison (Howitt, 1995).

Practitioners (participants 15 and 26), do not believe that these feelings subside post-release, because “...I think, yea I think also as they walk around the streets some of them do have, do carry this feeling with them that people do know who they are or what they are, and there... I think they find that very difficult, though very, very, very aware of how they are viewed by the mass of society” (participant 26). One therapist suggests that paedophiles “...might get more anxious about actually going out there into the community where they’re a sex offender, they’ve been labelled. That’s one thing that a lot of guys, a lot of sex offenders in here are worried about...” (participant 15). This coincides with research stating that paedophiles have higher levels of social introversion as well as loneliness (Wilson & Cox, 1983), leading to poorer interrelationship and social skills (Blanchette & Coleman, 2002). Accordingly, paedophiles may feel more self-conscious upon release and this could potentially re-ignite their cycle of offending.

Treatment and Re-offending

One of the main concerns surrounding the treatment, and risk management of paedophiles is the potential for re-offending. This is particularly salient as post treatment there are no guarantees that offenders’ behaviour can be successfully altered or that their risk of re-offending can be reduced (Howitt, 1995), which means that child protection is more a case of risk management (Howitt, 1995; Scourfield & Walsh, 2003). Practitioners, especially those in a therapeutic role (participants 15, 25 and 26), suggest that treatment should provide “....an individualised plan for each offender, that’s some sort of plan that if they feel if they are going to relapse, if they feel that they are in a situation that they feel is going to re-offend again that they have a plan” (participant 15). As one probation officer states, these individualised plans are complemented by intra-agency co-operation, because “...they will be seeing a probation officer on a regular basis as well, and we do that liaison. We have links with the police; we do have links with social services and so on. So we do have, if you like other ways of hearing about there progress or non-progress and they are constantly under that

pressure.” (participant 26). Although appropriate support mechanisms exist within the community, which are based upon the offenders’ level of risk and the conditions of their release, there will always be a degree of risk (participant 22) (Silverman & Wilson, 2002). Hence, there are a number of high risk offenders who will never be released into the community on this basis (participant 15).

Government, Law and Paedophilia

A broad cross section of practitioners and academics (participants 6, 8, 9, 11, 15, 16, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27 and 28), discussed the role of the government in dealing with paedophilia, with one psychologist suggesting that the government “...sort of subscribes to the more extreme image of sex offenders being prolific, dangerous and all the rest of it” (participant 6). Criminal justice practitioners agree with this analysis, with a member of probation suggesting that “...the government chooses to sort of see sexually offending against children as being, or paedophilia in particular, as being something that is difficult to treat, that is something that is a risk management issue,” (participant 25). A psychologist reveals that the government needs to understand that “...some sex offenders against children can desist; it’s not the same as a cure, or anything like that. But can desist. You know, we know if you took the same argument that we applied to paedophiles for every other form of crime, we would assume that no body ever gives up crime, chooses not to or for whatever reason chooses not to. But we know that some re-offending by sex offenders is relatively low, not saying all of them because it’s not true. But there are sex offenders that go to prison, for example for sex offences against children. As far as you can tell do not seem to be re-offending, okay.” (participant 6). This reiterates research that child sexual abuse is a risk management issue (Gurbin, 1998), and that the government may not be managing this risk in the most effective fashion (Scourfield & Walsh, 2003).

There is however no professional consensus on what the government’s role in regard to paedophilia should be. Some participants suggest that the government has a multitude of diverse roles to play when dealing with paedophilia (participants 6 and 27), whereas others state that they were not aware of what the government’s role in dealing with paedophilia is (participants 8 and 15). A sizable cross section of the professionals’ suggested a variety of potential government roles in dealing with paedophilia, including, providing legislation (participants 6, 8, 9, 11, 16, 26, 27 and 28); providing support for research (participants 9, 16 and 25), listening to victims, agencies, charities and NGOs (participants 16, 24, 25 and 28); as

well as funding agencies (participant 6). Criminal justice practitioners, particularly members of the probation service, suggested that the actual role of the government is “....to ensure that the laws of the land reflect the risks that its citizens are facing” (participant 27), which is “....to prove to the public that something is being done” (participant 26), which they believe the British Government is very good at doing (participant 26 and 27). However, not all the professionals’ believe that the government sex offender policy and practice is based on the most appropriate information, for as one criminologist states “...I think that initially the government tends to be affected by political considerations, more so than research I’m sorry to say.” (participant 9), and this is reiterated by a member of probation (participant 26). This viewpoint suggests that there is no simple, straightforward role for the government in dealing with paedophilia. Regardless of this, two of the practitioners (participants 27 and 28) state the central role of the government has to be child protection.

A few practitioners go on to suggest what the government could do to try and respond to paedophilia. Some practitioners reinforce the importance of professional advice, and therefore an evidence based approach, for the government in dealing with paedophilia (participants 16 and 28) (Gurbin, 1998; Pawson, 2001; Nutley, Davies and Walter, 2002; Pawson, 2002A), because this advice can be used to create “... different building blocks and structures based on professional advice and is accepted by Government. The building blocks can be put in place to build a structural pathway to protect children,” (participant 28). However, not all the participants believe that the government appropriately uses an evidence based approach, because as one police officer states “...looking at the national, you know sort of London government, you know people clap hands today and they desperately serve something up tomorrow, it’s often very ill thought out, hugely riddled with holes, it serves.. it appeases people at the time but there’s no medium or long term benefit from it because it’s so ill thought out.” (participant 22). This reiterates the view that even though the government does commission the advice of professionals’, particularly academics and practitioners, on policy issues (Cricher, 2002; Nutley, Walter & Davies, 2003), what it does with the findings is debatable (Nutley, Davies and Walter, 2002; Pawson, 2001; Pawson, 2002B).

The government’s interaction with NGOs is one example of them listening to professional advice and using an evidence based approach. Currently, there are a number of NGOs (e.g., Childline, ECPAT) working in the field of child sexual abuse, with a support and intervention role which is geared towards helping children report and prevent sexual abuse (participant 11). The NGO representatives interviewed believed that were able to bring “....specialists’

advice to the table” (participant 28), to launch campaigns (participant 13 and 28), to lobby the government (participant 28), to help shape current government policy (participant 11 and 13) and to educate the public (participant 27). The practitioners believe that NGOs have a valuable role to play, which is “...complementary to that of the Government, but its different in that they are going to be focusing on a particular concern that they feel passionate about” (participant 27). Consequentially, a wide variety of the professionals’ interviewed (participants 8, 11, 13, 16, 27 and 28) believe that there needs to be greater interaction between the government and NGOs, reiterating the importance of evidence based policy and practice (Gurbin, 1998; Scott, Jackson & Milburn, 1998; Pawson, 2002). However, despite the positive side of NGOs, one NGO representative cautions that not all NGOs do good work, believing that there is no standardised approach/message from NGOs, and as such some “... NGOs bring specialist advice to the table, which is sometimes professional, sometimes semi-professional, some times down right dangerous. [as such]... There are NGOs that work in a very constructive way in terms of protection, providing refuge, sources of care for children, and prominently lobby the government for the right funding at the right time. There are NGOs which to be frank, are just bonkers, and you know need to be given a chill pill, and told to get out there and deal with the world realities as it is” (participant 28).

A selection of practitioners and academics (participants 2, 6, 8, 16 and 22) also discuss what the government’s policy towards sex offenders and paedophiles should be. One psychologist simply believes that government policy needs to be anything that “...might do something about child abuse. So anything which effectively helps children avoid getting into abusive situations, report them early and all the rest of it. It’s preventative measures which need to be funded...” (participant 6) (Gurbin, 1998; Scott, Jackson & Milburn, 1998). A police participant believes that the government has made a series of significant policy changes in recent years in attempting to counteract paedophilia, including new legislation to cover grooming, internet-related offences, child pornography and the laws relating to rape (participant 22). These recent changes in policy have been enforced through the introduction of the Sex Offenders Act (1997), Sexual Offences Act (2003), the creation of the ‘Centre for Child Protection on the Internet’ in 2005 and the implementation of the MAPPA scheme. The law has also been extended to incorporate people other than the offender involved in child sexual abuse, for instance, “...the person that helps the offender” (participant 22). This suggests a further criminalisation of paedophilia in modern society which seems to have resulted from a number of factors (Jenness, 2004), including; triggering events (the Sarah Payne case), social movements (News of the Worlds campaigns), cultural factors (public

misperception and popular punitiveness towards paedophilia) and state factors (public protection, risk management and preventative governance).

Sex Offenders Register and Public Disclosure

Professionals', mainly criminal justice practitioners (participants 1, 6, 16, 21, 22, 25 and 26), discussed the current Sex Offender Register. A selection of professionals' (participants 1, 6, 16, 21 and 25) believe the sex offenders register to be an effective mechanism, with one police officer stating "... I think that we have within the UK a 95-97% successful registration, or compliance, if that is the correct term? With registration. So we have 95-97% of people who should be on the register having actually registered. If you compare that to some of the States in the United States, where Megan's Law is enforced, you have some states where 45-50% compliance rate in the norm," (participant 16). This is in line with research findings showing that in the UK 94.7% of sex offenders have registered nationally, whereas registration with individual police forces fluctuates between 85.4% and 100% (Plotnikoff & Woolfson, 2000). This highlights the fact that the UK Sex Offenders Register is more successful than its American counterpart; one potential explanation for this being the way that Megan's law is used in America, which results high rates of non-registration, fear of vigilantism and sex offenders going underground (Fitch, 2006). However, despite the fact that the police believed the current register to be efficient, they did not believe it to be perfect, instead suggesting that it was the most effective tool available at the moment (participants 21 and 22).

Another potential approach to monitoring sex offenders' in the community is Sarah's Law, the public disclosure of sex offender information. This policy initiative was originally proposed by the News of the World as a reaction to the abduction, sexual abuse and murder of Sarah Payne in 2001. The government's opinion on the viability of this controversial law is complex, confusing and worryingly inconsistent, remembering that it originally condemned and discounted the implementation of Sarah's Law (Dodd, 2000, July 24: Guardian.co.uk; Morris, 2000, July 31: Guardian.co.uk), and then reconsidered this position ('No.10 admits Megan's Law problems', 2006, June 19: bbc.co.uk; Assinder, 2006, June 20: bbc.co.uk) agreed to implement it ('Sarah's Law to Start in Months', 2007, April 9: TheSun.co.uk) and then quickly rejected the entire premise (Travis, 2007, April 11: Guardian.co.uk). However, unlike the government, the vast majority of professionals' (participants 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 11, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26 and 28) reinforce previous research and professional opinion

(Ashenden, 2002; Critcher, 2002; Silverman & Wilson, 2002; Fitch, 2006; Guest, 2007, April 15: Independent.co.uk) that Sarah's Law is not an effective mechanism for dealing with paedophilia.

All of the therapists interviewed (participants 5, 15 and 16) reacted negatively to public disclosure. One therapist believed public disclosure to be a cop out by the government, because "...I think that is basically giving up and I think as clinicians we are not prepared to give up. So... in terms of the government, pardon me, I don't see why they should decide to give up, and I suppose that's what it kind of looks like." (participant 15). Which is reinforced by another therapist, stating "...you know I'm sort of wary of the benefits of, if we have a sort system where we are going to be told 'there's six sex offenders in the community', 'so what? So what are you going to do about it?' So there's six sex offenders living in the community, there's probably six others that you don't know about anyway. The other sort of thing is, so how are you going to use that information?" (participant 6). These findings coincide with research from America which highlights that the public disclosure of sex offender information is under utilised (Fitch, 2006), and that it does not seem to have much impact upon the public (Fitch, 2006; Pawson, 2002A). Leading a criminologist to ask if there would there be a similar response in the UK, because "...if people were allowed public disclosure how many people would actually go to the police station and actually check out the local paed" (participant 2)? Consequentially, the professionals' seem to suggest that public disclosure seems to be a case of government shifting the responsibility of monitoring sex offenders in the community away from them, and on to the public (Levi, 2002).

A sizable cross section of professionals' (participants 1, 5, 6, 16, 17, 21, 22, 26 and 28) were anti-Sarah's Law, believing that there was no evidence that Megan's Law, which Sarah's Law is based on, actually works (participant 1, 5, 6, 21 & 26). One reporter, who covered the Sarah Payne case, contradicts the News of the World (Hodgson, 2000, December 13; Guardian.co.uk.) believing that Sarah's Law is "...an unworkable law, Sarah would have still have been kidnapped, sexually abused and murdered had there been a Sarah's law. I think it gave vent to people frustration that you can't stop paedophilia, and you won't and there will always be abductions and sexual killings of children by strangers." (participant 17) (Fitch, 2006). In addition to this, a cross section of the professionals' (participants 9, 11, 15, 16, 17, 21, 22 and 28), also criticised public disclosure believing it would drive paedophiles "...underground, and you get witch hunts and you get vigilantes, self-imposed guardians and you have a break down in law, and you saw that breakdown in law in Paulsgrove on the

estate. And its, its people's fury and you have that mob instinct that most people would say doesn't have a place in today's society." (participant 17) (Ashenden, 2002; Bell, 2002; Critcher, 2002; Levi, 2002; Silverman & Wilson, 2002); possibly resulting in "...the abduction, murder and torture of some offenders because people have access to their, their information" (participant 16) (Silverman & Wilson, 2002).

Although, the majority of professionals' do disagree with public disclosure, some suggest that there maybe some positive outcomes of using this approach. With, one sociologist believes public disclosure works by creating "...such a climate of fear and stigma around sexual abuse, that must put some sexual offenders off" (participant 19). In conjunction with this a member of probation suggests that public disclosure could lead an increase in the publics reporting of dangerous or risky people to the police (participant 25). Therefore, these professional opinions seem to reinforce research suggesting that public disclosure is a move by the government to shift the responsibility for monitoring and control of sex offenders to the public (Levi, 2002). Interestingly, two professionals', a journalist and a police officer (participant 17 & 22), believed that public disclosure has a social purpose, in that it helps society to feel positive about itself. However, there is no research to support this claim, with research instead indicating that public disclosure has lead to a series of negative outcomes (Bell, 2002; Silverman & Wilson, 2002; Guest, 2007, April 15: Independent.co.uk.); as such increasing the risk from these offenders not reducing it or reassuring the public.

Consequently, a cross section of the professionals' (participants 1, 5, 6, 9, 11, 21, 23, 24, 25 and 26) did not believe that Sarah's Law would be implemented in the UK (Travis, 2007, April 11: Guardian.co.uk.). Interestingly, some professionals' (participant 6 & 11) believe that the non-implementation of Sarah's law is because the government are strongly against its introduction, with one police officer stating that "...I honestly don't think that anybody would have the bottle to, to push it through and I think that it would constantly get defeated" (participant 21), which is not the case ('Sarah's Law to Start in Months', 2007, April 9: TheSun.co.uk; Travis, 2007, April 11: Guardian.co.uk). However, as another police officer (participant 22), more cyclically states the government will always give the public what they want, as such believing Sarah's Law to be a possibility. Although, this position seems tenable, particularly because of previous pro-Sarah's Law leanings by the government, such as; the recent online publication of sex offender information by the Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre (CEOP) (Johnston, 2006, November 11: Telegraph.co.uk), and the leak of the governments of its plans to pilot Sarah's Law, which never materialised ('Sarah's

Law to Start in Months', 2007, April 9: TheSun.co.uk; Travis, 2007, April 11: Guardian.co.uk). It seems that the government appear to have reached no cohesive decision on the implementation of Sarah's Law; and, although the current perspective is anti-public disclosure (Travis, 2007, April 11: Guardian.co.uk), this does not mean that a change in government, a shift in public opinion, or a high-profile paedophilic crime could not change current policy. Consequentially, it seems that the government's strategy for dealing with paedophilia, particularly through public disclosure, is as socially constructed as the nature of paedophilia itself.

Only one participant, a criminologist (participant 2), was completely in favour of public disclosure, stating that at the moment "...where is the public in 'public protection'? It's non-existent and it needs to be there". As such, this academic believes "...that it should happen; people should have the right to know that the person that they think is Mr. Nice is actually Mr. Paed. And I am not a parent and I think that...for some reason you have to be a parent to be really concerned which I think is absolutely ridiculous. I mean I've got three nieces and I wouldn't want them...of course I wouldn't want them to be abused or anything like that. Of course public disclosure is important, why is it important? Who is at the grassroots level of the community, the people, the can be the eyes and ears were the police can't be all the time, or the probation officers can't, they can be the people who monitor these things.". This position, however, is not supported in the literature, especially by American research (Hebenton & Thomas, 1997; Fitch, 2006). Although, some research indicates that community policing has worked in the past and growing in popularity again (Stenning, 2004), this does not necessarily mean that this approach will work effectively in regard to paedophilia. For when naming and shaming has occurred in the UK it has resulted in public disorder and vigilantism (Bell, 2002; Silverman & Wilson, 2002; Evan, 2003; McAlinden, 2006A).

However, two participants, a member of the police and a criminologist (participants 2 and 22), discussed the partial public disclosure of sex offender information. Partial public disclosure already exists within the UK, and is supported by the police (participant 22), because as one officer states "...the benefit of informing head teachers, headmasters, headmistresses, and even looking at agencies within the National Health Service, if that manager knows, and then.... And even though it might be restricted in what they can tell others, if the manager knows and its discussed correctly that manager can also use that information to also be the watchful eye. Because a lot of this can be used proactively as a watchful eye and that does happen, we do use that frequently.". In conjunction with this there

has also been the strengthening of criminal checks for employees working with children and the inclusion of lay people on MAPPA panels. Although MAPPA panels seem to be working effectively (Home Office, 2006), the question has to be asked; do these lay people actually make a productive contribution to the monitoring of sex offenders? What is the scope of their responsibilities? Would they be able to cope with the emotionally traumatic information that they are given or be trusted not to divulge this information, or any details about the offender, to the general public? Unfortunately, the seeming success of MAPPA panels is not reflected in regard to other aspects of partial public disclosure, with background checks in relation to careers ('Kelly denies sex offender claims', 2006, January 20: bbc.co.uk) and adoption procedures (Taylor, 2006, June 22: TheSun.co.uk), both of which had high profile failures during 2006. However, one academic, a criminologist, discounts the idea out of partial public disclosure out of hand, believing that public disclosure has to be complete and not limited to selected people, because "...there is no in between, because if you are looking at a continuum and the effectiveness of it, it won't have any effect either way if you only tell one or two [people]" (participant 2). Paradoxically, this academic then goes on to condone the introduction of circles of support and accountability in the UK, they believe it would aid the public in understanding and dealing with the realities of paedophilia, particularly because this is already used internationally with some success (Wilson, McWhinnie, Picheca, Prinzo & Cortoni, 2007). This dichotomous position raises the question of; why is this academic in support of certain forms of partial public disclosure and not all forms?

Consequentially, professionals' believe that there has to be a better system of child protection in the UK other than public disclosure (participant 8). This is because public disclosure does not help in the successful monitoring of sex offenders (participant 22), as it can lead to cases of mistaken identity, the targeting of paedophiles and vigilantism (participant 23). All of which was evidenced by the public in response to the both the News of the World's campaigns (Silverman & Wilson, 2002) and public disclosure in America (Fitch, 2006).

Sexual Offences Act 2003

A cross section of the practitioners (participants 5, 11, 16, 21, 22 and 24) discussed the Sexual Offences Act 2003, with the vast majority of them (participants 5, 11, 16, 21 & 24) believing that it to be a good piece of legislation. The practitioners believed the 2003 Act to have a number of positive aspects, including criminalising grooming behaviour (participant 11); a reduction in the registration period (participants 21 and 22); and changes to travel orders

(participant 21). Despite the positives, some practitioners (participants 11, 22 and 24), highlighted problems with the 2003 legislation. These included the apparent criminalisation of same age sex under 16 (participant 11); that the treatment route was not made more readily available (participant 11); and a need for stronger legislation in relation to paedophilia (participant 22). Both the positive (O'Grady, 1994; Howitt, 1995; Seabrook, 2000) and negative (Fitch, 2006) reactions of the professionals' to the legislation reflected current thinking in regard to it. However, as one member of the police points out the Sexual Offences Act has "... made a big, big difference. I think there is probably an effective a tool as you're going to get at the moment." (participant 21).

Multi-agency Public Protection Arrangements [MAPPA]

Professionals', both practitioners and academics (participants 2, 5, 6, 11, 21, 22 and 24), discussed MAPPA. With some professionals' reinforcing previous research (Fitch, 2006) and statistics (Home Office, 2006; National Probation Service, 2006) suggesting that MAPPA is a positive system (participants 5, 6 & 11), because as one practitioner stated MAPPA is a "...much more sensible way about progressing" (participant 11). However, other professionals', including both police and academics, criticised MAPPA (participants 2, 21 and 22); because, as one criminologist states, "...where is the accountability, where is the.... At the moment it's a bit of a bureaucratic mess." (participant 2). This was reinforced by a police officer (participant 22), who cautioned that as a result of the bureaucracy involved, MAPPA's could easily lose their effectiveness, which lead them to question whether MAPPA was really aimed at actual public protection or perceived public protection? Research, however, supports the idea that MAPPA's are aimed at actual public protection and that they are currently achieving in this regard, with offenders receiving positive support which is in turn leading to a reduction in re-offending (Fitch, 2006; Home Office, 2006; National Probation Service, 2006).

The police were particularly critical of MAPPA, believing that "...I think MAPPA's; I have got a little bit of a problem with MAPPA's in that I think they are too meeting driven and they are not actually enough hands on driven. I think there is too much justification, too much defensive positions all the time," (participant 22). This viewpoint was reflected by a fellow police officer stating, "...I mean [when] it comes down to MAPPA's I have got my own old police man's cynics view on this, you we, the majority of them, you know its not just convicted sex offenders, but you know dangerous.... Armed robbers that come out of prison,

and its an arse covering exercise and that process if it goes wrong somebody turn round and say we have done this and done that, and he was registered, we've got them whispering in our ear." (participant 21). Hence, the police's perspective on MAPPA reinforces the perspective that current government policies on paedophilia are geared towards making the monitoring dangerous sex offenders is a personal protection issue, rather than the responsibility of the government (Levi, 2002). Interestingly, the police also suggest that the creation of MAPPA does not necessarily mean that there is more work being done with offenders upon release, for MAPPA is merely a new way of branding of what they have already been doing with high risk offenders (participants 21 & 22). Subsequently, the police participants (participant 21, 22 & 24) believe that more positive and tangible changes need to be made to the current sex offender system. One of these changes would be adoption by the police of ViSOR (participant 21, 22 & 24) (Home Office, 2006), for as one police officer states "...ViSOR [Violent and Sex Offender Register] is probably the best, one of the best police tools that has come on the market, since DNA and fingerprints" (participant 21).

Monitoring Sex Offenders

A sizable proportion of the practitioner sample (participants 1, 5, 13, 16, 21, 24, 26 and 28) discussed the current strategies for policing and monitoring sex offenders. Some practitioners believed that current systems used in the UK to monitor sex offenders are the best they have ever been (participant 16 & 21). Despite this, one therapist points out that the police and the other relevant agencies may still not be working as effectively as they could be, accepting that there is room for improvement as this is "...new and we haven't done it before, we are trying to get to grips with it" (participant 5).

Practitioner's (participants 13 and 21) agree with research suggesting that the police need to develop a more coherent national strategy for dealing with sex offenders (Plotnikoff & Woolfson, 2000). For, as one NGO representative demonstrates, there too much disparity among the different UK police forces in regard to how they deal with sex offenders (participant 13). This belief is reinforced and expanded upon, by another police officer indicating that the amount of resources available to deal with sex offenders tends to fluctuate between different police forces (participant 21). Consequentially, an alternative police officer believes that "...managing sex offenders it's not seen as an objective by [location omitted] police, and it's not a national policing objective in this country at the moment. Domestic violence has become a national policing objective, managing dangerous sex offenders in the

community hasn't..." (participant 22). Also, the same participant, goes on to argue that the police do not have the necessary legal framework in place to successfully monitor paedophiles in the community, because if "...they are not breaching anything and we have got no control over them, and unless effectively the sex offender, if he hasn't got.... if he's not on probation with a probation order, he'd have some sort of direct or indirect contact with a person under 18, if his probation has ended and he's has no sex offender prevention order then he's free to communicate with children." (participant 22). Which is compounded by the police feeling these issues are reinforced by police bureaucracy, in that "...we do have the odd one under surveillance, but occasionally, because surveillance is expensive you always have to justify that and you might have them for a day and unless you know that they are going to be doing..... And the biggest thing about the police is that you have to justify everything" (participant 22). These findings suggest that the police only have access to the necessary resources to monitor convicted paedophiles, as they see it, when they can prove, or reasonably argue that the paedophile is going to re-offend. Therefore, the police's viewpoint seems to be that sex offenders will always remain a potential threat and therefore will always be a risk management issue; which is supported by other members of the criminal justice system (participant 26).

Government Approaches to Treatment for Offenders and Victims

As paedophilia has become a massive public order issue (Silverman & Wilson, 2002), the government want to be seen as responding to it. However, many professionals' believe that the government could do more, especially in regard to treatment. Both practitioners and academics (participants 6, 11 and 15), believe that the government needs to be more supportive of both preventative programmes and sex offender treatment programmes than they currently are. One psychologist suggests, in regard to sex offender treatment programmes, that the government needs "...in some ways [to] commit(ing) funding to causes that are bottomless pits, but if your serious about child protection then it has to be at all levels." (participant 6). However, this can be difficult if the outcomes are unknown and funding limited.

Some of the academics and practitioners (participants 6, 16, 24 and 26) were critical of the government's approach in dealing with victims of child sexual abuse. With one therapist suggesting "...a whole area of this problem that has been notoriously under resourced for many, many years has been the sort of victim and survivor services. Which largely still in this

country are run by voluntary organisations, or non-government organisations, and often within statutory organisations there isn't the skill base, or resources or provision of therapeutic assessment and intervention for people who have been victims of child sexual abuse. I think that's an area, government really needs to be looking closely at and making serious decisions about trying to deal with." (participant 16). Which is reinforced a member of the police suggesting that "...victims need more help from the government, they need to be listened to; there needs to be a shifted away from the more offender centred focus to a more victim centred one. For at the moment victims have no real central role. There needs to a stronger and more focused strategy for child protection in [*location omitted*]; Child protection needs to be made a top priority." (participant 24). This point reinforces existing research calling for more substantial victim focus in child protection policies relating to paedophilia (Scourfield & Walsh, 2003; Fitch, 2006); particularly as being a victim of sexual abuse may lead to perpetrating sexual abuse in later life (Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; Silverman & Wilson, 2002). However, care needs to be taken when creating and implementing a more victim orientated approach to child protection, because not all changes in child protection have made children safer (Cunningham, 1995). Certain shifts in child protection have lead to an increase in unnecessary restrictions surrounding children and an inability for some professionals' to do their jobs effectively (Cunningham, 1995; Scourfield and Walsh, 2002).

Professionals' Understandings of the Current Representations of Paedophilia in Society

A sizable cross-section of professionals' (participants 5, 6, 10, 14, 17, 18, 19, 21, 25, 27 and 28) agree with previous research that modern society is a risk society (Giddens, 1991; Beck, 1992; Scourfield & Walsh, 2003), particularly in regard to childhood (participants 14, 19, 21 & 27) (Cunningham, 1995; Thompson, 1998; Ungar, 2001; Ridell, 2002, March 17: Guardian.co.uk; Soothill & Francis, 2002). The participants believe paedophilia to be one of the greatest risks faced by children today, with one academic suggesting that "...the paedophile is the bogeyman of our age" (participant 10) (Silverman & Wilson, 2002). This is reinforced by a journalist, who believes that fears surrounding paedophilia saturate modern society, because "...the risk from paedophilia exists as much in the home as it does out on the streets, or in the local park" (participant 17) (Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; Silverman & Wilson, 2002). However, interestingly and somewhat controversially, an another academic, an english lecturer, counters these ideas surrounding the risk of paedophilia, by stating that it

“...is possible that this presumed menace doesn’t exist at all, hypothetically. What’s interesting for a constructionalist to say is that it doesn’t matter if it exists, what matters is our ability to manufacture enough righteous fervour and excitement in the right areas, in exactly the right areas, and that we get the story right. We hardly need any form of justification for it. ... [as such]... we need paedophilia, and these panics about paedophilia we so enjoy them, they do so much cultural work for us that we are going to make sure that here and there, we’ll find someone that will in fact have sex with a child, or try to, and I think it’s an interesting way to look at it that it’s not so much a natural impulse or a pathology that here and there affects somebody, it’s people who pick up on cultural urges, or cultural roles, cultural scripts.” (participant 14). This idea that paedophilia is a social construction reflects previous research suggesting that society creates moral panics surrounding notions of risk in an attempt to reinforce established moral and social beliefs (Cohen, 2002; Furedi, 2002); as such this works to perpetuate the myth that paedophilia is more widespread than it actually is (West, 2000).

One sociologist (participant 18), talked at great length about the role of risk in modern society, believing that “...Yes, there are more risks than there were, and that’s, you know that’s very clear. Some of them are of our own making, and the area that I always had problems with Ulrich [Beck] was...some of them are actually natural and we just know more about them.” (participant 18) (Giddens, 1991; Beck, 1992; Hier, 2003). This participant believed the recent increase in risk in modern society was accompanied by a noticeable shift in society, away from discussions of technical risk towards those of “...explicitly social and personal categories”. This paradigm shift maybe a product of increasing uncertainty and fear in modern society surrounding social phenomenon (Furedi, 2002), thereby reinforcing the need for established social routines and creating a moral panic to achieve this. This participant believed the aforementioned paradigm shift to be problematic for modern society because of the fundamental differences between social and technical risks, in that “...I mean this is, this is the area where (*cough*), this is the area where definitions of social risks are immensely problematic, because we cannot have, the kind of, what I would say would be those global reaching catastrophes social risks can’t supply which you can have when you link it to nuclear proliferation”. Social risks seem to be more historically, socially and culturally variable than technical risks, and therefore “...more likely to produce behavioural acting out. And you have only got to, I mean suspect paedophiles houses got paint dubbed on them ‘paedophile’ in Newport two or three years ago when the paedophilia thing was running, they couldn’t spell paedophilia (*laughs*), but. But I think those kind of areas of local risks that are social just actually produce divisions and divides, and are not bracketed out in the same

way that technical risks are.”. These social divisions and the resulting societal unrest are crystallised in the recent paedophile panic which swept the UK as a result of the News of the World campaigns (Silverman & Wilson, 2002).

The Modern Phenomenon of Paedophilia

Is there a Societal Outcry Surrounding Paedophilia?

Some professionals’, mainly practitioners and academics (participants 1, 2, 5, 8 and 15), believe that although “....paedophilia has always been a part of society” (participant 1) (Kincard, 1998), the public concern surrounding paedophilia in the UK has only existed since the end of the 1970’s (participant 2, 6 & 11) (Taylor and Quayle, 2003). Even though professionals’ realise that there currently is a public concern surrounding paedophilia, they are not sure how it has developed (participants 4, 5, 9, 19 and 26), believing that there is not “...one simple answer to it” (participant 28). This leads one therapist to concede that “...I haven’t the foggiest idea, to be honest I just find myself in the maelstrom.” (participant 5). The professionals’ therefore reiterate the core tenet of this thesis, that there is still a great deal of ambiguity surrounding paedophilia in modern society, which is salient as paedophilia has become a serious public health issue (McDonald Wilson Bradford, 2000), and a moral panic (Cohen, 2002; McAlinden, 2006A).

A cross section of professionals’ (participant 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 10 and 18) believe that the current crisis of paedophilia in modern society is a moral panic (Cohen, 2002; Silverman & Wilson, 2002; McAlinden, 2006A). One sociologist surmised that “.....within the last 2 to 3 years I can think there being, there was a particular summer where paedophilia did become a front page classic moral panic (*pause*) topic. Because [of] quite a broad selection of Fleet Street, national media, print media.” (participant 18) (Silverman & Wilson, 2002). The professionals’ (participants 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14 and 20) believe the current moral panic of paedophilia could be linked to previous moral panics (Thompson, 1998), like “....satanic ritual abuse” (participant 2), “...the anti-porn crusades in the 1980s” (participant 2), “....patients in the community panics in the early 90s..... teenage parents in the mid 90s..... asylum seekers” (participant 5). Consequentially, the professionals’ surmised that the current moral panic of paedophilia was linked to underlying notions of risk (Hier, 2003), and had been triggered by “....certain events, Sarah Payne in 2000, Soham, things like that” (participant 2).

Professionals' (participant 2, 3, 7, 10 and 18), agree that the media play an important role in the creation and maintenance of moral panics (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994; Thompson, 1998; Cohen, 2002). However, one academic, a criminologist, cautions against completely blaming the media, for "...its not simply a question of the media wake up one day and say I think that we will report on paedophiles today and create a panic, it doesn't work like that, because they get feed there information, if you look a any professional organisation, the police, the NSPCC. They have media departments, they are media trained people, who push "this is a problem, can you get it on the news?"."(participant 2). This is reinforced by one sociologist stating that even though the moral panic of paedophilia is partly shaped by the media, it is "... always to do with objective factors in society; it's not just dreamt up. Although the media are heavily involved in accentuating, communicating it. They don't necessarily invent, they don't invent people's worries, although they may exacerbate people's worries" (participant 7). Thus the professionals' realise the role of the media in the construction of the news (Cohen & Young, 1981), its symbiotic relationship with the public (Gammon, Choteau, Haynes & Sassoon, 1992; Howitt, 1998), and seem to support the grass-roots model of moral panics (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994).

Despite this consensus that paedophilia is a moral panic, one sociologist cautions "...Yea there's this panic around paedophiles but it seems to have gone on for a long time, it doesn't seem to conform to the conventional frameworks within which moral panics are meant to disappear as quickly as they have arisen. You know, it's been there for too long and to me that seems to move it into a more risk society state of panickiness." (participant 10). Which supports research that moral panics are quite close to the surface of society, therefore periodically appearing and disappearing (Thompson, 1998), and indicates a link between moral panics and risk in society (Hier, 2003).

Explaining the Current Phenomenon of Paedophilia Modern Society

It is important to determine what the professionals' believe has caused the current 'crisis', or moral panic, of paedophilia in modern society. A cross section of professionals' suggest several tentative explanations, including; developments in technology (participants 1, 5, 12, 26 and 28); changes in the social zeitgeist surrounding paedophilia (participants 1, 5, 6, 8, 10, 14, 16 and 17); broad changes in society (participants 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 17, 19 20, 21, 22, 23 and 24); changes in public awareness of paedophilia (participants 3, 8, 11, 14, 16, 23, 24,

26 and 28); changes in professional approaches and attitudes (participants 1, 6, 11, 16, 17 and 25); and changes in academic research around paedophilia (participants 2, 6, 14 and 19).

Sexualisation of Childhood

The majority of professionals' interviewed (participants 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26 and 28) believe the current crisis surrounding paedophilia is intrinsically linked to the fabric of modern society itself. One academic, a lecturer in media studies, explains this is because both "...Society and culture are more sexualised than they have ever been and there have been certain very high profile cases which have kinda blown the lid of what was sort of, inverted commas a very hidden sort of crime." (participant 10) (Cunningham, 1995; Greer, 2003; Roberts, 2003, September 21: Guardian.co.uk). Another two academics, an English and a Sociology lecturer (participant 14 & 19), believe that the sexualisation of childhood in recent years has led to an increase in related public scares and moral panics, because "...have we figured children in our culture in such away, as to put them at risk, not of monstrous, but of all of us, not at risk of having sex.... I don't think that's even a major problem, but just of this mania for protecting them, of making them cute, millions of the vices that don't allow kids much freedom of ease in their lives. Until we address that, I think we are just going to continue the same round of shadow boxing and the real losers I believe are the kids." (participant 14) (Roberts, 2003, September 21: Guardian.co.uk). Hence the highly sexualised nature of contemporary society (Roberts, 2003, September 21: Guardian.co.uk.), which is crystallised through the media's interest in abnormal and deviant behaviour, particularly in regard to sex crime (Reiner, 1997; Greer, 2002), is reinforced.

The breakdown of the traditional family

Some professionals', mainly practitioners and academics (participants 14 and 22), also believe recent trends in society surrounding the breakdown of the traditional family, for instance, women choosing not to marry and the advent of gay marriage; have also played an important role in the development of the crisis of paedophilia in modern society. According to one academic, an English lecturer, this cultural shift away from the family has resulted in society "...insisting that children are under threat, it's the old 'women and children are in

danger', you know we have got to re-trench, we've got to reformulate our, our traditional structures because everything's going to hell, the enemy is coming, in this case the enemy being the paedophile, the monster, the external person.." (participant 14). The same academic suggests that modern society may use paedophilia as defence mechanism, in that "...this image of the child under attack is one way to fortify, presumably a kind of desperate, hysterical attempt to fortify traditional families" (participant 14). This premise seems reasonable, because as two other academics, English and psychology, indicate paedophilia is "...something that other people do" (participant 8), which works to "...strengthen[ing] our own sense of how normal we are" (participant 14). Meaning that the professionals' believe that society has developed the paedophile as an outsider to reinforce the in-group/out-group bias (Forsyth, 1995), which has resulted in a moral panic (Cohen, 2002). Interestingly, these findings seem to suggest that 'stranger danger' and the perceived threat from the paedophile seem to play a role, similar to death in terror management theory (Pyszczynski, Greenberg & Solomon, 1999) for the family. Hence, the misperception that paedophilia and 'stranger danger' are synonymous allows people to transcend the uncertainty surrounding current role and stability of the traditional family in modern society. This in turn allows them to believe that the current family is stable, reinforcing their cultural worldview and improving their self-esteem.

Research Interests in Paedophilia

A cross section of professionals', particularly practitioners, (participants 1, 6, 11, 16, 17 and 25), suggest that current professional approaches towards and understandings of paedophilia have also contributed to the current crisis. One practitioner, an NGO representative, states, "... I think that, well 18 years ago, agencies like childline, practitioners in mental health services began to really accept that sexual abuse was a lot more prevalent than we wanted to believe, I suppose." (participant 11). This was reinforced by a psychologist, stating that "...I think probably the period in which sexual abuse changed, professional concern about sexual abuse changed, though I'm not convinced there was a stage where people were completely unconcerned with sexual abuse, but as a priority, a high profile, things began to change in the 1980's.." (participant 6). Other social science academics go on to discuss the evolution of research into paedophilia, believing it started as an attempt to ".....socially construct the social problem of child sexual abuse" (participant 2). They also mention "...the women's movement, which changed the understanding of family life, which is totally relevant, and violence in the home became an issue, violence against children" (participant 6), and suggest

that it is“...largely as a result of the second wave of feminism” (participant 19). Even though there is currently more research being carried out on paedophilia than ever before (participant 6), some academics believe that there is still a lot more research needed in this area (participant 14).

The Media and the Current Crisis of Paedophilia

The vast majority of the professionals’ (participants 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 27), believe that the media have played a significant role in the development and maintenance of the crisis of paedophilia (Bell, 2002; Silverman & Wilson, 2002), particularly through their reporting of high profile cases, like Sarah Payne (participants 2 and 12). The vast majority of the professionals’ (participants 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 27) believe that this media interest is a consequence of the media having a vested interest in the story of paedophilia, because “...the issue of sexual abuse is much more in the public arena” (participant 11). The participants believe the media to have a central role in the dissemination of knowledge in society (Greer, 2002) through the reporting and creation of the news (Cohen & Young, 1981), which is particularly salient in regard to paedophilia (Silverman & Wilson, 2002; Greer, 2002).

Contrary to this argument not all of the professionals’ believe the media to be solely responsible for the current crisis of paedophilia. Some professionals’, especially those professionals’ who work in media related fields, suggest that the media have a limited impact in the development of the current paedophilia crisis (participants 3 and 10). One current practitioner, a former journalist, believes that “...the media landscape is so fragmented I don’t know if it can be held responsible for any public outcry.” (participant 28). This finding contradicts existing research, which claims that the current paedophilic panic is a very much a media driven phenomenon (Bell, 2002; Cohen, 2002; Silverman & Wilson, 2002; McAlinden, 2006A). Also, some academics and practitioners (participants 1, 2, 6, 13, 14, 17 and 24), believe that the current crisis of paedophilia is not the sole responsibility of the media, but also the responsibility of practitioners through their campaigning and awareness raising. One psychologist states “...generally the voices, the actors that are responsible for opinion and for expressing opinions in the media tend not to be media people but representatives of significant groups of people in general. Good examples relating to paedophilia would of

course be the Police, would be child charities, NSPCC, Childline, Kidscape, that sort of organisation which often have very strong news press text about the nature of sex offending against children” (participant 6). Despite this, the same academic goes on to say that, this professional discourse can actually be damaging, in that “...all of these groups preach messages, they all interact, they are all intra-trained by each other. These are trained by paedophile experts like Ray Wyre, and reiterate messages and so on. So all I’m saying is that, by the way that the media operate often they are dependent on the sources for the expression of opinion. And it just so happens that in the expression of paedophilia most of the experts that they will approach will tend to give a very clear-cut account of lying, cheating, devious, etc, etc, you can fill it in. That nature of paedophiles.” (participant 6). This reveals that although professionals’ believe that the media do present skewed perception of paedophilia (Silverman & Wilson, 2002), they realise that experts and professional knowledge can be used by the media to accentuate their discourses around paedophilia

A cross section of professionals’ (participants 3, 6, 8, 10, 24, 26 and 27), discussed the media’s approach to discussing paedophilia. A number of practitioners and media professionals’ (participants 11, 12, 19 and 27) criticising the media’s handling of paedophilia, believing it to be a clear example of how the media misrepresent crime (Silverman & Wilson, 2002). One NGO representative succinctly defines the media’s misrepresentation of paedophilia, stating that “...As I always say you know the biggest threat is still within the extended family, the threats that the media like to highlight are the very mutual, novel, violent, different, and you know that, that’s difficult.” (participant 27) (Chinball, 1977; Howitt, 1995; Briere & Elliott, 2003). This is reiterated by one academic, a sociologist, “....children are more, likely to be harmed from being run over by a car than being abused by Ian Huntley, or the Ian Huntley’s of this world” (participant 19). This skewed media representation of paedophilia frustrates practitioners, with one police officer stating that “...The media’s big role is the sensationalism of the story. They make news to sell papers and make money. I’ll speak to editors and try to give them stories, stories to prompt education of the public, give information and raise awareness. But, you talk to editors about good news its like talking to the wall; you don’t get anywhere. They agree that these stories are important and need to be published but just don’t do it.” (participant 24). Other practitioners reiterated this with one NGO participant stating that the media purposefully skew their reporting on sex crimes because “...the media are very aware that this is an area that people are concerned about, that they can pin there fears on very easily, that people want to read about and therefore its good for them to concentrate on it, and that’s what they do.” (participant 27) (Silverman & Wilson, 2002). The professionals’ therefore reiterate that the media is a money making

industry (Friendly and Goldfarb, 1968; Gammon, Choteau, Haynes & Sassoon, 1992; Howitt, 1998; Reiner, 2002; Greenslade, 2003) and that reporting on topical issues of public concern, such as for crime (Reiner, 1997), specifically paedophilia (Silverman & Wilson, 2002), allows them to make money. Arguably, the media simultaneously creates and reports crime (Cohen & Young, 1981).

A broad cross section of professionals' (participants 2, 3, 4, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14 17, 20, 23 and 28) discussed whether the media was socially responsible in their reporting of the news. A number of the participants (participants 4, 7, 12, 14, 20 and 28), agreed with one editor that "...I believe that the media does have a social responsibility. I think that we have to be aware that what we publish can affect the way that people think, and therefore potentially how they act. Therefore we have a responsibility to be careful about how we present certain issues, certain facts, certain views, because we need to be wary of the possible consequences." (participant 4) (Hutchins, 1947; in McQuail, 2000; 149). Despite this widespread belief in the social responsibility of the media, one reporter was more realistic, believing that "...I think that the media because it has that wide readership, philosophically it should have a social responsibility to report things straight, but it just doesn't work that way....So yes they should be socially responsible but sometimes those news values counteract social responsibility." (participant 2). This reflects criticisms of certain sections of the media (tabloid newspapers) in their handling of certain cases (Sarah Payne), issues (asylum, immigration, race) or campaigns ('for Sarah' and 'name and shame'), while adhering their news values, were not deemed to socially responsible. Some professionals' (participants 2, 7, 11, 17, 23 and 28) believed that even though the media does try to be socially responsible they often fail (participant 28), particularly in regard to tragic and/or sensitive stories (participants 17 and 23) (Berrington & Jumhrey, 2003). This is best demonstrated though the News of the Worlds 'For Sarah' and 'Name and Shame' campaigns, which a sizable cross section of professionals' (participants 1, 4, 10, 11, 12, 17, 19, 20, 21 and 25) critiqued as being "...hopelessly irresponsible" (participant 10), with one journalist believing that "...it was a completely misjudged campaign and very, very hard to justify" (participant 12). This finding reflects previous research (Bell, 2002; Silverman & Wilson, 2002) and expert opinion, (Dodd, 2000, July 24: Guardian.co.uk; Morris, 2000, July 31: Guardian.co.uk; Dodd, 2000, July 24: Guardian.co.uk) also condemning the News of the World.

However, some professionals', mainly practitioners and journalists (participant 3, 15, 23 and 28), believe that the current media approach to paedophilia has had a positive impact on

society, in that it has raised the level of public debate surrounding paedophilia. Although there is no explicit evidence to support this claim, a cross section of professionals' (participants 3, 4, 7, 10, 11, 12 and 17) do believe that the media does influence the public's understanding of issues. However, as one editor cautions "...I think that the media is very definitely capable of influencing public opinion. I think one of the difficult areas is the degree to which public opinion is affected by media nationally or by media locally, and then by personal experience" (participant 4). This belief is reinforced by another media participant, a journalist, "...the media increases predetermined responses. These are opinions that people generally keep to themselves, or share with close friends and family members, other likeminded individuals. These opinions generally cause no harm and just exist in discussion. But, the media can confirm and validate these opinions and therefore causing a snowball effect from conservation to action." (participant 3). One academic, a media lecturer, claims that media impact is difficult to pinpoint in that, "...we are now media savvy; we are a very sophisticated nation in terms of how we actively use media. As I said before it's not a simple straightforward relationship." (participant 10) (Cohen & Young, 1981; Howitt, 1998; McQuail, 2000; Cohen, 2002; Greer, 2002). This suggests that the professionals' support the uses and gratification model of media affect (Howitt, 1998), to help explain the approach the media's grass-roots model approach to moral panics (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994), specifically paedophilia (Cohen, 2002; Silverman & Wilson, 2002).

Is there an Increase in Paedophilia in Modern Society?

There was no professional consensus on actual levels of paedophilic offending in modern society. One psychologist surmises that "... the general public and professional feelings about paedophilia is that it's on the increase" (participant 8). However, this is countered by a member of probation stating "...well, I don't know how common it is (*laughs*) well, how do you know how common it's ever been? I don't know! How do you find that out? 'Oh I'll do a bit of research, have you ever been? Thank you, that's one. You know, out of every 20 people we interviewed said...' (*Laughing, being sarcastic*). I don't know, so again its assumptions, I mean Paedophilia is what it is and it's whatever we say it is; it seems to me." (participant 26). A sociologist states "...god knows. Ahem, I can see arguments for both" (participant 19).

Some professionals', an academic and a practitioner (participants 20 and 22), suggest this professional ambiguity surrounding the actual volume of paedophilia is because the scale of paedophilia was unknown until recently (participant 20), and "...if we had probably known 40 years ago what the levels where we would have been shocked" (participant 22). This

reflects the current literature, because even though there has been a statistical increase in paedophilic and related offences (Taylor & Quayle, 2003; National Probation Service [NPS], 2006) in recent years, paedophilia is still an significantly under reported crime (West, 2000; Simmons et al, 2002). Also, it is important to realise that in recent years there has simultaneously been an increase in the public's awareness of paedophilia (Taylor and Quayle, 2003). Therefore, has there really been an increase in actual rates of paedophilia or just in our knowledge of its occurrence?

In response to this a number of professionals', particularly practitioners (participants 6, 10, 11, 15, 21, 22 and 26), agree with one police participant that "...my own personal view, totally out of my own mind, without any sort of background research or analysis, I would say that you have probably got not much more [paedophilic offending] than we had before." (participant 22). The professionals' believe that the noted increase in paedophilic offending is probably a result of greater social awareness of paedophilia in modern society, rather than an increase in actual offending (participant 5, 9, 10, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25 and 27). One therapist suggests this is a result of society having "...a greater willingness to believe that this behaviour happened to people, and a greater willingness to hear what they have to say and to believe that" (participant 16). Despite, agreeing with the sentiment that society is more realistic in regard to paedophilia, one police officer realises that this increased societal recognition of paedophilia has also resulted in the public becoming more alarmist about paedophilia in general (participant 22) (Cohen, 2002; Critcher, 2002; Silverman & Wilson, 2002; McAlinden, 2006A).

Professionals' also believe that these noted increases in paedophilic offending maybe a result of an increase in opportunities to offend against children, particularly as a result modernisation (i.e., the internet, child sexual abuse imagery). For instance, one NGO representative, suggests that "...people filming, the whole photographs thing, the whole existence of sexually abusive images of children the huge growth of that, the potential that the internet has then offered for that, the potential that the internet has offered for adults to be in touch with children in an anonymous way, which previously didn't exist. So there are more opportunities and more variety of opportunities" (participant 27). A member of the police reinforces the idea that the internet has made it easier access to paedophilic material, therefore increasing possibilities for paedophilic offending, for "...the rise in internet offences is because it is so accessible, because where as before if you wanted images of children you had to go to Holland or other European countries,.....Again, with adult pornography you could

look at a book and it remains a book, although the images are there, but the internet because of the way that people do adult pornography you hit on something and everything else comes up and automatically its there whether you want it or not, and I think that has lead to a huge rise in recorded offences, and I don't think the juries come back yet on whether watching leads to touching offences anyway." (participant 21). This supports research that technological developments have impacted upon the rates of paedophilic offending (Taylor and Quayle, 2003); particularly with child sexual abuse imagery possibly starting to play a more central role in paedophilic offending (Bentovim, 1993; (Taylor & Quayle, 2003).

Interestingly, some professionals' (participants 8 and 10) suggest that paedophilia maybe on the decrease, with a member of probation (participant 26) stating, "...I don't really know on a pro-rata base if there are more paedophiles than there was.... Probably people are more interested in sex in a different way than they were two or three hundred years ago, probably there access to it is, is different to how it was, maybe people are more sexually aware about themselves and the possibilities, than they used to be, but maybe two or three hundred years ago sex was more accessible because you, you could grab a child". This seems realistic, as child protection is a relatively new phenomenon (Cunningham, 1995), particularly in regard to sex offences (O'Grady, 2001). The idea that paedophilia is on the decrease is complemented by other professionals', with one academic, a psychologist, stating that "....what little research there is in the area, that is substantial epidemiological research, would suggest that it is falling, and that it's falling quite dramatically" (participant 8). This however, contradicts official research and statistics showing that paedophilia is on the increase (National Probation Service [NPS], 2006). The professional standpoint therefore seems to be best surmised by one psychologist, stating "....I don't really think that paedophilia in terms of statistical indicators of paedophilia, is on the increase or is on the decline" (participant 6).

Public Understanding of Paedophilia

Discussions of Paedophilia in Modern Society

Professionals', mainly practitioners (participants 2, 5, 13, 14, 17, 22 and 28), did not believe that society properly discussed paedophilia, for as one therapist stated we find discussing paedophilia too distressing (participant 5). An NGO representative reinforces this, suggesting that "...we infer statements and comments. I'm a parent myself and the typical thing, if I found someone messing about with my daughter or something they'd be... I'd take them to police to get to them first, we don't really actually discuss any of the reasons, we don't

discuss the outcomes, we don't... you know. We offer opinions and comments but we don't really go much further than that," (participant 28). Criminal justice practitioners also believe that society reacts emotionally to paedophilia, because we act in an "...emotionally responsive [way], some mothers, today's mothers will you know... say 'bastard, if he came near my kid', you know. And you know, it's hard to argue against those feelings, because you'd be the same and I'd certainly be the same you know," (participant 26). One police officer believes that this public reaction makes it difficult to discuss paedophilia in that "...when you are trying to lead them to have any, not even take them to the centre where the mucky stuff is, just to make them informed on the outer edges they do go into a panic straight away?" (participant 22). This supports the previous literature showing that paedophilia is a major social concern (McDonald Wilson Bradford, 2000; Silverman & Wilson, 2002) and moral panic (Cohen, 2002) in modern society.

Public Misperceptions of Paedophilia

The vast majority of professionals' (participants 2, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 27) believe that the public do not have a good understanding of paedophilia. Practitioners believe that the public tend to think the worst about paedophiles (participants 15 and 20), with one police officer stating that "...when you say paedophile to someone, the typical person in the street they get this image of this monster, this psychopath who has done you know all these unexplainable things to children, and in some cases you know, fine they are like that, and in a lot of cases they are not." (participant 15) (Rind, Tromovitch & Bauserman, 1998). However, a member of probation justifies this perceived public reaction to paedophilia, in that the public believe that the only acceptable reaction to paedophilia is complete condemnation, for "...if you go much further than that you are sympathising with the paedophiles" (participant 26).

The Publics' Misperception of Paedophilia: Stranger Danger

A cross section of professionals' (participants 5, 8, 9, 12 and 14), believe that the public incorrectly believe paedophilia to be intrinsically linked to both 'stranger danger' and to threats outside the home. One therapist suggests that the public believe: "...yea every white van has got a Roy Whiting and a box inside, cruising around. Because, that's what gets the coverage" (participant 5). This perception is reinforced by a journalist stating that "...I think that people have the idea of nasty looking strangers creeping around by themselves;" (participant 12) (Silverman & Wilson, 2002). However, as one therapist comments these

public misperceptions are not in line with the realities of paedophilia, as “...we don’t like to think about these things going on within families, but the greater majority of people, adults or children, that are sexually abused know their attackers. The snatchings are very rare.” (participant 5) (Howitt, 1995; Briere & Elliott, 2003).

The Publics’ Misperception of Paedophilia: Child Sexual Abuse Imagery

Some professionals’ also believe that the public misunderstand people who view child sexual abuse imagery, with one reporter suggesting that “...they [the public] may not see anything wrong with someone downloading child pornography images; they may see it as harmless, and not as a record of a child being sexually abused. I agree with the child protection agencies that downloading child abuse images is aiding and abetting child sexual abuse. But some others may just think it’s being done by people who are a bit curious or a bit sad, but not a bit dangerous.” (participant 3). However, one psychologist attempts to explain this misinterpretation of child sexual abuse imagery, believing it has resulted from tending to “....demonise not the individual, but the internet, the individual was demonised, if you like, for falling prey” (participant 8). This reinforces the literature suggesting that child sexual abuse imagery is a complex field, accentuated by little knowledge on offenders and a lack of public understanding (Taylor & Quayle, 2003).

The Publics’ Misperception of Paedophilia: Treatment

A cross-section of professionals’, mainly practitioners (participants 1, 6, 12 and 23), believed that the public do not fully comprehend the importance of treatment for paedophiles. One police officer states that “...I don’t think that society grasps the concept of perhaps treatment being an integral part of child protection.... I think that there is still masses and masses to do before one hopes that society can accept that treatment, whether it can be in a secure condition or community based it doesn’t matter. But treatment it is as much a part of protecting children as enforcing the law and throwing them into jail.” (participant 1). One practitioner, an NGO representative, does not think that the public have even “...thought of how people can be treated, whether they can be treated, what should be done with them on their release and so on” (participant 13). Which is supported by a newspaper editor, who

believes that the public “...see that particular matter in very black and white terms, i.e., it is wrong, it is abhorrent, and perpetrators should be caught, dealt with and shown no sympathy what’s so ever.” (participant 23) (Kleinhaus, 2002; Silverman & Wilson, 2002; McCartan, 2004; McAlinden, 2006A).

The Public’s Misperception of Paedophilia: The Impact of Professional Knowledge

Some professionals’, mainly practitioners and academics (participants 6, 13, 16 and 25), believe that the public’s poor understanding of paedophilia is a reflection of inconsistencies in professional understandings (Musk, Swetz & Vernon, 1997; O’Grady, 2001). An NGO representative states that “...people may not understand paedophilia, and to be quite honest I can completely understand that because it’s something in itself that is very difficult to explain to people and even the experts don’t have a clear understanding” (participant 13). This is reinforced by an academic, a psychologist, stating that, “...the whole area of sexual abuse is filled with examples of where professional thinking goes wrong, where it has gone wrong. I think that they should be laid to blame a lot more than the public.” (participant 6), and therefore “...if you are not getting it from professionals’, like psychologists, it’s difficult to imagine how the public are going to be affected” (participant 6). Despite this, one practitioner believes that even though “...the public are quite misguided in their knowledge of paedophilia, and the only ones that are well informed and truly knowledgeable are those that know a lot about the field in general. (participant 11).

The Public’s Misperception of Paedophilia: The Role of Professionals’

Some practitioners, mainly the police (participants 1, 15 and 22), believe the public misunderstand why professionals’ choose to work with paedophiles and sex offenders. For example, one police officer states “... I often hear I heard it a week ago... the comment” Oh. How on earth do you do your job? It must affect you?”. I often hear those three words, four words, it must affect you. I am fairly certain that most of them, I suspect that some of the people think it must affect you does it turn you into a paedophile.” (participant 1). This is reinforced by a therapist, because “... I mean just looking at some of my friends and family, whatever, whenever I told them what I do, or if I meet people, you know... sort of friends of

friends or whatever, and in the pub and there like ‘so what do you do?’, ‘psychologist, I work here and I work with these people’. They kind of turn there noses up and ‘how could you do this, how could you work with these people’ and sometimes even stronger than that, you know.”(participant 15). Although, public attitudes to, and comprehension of, professionals’ career choices has not been studied in regard to paedophilia, the negative attitudes that the professionals’ have experienced do seem to be plausible given the public’s attitude to, and understanding of paedophilia (Musk, Swetz & Vernon, 1997; O’Grady, 2001, Kleinhaus, 2002; Silverman & Wilson, 2002).

Bizarrely, this public suspicion and condemnation leads some professionals’, particularly the police, to question their own and their colleagues’ motives, “...Why am I in the job that I am in? A very deep question, I can’t answer, I can answer that on the surface but... but maybe there are deeper things that I have not recognised. Why would people want to volunteer to look at child images day in and day out, everyday? Why would somebody want to do the job of the Internet Watch Foundation, day in, day out at looking at children being sexually abused you know?” (participant 22). However, it was only therapists and the police who were voicing these concerns; therefore, why were members of these professions more susceptible to these ideas? Are all professionals’ as suspicious of the public perceptions of their motives and credibility? Are all professionals’ suspicious of their colleague’s motives? Or have these specific professionals’ had particular negative experiences with offenders, colleagues and/or the public?

Positive Public Understandings of Paedophilia

However, not all the professionals’ (participants 4, 10, 13, 18 and 19) believe the public to have a poor understanding of paedophilia. For example, one academic, a sociologist, suggests that public understanding of paedophilia is “....increasing, their understanding is increasing” (participant 19), which is reiterated by another academic, a lecturer in media, stating that “.....I think that they are a lot more aware of the fact that children are abused..... that the sexual abuse of children is more widespread.” (participant 10). Also, some of the media and academic professionals’ (participants 4, 13 and 18), go on to argue, as one sociologist does, that “...I think in very broad terms yes they probably do, they probably do. I think, but I’m no expert (*laughs*) it’s just my hunch. (*Pause*) but I think defined broadly as... you know sexual activity with a minor then most people who have a sense of, yes that are paedophilia.” (participant 18). This is confirmed by a practitioner, who states that “...You might not know

all the technical stuff, you might not understand all about it, but you know about child sex tourism. You can ask anybody about child sexual abuse and they'll have a basic knowledge." (participant 13) (McCartan, 2004).

How to Improve Public Understanding of Paedophilia?

A cross-section of the professionals' (participants 2, 5, 3, 15 and 24), suggest that increasing public education on paedophilia would lead to a better public understanding of paedophilia. One therapist believes that "...if people understood the more how perpetrators operate then they could take more reasonable actions to protect themselves" (participant 5). However, an academic, a criminologist, argues that public education should not only be limited to paedophilia, "...but also, what the government are doing. The government is actually trying to do something about this, but how many people go on to the Home Office web site and try to claw through the Multi Agency Public Protection Arrangements (M.A.P.P.A.). It's not accessible." (participant 2). Interestingly, the practitioners were the most vocal in their requests for public education. There may be a number of possible explanations for this, including the fact that practitioners may come face to face with public misunderstanding around paedophilia more often, or that both the academic and media participants believe that they are already educating the public. However, as a criminologist states, there is no point to producing greater educational material on paedophilia if the public are not engaged to being with, "... I was saddened and disappointed, the fact that you have all these organizations, the NSPCC, and if you read their literature that's available for the masses, for most of the masses won't pick up a book on paedophiles, on sexual abuse, and you can't blame them for that." (participant 2).

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the data analysis and results of the qualitative research with the professionals' (Chapter 2) relating them to previous research (Chapter 1). In doing so, the chapter highlighted the professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia and why they believe it has become the current social crisis that it has. Although the participants spanned different areas of expertise (practitioners; members of the media; academics), this did not limit the results of the study as these professions often collaborated together in regard to paedophilia, with some having previously worked in one profession before moving onto another. This demonstrated a lack of narrow-mindedness in the professional cultures surrounding paedophilia. Despite this there was a degree of intra-agency bias and negativity with some

participants, especially by certain criminal justice practitioners (police and probation), but this did not significantly affect the results.

The results of the qualitative research reveal that professionals' have no clear understanding or comprehensive definition of paedophilia; instead arguing that current definitions/terminology are not useful. The participants suggest that paedophilia may be caused by a number of factors (including biological, psychological, social and developmental ones); with no one factor, particularly the cycle of abuse, being the definitive cause. The research also revealed a series of paradoxes between the paedophilic relationship and paedophiles' social/personality skills, grooming behaviours and their cognitive distortions. Consequentially, the participants suggest that there is no cure for paedophilia, with no completely effective treatment available, and as such treatment is always a case of risk management, particularly in regard to re-offending in the community. This was reinforced by the professionals' stressing the need for child protection to be at the centre of child protection policy, and although the participants believed the government to have made significant positive changes to the sex offender's laws in recent years they believe that more could be done. However, the professionals' discounted the viability of public disclosure, condemning the News of the World's campaigns and believing that the government would not introduce Sarah's Law. Although, they criticised the News of the World, the professionals' did believe that the media to have an impact on both public and the government, helping to create the current crisis of paedophilia. The participants state that paedophilia has become a moral panic, which has directly contributed to the poor public understanding of the issue and therefore an inability to accurately measure the actual levels of paedophilic offending in modern society. The current research demonstrates that there are no streamlined professional understandings or prescribed solutions to paedophilia in modern society. The next chapter will assess lay people's implicit theories of paedophilia and their explanations for the current crisis through quantitative research with trainee/non-professionals'.

Chapter 4

The Quantitative Study: Trainee/Non-Professionals' Implicit Theories of Paedophilia

The Quantitative Study: Trainee/Non-professionals' Implicit Theories of Paedophilia

Introduction

This chapter will describe the second research study in this thesis, which investigates trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia using an established quantitative methodology (Sternberg, 1988). Consequentially, this chapter will discuss the aims and objectives of the current quantitative research, as such linking it back to previous research, and to the over-arching themes of the thesis (Chapter 1). It will discuss the methodology used and the results obtained from the two quantitative studies, both separately and collectively, and culminating in a general discussion.

Aims and Objectives of the Research

Previous research has produced mixed findings on lay people's comprehension of paedophilia, with some research indicating a realistic and comprehensive understanding (McCartan, 2004), whereas other research claims the opposite (Taylor, 1981; La Fontaine, 1990; Howitt, 1995). These differing viewpoints suggest that there is a great deal of ambiguity surrounding definitions and explanations of paedophilia in modern society (O'Grady, 2001). This reinforces the idea that current perceptions of paedophilia are a combination of strongly held beliefs and relatively few facts (Musk, Swetz & Vernon, 1997), a fact further solidified by lay and professional ambiguity surrounding paedophilia, media misreporting and distortion (Silverman & Wilson, 2002); as well as government's indecision and contradiction (Dodd, 2000, July 24: Guardian.co.uk; Morris, 2000, July 31: Guardian.co.uk; Assinder, 2006, June 20: bbc.co.uk; 'No.10 admits Megan's Law problems', 2006, June 19: bbc.co.uk; 'Sarah's Law to Start in Months', 2007, April 9: TheSun.co.uk; Travis, 2007, April 11: Guardian.co.uk).

Previous research, especially in psychology, has focused on lay understandings of paedophilia (McCartan, 2004), rather than the potential explanations for how these implicit theories of paedophilia have been formed. However, other social sciences (including anthropology, criminology, sociology and media studies) have started to address these issues and have carried out research into the development of the current crisis of paedophilia, providing a starting point for the current research. Social science research indicates that lay people's, and as such trainee/non-professional's, perceptions and understandings of social issues may be

influenced by professionals', though the double-hermeneutic model of reflexive modernity (Giddens, 1991). The current researcher has a belief, built on the back of previous research, that the main mechanisms for the transfer of knowledge in the double-hermeneutic model may be the media. This is because the media plays a central role in modern society (Giddens, 1991), especially in regard to the formation and maintenance of public perceptions as well as societal attitudes (Greer, 2002). It therefore seems likely that both professional opinion and media influence, via the double hermeneutic model, may build on and contribute to existing notions of risk in modern society (Beck, 1992; Scourfield and Walsh, 2002; Furedi, 2002), reinforcing existing fears and anxieties (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994) and creating the current moral panic surrounding paedophilia (McDonald Wilson Bradford, 2000; West, 2000; Cohen, 2002; McAlinden, 2006A). This is salient as previous research indicates moral panics work to strengthen group norms and stereotypes (Cohen, 2003; Hier, 2003) and proposes that moral panics may actually be a coping mechanism, similar to terror management theory (Pyszczynski, Greenberg & Solomon, 1999) subsequently helping society to deal with the ambiguity and risk surrounding social issues, for instance, paedophilia. The current research will therefore attempt to address some of these social science explanations of the current crisis of paedophilia (i.e., the media, risk, moral panics and coping strategies) through psychological techniques (i.e., personality traits and coping mechanisms), and therefore understanding how they contribute to the participants' implicit theories of paedophilia.

As previously stated in Chapter 1, psychology has a long history of studying the form and function of implicit theories (Wegner & Vallacher, 1977; Furnham, 1988; Anderson, 1995). Research suggests that implicit theories are those that exist within people's minds; they can exist unconsciously and are related to all aspects of life (Sternberg, 1988). Implicit theories are developed and learnt through individual's interactions with the world (Ward & Keenan, 1997; DeFrates-Densch, Smith, Schrader & Rique, 2004) and as such they are often based in commonsense perceptions and understandings of the world (DeFrates-Densch et al, 2004). However, because implicit theories are based on personal experiences and constructions, they can be incorrect (stereotypes) (Levi, Stroessner & Dweck, 1998; Plaks, Stroessner, Dweck & Sherman, 2001) or maladaptive (cognitive distortions) (Ward & Keenan, 1999; DeFrates-Densch et al, 2004). Therefore, implicit theories can be affected by individual differences, through both situational exposure and personality traits (Anderson, 1995). This highlights the possible impact of both ambiguous professional knowledge and the media's representation of paedophilia, and on the development and maintenance of lay people's implicit theories of paedophilia, through the double hermeneutic model of reflexive modernisation. This is particularly salient as implicit theories are central in regard to social perception (Chiu et al,

1997), and stereotype maintenance (Levi et al, 1998; Plaks et al, 2001) and they also affect how individuals develop and maintain their understandings of themselves, other people and the surrounding world (McConnell, 2001; Spinath et al, 2003). Hence, lay people, and therefore trainee/non-professional understandings of paedophilia are important, for they play a central role in the social construction of, and societal reaction to, paedophilia.

As implicit theories exist within people's minds, they are therefore discovered through research (Sternberg et al, 1981; Sternberg, 1988; Chui et al, 1997). The current study will uncover trainee/non-professional implicit theories of paedophilia through a self-report methodology (Furnham & Henderson, 1983; Furnham, 1988; Sternberg, 1985; Polaschek & Gannon, 2004; Marziano, Ward, Beech & Pattison, 2006) by asking participants to describe their understandings of paedophilia (Sternberg, 1988). This research methodology is based on an approach originally used by Sternberg (1988), to uncover implicit theories of creativity, wisdom and intelligence. The Sternberg methodology builds each of the individual research studies on to one another to produce a cohesive and reliable construction of people's implicit theories and is done through the participants providing their own definitions and understandings, with minimal input from the researcher. Study 1 asks two open ended questions; 'What is paedophilia?' (paedophilic personalities) and 'What attitudes and behaviours do paedophiles typically display?' (paedophilic behaviour), which will allowed the participants to define paedophilia though their implicit theories. Study 1 will be built on by study 2; study 2 incorporates the most common implicit theories from the first Study (those that were mentioned by three or more individual participants) (Sternberg, 1988). Study 2 also examines the social construction of paedophilia and the potential reasons for the current crisis by looking at a number of issues proposed by earlier research, namely the media and personality traits. Subsequently, the study asks the trainee/non-professionals' about their engagement with the media (what papers they read, TV news they watch and what radio news they listen to) and their attitude towards the media, focusing on the impact that they believe it to have on them. Study 2 then, based on findings from previous research, will ask the participants to answer a number of personality/coping scales in order to see how these impact the formation of their implicit theories of paedophilia and the current social crisis of paedophilia in modern society.

Research Questions

As this research is exploratory it does not have any formal hypotheses, but rather has a series of research questions: What are trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilic

personalities and behaviours? What are the trainee/non-professionals' attitudes towards the media, especially what is the relationship between trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia and their attitude towards the media? Is there a relationship between trainee/non-professionals' personality traits and their implicit theories of paedophilia?

METHODOLOGY, RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This research was based on a methodology used in a past paper by Sternberg (1988), and its aim is to investigate trainee/non-professional implicit theories of paedophilia, the potential reasons for these theories and why paedophilia has become the current crisis that it has. This study was originally interested in lay understandings of paedophilia, however because of the sensitive nature of the research area and as such the greater level of control needed, it was decided that only university students would be eligible for the studies. Consequentially, this research is actually examining trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia.

Study 1: Defining the Paedophile

Aim

The aim of this study is to understand the trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia and in particular to determine what paedophilia is, and what attitudes and behaviours paedophiles typically display. This study is exploratory in nature and will ask open-ended questions so that the participants may clearly and concisely demonstrate what they actually think.

Method

Design

This is a questionnaire study looking at the participant's answers to two open questions.

Participants

This study had 51 participants. They were criminology postgraduates from the University of Leicester. There was a nearly even split between the gender of the participants, with 23 being male and 28 being female; and there was an age range of between 21-58 years. All participants answered the same questionnaire at the same time.

Materials

5

The questionnaire (Appendix I), initially asked for demographic details (age and gender), and proceeded to ask two open-ended questions; 'What is a paedophile?' and 'What attitudes and behaviours do paedophiles typically display?'. The questionnaire was designed like this so that the participants could write down any answer that they wanted, and not feel confined by the nature of the response format. This approach is based on the methodology used in a previous study by Sternberg (1988), which suggested that this was the best approach to uncovering participants' implicit theories (Sternberg, 1988).

Procedure

The researcher contacted the University of Leicester's criminology department and asked their permission to approach students studying with them. The department consented. At that point an optimal date and a method of sampling were agreed upon, which was at the end of a lecture given to the whole year group.

The researcher informed the participants of the aims and objectives of the study. They were given full disclosure prior to filling in the questionnaire with the researcher also informing them of their right to withdraw at any point during, or after, the study. The researcher then distributed the questionnaires. The participants were told to commence filling in the questionnaires after reading the preliminary information. Although there was not a strict time-frame for the completion of the questionnaire, the majority of participants completed it within 10 minutes. When the questionnaires were collected the participants were informed that their data would be used in the construction of the next part of the study. They were reminded of their anonymity and then the researcher offered a short question and answer session specifically on the questionnaire and their research in general. No-one withdrew from the study at any point.

Ethics

All of the ethical guidelines set down by the British Psychological Society (BPS) (BPS, 2000) were observed. The researcher obtained the Department of Criminology's consent to use its students as participants, as well as the participants' consent to participate in the study. There was no deception used in the study, with the participants being briefed, de-briefed; and being

informed that if they felt in anyway affected by the questionnaire they could withdraw from the study at any point. The participants were also told that their data and demographics would remain private and confidential, and that their participation would remain anonymous.

Data Analysis

All the responses were collated and any responses that appear three or more times across all participants, for both questions, was deemed as important and used in part two of this study, in accordance with Sternberg (1988).

Results

All the participants' responses to the two questions asked in this part of the study were collated, with any items that appeared three or more times being selected for Study 2 (Table 4.1 and Table 4.2), as in accordance with previous research (Sternberg, 1988)

Discussion

A series of interesting results emerged from this study, including that trainee/non-professionals' tend to believe that typical paedophilic personality traits include the following; that they enjoy sexually abusing children; that they are not 'normal' (that they are sick, mad, mentally disordered and not normal); that they are sexually deviant (perverts, rapists); that they mainly focus their abuse on children (feelings for children, they gain pleasure from their interactions with children and they have an unhealthy attitude towards children). However, some of the trainee/non-professionals' believed that paedophiles do not necessarily have to offend against children (they can use child sexual abuse imagery and they may not offend against children). These findings correspond with previous research on public (McCartan, 2004) and professional (Howitt, 1998; Silverman and Wilson, 2002) understandings of paedophilic personality traits. Also, the trainee/non-professionals' tended to believe that paedophiles tended to be males, as opposed to females, which corresponds with previous research (Finklehor & Russell, 1984); with only a minority (less than three) believed that females could be paedophilic offenders as well. The finding that trainee/non-professionals' do not believe females likely to be paedophilic offenders could be a result of a multitude of factors, such as; that while female sex offending does occur, it is less common than male offending (Howitt, 1995); that there is a perception within society that female sexual abuse is not as damaging to the victim as male sexual abuse (Saradjian, 1996), which is not necessarily the case (La Fontaine, 1990; Howitt, 1995); and that victims may be less likely to report the abuse (Saradjian, 1996).

Items	Number
Abuse children sexually	35
Paedophile (male)	18
Feelings for the children	17
Abuser	10
Mentally disordered	8
Sick	7
Mad	7
Not offend against children	6
Pervert	6
Rape	6
Use imagery	5
Criminal	5
Disgusting	5
Addicted to children	4
Not normal	4
Paedophile (female)	4
Pleasure (they gain...)	3
Unhealthy attitude to children	3
Old	3

Table 4.1

A table showing the cumulative total for all responses to ‘What is a paedophile?’

Trainee/non-professionals’ believe that typical paedophilic behaviours include that paedophiles were hard to identify (secretive, appearing normal) and are therefore devious (false, liars, manipulative, underhand). The participants believe that paedophiles were not ‘normal’ (that they are sick, mad, they have psychological problems, anti-society’s norms); that they suffered from emotional issues (no remorse, impulsive, immature, emotional attitude) as well as cognitive distortions (belief in child interest, believe that they love the children, blame victim, find their behaviour acceptable); and that they are dangerous (sexually assault children, predatory, rape). The trainee/non-professionals’ also believe that paedophiles surround themselves with, and interact mainly with children (spend time near kids, friendly with children, interest in children, sexual interest in children, have a preference for types of children, friendly with children, gentle with children). Although trainee/non-professionals’ believe that paedophiles have poor social skills (socially inept, loners), they also believe that they are capable of complex grooming behaviour (groom family, groom child). Interestingly, the trainee/non-professionals’ reiterated that paedophiles tended to be males, without mentioning female paedophilic offenders at all, reinforcing earlier research findings with the public (McCartan, 2004). However, one interesting finding is that trainee/non-professionals’ agreed with research showing that paedophiles have poorer social (Wilson & Cox, 1983) and relationship skills (Blanchette & Coleman, 2002), while paradoxically being able to display complex grooming behaviours (Erikson et al, 1988) with not only children but adults as well (McAlinden, 2006B). This supports the central tenet of this thesis, that paedophilia is a complex phenomenon; and, as such, incapable of sustaining a one-cure-fits-all-approach.

Items	Number
Appear normal	13
Secretive	11
Spend time near kids	11
Groom child	11
Find behaviour acceptable	10
Psychological problems	10
No remorse	10
Friendly with children	10
Loners	9
Interest in children	8
Sexual interest in children	8
Belief in child interest	6
Mad	6
Sexually assault children	5
Socially inept	4
Immature	4
Groom family	4
Preference for types of children	4
Predatory	4
Underhand	4
Sick	4
False	4
Liars	4
Manipulative	3
Believe that they love the children	3
Paedophile (male)	3
Impulsive	3
Emotional attitude	3
Pervert	3
Blame victim	3
Rape	3
Anti society's norms	3
Gentle with children	3

Table 4.2

A table showing the cumulative total for all responses to ‘What attitudes and behaviours do paedophiles typically display?’

There are, however, issues with this study, including the fact that the trainee/non-professional sample is entirely comprised of a university population. This may have skewed the findings because the sample may be better educated than the general public, resulting in them having more in common with professionals’, particularly because they are MSc Criminology students and may have a better understanding of sexual violence, sexual abuse and paedophilia. However, there was an attempt to address this, in that the study took place at the start of term; and also because the participants were allowed to write down what they wanted, thereby enabling their implicit theories to emerge.

The findings from study 1 suggest that the trainee/non-professionals’ implicit theories of typical paedophilic personalities and behaviour seem to be consistent both with previous research, and with professional implicit theories from earlier in this thesis (Chapter 3).

However, the trainee/non-professional implicit theories do tend to be more negative, and seem to reiterate prominent media representations of paedophiles (Silverman & Wilson, 2002).

Study 2: Trainee/Non-professional Implicit Theories of Paedophilia and Potential Explanations for the Current Crisis

Aims

The aim of this study is to formalise trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia which were uncovered in the previous study and clarify the potential reasons for the development of these theories within society, through examining the role of the media and of personality/coping traits.

Method

Design

This study is a questionnaire based design, which sought to investigate the relationships between a series of factors (implicit theories of paedophilic behaviours, implicit theories of paedophilic personalities, attitudes to the media, and personality/coping traits).

Participants

There were 186 participants, all of whom were undergraduate students from the University of Leicester, comprising a variety of different schools (Criminology, $n = 43$; Law, $n = 94$; Psychology, $n = 51$). The students' age ranged from 18-40; with a majority in the 18-21 age range (76%), as well as being female (77%). All participants completed the same questionnaire; however the Psychology students received course credit for doing it.

Materials

A questionnaire was developed (Appendix J) in conjunction with the results from Study 1 (trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia) and a series of Likert scale questionnaires derived from the existing literature. Hence the respondents were administered the following measures:

Demographic Information

This included questions relating to the participants; age, gender, religious affiliation, ethnic origin and whether or not they were a parent.

Implicit Theories of Paedophilic Personality

The Likert scale questions for this scale were developed from the responses to question one in study 1 (What is a paedophile?), in conjunction with previous research (Sternberg, 1988). Only responses stated by three or more participants from study 1, question one were selected (Table 4.1), resulting in a 20-item scale. These items were then developed into individual statements and a Likert scale was applied, ranging from 1 (Strongly agree) – 7 (Strongly disagree). A Cronbach's Alpha was then carried out to see if the scale had good internal consistency, which it did, with a reliability coefficient of $r=0.82$.

Implicit Theories of Paedophilic Behaviour

The Likert scale questions for this scale were developed from the responses to question two in study 1 (What are typical paedophilic attitudes and behaviours?), in conjunction with previous research (Sternberg, 1988). Only responses stated by three or more participants from study 1, question two were selected (Table 4.2), resulting in a 29-item scale. These items were developed into individual statements and a Likert scale was applied, ranging from 1 (Strongly agree) – 7 (Strongly disagree). A Cronbach's Alpha was then carried out to see if the scale had good internal consistency, which it did, with a reliability coefficient of $r=0.84$.

Attitudes towards the Media

The items for this scale were developed from the literature. They asked the participants what newspapers did they read what news programmes they watched or what radio news did they listen to. The participants were then asked rate their impressions of the media, on a Likert scale, ranging from 1 (Strongly agree) – 7 (Strongly disagree), for its coverage of socially sensitive material, its fair mindedness, its impact upon them as well as society, whether the media they used reflected their social beliefs and if they were likely to believe it.

Participant Personality/Coping Traits

As previously indicated implicit theories exist unconsciously within people's minds (Wegner & Vallacher, 1977; Furnham, 1988; Sternberg, 1985) and are based upon common sense perceptions and understandings of the world (DeFrates-Densch et al, 2004) developed through social interactions (Ward & Keenan, 1997; DeFrates-Densch, Smith, Schrader & Rique, 2004). Subsequently, implicit theories are influenced by individual differences, and therefore personality (Anderson, 1995). Hence, the current study will investigate certain aspects of personality thought to influence the creation and maintenance of implicit theories surrounding paedophilia, and the current crisis of paedophilia in modern society. However, as certain of the personality/coping traits being investigated (i.e., the use of moral panics as a coping strategy, notions of risk and paedophilia, emotional responses to paedophilia) do not have existing scales, this means that the personality/coping traits will be linked, as closely as possible, to existing psychometric scales. A comprehensive literature review was then carried out, in conjunction with discussions with their supervisors, by the researcher whereby they attempted to locate personality/coping scales that matched the theoretical positions from the literature, as much as possible. This was a drawn out process starting with the researcher identifying the main personality aspects of each theoretical approach (i.e., for moral panics and ideas of risk it was decided to look at personality traits relating to cautiousness, tolerance, anxiety and coping), which was followed by a number of potential scales being identified (i.e., The Intolerance of Uncertainty Scale, Buhr & Dugas, 2002; The Revised NEO Personality Inventory (NEO-PI-R), Costa & McCrae, 1992 ; Jackson Personality Inventory-Revised, Jackson, 1994; The Abridged Big Five-Dimensional Circumplex (AB5C), Hofstee, de Raad, & Goldberg, 1992) and then narrowed down to the most appropriate ones (Intolerance of Uncertainty, Buhr & Dugas, 2002; Anxiety, John, 1999; Cautiousness, John, 1999). This approach continued until the researcher had assembled a complete, and appropriate, series of scales to measure the personality/coping traits highlighted by the literature which play a central role in the development of personal as well as social perceptions, and therefore implicit theories, of paedophilia (Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; Furedi, 2002; Cohen, 2003; Hier, 2003; Scourfield & Walsh, 2003; Silverman & Wilson, 2002; Taylor & Quayle, 2003; McAlinden, 2006A).

The current research will examine notions of moral panic and risk (Intolerance of Uncertainty, Buhr & Dugas, 2002; Anxiety, John, 1999; Cautiousness, John, 1999); group stereotyping

especially in regard to in-group/out-group prejudice (Social Complexity, Wann & Hamlet, 1994); social and cultural norms (Public Self Consciousness, Buss, 1980); emotional (Stability, Hogan & Hogan, 2002) and fixed attitudes (Judgemental/Open-mindedness, Peterson & Seligman, 2004; Cognitive Flexibility, Martin & Rubin, 1995); as well as coping skills (Functional Dimensions of Coping, Ferguson. & Cox, 1997). Which will be done though the following batter of scales?

Intolerance of Uncertainty (Buhr & Dugas, 2002): This questionnaire measures a participant's intolerance of uncertainty, a tendency to react negatively on a cognitive, emotional, and behavioural level to uncertain situations and events. This is a 27-item scale rated from 1 (Not at all representative of me) – 5 (Completely representative of me). This scale has a good internal consistency, with a reliability coefficient of $r=0.74$ (Buhr & Dugas, 2002).

Anxiety (John, 1999): This scale measures a participant's degree of anxiety. This is a 10-item scale that is rated from 1 (Very inaccurate) – 5 (Very accurate). This scale has a good internal consistency, with a reliability coefficient of $r=0.83$ (John, 1999).

Cautiousness (John, 1999): This scale measures the degree to which the participant is cautious, it is a 10-item scale that is rated from 1 (Very inaccurate) – 5 (Very accurate). This scale has a good internal consistency, with a reliability coefficient of $r=0.76$ (John, 1999).

Stability (Hogan & Hogan, 2002): This scale measures the degree to which a participant is stable in every day life. This is a 10-item scale that is rated from 1 (Very inaccurate) – 5 (Very accurate). This scale has a good internal consistency, with a reliability coefficient of $r=0.86$ (Hogan & Hogan, 2002).

Judgemental/Open-mindedness (Peterson & Seligman, 2004): This scale measures the degree to which a participant is judgemental or open-minded. This is a 10-item scale that is rated from 1 (Very inaccurate) – 5 (Very accurate). This scale has a good internal consistency, with a reliability coefficient of $r=0.80$ (Peterson & Seligman, 2004).

Cognitive Flexibility (Martin & Rubin, 1995): This scale measures a participant's (a) awareness that in any given situation they have alternatives available to them; (b) willingness to adapt to the situation; and (c) self-efficacy in being flexible. This is a 12-item scale that is rated from 1 (Strongly disagree) – 5 (Strongly agree). This scale has a good internal

consistency, with a reliability coefficient of $r=0.93$ (Maltby, Day, McCutcheon, Martin & Caynus, 2004).

Emotional-based Decision Making (Barchard, 2001): This scale measures the degree to which a participant uses emotion in their decision making processes. This is a 10-item scale that is rated from 1 (Very inaccurate) – 5 (Very accurate). This scale has a good internal consistency, with a reliability coefficient of $r=0.73$ (Barchard, 2001).

Public Self-consciousness (Buss, 1980): This scale measures the degree to which a person is concerned and/or conscious of how others view them, it is a 10-item scale that is rated from 1 (Very inaccurate) – 5 (Very accurate). This scale has a good internal consistency, with a reliability coefficient of $r=0.77$ (Buss, 1980).

Social Complexity (Wann & Hamlet, 1994): This scale measures the degree to which a person wishes to join and maintain membership in diverse social groups. This is a 7-item scale that is rated from 1 (Strongly disagree) – 5 (Strongly agree). This scale has a good internal consistency, with a reliability coefficient of $r=0.81$ (Wann & Hamlet, 1994).

Functional Dimensions of Coping (Ferguson. & Cox, 1997): This scale measures the participants' perceptions of the functions of their own coping behaviours. This is a 16-item scale that is rated from 0 (Not at all) – 6 (Very much so). This scale provides assessments of four self reported coping functions; (1) perceived approach ($r=0.83$), (2) perceived avoidance ($r=0.88$), (3) perceived appraisal ($r=0.87$) and (4) emotional regulation ($r=0.88$) (Ferguson & Cox, 1997).

Procedure

This study used University of Leicester undergraduate students, from three different departments (Criminology, Law, and Psychology), with all the departments being contacted prior to the commencement of research so to gain permission to sample their students. The same procedure was used to sample both Criminology and Law students, and a different procedure was used for Psychology students.

Once the Criminology and Law departments consented for the researcher to approach their students, a suitable date and a method of sampling was agreed; it was decided to distribute the questionnaires at the end of specific lectures. The researcher informed the participants of the

aims and objectives of the study. They were given full disclosure prior to filling in the questionnaire, with the researcher also informing them of their right to withdraw at any point during, or after, the study. The researcher then distributed the questionnaires, at which point the participants were instructed to commence filling in the questionnaires after reading the preliminary information. Although there was no strict time-frame for the completion of the questionnaires, the majority of participants completed it within 20 minutes. When the questionnaires were collected, the participants were reminded of their anonymity and then the researcher offered a short question and answer session, specifically on the questionnaire and the research in general. No-one withdrew from the study at any point.

The questionnaires were distributed and collected from the Psychology sample in a different format. The Psychology participants received course credit for completing the study and, as such, the sampling process was initiated and ran through the Experimental Participation Requirement system (EPR). Initially, the researcher got clearance from the Psychology department to sample its students for this study and the researcher then placed an overview and details of the study on the online EPR system. The students were then able to pick up the study from a convenient central location, complete it and return it; they were informed that the study should take no more than 20 minutes to complete. They were also provided with a full de-briefing sheet explaining the nature of the study and indicating the ethical issues involved.

Ethics

All of the ethical guidelines set down by the BPS (BPS, 2000) were observed. The researcher obtained consent from the departments of Criminology, Law and Psychology to sample their students, as well as the participant's personal consent. There was no deception used in the study, with the participants being fully de-briefed prior to and post completion of the study and being informed that if they felt in any way stressed as a result of the study, they should withdraw at that point. The participants were also informed that their data as well as demographic information would remain private and confidential; hence, their participation would remain anonymous.

Data Analysis

The results will be analysed by first doing a series of factor analyses, one for each of the four main sections of the questionnaire (implicit theories of paedophilic behaviour, implicit theories of paedophilic personalities, attitudes to the media, and personality/coping traits); and

then correlating these to determine if there are possible theoretical overlaps between them (Maltby, Day, McCutcheon, Gillett, Houran & Ashe, 2004).

Results and Discussion

The aim of this study was to formalise trainee/non-professional implicit theories of paedophilia, and to uncover some potential explanations for these theories. This was done through a series of factor analyses on each data set (implicit theories of paedophilic personalities, implicit theories of paedophilic behaviours, attitudes towards the media and participant personality/coping traits), followed by a series of internal correlations to determine if there are any relationships between the different items from each group of factors, and a final series of correlations between the different sets of factors to determine if a higher level model exists.

Implicit Theories of Paedophilic Personality

Results

Prior to running this factor analysis it was decided to remove two of the 19-items from the analysis. These were 'Paedophiles are male' and 'Paedophiles are female'. The reasoning being that these were not actually personality traits (masculine/feminine), but biological traits. Hence, the scale measuring the trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilic personality traits comprised of 17 items.

Prior to the Principle Components Analysis (PCA) being performed the suitability of the data for a factor analysis was investigated, which was supported with the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure being 0.84 (Pallant, 2001) and the Bartlett's test of Sphericity reaching statistical significance ($p < .001$) (Pallant, 2001). This supported the factorability of the correlation matrix and the 17 items were then subjected to a PCA.

The PCA revealed the presence of four components with Eigenvalues exceeding 1, explaining 32.7%, 10.1%, 7.7% and 4.2% of the variance respectively. The inspection of the Scree Plot indicated a massive drop between the first and second component, with the first three being 1 Eigenvalue or above, and a slight levelling off after the fourth, using Catell's (1966) Scree test criteria; it was decided to use only three components for further analysis. This contradicted the results of the Parallel Analysis showing only two components with

Eigenvalues exceeding the corresponding criterion values for a randomly generated data matrix of the same size (17 variables x 186 participants) (Table 4.3).

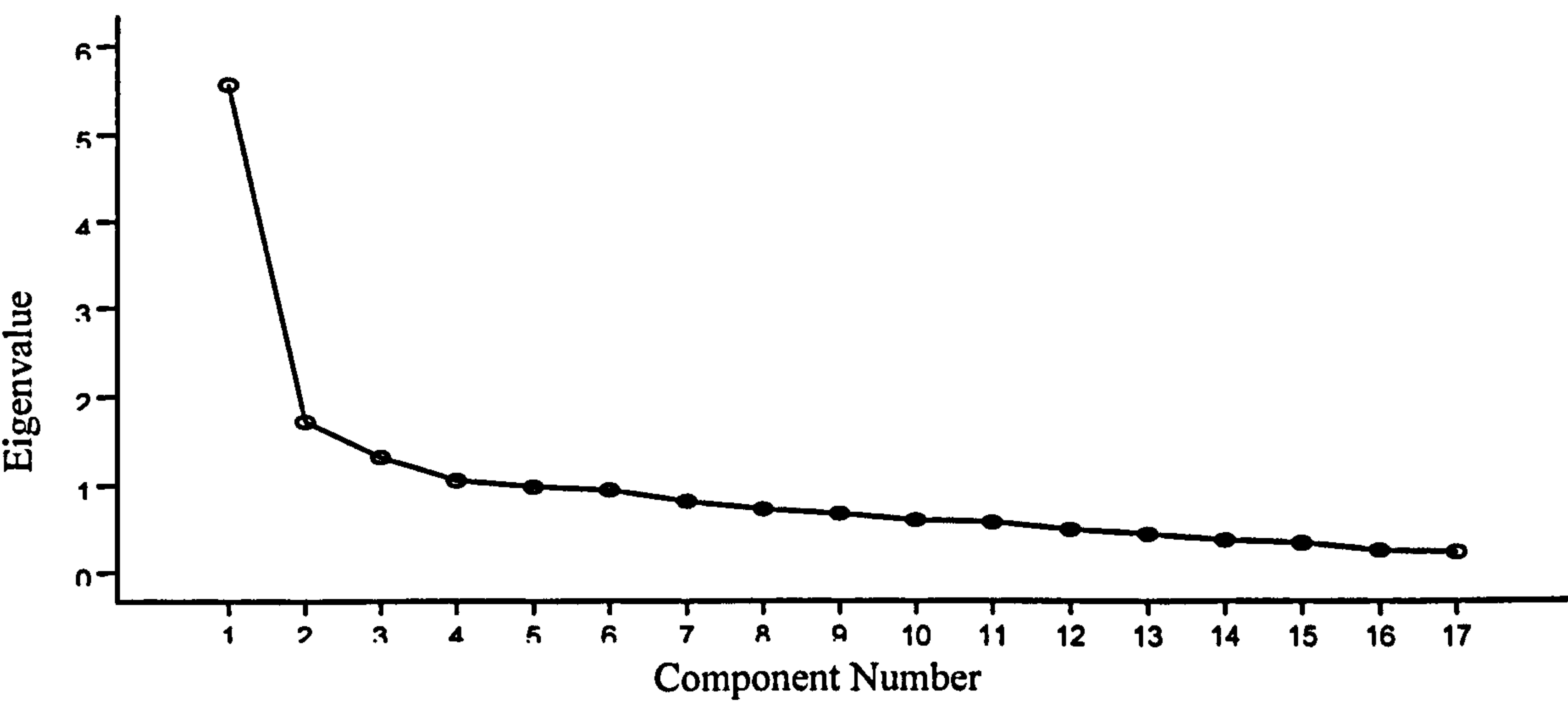


Figure 4.1. A Scree Plot showing the relationship between Eigenvalues and components for the trainee/non-professionals’ implicit theories of pedophilic personality traits.

Component	Initial Eigenvalues from PCA	Random Eigenvalue from Parallel Analysis	Decision
1	5.562	1.5622	Accept
2	1.718	1.4375	Accept
3	1.315	1.3504	Reject
4	1.048	1.2775	Reject
5	.978	1.2097	Reject
6	.924	1.1456	Reject
7	.816	1.0864	Reject
8	.719	1.0314	Reject
9	.666	0.9763	Reject
10	.584	0.9254	Reject
11	.554	0.8720	Reject
12	.487	0.8231	Reject
13	.425	0.7723	Reject
14	.376	0.7166	Reject
15	.338	0.6624	Reject
16	.247	0.6094	Reject
17	.229	0.5418	Reject

Table 4.3

Comparison of Eigenvalues from PCA and the Eigen values from the Parallel Analysis

An Oblimin rotation was then performed to help interpret the two components; however the rotation solution (Table 4.3) revealed that the two components were not completely separate or easily defined. The Oblimin rotation indicates that the two component solution explained

42.1% of the variance, with component 1 explaining 32.7% and component 2 explaining 10.1%. In deciding the strength of the components a cut-off point of .44 was adhered to for the various items (Maltby, Day, McCutcheon et al, 2004) the reason for this being that it would reveal a more powerful and better-focused component. The rotation, however, did not result in a clear theoretical loading of the different items on the two component factors (Table 4.4). It was then decided to look for three factors.

Item	Components	
	1	2
A paedophile is a pervert	.758	-.135
A paedophile is sick	.729	.120
A paedophile is disgusting	.724	-.038
A paedophile is not normal	.700	-.129
A paedophile is mad	.699	.175
A paedophile is mentally disordered	.652	.243
A paedophile is an abuser	.634	-.449
A paedophile is a criminal	.600	-.338
A paedophile is a rapist	.585	-.285
A paedophile is addicted to children	.524	.165
A paedophile sexually abuses children	.506	-.522
A paedophile finds the experience pleasurable	.492	.104
A paedophile doesn't necessarily offend against children	-.183	.615
A paedophile has feelings towards children	.187	.510
A paedophile can use mental imagery instead of abusing	.086	.501
A paedophile is old	.276	.249
% of variance explained	32.7%	10.1%

Table 4.4

Oblimin Rotation of the two factor solution for the implicit theories of pedophilic personality traits

An Oblimin rotation was then performed to help interpret the three components, to see if these allowed for a better theoretical loading of the various items. The rotation solution (Table 4.5) indicated that three components were better separated and easier to define than the previous two factors. The Oblimin rotation indicates that the three component solution explained 50.6% of the variance; with component 1 explaining 32.7%, component 2 explaining 10.1% and component 3 explaining 7.7%. In deciding the strength of the components a cut-off point of .44 was adhered to for the various items (Maltby, Day, McCutcheon et al, 2004). The reason for this was that it would reveal a more powerful and better-focused component. However not all the items loaded on one of the three factors; and this may have been a result of poor item definition. A four component version was run to see if the remaining factors would load on the extra component and if this impacted on the remaining components. This version of the component construction added nothing to the mix (Table 4.6), although it did produce an increase in double-item loadings on different factors; and the fourth factor did not represent anything that was theoretically valid. Therefore, it was decided to stay with the three-factor model. The interpretation of the three components indicates that component 1

seemed to be representing a ‘pathological’ factor, with component 2 displaying an ‘abusive’ factor and component 3 displaying a ‘mentally disturbed, old sex offender’ factor.

Item	Components		
	Pathology	Abusive	Mentally disordered old sex offender
A paedophile has an unhealthy attitude to children	.813	.088	.079
A paedophile is disgusting	.760	-.047	-.062
A paedophile finds the experience pleasurable	.717	.165	.116
A paedophile is a pervert	.634	-.199	-.198
A paedophile is not normal	.580	-.190	-.186
A paedophile is a criminal	.562	-.358	-.013
A paedophile doesn't necessarily offend against children	-.058	.643	-.060
A paedophile sexually abuses children	.263	-.606	-.143
A paedophile is an abuser	.358	-.553	-.223
A paedophile can use mental imagery instead of abusing	.252	.540	-.019
A paedophile is a rapist	.096	-.471	-.490
A paedophile has feelings towards children	.051	.436	-.346
A paedophile is mad	.106	-.068	-.775
A paedophile is mentally disordered	.139	.027	-.711
A paedophile is sick	.340	-.049	-.553
A paedophile is old	-.196	.060	-.612
A paedophile is addicted to children	.373	.087	-.294
% of variance explained	32.7%	10.1%	7.7%

Table 4.5

Oblimin Rotation of the three factor solution for implicit theories of pedophilic personality traits

Item	Components			
	1	2	3	4
A paedophile has an unhealthy attitude to children	.821	.058	.113	.078
A paedophile is disgusting	.772	-.015	-.066	.021
A paedophile finds the experience pleasurable	.724	.053	.146	.162
A paedophile is a pervert	.649	-.122	-.253	-.031
A paedophile is not normal	.585	.093	-.150	-.231
A paedophile is a criminal	.583	-.335	-.137	-.091
A paedophile has feelings towards children	.029	.694	-.098	-.002
A paedophile sexually abuses children	.285	-.454	-.320	-.264
A paedophile is mad	.108	.205	-.750	-.026
A paedophile is old	-.186	-.094	-.708	.348
A paedophile is mentally disordered	.133	.399	-.601	-.110
A paedophile is a rapist	.109	-.200	-.596	-.235
A paedophile is sick	.341	.240	-.493	-.092
A paedophile doesn't necessarily offend against children	-.056	.047	-.073	.773
A paedophile is an abuser	.377	-.330	-.356	-.284
A paedophile can use mental imagery instead of abusing	.260	-.024	-.053	.718
A paedophile is addicted to children	.367	.335	-.177	-.093
% of variance explained	32.7%	10.1%	7.7%	4.2%

Table 4.6

Oblimin Rotation of the four factor solution for implicit theories of pedophilic personality traits

A Pearson product moment correlation was carried out between the three factors (pathology, Abusive and Mentally disordered old offender) developed from the participants’ implicit theories of paedophilic personalities (Table 4.7) to see if there were any relationships. The results indicate a medium positive correlation between the pathological and devious factors [$r = .42, n = 172, p < .001$] and a medium negative correlation between the pathological and the mentally disordered old offender factors [$r = -.37, n = 181, p < .001$].

	Pathology	Abusive	Mentally disordered old offender
Pathology	—	-0.185*	-0.374**
Abusive		—	0.078
Mentally disordered old offender			—
N=186 *P<0.05 **P<0.01			

Table 4.7
Pearson product moment correlation between the factors comprising implicit theories of paedophilic personality

Discussion

The emergent factors from the trainee/non-professionals’ implicit understanding of paedophilic personalities (pathology, abusive and mentally disordered old offender) fit with previous research (LaFontine, 1990; Leberg, 1997; Howitt, 1998; Silverman & Wilson, 2002; McCartan, 2004). Although, interestingly, the trainee/non-professionals’ believe that paedophilia is pathological, which coincides with some (Bagley, Wood & Young, 1994), but not all previous research (APA, 1953; APA, 1968; APA, 1980; APA, 1987; APA, 2000; Lee, Jackson, Pattison & Ward, 2002).

These findings suggest some support for the double-hermeneutic model of reflexive modernity (Giddens, 1991), because there seems to be some filtering down of professional knowledge into the public domain. Also, even though these personality factors seem to reflect widespread public attitudes to paedophilia (Silverman & Wilson, 2002; McCartan 2004), they focus on general definitions, thereby reinforcing existing stereotypes of paedophilia, rather than the actual complexity of the paedophilic personality (Howitt, 1998). The current findings reflect previous research suggesting that implicit theories seem to be based on commonsense perceptions of the world (DeFrates-Densch et al, 2004), in turn helping to create and maintain stereotypes (Levy, Stroessner & Dweck, 1998; Plaks, Stroessner, Dweck & Sherman, 2001) and, as such, they may actually be misinformed (Ward

& Keenan, 1999; DeFrates-Densch et al, 2004). Interestingly, although the items that originally comprised the scale (i.e., the 20-items resulting from study 1, question one) reflect the professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia, the factors that these implicit theories produce (i.e., pathological, abusive and mentally disordered old offender) seem to be more in line with the professionals' implicit theories of how they expect the public to understand paedophilia. This again reiterates the complexity surrounding current conceptions of paedophilia in modern society.

These results also show an interaction between different combinations of the three different factors. The participants do not believe the pathological and abusive factors of the paedophile's personality to be related, which seems to contradict previous research (Howitt, 1995). Interestingly, the participants believe that the paedophile's pathological personality aspects are not related to them being mentally disordered old offenders. This seems to reinforce previous research suggesting that paedophilic tendencies can arise differently in different people (Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997), with elderly paedophiles not necessarily being the most prolific or dangerous, in essence because they seem to be only looking for companionship (Whiskin, 1997).

Implicit Theories of Paedophilic Behaviour

Results

Prior to the 28-items comprising the trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilic behaviour being subjected to a PCA, the suitability of the data for a factor analysis was investigated. The factorability of the correlation matrix supported, because the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure was 0.82 (Pallant, 2001) and the Bartlett's test of Sphericity reaching statistical significance ($p < .001$) (Pallant, 2001).

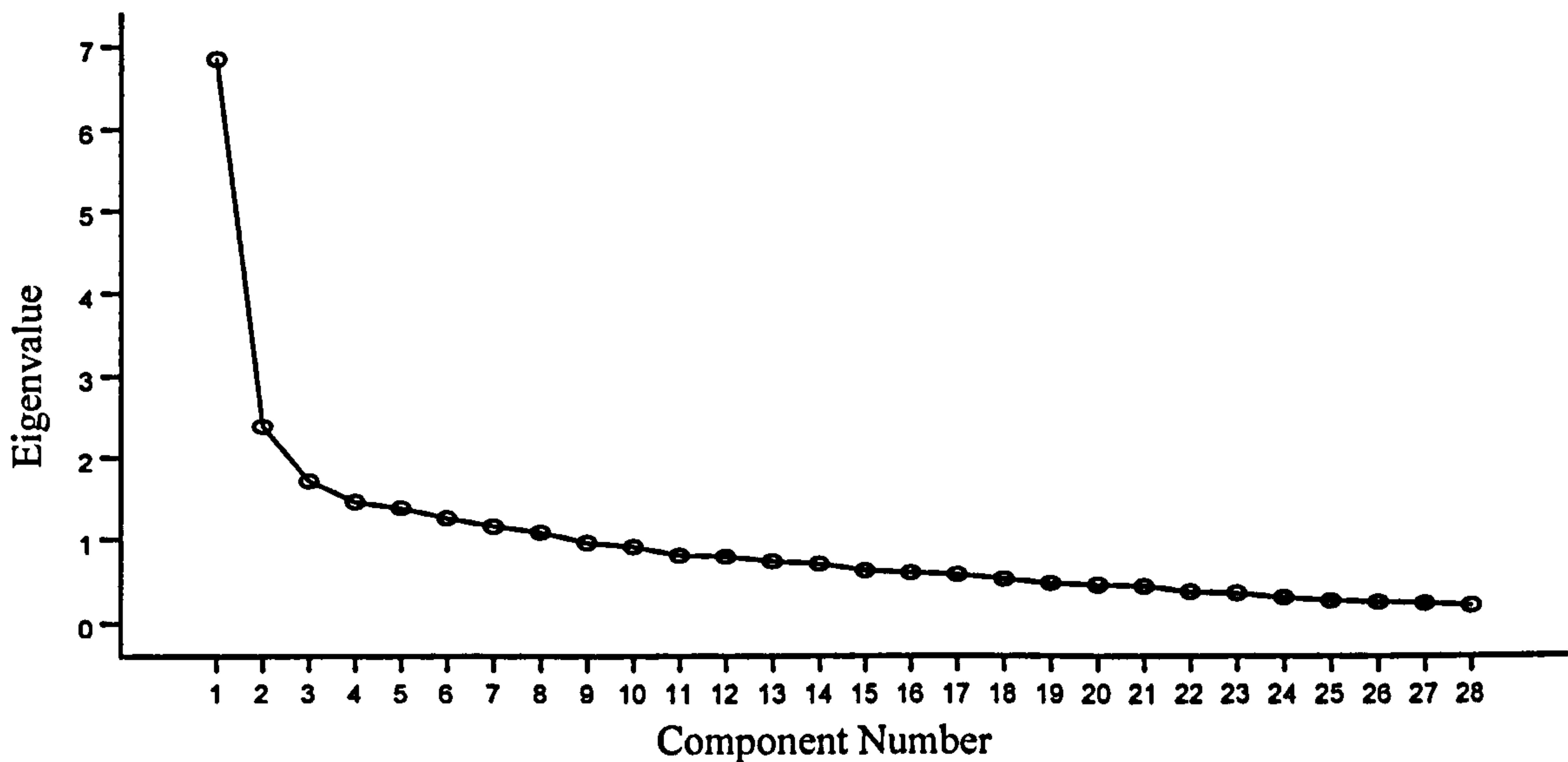


Figure 4.2. A Scree Plot showing the relationship between Eigenvalues and components for the trainee/non-professionals’ implicit theories of pedophilic behavioral traits

Component	Initial Eigenvalues from PCA	Random Eigenvalues from Parallel Analysis	Decision
1	4.852	1.7958	Accept
2	2.390	1.6782	Accept
3	1.716	1.5883	Accept
4	1.466	1.5082	Accept
5	1.391	1.4394	Reject
6	1.266	1.3753	Reject
7	1.166	1.3189	Reject
8	1.094	1.2582	Reject
9	.970	1.2064	Reject
10	.921	1.1583	Reject
11	.812	1.1077	Reject
12	.800	1.0645	Reject
13	.741	1.0169	Reject
14	.710	0.9719	Reject
15	.628	0.9339	Reject
16	.602	0.8934	Reject
17	.578	0.8530	Reject
18	.529	0.8141	Reject
19	.475	0.7748	Reject
20	.454	0.7362	Reject
21	.440	0.6955	Reject
22	.373	0.6581	Reject
23	.357	0.6232	Reject
24	.306	0.5871	Reject
25	.269	0.5504	Reject
26	.251	0.5110	Reject
27	.235	0.4664	Reject
28	.209	0.4148	Reject

Table 4.8
Comparison of Eigen values from PCA and the Eigenvalues from the Parallel Analysis

The PCA revealed the presence of eight components with Eigenvalues exceeding 1, explaining 24.5%, 8.5%, 4.1%, 5.2%, 5.0%, 4.5%, 4.2% and 3.9% of the variance respectively. The inspection of the Scree Plot indicated a massive drop between the first and

second component and a slight levelling off after the fourth, and using Catell’s (1966) Scree test criteria it was decided to use only four components for further analysis (Figure 4.2). This was further supported by the results of a Parallel Analysis, which showed only four components with Eigenvalues exceeding the corresponding criterion values for a randomly-generated data matrix of the same size (28 variables x 186 participants) (Table 4.8).

Items	Components			
	Predatory child sexual abuser	Child lovers	Socially inept	Secretive
Paedophiles are predatory	.747	-.076	-.087	-.043
Paedophiles are underhand	.737	.133	.016	-.105
Paedophiles are manipulative	.698	-.140	-.198	-.031
Paedophiles sexually assault children	.692	-.230	-.082	.100
Paedophiles are liars	.667	-.024	-.172	-.008
Paedophiles rape	.639	-.134	-.054	.184
Paedophiles are anti society’s norms	.565	-.003	.130	-.101
Paedophiles groom members of the children's family	.513	.056	-.012	.012
Paedophiles have a sexual interest in children	.474	.253	.056	.035
Paedophiles believe that they are in love with the children	.074	.666	-.240	.125
Paedophiles are interested in children	.183	.609	-.027	.090
Paedophiles are gentle with children	-.214	.599	.103	.006
Paedophiles have preferences for certain types of children	.361	.510	.237	.003
Paedophiles have no remorse for their attitudes and behaviours	.095	-.207	-.779	.075
Paedophiles are loners	.131	.107	-.638	-.198
Paedophiles find their behaviour and attitudes acceptable	.033	-.181	-.628	.097
Paedophiles are socially inept	.228	.069	-.556	-.284
Paedophiles are friendly towards children	-.026	.135	-.553	.223
Paedophiles spend a lot of their time near children	.075	.090	-.549	.244
Paedophiles are immature	.226	.099	-.472	-.370
Paedophiles blame their victims	.107	.208	-.442	-.150
Paedophiles appear normal	-.059	.030	.007	.728
Paedophiles are secretive	.201	.090	-.021	.671
Paedophiles have psychological problems	.375	-.037	-.246	.057
Paedophiles groom children	.401	.089	-.160	.089
Paedophiles believe that the children consent to their sexual advances	-.014	.340	-.305	.304
Paedophiles are false	.410	.282	-.142	-.028
Paedophiles are very emotional	-.255	.406	-.295	-.040
% of variance explained	24.47	8.53	4.13	5.24

Table 4.9

Oblimin Rotation of the four factor solution for implicit theories of pedophilic behavior traits

An Oblimin rotation was performed to help interpret the four components, which indicated that the four component solution explained 53.3% of the variance with component 1 explaining 24.5%, component 2 explaining 8.5%, component 3 explaining 4.1%, and component 4 explaining 5.2% (Table 4.9). In deciding the strength of the components a cut of point of .44 was adhered to for the various items (Maltby, Day, McCutcheon et al, 2004). The reason for this was that it would reveal a more powerful and better focused component. However, as there were a number of items that failed to load on the four components (Table 4.9), it was then decided to look alternative component numbers. An Oblimin rotation was

then performed in order to see if either five or six components would allow for a better theoretical loading of the various items; however, this was not the case, as in both the pattern matrix failed to load. It was then decided that the four factor model had the best component groupings and as such this model a clearly represented findings. Thus component 1 seems to be displaying a ‘predatory child sexual abuser’ factor, component 2 a ‘child lover’ factor, component 3 a ‘socially inept’ factor and component 4 a ‘secretive’ factor.

	Predatory child sexual abuser	Child lovers	Socially inept	Secretive
Predatory child sexual abuser	—	.073	-.295**	.034
Child lovers		—	-.158*	.087
Socially inept			—	-.118
Secretive				—

N=186 *P<0.05 **P<0.01

Table 4.10

Pearson product moment correlation between the factors comprising implicit theories of paedophilic behaviour

A Pearson product moment correlation was then carried out between the four factors (predatory child sexual abuser, child lover, socially inept and secretive) that comprise the trainee professional’s implicit theories of paedophilic behaviour (Table 4.10) to see if there was any relationship between them. There was a weak negative correlation between the child lovers and socially inept factors [$r = -.16$, $n = 173$, $p < .005$] and also a medium negative correlation between the predatory child sexual abuser and socially inept factors [$r = -.30$, $n = 173$, $p < .001$].

Discussion

The factors that emerged from the trainee/non-professionals’ implicit theories of paedophilic behaviours (predatory child sexual abuser, child lover, socially inept and secretive) fit with the existing literature (Howitt, 1998; La Fontaine, 1990; Leberg, 1997; Silverman & Wilson, 2002; McCartan, 2004). The trainee/non-professionals’ believe paedophiles to be predatory child sexual abusers (Cohen, 2002; Silverman and Wilson, 2002; McAlinden, 2006A), therefore reinforcing the media representation and existing moral panic of paedophilia (Cohen, 2002; Silverman and Wilson, 2002). However, somewhat contrary to this, and surprisingly, the participants suggest that paedophiles can be child lovers, and that they tend

to consider themselves as child lovers (O'Carroll, 1980; La Fontaine, 1990; Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; Silverman & Wilson, 2002); therefore reiterating that paedophiles tend to suffer from cognitive distortions (Leberg, 1987; La Fontaine, 1990; Howitt, 1995). The trainee/non-professionals' also believe that paedophiles tend to be secretive, and as such devious, about their attraction to and interactions with children (Howitt, 1995; Kleinhaus, 2002), reiterating research on the grooming techniques used by paedophiles (Erikson, Walberg, & Seeley, 1988; Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; McAlinden, 2006B). However, almost contrary to this, the trainee/non-professionals' also believe that paedophiles are socially inept, arguing that they are more comfortable with children than adults. Therefore possibly explaining the paedophilic relationship (Wilson & Cox, 1983; Whisken, 1997; Blanchette & Coleman, 2002). Thus the trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophiles' behaviour reflects the complexity of previous research and professional opinion in this area. These results seem to provide concrete support for the double-hermeneutic model of reflexive modernity, than the trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilic personalities do (Giddens, 1991). This suggests that the commonsense perceptions of the world (DeFrates-Densch et al, 2004) that help create these implicit understandings may be based on stereotypes (Levy, Stroessner & Dweck, 1998; Plaks, Stroessner, Dweck & Sherman, 2001) and can sometimes be misinformed (Ward & Keenan, 1999; DeFrates-Densch et al, 2004); but that this is not always the case.

These results also show an interaction between different combinations of the four different paedophilic behaviour factors. Trainee/non-professionals' counter the idea that paedophiles, whether they are perceived as predatory child sexual abusers or child lovers, sexually abuse children because they are socially inept (Taylor, 1981; Blanchette & Coleman, 2002), and subsequently unable to function in age-appropriate adult relationships (Groth & Burnbraum, 1978). This finding seems to negate explanations given by paedophiles for their offending behaviour particularly that the paedophilic relationship is a normal loving relationship (O'Carroll, 1980; Leo, 1983; Brongersma, 1984; La Fontaine, 1990; Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; Taylor & Quayle, 2002). Simultaneously however the trainee/non-professionals' seem to be suggesting that all types of paedophiles are capable of complex grooming behaviours (Wyre, 1987; Erikson, Walberg, & Seeley, 1988; McAlinden, 2006B).

Attitudes towards the Media

Results

Prior to running this factor analysis it was decided to remove three of the items from the analysis; these were ‘Do you read a newspaper?’, ‘Do you watch news programmes on the TV?’ and ‘Do you listen to news programmes on the radio?’. The reasoning was that these items are reflections of media consumption and not the participants’ attitudes towards the impact of the media, which the factor analysis was trying to unravel. As such, the 10-items comprising the trainee/non-professionals’ attitude towards the media was reduced to seven items.

Prior to the PCA being performed on these seven items, the suitability of the data for a factor analysis was investigated. This came back upheld with the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure being 0.71 (Pallant, 2001) and the Bartlett’s test of Sphericity reaching statistical significance ($p < .001$) (Pallant, 2001), which supported the factorability of the correlation matrix.

Component	Initial Eigenvalues from PCA	Random Eigenvalues from Parallel Analysis	Decision
1	2.363	1.2807	Accept
2	1.176	1.1677	Accept
3	0.937	1.0740	Reject
4	0.814	0.9930	Reject
5	0.733	0.9168	Reject
6	0.571	0.8305	Reject
7	0.405	0.7373	Reject

Table 4.11

Comparison of Eigenvalues from PCA and the Eigenvalues from the Parallel Analysis

The PCA revealed the presence of two components with Eigenvalues exceeding 1, explaining 33.7% and 17.1 % of the variance respectively. The inspection of the Scree Plot indicated a massive drop between the first and second component and a slight levelling off after the second, using Catell’s (1966) Scree test criteria; it was decided to use only two components for further analysis. This was further supported by the results of a Parallel Analysis, which showed only two components with Eigen values exceeding the corresponding criterion values for a randomly generated data matrix of the same size (7 variables x 186 participants) (Table 4.11).

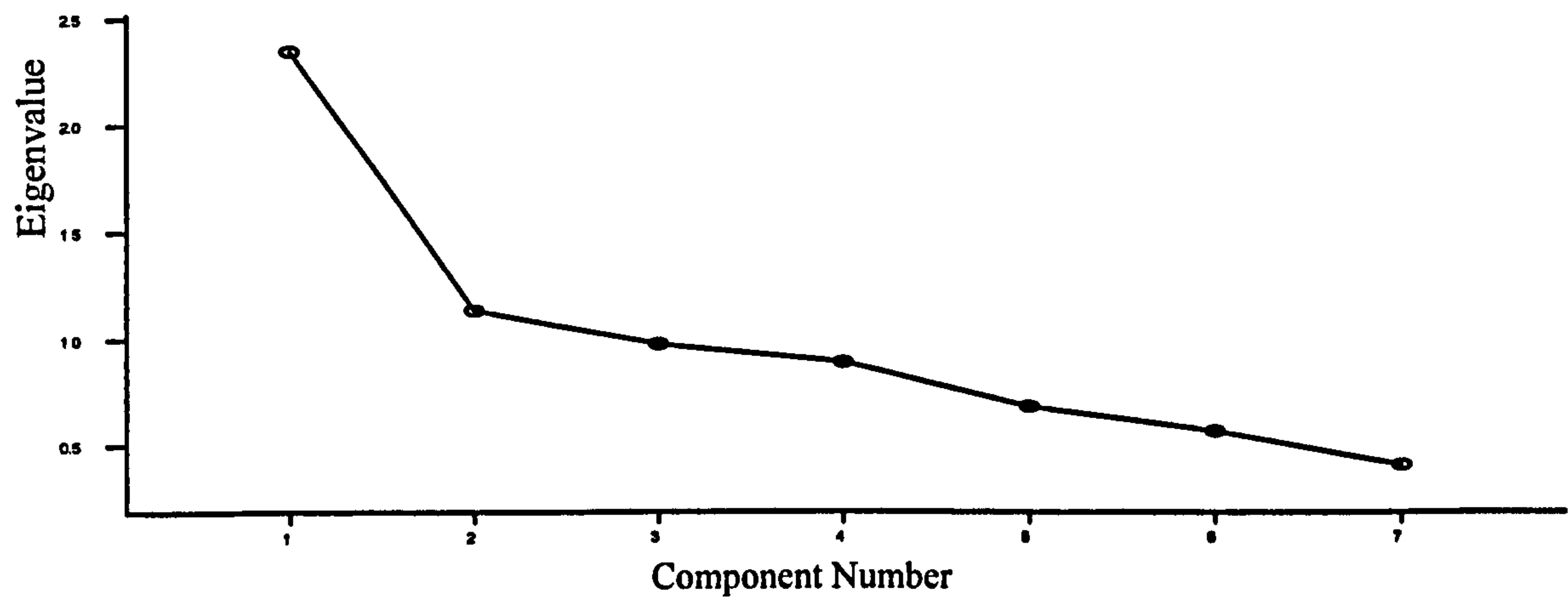


Figure 4.3. A Scree Plot showing the relationship between Eigenvalues and components for the trainee/non-professionals’ attitudes towards the media

An Oblimin rotation was performed to help interpret the two components. The rotation solution (Table 4.12) indicated that the two components were separate and easily defined. The Oblimin rotation indicates that the two component solution explained 50.8% of the variance with component 1 explaining 33.7 % and component 2 explaining 17.0%. In deciding the strength of the components a cut-off point of .44 was adhered to for the various items (Maltby, Day, McCutcheon et al, 2004). The reason for this was that it would reveal a more powerful and better-focused component. At this point it was decided not to look at different alternative amounts of components. Therefore component 1 seemed to be describing ‘media impact’ with component 2 describing ‘media opinion’.

Item	Components	
	Media impact	Personal opinion
Do believe that the news media has an impact on your perception of social events?	.861	-.117
Do believe that the news media has an impact on your understanding of social events?	.841	-.135
Is the news media your main source of opinion on social events?	.522	.229
Are you more likely to believe the news media more often than not?	.492	.394
Do you read/view or listen to the specific news that you do because it reflects your personal opinions?	-.249	.730
Do you think that news media acts responsibility in how it decides to cover socially sensitive material?	.096	.679
Do you believe that the views represented in the news media are reflective of widely held social beliefs and perceptions?	.241	.419
% of variance explained	33.7	17.0

Table 4.12
Oblimin Rotation of the two factor solution for media traits

A Pearson product moment correlation was carried out between the two components (media impact and personal opinion) of the trainee/non-professionals’ attitudes towards the media (Table 4.13) to see if there were any relationships between them. The results showed a small positive correlation between the media impact and the media personal opinion components [$r = .23, n = 173, p < .005$].

	Media impact	Personal opinion
Media impact	—	0.229**
Personal opinion		—

N=186 *P<0.05 **P<0.01

Table 4.13

Pearson product moment correlation between the factors comprising trainee-professional attitudes towards the media

Discussion

The two factors that emerged from the trainee/non-professionals’ attitudes towards the media (media impact and personal opinion) support previous research showing that although the media have an impact on our understandings of the world (Howitt, 1998; Mc Quail, 2000), we are not fully aware of the degree of said media impact (Howitt, 1998; McQuail, 2000). Furthermore, the positive correlation between the two factors offers support for the uses and gratification model of the media impact (Howitt, 1998). Which suggests that trainee/non-professionals’ personal opinions and their interpretation of the media collaborate to allow them to understand the world. This result highlights the complexity in understanding media impact because individuals react to different media forms and styles in different ways (McQuail, 2000). These results also reiterate that people develop and learn implicit theories through their interactions in the world at large (Ward & Keenan, 1997; DeFrates-Densch et al, 2004), as well as suggesting that the media plays an central role in the development of implicit theories through the double-hermeneutic model of reflexive modernity (Giddens, 1991).

Participant Personality/Coping Traits

Results

Prior to the PCA being performed for the 13-items comprising the participant personality traits the suitability of the data for a factor analysis was investigated. This, was not supported initially with the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure being 0.59 (Pallant, 2001), however the

Bartlett’s test of Sphericity reached statistical significance ($p < .001$) (Pallant, 2001) which then supported the factorability of the correlation matrix.

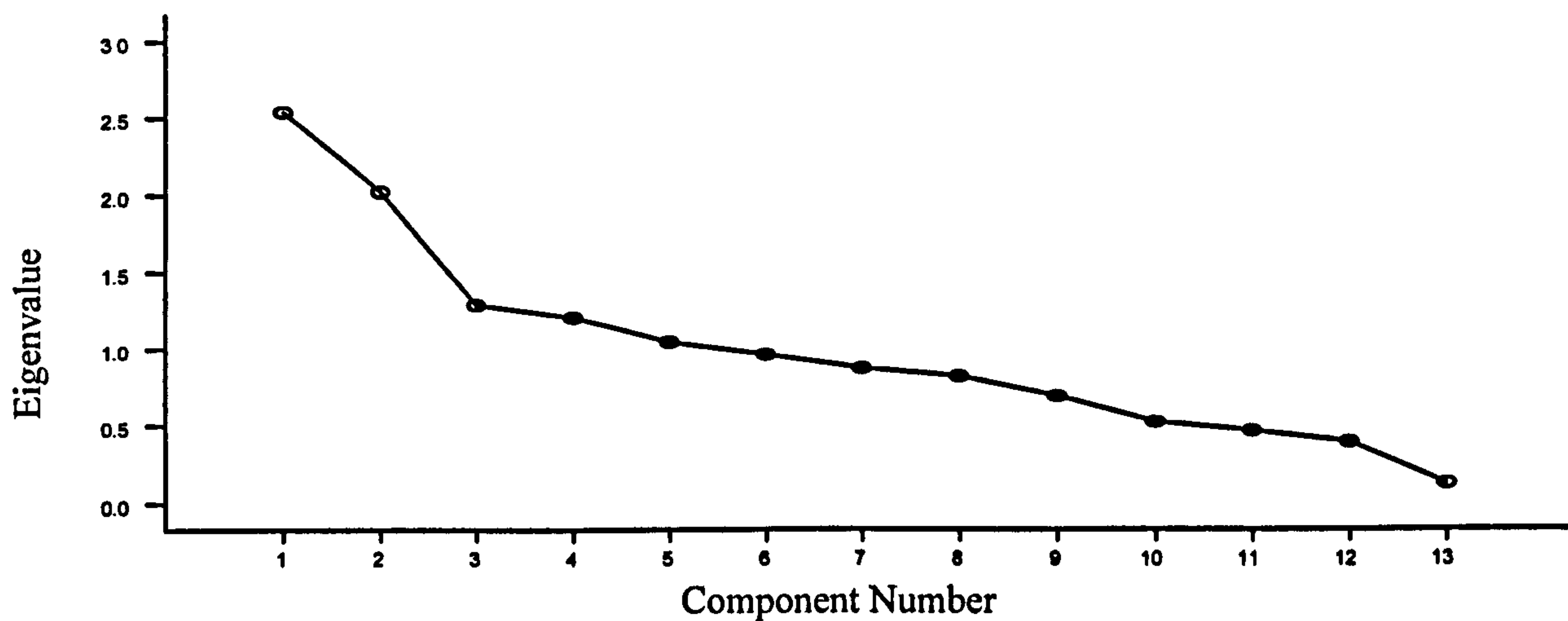


Figure 4.4. A Scree Plot showing the relationship between Eigenvalues and components for participant personality traits

The PCA revealed the presence of five components with Eigenvalues exceeding 1, explaining 19.5%, 15.5%, 9.9%, 9.3% and 8.1% of the variance respectively. The inspection of the Scree Plot indicated a massive drop between the first and second component and a slight levelling off after the second, using Catell’s (1966) Scree test criteria; although there were five factors with an Eigenvalue of 1 or more. However, the results of a parallel analysis showed only four components, with Eigenvalues exceeding the corresponding criterion values for a randomly-generated data matrix of the same size (13 variables x 186 participants) (Table 4.14). As such, it was decided to look at both four and five components for further analysis to see which best described the factor groupings.

Component	Initial Eigenvalues from PCA	Random Eigenvalue from Parallel Analysis	Decision
1	2.538	1.4636	Accept
2	2.020	1.3474	Accept
3	1.292	1.2602	Accept
4	1.211	1.1841	Accept
5	1.053	1.1091	Reject
6	.970	1.0420	Reject
7	.876	0.9809	Reject
8	.826	0.9275	Reject
9	.696	0.8635	Reject
10	.526	0.8062	Reject
11	.471	0.7407	Reject
12	.396	0.6751	Reject
13	.125	0.5998	Reject

Table 4.14
Comparison of Eigenvalues from PCA and the Eigenvalues from the Parallel Analysis

An Oblimin rotation was performed to help interpret the four components. The rotation solution (Table 4.15) indicated that the four components were generally separate and easily defined. The Oblimin rotation indicates that the four component solution explained 55.0% of the variance with component 1 explaining 20.0%, component 2 explaining 15.5%, component 3 explaining 9.9% and component 4 explaining 9.6%. In deciding the strength of the components a cut-off point of .44 was adhered to for the various items (Maltby, Day, McCutcheon et al, 2004). The reason for this was that it would reveal a more powerful and better-focused component. However, there were a number of factors that failed to load on any of the components (total cautiousness & total emotional flexibility); therefore it was decided to look at five components.

Item	Components			
	Cognitive flexibility	Positive coping	Sociability	Negative coping
Total intolerance of uncertainty	.655	.092	.233	-.029
Total judgemental/ open-mindedness	.644	.000	.093	-.358
Total cognitive flexibility	.643	-.089	-.273	.333
Total social complexity	.619	-.009	.023	.081
Coping; reappraisal	.047	-.906	.020	-.138
Coping; approach	.042	-.825	.003	-.371
Coping; emotion regulation	-.072	-.746	-.006	.370
Total anxiety	.092	.035	.776	-.002
Total public self-consciousness	.074	-.085	.669	-.096
Total stability	.000	.040	.497	.073
Coping; avoidance	.157	.131	.007	.816
Total cautiousness	-.169	-.016	.396	.405
Total emotional based decision making	.357	-.115	.316	-.080
% of variance explained	20.0%	15.5%	9.9%	9.6%

Table 4.15

Oblimin Rotation of the four factor solution for personality/coping traits

An Oblimin rotation was performed to help interpret the five components. The rotation solution (Table 4.15) indicated that the five components were generally separate and easily defined. The Oblimin rotation indicates that the five component solution explained 62.4% of the variance with component 1 explaining 19.5%, component 2 explaining 15.5%, component 3 explaining 9.9%, component 4 explaining 9.3% and component 5 explaining 8.1%. In deciding the strength of the components a cut-off point of .44 was adhered to for the various items (Maltby, Day, McCutcheon et al, 2004). The reason for this was that it would reveal a

more powerful and better-focused component. However, there was a double loading of ‘coping; emotional regulation’ on two factors, as such it was decided to stick with the four component model. Thus component 1 seemed to be describing ‘cognitive flexibility’, with component 2 describing ‘positive coping’, with component 3 describing ‘sociability’, and with component 4 describing ‘negative coping’.

Item	Components				
	1	2	3	4	5
Coping; reappraisal	.930	.003	.072	-.113	.081
Coping; approach	.849	.004	.001	-.337	.087
Coping; emotion regulation	.741	.080	-.037	.454	-.132
Total anxiety	-.095	.752	.276	.013	-.073
Total public self-consciousness	.053	.696	.056	-.003	-.027
Total emotional based decision making	.113	.570	-.234	.035	.038
Total cautiousness	.028	-.067	.795	.075	.005
Total stability	-.013	.273	.518	-.050	.080
Coping; avoidance	-.148	.047	.054	.879	.145
Total social complexity	.048	-.131	.307	-.069	.790
Total cognitive flexibility	.057	-.062	-.155	.245	.613
Total intolerance of uncertainty	-.067	.391	-.002	.027	.544
Total judgemental/open-mindedness	-.013	.284	-.305	-.305	.457
% of variance explained	19.5	15.5	9.9	9.3	8.1

Table 4.16

Oblimin Rotation of the five factor solution for personality/coping traits

	Cognitive flexibility	Positive coping	Sociability	Negative coping
Cognitive flexibility	—	-.110	.147	-.072
Positive coping		—	-.022	.073
Sociability			—	-.001
Negative coping				—

N=186 *P<0.05 **P<0.01

Table 4.17

Component correlation matrix for the five factor solution for personality/coping traits

A Pearson product moment correlation was carried out between the four components (Cognitive flexibility, positive coping, sociability and negative coping) comprising the participants' personality/coping traits (Table 4.17) to see if there were any relationships between them; the results indicated that there was none.

Discussion

There were four factors that emerged from the participants' personality/coping traits (cognitive flexibility, positive coping, sociability and negative coping). The findings reflected earlier research highlighting that people tend to have positive and negative coping strategies (Ferguson & Cox, 1997; Pyszczynski, Greenberg & Solomon, 1999; Buhr & Dugas, 2002), that there is a greater deal of inflexibility surrounding social concepts that are prevalent in modern society (Furedi, 2002), and that society's reaction to risk has lead people to become less sociable and more cautious (Furedi, 2002). There were, however, no strong correlations between any of the four personality/coping trait factors (Table 4.19). This lack of interaction seems to suggest that there is no relationship between these different traits and how people form their implicit theories, seemingly rejecting the premise laid out in the introduction that moral panics maybe coping mechanism to deal with social risks.

Higher Order Correlations

Results

A series of Pearson product moment correlations were carried out between the different factor domains (implicit theories of paedophilic personalities, implicit theories of paedophilic behaviours, attitudes towards the media and participant personality/coping traits) (Table 4.18) to determine if there were any higher level interactions between the different factor groupings.

Preliminary analyses were performed to ensure no violation of the assumptions of normality, linearity and homoscedaticity. The results indicate that there were some interactions between the various components of the four different factor groupings.

Pd personality			Media			Personal/cog:				Pd behaviour:			
	Pathology	Abusive	Mentally disordered old offender	Media impact	Personal opinion	Cognitive flexibility	Positive coping	Sociability	Negative coping	Predatory child sexual abuser	Child lovers	Socially Inept	Secretive
Pd personality:	—	-.185*	-.374**	.154*	.112	-.109	-.067	.015	.007	.543**	.054	-.284**	.250**
		.013	.000	.040	.136	.179	.410	.849	.930	.000	.478	.000	.001
	Abusive	—	.078	-.053	-.120	.034	-.112	.041	-.059	-.337**	-.231**	.144	.017
	Mentally disordered old offender		.298	.482	.110	.679	.167	.616	.464	.000	.002	.059	.822
			—	-.145	-.269**	.026	.065	.029	-.016	-.345**	-.101	.440**	-.120
				.054	.000	.747	.426	.721	.842	.000	.187	.000	.118
Media	Media impact	—			.229**	-.108	.039	-.079	-.056	.135	.134	-.048	.030
	Personal opinion				.002	.181	.631	.327	.488	.078	.082	.534	.693
					—	-.071	-.086	-.024	-.102	.120	.008	-.152*	.011
						.381	.289	.771	.205	.119	.916	.048	.890
Personal/cog	Cognitive flexibility					—	-.110	.147	-.072	-.200*	-.052	.084	.096
	Positive coping						.168	.065	.370	.015	.531	.308	.242
	Sociability						—	-.022	.073	.098	.056	-.063	.045
								.785	.361	.236	.494	.447	.587
								—	-.001	-.058	-.136	-.030	-.052
	Negative coping								.995	.483	.098	.715	.529
									—	-.010	-.076	.031	-.141
										.904	.356	.710	.086
Pd behaviour	Devious child sexual abuser									—	.073	-.295**	.034
	Child lovers										.338	.000	.659
											—	-.158*	.087
	Socially inept											.038	.257
												—	-.118
	Secretive												.123
													—

N=186 *P<0.05 **P<0.01

Table 4.18

Correlations between the four different factor groupings

There was a small positive correlation between the pathology and the media impact components [$r = .15$, $n = 181$, $p < .005$] and a small positive correlation with the pathology and the secretive components [$r = .25$, $n = 172$, $p < .001$]. There was also a medium positive correlation between the mentally disordered old offender and socially inept components [$r = .44$, $n = 172$, $p < .001$] and a strong positive correlation between the pathology and the predatory child sexual abuser components [$r = .54$, $n = 172$, $p < .001$].

There was a weak negative correlation between the participants cognitive flexibility component and the predatory child sexual abuser components [$r = -.20$, $n = 172$, $p < .005$]; weak negative correlation between the socially inept and the personal opinion components [$r = -.15$, $n = 170$, $p < .005$]; a weak negative correlation between the child lovers and the abusive components [$r = -.23$, $n = 172$, $p < .001$]; a weak negative correlation between the socially inept and the pathology components [$r = -.28$, $n = 172$, $p < .001$] and a weak negative correlation with the mentally disordered old offenders and personal opinion components [$r = -.27$, $n = 178$, $p < .001$]. There was also a medium negative correlation between the abusive and predatory child sexual abuser [$r = -.34$, $n = 172$, $p < .001$] and a medium negative correlation between the mentally disordered old offenders and the predatory child sexual abuser components [$r = -.35$, $n = 172$, $p < .001$].

Discussion

The correlations between the different factors groupings (implicit theories of paedophilic personality, implicit theories of paedophilic behaviour, attitudes towards the media and participant personality/coping traits) revealed that the majority of the significant and strong correlations were between the trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilic personalities and their implicit theories of paedophilic behaviours. There was also an interaction between the trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia and their attitude to the media, but unfortunately there was very little interaction between the trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia and the participants' personality/coping traits.

The trainee/non-professionals' thought that paedophilia was a pathological condition and was strongly related to the paedophiles being predatory child sexual abusers, which seems logical considering the representation of paedophilia in modern society (Bell, 2003; Silverman & Wilson, 2002). This perceived relationship between the pathological nature of paedophilia and paedophiles being predatory child sexual abusers does seem to contradict previous

research which is unsure of the psychological conception of paedophilia (APA, 1953; APA, 1968; APA, 1980; APA, 1987; APA, 2000), suggesting that it may be a mental illness (Bagley, Wood & Young, 1994), a mental deficiency (Blanchard et al, 1999), or an abnormality in development (Lee, Jackson, Pattison & Ward, 2002). However, interestingly, it maybe that the trainee/non-professionals' are suggesting that only the most the extreme and sadistic paedophilic offenders may suffer from a pathological condition, because they do not believe that child lovers' behavioural factors are related to the pathology personality factor.

The trainee/non-professionals' also believe that the pathological aspect of the paedophile personality maybe linked to them being secretive. This argument seems logical, as existing research, and professional opinion from this thesis, indicates paedophiles are reviled in modern society (Rind, Tromovitch & Bauserman, 1998; Silverman & Wilson, 2002; Taylor & Quayle, 2003) and as such this may lead paedophiles to be secretive about their attitudes as well as behaviours towards children. This begs the question: do trainee/non-professionals' believe the secretiveness displayed by paedophiles to be a direct result of the pathological aspects of there personality, or a post-hoc defensive mechanism?

Interestingly, the trainee/non-professionals' do not believe that a paedophiles pathological personality is related to them being socially inept. This, however, seems to counteract research suggesting that paedophiles have poor social and interpersonal skills (Blanchette & Coleman, 2002) and mental disorders (Wilson & Cox, 1983; Nurcombe, 2000), which leads them to feel socially isolated. This idea that paedophiles may not be entirely socially inept does however, reinforce alternative research suggesting that paedophiles maybe able to use sophisticated grooming techniques (McAlinden, 2006B).

The trainee/non-professionals' believe that the media have an impact on their understandings of paedophilia (Silverman & Wilson, 2002), suggesting that it has helped shape their belief in the pathological personalities of paedophiles. This reinforces the idea that the media have been central to the current misperceptions of paedophilia in modern society, by offering distorted representations of paedophiles as sadistic and dangerous strangers (Bell, 2002; Cohen, 2002; Silverman & Wilson, 2002; McAlinden, 2006A), which has resulted in a moral panic (Cohen, 2002). This finding helps to support the current researcher's belief that the media plays a central role in the creation of implicit theories in modern society through the double-hermeneutic model of reflexive modernity (Giddens, 1991),

Interestingly, the trainee/non-professionals' suggest that certain paedophilia personality types (mentally disordered old offenders) are not related to them being predatory child sexual abusers, but rather to them being socially inept. Therefore reiterating research indicating that elderly paedophiles may feel more comfortable and less threatened, by children as apposed to adult. This suggests that this form of paedophilic relationship maybe rooted in friendship, rather than sexual abuse (Whiskin, 1997). The trainee/non-professionals' then go on to suggest that their belief in the mentally disordered old offender paedophilic personality type was not shaped by their personal opinions. This suggests that this perception, of the mentally disordered old offender paedophilic personality type, may be the result of general attitudes towards the elderly in modern society or that the media do not generally report on elderly sex offenders. This reaffirms research that individual's develop and learn implicit theories though their interactions in the world at large (Ward & Keenan, 1997; DeFrates-Densch, Smith, Schrader & Rique, 2004), and therefore implicit theories are often based on common sense perceptions and understandings of the world (DeFrates-Densch et al, 2004).

Bizarrely, the trainee/non-professionals' also believe there is not a direct relationship between paedophilic behaviours, either as child lovers or as predatory child sexual abusers, and paedophiles having abusive personalities. This controversial, and somewhat surprising, implicit theory seems dichotomous to previous research stating that paedophiles generally do have abusive personalities and that these are demonstrated though their behaviours (Howitt, 1995). One possible explanation for this potential disparity could be that trainee/non-professionals' believe paedophile's to have pathological, as well as mentally disordered old offender, personality traits and as such may be suggesting that the paedophiles abusive personalities are as a result of these other personality traits and therefore not conscious and/or planned?

Interestingly, the trainee/non-professionals' did not believe that their personal opinions shaped their belief that paedophiles are socially inept. Thereby leading to the suggestion that this belief in paedophiles being social inept was developed out of the media's portrayal of paedophiles as dangerous loners (Silverman & Wilson, 2002). This again reinforces the suggestion that the media helps to develop and maintain our understandings of social issues (Howitt, 1998; Mc Quail, 2000), particularly paedophilia (Silverman & Wilson, 2002).

The trainee/non-professionals' believe paedophilic behaviours to be those of predatory child sexual abusers, they believe that they use a degree of cognitive flexibility in the development of this implicit theory (i.e., that it was not simply just a narrowed minded response). Even

though the trainee/non-professionals' reinforce the common social belief that paedophiles are dangerous strangers (Silverman & Wilson, 2002), they simultaneously believe that they are open minded people in thinking this. This finding is interesting as it seems counterintuitive, because this implicit theory of paedophilia is not open minded; however, this perceived degree of open mindedness may be the most socially acceptable perception of paedophilia by lay people given the current attitudes towards paedophilia in modern society (Howitt, 1995; Bell, 2003; Scourfield & Walsh, 2003; Silverman & Wilson, 2002). This result is also in line with the professional expectations from the qualitative research, that trainee/non-professionals' have a poor understanding of the actualities of paedophilia. Despite this, the trainee/non-professionals' do also state that paedophiles maybe mentally disordered old offenders (Whiskin, 1997) and child lovers (O'Carroll, 1980; Brongensma, 1983; La Fontaine, 1990; Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; Silverman & Wilson, 2002), which are both in line with previous research and professional opinion.

General Discussion

These findings suggest the trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilic personalities are quite complex and not as close to the existing literature or to the professionals' implicit theories as the trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilic behaviours. This suggests that the trainee/non-professionals' do not have completely realistic series of implicit theories surrounding paedophilia. However, the trainee/non-professionals' do reflect pre-conceived notions that already exist in society surrounding paedophilia (McCartan, 2004), as well as reflecting both paedophiles self-perceptions (La Fontaine, 1990; Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; Silverman & Wilson, 2002) and the media's representation of paedophiles (Bell, 2002; Greer, 2002; Silverman & Wilson, 2002). This in turn suggests that people's implicit theories are commonsense perceptions and understandings of the world (DeFrates-Densch et al, 2004) are developed through their interactions with the world at large (Ward & Keenan, 1997; DeFrates-Densch et al, 2004); which can be incorrect (stereotypes) (Levi, Stroessner & Dweck, 1998; Plaks, Stroessner, Dweck & Sherman, 2001), or maladaptive (cognitive distortions) (Ward & Keenan, 1999; DeFrates-Densch et al, 2004). This research therefore supports the double-hermeneutic model of reflexive modernity (Giddens, 1991), and suggests that the media may be central to the transfer of knowledge between professionals' and non-professionals' within the model. However, despite the importance of the media in the development of the trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia, they also relied on their personal opinions in the development of their implicit theories. Unfortunately the research did not reinforce ideas

derived from the literature that trainee/non-professionals' personality/coping traits could play a significant role in the development of their implicit theories of, and current crisis of paedophilia in modern society. However, the research does highlight that trainee/non-professionals' are not inflexible in all of their implicit theories of paedophilia; hence reinforcing the social constructionist nature of the trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia.

The findings from the current study therefore suggest that the trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia seem to develop from their interactions with the external world (through the media and professional opinions), rather than from their individual psychology (positive coping, negative coping, worry, prudent and inflexible); although, personal opinion does seem to play a role. This reinforces the social constructionist premise of this thesis and suggests the reason why paedophilia has become the major 'public health problem' (McDonald Wilson Bradford, 2000; 248) in recent years is as a result of society's increased exposure to it, through both the media and professional opinion.

There were some issues with this research study that have affected the results, including the acceptance that the research was exploratory and therefore based on linking diverse, and in some cases, unrelated theories together. The researcher believes that the methodology implemented was the most effective way to uncover trainee/non-professional implicit theories of paedophilia as well as the potential reasons for the current social outcry. However, because the trainee/non-professionals' personality/coping traits were not shown to have the proposed influence on their implicit theories of paedophilia, this raises the question: did the scales really measure what they were supposed to? After a comprehensive literature review the researcher decided to use the aforementioned personality/coping scales and although the background research failed to highlight any relevant scales for each theoretical construct, the researcher selected the chosen scales because of their closeness to the theoretical constructs being measured. The researcher doubts the inadequacy of the scales used, because they were the best suited for each construct, with all the scales having a high level of internal reliability. Another potential explanation could be that the researcher may have selected inappropriate theoretical positions to explain the current phenomenon of paedophilia. This, however, seems unlikely, because the theoretical positions selected have been firmly grounded within the paedophilia literature as well as being offered elsewhere as potential explanations for alternative risks within society.

Other potential issues within the study that could have impacted upon the findings include the fact that the participants may not have fully understood study 1 ('What is a paedophile?', 'What are typical paedophilic attitudes and behaviours?'). This possibly could have resulted in the participants writing inappropriate answers (including gender differences as aspects of paedophilic personality), and crossovers between the two sets of implicit theories (both mad and sick were written down by the participants for their implicit theories paedophilic personalities as well as paedophilic behaviour). Although possibly having an effect, the researcher disputes that this would have a far reaching/detrimental effect on the emergence of the factors and therefore changed the groupings, because both the trainee/non-professional implicit personality and behavioural theories had good internal reliability and did not have a lot of strong correlations. However, there are contradictions between the different trainee/non-professional implicit theories of paedophilic personalities and paedophilic behaviour that also may have occurred because of a misinterpretation of the study. The researcher, however, thinks that this is unlikely and believes that it is as a direct result of the complexity involved in understanding and defining paedophilia, highlighted by both existing research and the previous study with the professionals'.

Another issue with the study was that all the participants were students at the University of Leicester, the majority of whom were female, under 21 and studying Law, Criminology and Psychology. This may have affected the results, because all the participants were studying in disciplines where they may have been taught about sex offenders, meaning that they may have had a better and more in-depth understanding of paedophilia compared to the general public. Although this population was selected because of the sensitive and potentially controversial nature of the research it would be interesting, and relevant, to study the general public's implicit theories of paedophilia.

This research has also provided ideas for future research within this area, but these will be discussed in the final chapter.

Conclusion

This study has uncovered trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia. Highlighting trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilic personalities (pathology, abusive and mentally disordered old offender) and behaviours (predatory child

sexual abuser, child lover, secretive and socially inept), as well as identifying of the potential explanations for these implicit theories (the transfer of professional knowledge, the impact of the media and the personal opinions of the participant). This research, however, does not reinforce the existing literature which suggests that individual personality and coping traits may have an impact upon the development lay people's implicit theories of paedophilia, and subsequently the current crisis of paedophilia in modern society. Despite this, these findings do seem to reflect both previous research (Chapter 1) and professional opinion from the current research (Chapter 3) in regard to lay people's definitions and understandings of paedophilia. Even though the current findings do not provide definitive insights into the development of trainee/non-professional theories of paedophilia, or their explanations for the current crisis of paedophilia in modern society they do, however, provide an overview of current understandings of paedophilia in modern society and a basis for future research.

Chapter 5

Reflections and Conclusions

Reflections and Conclusions

Introduction

The final chapter of this thesis will draw the research together in one comprehensive whole. It will discuss the findings of the research questions posed in the introduction to the thesis. It will do this by indicating where the results can be found (Chapters 3 and 4), as well as how they link to previous research and theory (Chapter 1). It will also discuss the interactions between two different sections of the research. This chapter will, also highlight the contribution of this research both to theory and practice, before going on to highlight potential future research that may be derived from it.

Overarching Conclusions and Results

The aim of this research was to further the current understanding of paedophilia in modern society, by focusing on the two groups of people who play a major role in the social construction of this phenomenon, professionals' and trainee/non-professionals'. It sought to address the ambiguities and contradictions present in the existing literature.

Responding to the Original Research Questions

As this research was exploratory in nature there were no hypotheses. Thus, in keeping with more grounded approaches, a series of research questions were proposed. The findings of these research questions will now be discussed in conjunction with the relevant theories and models as previously outlined.

What are professional and trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia and paedophiles?

As Chapter 3 has demonstrated the professionals' have no concise or unified implicit theories of paedophilia. The qualitative results instead offer fragmented definitions of the aetiology of paedophilia, its causes, as well as the psychology and behaviours of paedophilic offenders, or the outcomes of this abuse; all of which are constant with and reflect previous research (La Fontaine, 1990; Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; Silverman & Wilson, 2002; Taylor & Quayle, 2003). Which reinforces the point that paedophilia is possibly the least understood of all

crimes in modern society (O'Grady, 2001). While accepting that these findings do not provide definitive explanations of paedophilia, they do provide a greater insight into contemporary professional understandings of paedophilia. Also, the results from Chapter 3 suggest that the professionals' are united in their praise for current government policies towards paedophilia, including their government's current anti-Sarah's Law stance. The overall findings from the qualitative results chapter (Chapter 3) highlight that professionals' seem to be working towards raising social awareness and understanding around paedophilia through promoting as well as partaking in greater research, developing alternative approaches to understanding paedophilia as well as encouraging greater public debate and education. Also, the current findings propose that the professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia, seem to be based upon commonsense perceptions and understandings of the world (DeFrates-Densch, Smith, Schrader & Rique et al, 2004), developed through interactions with the world (Ward & Keenan, 1997; DeFrates-Densch et al, 2004) and in conjunction with explicit theories (Furnham, 1984), therefore leading to a more in-depth comprehension of issues. This seems to reinforce the researcher's proposition from Chapter 1 that professional implicit theories of paedophilia seem to be Incremental (Anderson, 1995; Dweck et al, 1995; Chiu et al, 1997) and that they indicate that both paedophilia and implicit theories are socially constructed.

The two quantitative studies discussed in Chapter 4 reveal that trainee/non-professional implicit theories of paedophilic behaviours and personalities are consistent with, and reflect previous research (La Fontaine, 1990; Leberg, 1997; Howitt, 1998; Silverman & Wilson, 2002; McCartan, 2004). However, the trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories are not consistent with existing theories, or the professionals' perceived public understanding of paedophilia uncovered in the qualitative study. The findings indicate that trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilic behaviour were in line with the realities of paedophilia, while their implicit theories of paedophilic personalities conflicted with the actualities of paedophilia and coincided with prevalent stereotypes. These findings suggest that trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia are socially constructed, because they seem to develop through an interaction between previous research (explicit theories) and the individual's interactions with the world (Ward & Keenan, 1997; DeFrates-Densch et al, 2004). This suggests that implicit and explicit theories do overlap (Furnham, 1984) and supports the double-hermeneutic model of reflexive modernity (Giddens, 1991). Contrary, however, to the researcher's initial claim in Chapter 1, these findings do not conclusively indicate that the media are the main mechanism in society for the creation of implicit theories. The media seems to be only an aspect of the creation of implicit theories.

These findings also seem to contradict the researcher's additional claim from Chapter 1 that trainee/non-professionals' use an entity approach when creating their implicit theories (Anderson, 1995; Dweck et al, 1995; Chiu et al, 1997), of paedophilia, in effect seeming to use an incremental approach instead.

What are the potential explanations of the current 'public health scare' of paedophilia; both socially and individually?

The findings from Chapter 3 revealed that professionals' believed that there was a moral panic surrounding paedophilia in modern society, which has been caused by a number of factors, including, the media and changing perceptions of risk in society. In Chapter 4, particularly study 2, the finding seemed to suggest that the trainee/non-professionals' believed their implicit theories of paedophilia, and the current crisis of paedophilia in society, to be derived from their interactions with the outside world (through the media and professional opinions) and their personal opinions, rather than from their personality/coping traits. This would suggest that paedophilia is, in part, socially constructed, thereby supporting the researcher's proposition that the current moral panic of paedophilia (Cohen, 2002) may have developed from the transfer of, and exposure to, professional knowledge through the double-hermeneutic model of modernity (Giddens, 1991) facilitated by the media. These findings also suggest that the media (Cohen, 2002; Silverman & Wilson, 2002), in conjunction with developing ideas of risk in modern society (Furedi, 2002), can aid in the creation of implicit theories. However, the findings seem to counter the proposition that the moral panic of paedophilia may be a coping strategy to help reduce fears surrounding ideas of risk in modern society.

What is the influence of the media on our everyday life and how has this affected our perceptions and understandings of paedophilia?

The findings from Chapter 3 indicate that the professionals' believe the media to be central to modern life (Giddens, 1991). Although the professionals' believe that the media are expected to be socially responsible in how they handle the news, the professionals' were unable to agree on how well the media exercised their social responsibility. Whilst, the professionals' believed that the media was responsible for the current crisis of paedophilia (Greer, 2002; Silverman & Wilson, 2002) they were unsure about the level of the media's impact upon the general public (McQuail, 2000). The results of the second quantitative study, discussed in Chapter 4, revealed that the trainee/non-professionals' also believed the media had an impact

upon their attitudes and perceptions. However, the trainee/non-professionals' suggested that that the impact of the media was tempered by their personal opinions on any given issue, thus reinforcing the uses and gratification model of the media impact (Howitt, 1998). This indicates that the media seems to impact upon our conceptions of the world (Howitt, 1998; Mc Quail, 2000), and therefore contributes to the formation of implicit theories and the social construction of issues, for instance paedophilia.

The relationship between the professional and trainee/non-professional studies

As previously highlighted in Chapter 1, this research investigated the same research questions with two different populations (professionals' and trainee/non-professionals') using two different paradigms (qualitative and quantitative). These two studies operate on different levels, with the professional study being more varied and comprehensive whereas the trainee/non-professional study is more narrowly defined and potentially restrictive. Consequently, although the professionals' and trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophiles and their explanations for the current crisis of paedophilia seem to be quite similar; they cannot be compared or used to reinforce one another. The mixed method design, although somewhat limiting is still believed to be the optimum way of conducting this research because paedophilia is such a nuanced, as well as complicated area, and this approach gave the researcher the necessary tools to investigate the subject area.

Even though the two sets of data may not be directly compared, they do show some interesting general and preliminary results. The first study in Chapter 4 show that the trainee/non-professionals' implicit theories of paedophilia seem to be in line with those of the professionals', from Chapter 3. Despite this, when the trainee/non-professional findings from study 1 had been included in study 2 and then analysed they were found to differ from professional implicit theories, especially in regard to paedophilic behaviour. Also, the findings from Chapters 3 and 4 respectively show that professionals' and trainee/non-professionals' seem to agree that the media plays an important role in the current crisis of paedophilia; however, the professionals' believe that the role of the media is more salient than the trainee/non-professionals' do. Interestingly, the professionals' suggest that the personality/coping traits play a central role in the development of the current crisis of paedophilia, whereas the trainee/non-professionals' counters this by suggesting that it is personal opinion that plays the central role.

The results of the current research (Chapters 3 and 4) provide an insight into each population's implicit theories of paedophilia. The overall findings tentatively suggest that although there seems to be no unified consensus on definitions of paedophilia in modern society, either within or seemingly between groups, there is a degree of similarity in responses. These findings seem to support the double-hermeneutic model of reflexive modernity (Giddens, 1991), therefore indicating that explicit and implicit theories, although separate entities, do overlap (Furnham, 1984), and as such paedophilia is in part a social construction. However, more research needs to be carried out in this field to verify these claims.

Limitations of the Research

Limitations to each of the research paradigms used in this thesis have previously been discussed in Chapters 2 and 4, however there are some limitations to the mixed method design and research overall that need to be discussed.

As this research was exploratory there were no formal hypotheses or predicted outcomes, and even though the research questions asked were addressed, there was not the ability to prove anything definitively. Although this is disappointing and may limit the research findings and applicability, it has actually improved the quality of the findings because the approach allowed the greater variety of implicit theories to be stated and widened the research themes addressed. This reaffirms the methodology used, allowing the researcher to claim that the approaches taken in this research are the most optimal in investigating both implicit theories of, and the social construction of, paedophilia in modern society.

However, can one accurately or actually measure the social construction of ideas? This is problematic on many levels, including researcher bias, participant bias, research design and participant comprehension. All these issues, independently or collectively, may have affected the results and how they were interpreted. The researcher attempted to counteract these issues by using established research designs for uncovering implicit theories, as well as giving the participants as much support and freedom to answer the questions as possible. However, because of the nature of research within the social sciences, there is not an exact method; and researchers cannot always be completely sure of the veracity of their results, therefore a degree of trust is necessary.

As indicated in Chapter 1 there are issues surrounding the use of mixed method designs, especially because the mixed method approach used in this research made it impossible to compare directly the two research studies. Although these issues do limit the applicability and contribution of this research, this however does not negate the findings of this thesis or the belief that this approach was the most optimal to answer the current research. The most effective approach to this research would have been to do the qualitative and quantitative research with the professionals' and trainee/non-professionals'. This was not feasible because of time, financial, ethical and logistical constraints.

There is also an inability to generalise widely the findings from this research because of the nature of qualitative research and because the research with the trainee/non-professionals' focuses on university students, not the general public. However, as the aim of this research was exploratory and therefore attempting provide a general depiction of current understanding of paedophilia in society, this is not a serious flaw: because not only do the findings address these issues, they add to existing theory, are applicable and provide ideas for future research.

Application of the Current Research

This research is an important contribution to the expanding body of knowledge surrounding paedophilia. It adds to both the research field as well as having practical applications for real-world practice and policy.

Contributions to Theory and Research

The findings from this thesis build on previous research that implicit theories are developed from people's everyday interactions with the world (Ward & Keenan, 1997; DeFrates-Densch et al, 2004). This research suggests that implicit theories seem to be social interactions developed through personal opinions/beliefs, interactions with the media and professional knowledge therefore suggesting support for the double-hermeneutic model of reflexive modernity (Giddens, 1991). Also, as implicit theories are central to the creation of stereotypes (Levi, Stroessner & Dweck, 1998; Plaks, Stroessner, Dweck & Sherman, 2001), cognitive distortions (Ward & Keenan, 1999; DeFrates-Densch et al, 2004) and social perception (Chiu et al, 1997). Hence, reinforcing that implicit theories impact upon how people make and maintain their judgements about other people and the surrounding world (Mc Connell, 2001; Spinath et al, 2003). This indicates that implicit theories seem to be

social constructions, which is salient because the findings also suggest that paedophilia is in part a social construction; therefore if society can change its approach to understanding paedophilia, it can also change its perception of it.

The findings from this thesis have helped to clarify previous research surrounding paedophilia. They have expanded upon the ambiguities surrounding paedophilia and given greater insight into the debates surrounding its aetiology (La Fontaine, 1990; Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; Silverman & Wilson, 2002); treatment (Howitt, 1995; Freud, cited in Gay, 1999; Hari, 2002, March 25: *New Statesman*; Brooks-Gordon et al, 2006; Guest, 2007); the cycle of abuse (Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; Nurcombe, 2000; Silverman & Wilson, 2002; Taylor and Quayle, 2003); paedophilic personalities/social skills (Wilson & Cox, 1983; Nurcombe, 2000; Blanchette & Coleman, 2002); cognitive distortions (La Fontaine, 1990; Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; Ward & Keenan, 1999); the paedophilic relationship (O'Carroll, 1980; Brongersma, 1984; Howitt, 1995; Ward & Keenan, 1999); offending behaviour (Howitt, 1995; Leberg, 1997; APA, 2000); the use of child sexual abuse imagery (Taylor & Quayle, 2003) and grooming behaviour (Erikson, Walberg, & Seeley, 1988; McAlinden, 2006A). This research has also contributed to our understanding of professional opinions of current policy approaches to paedophilia, in that they praise current government strategies and reject the premise/viability of Sarah's Law (Hebenton & Thomas, 1997; Travis, 2000; Fitch, 2006). These findings expand upon, and confirm, research that paedophilia is a moral panic (Cohen, 2002) and a social risk (Furedi, 2002). The findings also add to previous research by not only indicating what the public think in regard to paedophilia, but by also revealing what the professionals' perceive public knowledge of paedophilia to be.

The findings from this thesis also support research showing that the media does have an impact upon society (Howitt, 1998; McQuail, 2000), suggesting that the uses and gratification model of media impact (Howitt, 1998) is the most plausible. The research builds on this by showing that the media aids in the development of implicit theories and the social construction of ideas. However the media are not alone in doing this because personal opinions and professional opinions have a role to play. The research also reiterates that the media have contributed to the current phenomenon of paedophilia in society (Bell, 2002; Silverman & Wilson, 2002), helping to make it a moral panic (Cohen, 2002).

Real-world Applications

The current research has numerous real-world applications, both inside and outside of its contribution to evidence based policy making. These will be discussed in regard to the populations they affect, including the government, professionals', the media and the general public.

Paedophilia has become a major social concern and it has also become a high profile political reality set against a background of public protection, risk management and punitiveness. This research provides the government with a comprehensive depiction on the current understanding and perceptions of paedophilia in modern society, which is important for them if they are to deal with paedophilia consistently. While in recent years public protection and risk have become important policy issues, particularly in regard to paedophilia (Scourfield and Walsh, 2003; McAlinden, 2006A); the government has an inconsistent approach to understanding and dealing with paedophilia, best demonstrated by their approach to public disclosure (Dodd, 2000, July 24: Guardian.co.uk; Morris, 2000, July 31: Guardian.co.uk; 'No.10 admits Megan's Law problems', 2006, June 19: bbc.co.uk; Assinder, 2006, June 20: bbc.co.uk; 'Sarah's Law to Start in Months', 2007, April 9: TheSun.co.uk; Travis, 2007, April 11: Guardian.co.uk). Findings from this thesis relating to the professionals' understandings of paedophilia support and add to previous theoretical and evidence-based research, offering the government a good overview of the complexities surrounding paedophilia, and therefore the necessary information to make informed decisions. This thesis also indicates that even though current government policies and changes to the law are seen as positive, there is still more that it can do to, including increasing support and funding for criminal justice agencies, focusing greater emphasis on victim support, funding more research, developing greater social awareness of paedophilia and workable strategies for the re-integrating of sex offenders back into the community.

The findings reinforce that whilst paedophilia is a topical research area, it remains an ambiguous, controversial and contradictory subject, which needs greater clarification. The findings offer professionals' an opportunity to examine the current landscape of paedophilia and re-evaluate it, therefore offering a starting point for future research. Also, this research raises some professionals' concerns about working in the fields of paedophilia, re-asserting the need for positive, realistic and open minded research. The findings also work to reassure professionals' that their messages and research surrounding paedophilia are impacting upon public understanding. Nonetheless there needs to be more public education and social debate surrounding paedophilia.

As this research was interested in the media's role in the current crisis of paedophilia, it offered the media a platform to discuss these perspectives, which unfortunately was not well used. This suggests that the media should be engaging more with research related to the stories that they pursue. The current research is also beneficial to the media because it allows them to see the role that they play in the social construction of issues, the distribution of professional knowledge and their perceived impact upon the public as well as the government; all of which are particularly important in regard to paedophilia. Subsequently, suggesting that in taking a different, less sensationalistic approach they could contribute to changes in the social construction of paedophilia in modern society.

The current research adds to the already sizable literature on individual differences in psychology showing how individual differences affect a person's understanding of, and the social construction of, complex social phenomenon like paedophilia. The research also highlights the role of the public in influencing both government policy and media reporting, and consequentially their contribution to the current moral panic of paedophilia. This suggests a need for better public education/awareness of paedophilia which would in turn reduce stereotyping, prejudice, irrational/emotional decision-making and as such enable the public to protect their children and themselves better.

Future Research Questions and Designs

The current research sought to address issues present in the literature and give a more comprehensive perspective of paedophilia; it has in turn raised questions for follow-up and alternative research in this area.

A quantitative study could be carried out with a selection of professionals' to determine if their implicit theories of paedophilic personalities and paedophilic behaviours match those of the trainee/non-professionals'; as well as coincide with the results of the qualitative research with the professionals'. This could be a direct repetition of the quantitative study from this thesis. However, as previously stated this may be somewhat problematic, as a large sample would be needed due to potential poor returns from the professionals' (Sternberg, 1988), and that such a study would involve the participants completing two separate questionnaires. One potential solution to this is that the second questionnaire could be derived from the qualitative findings already obtained and therefore only one questionnaire would have to be distributed.

The qualitative study used in this thesis could be replicated with a selection of trainee/non-professionals' to ascertain if their implicit theories of paedophilia are similar to those of the professionals', as well as coinciding with the results of the quantitative research with the trainee/non-professionals'. However, as previously stated this may be somewhat problematic, because of the difficulties in obtaining a trainee/non-professional sample from the general public, as well as getting them to engage on the issue of paedophilia. However, sampling another university population, in conjunction with strict ethical controls may be the best way to obtain these results.

The quantitative study from this thesis could also be applied to a variety of diverse populations, including the general public, child sexual abuse victims and paedophiles. This would examine widespread implicit theories of, as well as the social construction of, paedophilia in greater depth. Also, the perceptions of paedophilia from the perspectives of perpetrators and victims would be particularly helpful in developing a concrete understanding of this phenomenon. However, there would be a range of research restrictions in using these populations and as such great deal of ethical sensitivity would be required.

Future research could also examine the concept of the 'paedophilic relationship'. This would involve a series of unstructured interviews with paedophiles relating to how they perceive their relationships in general, their offending behaviour and their interactions with their victims. This research would have to be very strictly ethically controlled because of the population being used; particularly in that the researcher would not want to make it seem like he/she is colluding with the paedophile or reinforcing their cognitive distortions.

Future research may also investigate paedophiles' implicit theories of paedophilia, of their own paedophilic behaviour/personalities and their perceptions of behaviour/personalities of other paedophiles. Although similar research to this has been undertaken in relation to paedophiles' own implicit theories (Marziano, Ward, Beech & Pattison, 2006), it has not looked at their perceptions of other paedophiles or of paedophilia itself. This research design would be a mixed method design, first undertaking a qualitative study to gain insight into the paedophiles' implicit theories, and then undertaking a quantitative study to test these implicit theories in respect to themselves, other paedophiles and paedophilia in general. Again, this research would have to have tight ethical restrictions because of the population being used. Also, the research prototype developed from this study could be used to test the paedophiles' implicit theories of paedophilia before and after treatment to see if treatment is successful in changing their cognitive distortions, self-perceptions and offending.

Future research could also examine paedophilic gender differences, focusing on how the two different genders view their abuse, how they abuse and the impact it has on their victims. However, this research would be somewhat difficult because of the lack of convicted female paedophilic offenders: therefore it would have to use an opportunity sample and realise that there may be differences in sample sizes between the male and female populations.

Research could also examine the general trainee/non-professionals' attitudes towards the treatment, punishment and the re-integration of convicted paedophiles. This would be a mixed design, by first interviewing a small number of trainee/non-professionals' and then creating a quantitative study, to be distributed to a wider population from the original sample's responses. This study would have to be quite ethically constrained and as such use a university sample, not the general public. However, these issues would be more applicable for the qualitative rather than the quantitative study.

General Conclusion

The findings from this thesis highlight the range of, and ambiguity in, implicit theories of paedophilia in modern society, as well as offering an explanation of why paedophilia has become the current crisis that it is. These findings build on previous research and at the same time provide new ideas/explanations for paedophilia. They strongly suggest that paedophilia is a controversial and complex phenomenon, which is in part socially constructed. However, as a result of the mixed design approach used in this thesis the professional and trainee/non-professional implicit theories of paedophilia are not directly comparable, even though the findings suggest a degree of similarity. This research is a positive contribution to the ever-expanding research field surrounding paedophilia and offers potential avenues for future research as well as being applicable to the real world.

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Appendices

Qualitative Research with Professionals'

Appendix A

Appendix A

Interview ideas/topics

All Groups

- 1. Why the modern outcry over paedophilia has occurred?**
- 2. The role of the media in relation to the paedophilia 'outcry'?**
- 3. Do you think that people have a good understanding of what paedophilia is?**

Group A

i Proposed changes in the law in relation to paedophilia to deal with this major social concern

ii What is paedophilia?

iii The role of government (national/local) in dealing with the problem of paedophilia.

iv Funding of prisons and other agencies (community and otherwise) that deal with paedophiles.

v The effects of the Sarah Payne case.

vi The induction of Sarah's law.

vii Changes in society that have lead to the public outcry surrounding paedophilia.

viii The role of NGO's in helping to prevent paedophilic behaviour as well as child sex tourism.

ix International differences to child sex offences and the attitude of the UK to these.

x The actual problems involved in monitoring paedophiles abroad and how to deal with them (Government and NGO stratagies/policys).

xi International strategies to cope with child sex tourism committed by paedophiles [i.e., the roles of international bodies like the UN & EU].

Group B

i The role of the media in society.

ii The moral panic of paedophilia and the role of the media in creating it.

iii The social responsibility of the media.

iv If the media gives people what they want to sell papers.

v If the media reflects public opinion or if public opinion reflects the media.

vi The 'name and shame' and 'Sarah's law' campaigns.

vii Witch-hunts via the media.

viii Links between the media and the government in attempting to deal with the problem of paedophilia.

ix The role of different forms of media and whether these different forms have different effects.

x The effect of the media reaction and the incident at Paulsgrove.

xi Media responsibility, scapegoating and paedophilia.

Group C

i What is paedophilia?

ii Is it more common now than previously, or are we just more aware of it.

iii The modern conception of childhood.

iv Childhood sexuality.

v The creation of moral panics, and whether paedophilia is one.

vi Sexual deviants and social reaction.

vii Cycles of abuse.

viii Public reaction, mob mentality and group think.

ix Global risk society, moral panics and paedophilia.

x Are there links between different types of moral panics.

xi Social reinforcement, the media, moral panics and paedophilia.

xii Paedophiles as new modern scapegoats.

xiii Paedophilia, sex tourism and a new form of moral panic.

Xiv Coping and Risk society

Xv Social risks

Xvi Moral panics and social risks

Appendix B

Appendix B

Interview letter 1

Address 1

Mr. K. F. Mc Cartan, MSc, BSc
Forensic Psychology
Department of Psychology

Room 7

Astley Clarke Building
University of Leicester
Le1 7rh
Tel; (0116) 2522466
E-mail; KM62@le.ac.uk

Date

Dear Sir/Madam,

Re; Research into the media representation of sexual offences against children (with special reference to the modern taboo of paedophilia).

My name is Kieran Mc Cartan and I am a PhD student, in Forensic Psychology studying at the University of Leicester. I am writing to you to ask for your participation in my PhD research.

This current research investigates the 'modern taboo' of paedophilia; why it exists to the degree that it does so today, when it has existed for millennia in much lower public regard and less fear?

It is important to note that the area of paedophilia is highly emotive and extremely sensitive, and to this end the topic shall be handled from an objective point of view.

The aim of my research is to uncover the potential explanations for the modern taboo of paedophilia in Western society. This is important, for paedophilia has existed for centuries, but only recently has it started to dominate western social beliefs as a fearful social paraphilia. Throughout the course of my research I hope to indicate that this is change in social perception is related specifically to the role of the media; and also to the spread of globalisation, increases in sex tourism, changes in the western view of childhood as well as cultural differences to sexuality and National /International tactics to deal with this 'new' social problem.

I hope to investigate the change of ideas in society to paedophilia by interviewing, among others, government and NGO representatives, print and broadcast journalists, members of the academic community and paedophilic offenders.

To this end I am writing to you to ask if you would consent to be interviewed as part of my PhD, the interview would deal directly with your area of knowledge and how this relates to my topic area. I believe that an interview, which would cover, among other issues; attitudes to paedophilia, what paedophilia actually is, media representations of paedophilia and the social construction of the modern moral panic, would be greatly beneficial to my current research. This current research would help to further knowledge in the fields of paedophilia as well as the social impact that it has. This means that it could help consolidate current research, allow a discussion of the important issues in this area and hopefully allow fresh ideas to arise as well. The interview would be a semi-structured one lasting approximately 1 hour and would cover aspects of your position that deal with my topics of research. I would be grateful for any help that you may give me, as well as the possibility of an interview.

In relation to this, I shall follow up this letter up within a period of two to three weeks with a phone call, to confirm that you have received the letter and to hopefully discuss the possibility of arranging an interview. However, if at any stage you wish to contact me with any questions or comments please do not hesitate to do so.

Yours sincerely,

**Mr. Kieran Mc Cartan,
MSc, BSc**

Appendix C

Appendix C

Interview letter 2

Address 1

Mr. K. F. Mc Cartan, MSc, BSc
Forensic Psychology
Department of Psychology

Room 7

Astley Clarke Building
University of Leicester
Le1 7rh
Tel; (0116) 2522466
E-mail; KM62@le.ac.uk

Date

Dear Sir/Madam,

Re; Research into the construction of Moral Panics as coping mechanisms in a modern cultural Risk Society (using Paedophilia as a case study).

My name is Kieran Mc Cartan and I am a PhD student, in Forensic Psychology studying at the University of Leicester. I am writing to you to ask for your participation in my PhD research.

This study is interested in the development of the moral panic of paedophilia, that is created/maintained by the media as a coping mechanism to deal with the uncertainty created from the evolution of the cultural risk factor of childhood in modern society. Thus raising questions like; why has this form of sexual abuse only become a massive social ill in the past thirty years when it has existed in different societies for millennia? Where has the recent fear of paedophilia come from? Is it a result of our expanding and paradoxical view of childhood? Throughout the course of my research I hope to examine the recent conceptual shift in relation to paedophilia is related specifically to the continuing development of certain social constructions (e.g., childhood, morality, education, etc), fear of uncertainty, role of the media, the spread of globalisation, sex tourism, and tactics to deal with this 'new' social problem.

It is important to note that the area of paedophilia is highly emotive and extremely sensitive, and to this end the topic shall be handled from an objective point of view.

I hope to investigate the change of ideas in society to paedophilia by interviewing, among others, government and NGO representatives, print and broadcast journalists, members of the academic community and paedophilic offenders.

To this end I am writing to you to ask if you would consent to be interviewed as part of my PhD, the interview would deal directly with your specific area of knowledge and how this relates to my topic area. Some of the questions may cover; paedophilia, the construction of childhood, the media, moral panics, risk society, the creation of uncertainty in relation to social ills as well as coping strategies used to deal with these forms of abuse. This current research would help to further knowledge in the fields of paedophilia as well as the social impact that it has. This means that it could help consolidate current research, allow a discussion of the important issues in this area and hopefully allow fresh ideas to arise as well. The interview would be a semi-structured one lasting approximately 1 hour and would cover aspects of your position that deal with my topics of research. I would be grateful for any help that you may give me, as well as the possibility of an interview.

In relation to this, I shall follow up this letter up within a period of two to three weeks with a phone call, to confirm that you have received the letter and to hopefully discuss the possibility of arranging an interview. However, if at any stage you wish to contact me with any questions or comments please do not hesitate to do so.

Yours sincerely,

**Mr. Kieran Mc Cartan,
MSc, BSc**

Appendix D

Appendix D

Example of interview schedules

Participant 6

Group C; Academic (Psychology)

1. What is paedophilia?
2. Is paedophilia more common now in society than previously, or are we just more aware of it?
3. Why the modern outcry over paedophilia has occurred?
4. Paedophiles claim that they 'love' children; is this a realistic assertion (i.e., that they actually believe that they are in a balanced, loving relationship) or merely a defence mechanism?
5. How realistic is the paedophiles claim that a cycle of abuse has lead them to commit the offences that they do?
6. What is the role of the media in society?
7. Do different forms of media play diverse (i.e., newspapers, TV news, radio, etc) and whether these different forms have different effects.
8. Does the media create public opinion or does it merely reinforce existing opinion?
9. Does the media have a social responsibility in the news that it reports and the manner in which it does it?
10. The role of the media in relation to the paedophilia 'outcry'?
11. What links are there between the media and the government in attempting to deal with social problems (e.g., paedophilia)?

12. What is the role of government (national/local) in dealing with the problem of paedophilia?

13. How have the changes ushered in by the Sex Offences Act added the protection of the public as well as improved the existing mechanisms for dealing with the offenders?

14. What have been the main outcomes of the Sarah Payne case?

15. Where the 'name and shame' and 'Sarah's law' campaigns spearheaded by the News of the World a success or did they do more harm than good?

16. What is the actual potential for the induction of a Sarah's law?

17. Do you think that people have a good understanding of what paedophilia is?

Appendix E

Appendix E

Consent form

Dear Participant;

My name is Kieran Mc Cartan and I am a PhD student studying Psychology studying at the University of Leicester.

My research is focused around the current perception of paedophilia; what it is? And potential reasons why this might be? The reason for partaking in this research is to fully comprehend what the current thinking surrounding paedophilia is. Thus leading to the question of whether it's coherent with actual experiences reported in the literature, or if its not. This research will have important impacts in the policy, education and public health arenas; for it is important to fully understand the perception of paedophilia as well as the actuality of it, only then can we appropriately deal with it.

The study that you are volunteering to partake in is one of the pieces of my PhD research. This questionnaire is part of Part 2 of the research, which investigates the public's perception of paedophilia; where as Part 1 was interested in the understanding of paedophilia by experts.

The aim of this questionnaire is to attempt to understand what the public's perceptions of paedophiles are; especially in relation to their Personality and Behavioural traits. This study is comprises of a number of vignettes, which where developed of the back of two previous studies. The first study asked its participants 'what is a paedophile?' (looking at personality traits) and 'what attitudes and behaviours do paedophiles typically display?' (looking at behavioural traits). Any descriptor that was included 3 or more times was included in the next study, where the participants where asked to rate the statements to see whether they agreed with them or not. This is how the previous study was developed. These vignettes are not real life examples; they are not based on the experiences of real people. They were developed from the perception of individuals.

The area of paedophilia is highly emotive and extremely sensitive, for this reason the questionnaire has been developed and will be administered from an objective point of view.

In this experiment you are being asked for your personal perspective on the vignettes in question, and whether they adequately explain your perceptions of paedophilia. As such there is absolutely no deception involved in this study; the experiment just trying gauge your perspectives; it is not trying to catch you out, confuse you or trying to gain your support unawares. It is only your true perspective that matters, so please be as honest as possible.

All you're the information gathered in relation to the experiment (including but not limited to your name, contact details or your questionnaire) from the experiment will remain strictly confidential. No-one will know who completed which questionnaire, what you're perspectives or you're understanding of this sensitive topic is. The only person that will have access to the material will be the experimenter. In the final submitted PhD piece no-one will be mentioned by name and all information will be described in statistical terms.

All participants have the right to withdraw from the experiment at any stage; they do not have to give any reason for doing so. The experimenter will be available before, during and after the study to answer any questions relating to the material covered within. However, in saying this it does not mean that they will be expert enough to answer all potential questions that are raised. In response to this they will be able to give the names, addresses and telephone numbers of the appropriate agencies to be able to help with the relevant queries.

All the material collected in the experiment will be destroyed in due course, the questionnaires will be kept for a period of 5 years in accordance with BPS publication recommendations. Unless the participant withdraws from the experiment, then it will be destroyed immediately.

It is important that you fully understand all the ethical issues involved in this piece of research and that you take them into account when deciding to participate in this study. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact the researcher (Kieran Mc Cartan; km62@le.ac.uk) who will be only to happy to help.

Sign:

Date:

Thank you for reading this and consenting to participate in this research.

Kieran Mc Cartan

Appendix F

Appendix F

An example of an interview, accompanied by content analysis

NB; although, this transcript is printed in colour, the different shades of highlighting are arbitrary and do not anything more than highlight a salient point. There is no relationship between the different shades.

This Interview took place in a spare office at Probation HQ in Leicester; it was the 2nd of two that took place that day. This was unplanned, I went to interview IE25 and they suggested that I could interview some other members of the team there and IE26 agreed. I used the same interview questions as with the previous one. The interview took place after lunch and was quite productive.

IV; Ok... first question is, through your experience and your time working in this area, how would you define what paedophilia is?

IE; I'm not sure that I'm able to do that Kieran, define it (laughs) because sometimes I get a bit confused about it myself to be honest, and I'm not a trained psychologists, I'm a sociologist. But, I have always seen it, seen it terms of.... Well I have just been looking at this definition here, 'recurrent, intensely' and there are some words that are.. Like recurrent, is it recurrent fantasies about one person, one child, or are they recurrent fantasies following on from child after child after child. So you know, is somebody who commits incest a paedophile necessarily, apposed to somebody who just targets children, if you like. So there's that... so looking at this definition, I'm not sure that totally agree with it or totally understands how it defines it, that's that. I have do somewhere in the back of my mind have an idea of what a paedophile is, but its not a clinical definition, but I guess somebody who.... I would say, for whatever purposes whether it's to do with emotional congruence or whatever, targets children for their sexual relationships and all the other inclinations you know, it might be about power, and about this that and another, and so on, but in the broad sense that's how I would see it.

IE; Do you think that, because this term paedophile gets bandied about a lot, do you think its an all inclusive term, or it can be broken down into different types...

IV; No I don't think that it's an all inclusive term... That's how the media use it, and that's how most of the general public, I think see it, and I think that's how they are informed by the media, yea? Or sections of the media, including some of the media that should know better, or profess to know better. So no... I don't quite see it like that, and in the example that I just

gave you about perhaps the person who commits incest, or abuses his step daughter, or step son or whatever; do they necessarily fall into the same category as people who target children in order to have sex with them?

IV; Ok, thank you. The next two is on bandied about ideas in the, academic research anyway. The first one is this whole idea that you get from the paedophile literature, and the intelligent paedophile, that what they are involved in is a loving relationship between two people, the same as an adult-adult relationship, its just that one happens to be over 18 and the other happens to be below 11 or what not. How much do you think, through your work, that they actually believe this or is this just a justification?

IE; Right. Again, you're in danger of falling between to stools, I think very often and then saying that's it. It does happen that we get people who say 'well, its society that's wrong, and society needs to get their act together' right? And I have to say that from my perspective of working with them, if you are going to talk about defence mechanisms, if you are going to talk about people tub-thumping and justifying what they are doing it seems to me that there is a considerable amount of that in there for the majority. I think some people may have rationalised it on a more intelligential basis and said 'well, hold on a minute, society is behind in the West for whatever reasons, behind other cultures and other societies, and we need to get our act together and stop being so precious about this. And that we are screwing children up as well in other ways' (laughs). But, but I often do form a strong impression from the ways in which they say it, how they say it, and times they choose to say it, yea? That it's primarily to defend their position, rather than something that they could actually, if you like academically defend.

IV; Related to that, and this is another loaded phase, and its generally used by people on the tail end of SOTP or what not, the whole cycle of abuse argument. In the sense of 'I abuse because I was abused and that's how I normalise it', the same question for that, do you think this is an actual legitimate thing that they honestly believe, or is this again a justification?

IE; It can be both, I think. (laughs) So far, I'm hedging my bets the whole way through I know, but I'm doing it with good cause I think, because its not just one or the other, its not as simple as that, I don't think so anyway. I was just talking to a colleague out there, a colleague of IE25's actually, (name omitted) who does, whose also training to be a forensic psychologist, and we were talking about a particular case that she's done a was on, and in

order to see if he's ok for a programme. And I know this guy, and he's what I would call a, in inverted comma's, an fixated paedophile, right? And....tell me again (*laughs*) what the original question was, I have lost my train of thought...

IV; The original question was on the cycle of abuse argument

IE; Yea, ok... now, he.... And I was saying that he was abused at a young age, and I have known him on and off for years, and I have written reports and I have seen written about him. I have sort of not followed his carrier, but he keeps emerging, right? And he is one of those people who actually seems that he got stuck at that point, if you like, and so I think it's possible that some people get stuck, with certain.... Well some people get stuck with fetishes and so on, yea? Whether he, whether you get stuck with paedophilia and other paraphilia's is arguable, but if you where going to have that category he might well fall into it. On the other hand I have worked with men who have abuse children and have.... Haven't been abused themselves, and I have worked with men on other programmes that have been abused and haven't abused. So, you know, I don't think, I think that it can play apart but it don't think it's the full answer.

IV; Ok. This is more leading into your area, as in the probation side of it, first of all, well this is like a three part one, from your experience and your time doing this, working with offenders, what form of treatment would you say has the most positive effects? Because there's, not in the sense of cure, but in the sense of managing treat ability.

IE; Right, well ok. The programme that we currently run is a programme that has been accredited by psychologists and psychiatrists, and other people who profess to know what it's all about, alright? At the home office, and are elected on the panels to review programmes and say that this is programme. I think the technique used is useful, which is one of a, if you like a therapeutic alliance, its not a therapeutic community, but creating a level of trust, a sense of exploration and being in this together and helping you though this to discuss it all and so on. To people at ease and so they feel more and more confident about what they have to say, they don't feel they are going to be put down and shamed in front of the group or so on, or if they are its more acceptable because its by their peers and by people that they trust, and then they have to sort of deal with the cognitive dissonance, if you like that arises for them. So, and the programme itself contains, I think, a number of features which are really useful, many of them tried and tested in other forms before you know, but packaged in this particular programme. I don't think the programme itself though is a very good one, but I think the process and some

of the exercises that we do, and the level of time that we have the men, particularly on what we call the longer programme, the core programme, does effect some change in some people. Positive change, and I don't think that I could do this job if I... you know I don't think wearing rose coloured spectacles. So... I wouldn't say that I haven't seen the ultimate programme (*laughs*) and I have heard, so many different things, like I have been you know to conferences and lectures, and they have wheeled in the big guns that have sort of undermined some of the programme that has been accredited and said 'no, you don't use the therapeutic approach you just lay it on the line for the guy (*laughs*)', and it's a load of bollix, and we know it's a load of bollix, and many is the time that I'm tempted to do that, but there are those that I think need to hear it like that, and could hear it think that. So, but you work with what you've got, and that's what we do, we work with what we've got and we have a process of being able to, officially it's a process of being able to implement change into the programme, but the time that's all feed back right, you're a year and half, two years down the line, and then nothings feedback to you afterwards about any changes in there. Or if you do get a change it's from new people have gone to be trained right, to do this and come back and 'we weren't trained like you were, this what they've told us, you know'. So.... Yea, I think programmes containing certain elements that need looking at, that and certain issues about responsibility, certain issues about decision making, certain issues about getting in touch with your own feeling and stuff like that, and about relating these to your experiences, and the decisions you make subsequently. So all the cognitive behavioural stuff, not the psychoanalytical necessarily, are useful to have. And that some men for my experience seem to benefit from it, it all depends what there real motivation is, it all... there the only ones that really know what in here, and I don't think that we can quite get really in there anymore than I could get into your head right now.

IE; I suppose a lot of it comes down to trust in a way, that you have to a degree of belief in what they are telling you because in the literature it comes up time and time again, this divide between 'well, their pathological liars and everything they should be discarded', then there's this whole 'well if you discount everything they say, what's the point in ... even treating them, even talking to them'

IV; Well, I don't.... not all of them are pathological liars (*laughs*) there are a few pathological liars, some of them are very good liars, some of them are very frightened liars. You know, so there's a lot of lying going on for different reasons, and there's a lot of levels of denial for different reasons you know, some times there's a blurring between what's a lie and what's a denial, yea? And what they understand, what they understand from that as well, and I think, I

think some men genuinely come along and really, really want to know why they did it, and my.... I would say to them 'knowing why you did it won't necessarily stop you from doing it, you'll just be more informed you know' (laughs) it's about, it's about what you actually do about it, and how you did it that might explain the why as well. So if you, if you can make the links of the whole process, the whole train thought, and the whole pattern and sequence of events, you know that took you along that path then you might be able to start to understand the why as well, you know.' So again it varies; there are men that are genuine they will still tell lies and go into denial, but as the programme goes on you know, they begin to start to change things, and change the story, and concede to various things, and offer new things up. There are men who right from the start say 'I just wanna tell you this is what happened', there are men who will do the more, will go the more devious route, some will be consciously clever, and some clever but not so consciously (laughs) That'll really help you won't it? (laughs) but that's what I see.

IV; Yea, well that's what I'm looking for, is your experiences, the second part of this is; what would you say are the main differences between what you do out here in the community with offenders and treatment, and the treatment and what not they get in prison?

IE; I think there is a difference, and I think it's an environmental and cultural differences, right, and the two words are prison and community and there are obvious differences between... you can have a community in the prison, but it's not the community, but it's not the outer world, but what baggage at the prison gate when you go in and what do you pick up when you come out. What baggage do you take in with you, and still take out, or leave in the prison? I don't know. That is again changeable, but the environment is the same as ever body and that's 'I'm required to it if I want to get my parole' perhaps, there will be various pressures you know, if I want to go back to my family, if this, that, the other and so on. So there will be those, what I call instrumental pressures, there'll be other things like (laughs) 'it breaks the day up, it gives me something to do, it gets me out of that, gets me out of you know' and also... and also it's interesting listening to one of the people there either from a dubious, for dubious reasons or you know avid curiosity, I guess that's why you're a psychologist because you nosey like I am (laughs) so.... So you've got all of that, then you go back to your wing, and if you're a sex offender your on a sex offender wing, more than likely, unless you are going to try and brazen it out and.... Well if you do you know, there's all sorts of other issues, and you back on to your wing and you carry on with this sort of normalised life, but very regimented life. And you go back and you share all your things with the other

sex offenders as well, as in how it takes you, and as in how it takes them, you know that there is nowhere else for you to go, you can't practice anything that you've learnt out in the world, you've got to wait to the time of your release. So in away for those delivering the programme in some senses it's easier if not as rewarding, because you're not going to ultimately see. In the community they are subject to all the pressures that brought them into prison in the first place, right. They can't get on a bus perhaps without seeing a school girl, you know or whatever. On the other hand we have the ability to say to them, and expect them to practice what it is that were talking to them and about, and we do have some, some links in being able to follow that up. If they are in a hostel for example, we'll get messages back from the hostel about how they are in the hostel and what they are doing, what sort of things, have they had any mood changes, who they are associating with, have there been any changes in there routine, and where are they going, and stuff like that. And how are they coming across, have there been any changes in how they relate to you as staff, and you as people, and other people in the hostel. So there's all of that sort of thing, they will be seeing a probation officer on a regular basis as well, and we do that liaison. We have links with the police, we have links with the police, we do have links with social services and so on. So we do have, if you like other ways of hearing about there progress or non-progress, and they are constantly under that pressure. But they don't go home as a group, some of them may be at the same hostel, and not generally, necessarily spend there leisure time with each other, and one of things is, we say to them, 'you're not to associate with each other in your social time, right, this is where you do your association, or in the course of having to take your meals together if you're in a hostel, or whatever'. So that's something that we're look for and are well aware of, and they can be taken of the programme if necessary if we thought there was a risk, that has happened once or twice in the past were we worried about little conclaves getting together and what they were up to. And I think, yea I think also as they walk around the streets some of them do have, do carry this feeling with them that people do know who they are or what they are, and there... I think they find that very difficult, though very, very, very aware of how they are viewed by the mass of society, and for the most part many of them are quite complaint because of that, apposed perhaps to people on other programmes. So if I was to draw a very, very quick comparison, but not so different in some respects, domestic violence for example, men don't like admitting to other men you know that their being violent to women, you know, 'oh I was always to you know, respect women, and this that and the other,; on the other hand I gave her a slap, you know, I put her in her place, you know'. And some how or another that's acceptable, because that's the acceptable part of being in charge and having power and control, and feeling strong about yourself and everything, at society can almost sort of accept

because that's been well established as well, but has been easier to accept as an established pattern I think, you know. For all sorts of reasons, you know so about gender issues and so on.

IV; The final part of this question, is how important do you think that friends and family are, when they come out of prison and they are on one of the programmes that you run. Do having friends and family, that were friendly with them before, they went to prison, does that help or aid their recovery? Or not so much?

IE; Well, it depends what you mean by friends and family, like you know I can I have friend, right and he also could be a paedophile (*laughs*).

IV; Its true.

IE; Yea and I can have a family that could be the most abusive family in the world, that maybe supporting me in a strange sort of twisted sense. So not necessarily, the case I think, and I think it's always horses for courses. If you are talking about support, if you are talking about positive support and people that you can rely on, and people who will help you to get through this, people who will help to face up to things and you can talk to them frankly and they can turn round and lend you a sympathetic and possibly critical ear and so on like that, very important, yea.

IV; Ok. The next question is on technology, and when I say technology I'm talking about like advances in the internet, and mobile phone technology, and what not do you think these changes have affected the way that paedophiles offend?

IE; (*Pause*) that's a tricky one. At the end of the day paedophiles who offend, I wonder if there's some paedophiles who don't offend, according to this definition that I have got here they do offend, you know... but.. but it certainly opens up opportunities for them to offend, is what I would say, right. It's more difficult to offend if the opportunities are closed to you, aren't they? So I guess if you were a, I don't know how you would want to describe it, a paedophile who wants to offend, if you want to offend and you are looking for ways to be able to offend, the more opportunities, the more access that you have to victims and so on, the greater the opportunity to offend. And also in another sense, I suppose technology is almost saying that its ok, because we are allowing this, you know. We're not part of the mass media in a sense that would sort of the one hand condemn you, and on the other hand, you know have lots of lurid adds and you know, pictures and whatever; but on the other hand where not

saying anything like that, we are just saying 'here's the access, do you want it?'. So we are not judgemental in that sense, and to be honest I don't think we are starching the surface very much really on, really on what modern technology is saying and doing, and.... Not just with paedophiles but with other sex offenders as well.

IV; Relating to that, before I go on, well actually I'll ask this question and then come back to it in a second. The next question is on, sex offenders register, as in making them register has changed in the 2003 act, and what not; how affective do you think the current sex offenders register is in helping youse do your job?

IE; My job is not about, is about running the programmes, right. It's about running the programmes, it's about.... Making decisions about who is suitable for what programme, along in consultation with my colleagues including IE25, and.. And about developing the team as an effective unit in doing, in doing what they are supposed to do, in delivering the programme in an effective way, how it's set out, the way that it's set out. Up to... up to Christmas of this year when it will change, our unit has been responsible for writing the reports to the court on sex offenders in the main, that won't happen were going to do some training and then it'll be handled out to general probation officers to write reports. And we would be saying things like, you know, 'because of this offence Mr. So and so and so will be subject to the sex offenders register', the judge usually makes that decision at the time of sentencing about how long it will be. When we get him on a programme right, and we only see them on a programme, we don't case manage them, when we get them on a programme, they often see us more than they see there case manager, and they get to know us and we'll get know them more, and we'll see them maybe six hours a week, and they might see there probation officer an hour every fortnight, or something like that. So we, and because we are sharing all of these things, they tend to tell us things and;... if they let us anything, and we think the register needs to know it, we think there case manager needs to know it, or whoever needs to know it, social services, and we liaise with them and they understand all of that as well. But in... in terms about our actual understanding of how well it works out there, and outside of the programmes that we run, I don't know, I think its something that they do because they are required to do it and I, you know... to some of them it might, an extra spur of motivation to stay on the straight and narrow, but other than that I don't know.

IV; The.... The 2003 act brought in a lot of changes and monitoring people in the community; in the sense of, what would you say from a probation point of view would be the major issues in involved in monitoring paedophiles out there in the community?

IE; (*Long pause*) Well, what are we monitoring (*laughs*)? We can monitor there movements, yea? That's... we can't monitor all of them, but we can monitor broadly, we can monitor things like obvious changes in there mood states and changes in their routines, we can monitor there lifestyles, such as have they got a job? And where is it? And where are they living? And so on, we can monitor there friends who they are associating with and so on.

Now, these are all risk factors, so I wouldn't undermine there importance, there all factors that contribute to risk, yea? We can monitor, can monitor things like, are they turning to, are they drinking more, are they getting involved in a drug culture? What are the things that are going to lower there inhibitions and so on, you know? And we can monitor things like if already know some factors about them, you know; how are they with there peers? Are they easily lead? And fears with who they are associating and so on. So, those are all things that are helpful in terms of monitoring, and however you can look at people everyday, every minute of the day; and neither can you really understand what they are actually thinking either, that stays at the deep dark recess at the back of there head, you know. Because if I say to you 'tell me what your fantasy is?', you would tell me get stuffed won't you (*laughs*) (*end of side one*) So you know, you've only got to... you can only monitor what you can monitor and it can only be useful if it relates to what the risk factors are, yes? If you're just monitoring for the sake of monitoring and to fulfil a media need that's a different matter all together.

IV; And, I suppose in a way like, when they come out and if they are just put straight back into the communities in which they came from, does that make it easier or harder, like if they are on one of your programmes and they just go straight back to living with the people that they lived with before, say they didn't abuse within the family, and they've just gone back to living with the same people they have lived with before, what not.

IE; Well again that all depends as well, because they might have a condition on their, on their licence, not to go to that, not to go to a particular area. So you can monitor what areas they going to, or not to live in a particular area, never mind go to it, not to actually live round there, and if the condition is not to you know go into the vicinity of here, not to travel to there and so on you know. They can have curfews put on, some have curfews, so you know between the hours of this, that and the other you know you're not allowed to go out, or what ever. Also, I mean there are different pressures for them, if they go back to those communities, and those communities know what they have done its not easy for them to live in those communities either, so they have got to have some where to live, right? And of

course, and I mean from your perspective in your research if, if the media is hounding them where are they going to live? The best thing for them then is to go underground in that case you know, there always is that alternative for them. Of course there is a lot of risks in that for them, because when they are caught they're going to go back in for longer, yea? Then they really are going to be labelled. So, I'd rather know where they are, and a little bit about what they are doing, than not knowing where they are and know having a clue what they're doing.

IV; Yea, that is sort of the end of the first part, the second part is more on the social, public side of it. First of all, from your experience, what do you reckon to the idea that gets bandied about a bit at the moment, in terms of is paedophilia more common now or are we just more aware of it?

IE; (laughs) Well, I don't know how common it is (laughs) well, how do you know how common it's ever been? I don't know! How do you find that out? 'Oh I'll do a bit of research, have you ever been? Thank you, that's one. You know, out of every 20 people we interviewed said...' (Laughing, being sarcastic). I don't know, so again its assumptions, I mean Paedophilia is what it is and it's whatever we say it is, it seems to me. So and of course that is one of the things that is said you know when, going back to that earlier bit when we said 'oh your, were behind in this country, and so on as apposed to other cultures', and its true its whatever any culture or society deems it to be I guess, whatever the taboos might be. There does seem to be some consistent taboos generally about some aspects of incest and so on, and not necessarily about the age when a child is no longer a child and is a sexual partner. What we have is the law, right, what we have is the moral codes associated with that law that dictate what is right and what is wrong. So both legally and morally, and how they come is not, you don't say 'at quarter past 3 on the afternoon of Thursday the 19th of October, morally it came about, you know' it's a whole process, so. I really don't know, I really don't know, it might be more prevalent now; there are more people now for a start so. There maybe more technological access, but is there more social access in... terms of you know, that people are wary of there children going out to play in parks, on the beach, swimming baths and so on, 'what club are you going? Where are you going? And so on', that never existed before. You may say that anyone that was interested in paedophilia then probably had more access in terms of that, but then was it reported? Probably not as much as it is today, I think there probably is more reporting today, I think. Because it's discussed and because the media, I don't think that the media has done all harmful stuff I think, in terms of saying, you know 'this is wrong and it's ok for you as a victim to recognise that and be supported in that, you know'. Maybe that's encouraged people to come forward you know, at the end of the day you

know, victims aren't abstracts they are actual individual, real people who are suffering, and have suffered. So, its very complex and I don't think there is a one side or the other, so I don't, I don't really know on a pro-rata bases if there's more paedophiles than there was.... Probably people are more interested in sex in a different way than they were 2 or 3 hundred years ago, probably there access to it is, is different to how it was, maybe people are more sexually aware about themselves and the possibilities, than they used to be, but maybe 2 or 3 hundred years ago sex was more accessible because you, you could grab a child. I don't know, I really don't know, it's a very sort of, you know you'd have to do a sociological piece of research on that I think.

IV; And the problem is that no-one asked a hundred years ago, so you can't compare it....

IE; No one believed a hundred years ago either.

IV; So there's no comparison... the question leading on from this, I always have to prefix this with, I don't think that 'outry' is the right word I also don't think that 'panic' is the right word, but while trying to find the right word I'll use these words. In.... why do you, through your experience of working in this area and through your personal opinion and what not, why do you think the current outcry, say in past 30 years, but especially in the last 10 years, surrounding paedophilia has occurred in society?

IE; *(long pause)* That's a really hard question to answer, because its a bit like saying when does a 15 year old start being an adult, and when does a 16 stop being a... you know, do you go to bed one night and wake up the next morning and its all changed, you know? *(Pause)* there's a lot of contributing factors I think, I mean technology has brought us, if you like... Has narrowed the world.... And so everything is in your face more, so I think that has got to have had some sort of an impact. I think that sometimes when the media says that it responds to society that, that is a bit of a biased way of looking at it, I think that society responds to the media as well, they feed off each other and it's very difficult to say who shapes what. So it's a bit like Marx says, you know 'our environment both shapes us, but we shape our environment', you know it's a two way process, and I don't know the chicken and the egg bit in the middle. So yea, it's in our faces more and we've got access in ways that we never had to those types of issues, whether there Hollywood style, whether they are News Of the World style, whether they are sort of... Broadsheet style of, you know under the sort of banner of this research, and were reading about it and were consuming it, aren't we? And were watching

it and were consuming it, and we are hearing it and were consuming it, and like..... If I consume more cakes I'm going to get fatter aren't I? So you know..... If I consume more stuff about sex and sexuality, and sexual issues, and sexual offending and so on... if you're going to consume more on... I can't consume a cake unless I consume the ingredients that made it that could make it up, sorry.... But I'm just making this up as I go, right? So I can't consume issues about sex unless I consume all the ingredients that make that up, and one of the ingredients that makes that up is sexual offending, you know. So.... The more, the more cake there is available the more tempted I am to consume it, I suppose.

IV; It's a nice analogy.

IE; (*laughs*)

IV; Because, the next question that I was going to ask is related to that and, and I won't ask it unless there's anything else that you want to add to it; about how, if the media has had any role in this outcry?

IE; I think that it's had a big role in it you know, and I think it's you know, that Sarah's Law and all of that sort of stuff, and the News Of the World campaigns and so on... Rupert Murdoch and Co. dictated government policy to a large extent, I think. So there's been a lot of knee jerk reactions and so on, because politicians want to be elected, they want to be in power. I think there's a fair argument for saying that victims and people at risk should be given more information, but relevant information and information that safe guards them and safe guards others. So, information that they can value, but information that safe guards them as well, and allows them to move on with their lives. I think.... I think.... some victims have been turned into saints and martyrs, and their lives will never be the same and they'll never get it back on track, and I think that the media has got a lot of responsibility for that. What does the media do, as well? It sells papers, doesn't it? It sells advertising space, it does all sorts of things and there isn't sort of shocked, or horrified, or titillated, by reading about these 14 year old girls and this that and the other, and what goes on in Thailand and you know. And what does go on.... What happens over there? Where's Sarah's law over there? You know... so, so yea I think the media is responsible.... We had somebody from the LM wanted to do an interview with somebody who had done a programme, this was about 3 years ago, I am very wary... but anyway, I sort of said that I didn't subscribe to it, but they arranged it anyway, and this guy came and he did two big, two page spread, centre pages on 'my interview with a sex offender' you know, and.... I, I sent an e-mail to our headquarters saying 'you know, if

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IV; Because, the next question that I was going to ask is related to that and, and I won't ask it unless there's anything else that you want to add to it; about how, if the media has had any role in this outcry?

IE; I think that it's had a big role in it you know, and I think it's you know, that Sarah's Law and all of that sort of stuff, and the News Of the World campaigns and so on.... Rupert Murdoch and Co. dictated government policy to a large extent, I think. So there's been a lot of knee jerk reactions and so on, because politicians want to be elected, they want to be in power. I think there's a fair argument for saying that victims and people at risk should be given more information, but relevant information and information that safe guards them and safe guards others. So, information that they can value, but information that safe guards them as well, and allows them to move on with their lives. I think.... I think.... some victims have been turned into saints and martyrs, and their lives will never be the same and they'll never get it back on track, and I think that the media has got a lot of responsibility for that. What does the media do, as well? It sells papers, doesn't it? It sells advertising space, it does all sorts of things and there isn't sort of shocked, or horrified, or titillated, by reading about these 14 year old girls and this that and the other, and what goes on in Thailand and you know. And what does go on.... What happens over there? Where's Sarah's law over there? You know... so, so yea I think the media is responsible.... We had somebody from the LM wanted to do an interview with somebody who had done a programme, this was about 3 years ago, I am very wary... but anyway, I sort of said that I didn't subscribe to it, but they arranged it anyway, and this guy came and he did two big, two page spread, centre pages on 'my interview with a sex offender' you know, and.... I, I sent an e-mail to our headquarters saying 'you know, if

we are going to get coverage like that why are we giving access to them?', and they said 'well we thought it was very good, we thought it was very fair', and it was all, this was our own management, and it was all 'as I sat there and looked at his shifty eyes, and...' and it was all that sort of stuff, you know. And I thought 'well I have met you mate and think that you have got shifty eyes as well' (*laughs*) so you know. So yea, I think its demonised in that way, and people are demonised, and it took a lot of courage for this guy to come forward and sit there, and talk, because he thought he was doing something right as well. And at the end of it all.... you know.

IV; That must also put you in a difficult position, because if you are like 'oh we think you should do this, we think it's a good idea', and it doesn't it back fires, well, its like 'I trusted youse enough...'

IE; Well that's right, that's why I, I personally don't trust the media.

IV; This leads on to, this is related to what we are going to talk about now, because I have got a couple of questions on Sarah Payne and Sarah's Law, and; the main question I want to ask, as someone that works with offenders in the community, and goes through treatment programmes, and what not, do you think that the News Of the Worlds 'Name and Shame' and 'Sarah's Law' campaigns were effective in what the News Of the World claimed, or said that it wanted to do, and did it.... How do you think it would impact on your job....

IE; I think it, I think that I have already said what my impressions are in earlier questions that you have asked. I think, you know if you want to look at it positively, it provided public awareness, it highlighted the need for victims and potential victims to have more information about the risk that there running, or you know that they might be running, or to understand a bit more about how this came about. It impacted in terms of various agencies, including probation, the police and so on, would look harder at there own practice, and about how they were doing things and how they were safeguarding. But it certainly, it I don't think that it set out with that intention, I always thought that its intention was to sell newspapers and this was a good... and what's more emotional than that, you know? So... so... so I mistrust the media in what they profess they are setting out to do when they get on the campaign trail. I think it has done some harm for victims as well as done some good for them. It's made life a little tester for us all to do, certainly we have got more bureaucracy now than we have ever had, we're bound up with all sorts of completing interests; such as the interests of the victim, the

interests of the offender, the interests of the broader society, the interests of you know freedom of information, of you know public protection, and your being torn all which ways that you shouldn't.... so. I think we are more confused about what, and how, and why we can do things than we were before, were probably before it was, it was straighter really... you where either in it because you thought, you either in it because it was the job that you were doing and you had some commitment to it, or it was a job that you were in because you thought 'look, I don't want any more victims. I believe that some men can change, and if that's possible, knowing what we know about, we are only going to know that about knowing how they offend, what there thoughts are, what there processes are, and if they are going to clam up and not give us any of that were never know and we can't protect anybody. So... you know'. Its swings and roundabouts... the swings and roundabout aren't as straightforward as they used to be, you know.

IV; One of the main things, like the News Of the World, like when Jack Straw was Home Sectary they got, they had a Sarah's charter type thing, and they got 12 of there 13 demands, if you want to call them demands. But the one that they didn't get, which was 'Sarah's Law', which was public disclosure of paedophiles whereabouts' and what not; how much of a reality do you think that this would be in this country? Because, as we know it already exists in America.

IE; I think that it would be really, really difficult; really, really difficult for it to prove to be successful. I have not done any reading or research about how it has worked in America; I have seen a couple of programmes on the television in passing and stuff like that. It doesn't seem to me to be that clever an idea really in practice. I think it would make our job difficult, people would know who they are, they could follow them; they could see where they are going, they could see where there living, what's the whole purpose of that? What is the whole purpose of that? So if, if you do start from the premise that you're a paedophile, and paedophiles will always be paedophiles, and they will always be, I think there could always be a risk, but there always going to offend then you can see some twisted logic in well lock them up and throw the key away, yea? If you, your taking the point that people can change, and that there are some people that could change, or are less risk then they ought to be given the opportunity to live their lives in, in the community. What's the community? Is it..... I don't know what the community means really, you know? If that's the case you know, then they have to be given the opportunity, and if their names and addresses where published like that, then they'll never get the opportunity.

IV; Thank you. Basically there is three questions left, the next two are on government; First of all what do you think the role of the government should be in relation to paedophilia, and like sex offenders? Should it be hands on or should it just be 'here's the policy, off youse go you deal with it'? Like how involved do you think they should be, or should they take a step back?

IE; Well..... you can say that about any facet that the government get involved in really can't you? *(laughs)* Because that's what they do, that's what they are elected for is to sit there and make decisions about what we do and don't do, and how we are going to do it, and why we are going to do it, and what will happen if we don't do it and what'll happen if we do, do it. So unless we are sort of going in force anarchy, you know structured anarchy if there is such a thing. I don't think that anybody, if government do know about theses issues then they won't talk about them in the way that you have been asking the questions and the way that I have been answering them, whatever the way that that is, because its not in there interests to do that, there interest is to do that. There interest is to maintain power, and you maintain power by two methods really, and that is by being re-elected or by oppressing people. So *(laughs)*... there going to take to a hands on, but they think it's the hands on that is best suited to get them the best returns as they see it. From my perspective, I just wish that they would allow us, they can vetted us, the can monitor how we are doing over a period of time and whether we are having an impact, I'm not saying 'of you go and do your worst sort of thing, or do your best'. We do need some level of measurement and monitoring and so on, and some level of being adjudged and credited, and so on and returned to from time to time to see if that's right. I haven't got a problem with that, but...it's the second I've quoted Marx, there was a sociologists called *(pause while thinking)*... oh god... anyway, this guy said that, he predicted the rational state, and he said with the growth of the rational state and with the growth of bureaucracy, the Marxist response, not word for word, was along long the lines of 'since when has bureaucracy been rational', right *(laughs)*. I'm afraid I subscribe to that. So the monitoring and the measuring, and the.... in order to prove to the public that something is being done because the government wants to show it being done, to justify the money that they are spending, and their popularity and their chances of being re-elected has meant an enormous amount of bureaucracy that actually ties our hands all the time.

IV; Leading on from that, there's only one more after this; funding wise do you think that more money should be ploughed into the areas in which you work in? As in more money should be allocated to deal with and treat with sex offenders and paedophiles, in the community?... or do you think that youse are operating at an effective level?

IE; Oh no, everybody would like more money to deal with things. I would like more money to be poured into, so that I can go to more.... So that I can be trained further so I can hear what the latest successful theories might be in terms of their application and so on, to network and liaise and so on, and to develop staff training and stuff like that, so I'd like more money for that. I'd like more money for more, more user friendly rooms and so on, I'd like more money in terms of support networks out there, for both offenders and victims, instead of those resources being closed down. So yes... I think more money is needed. But I don't think that the answer is just money, I think the answer is also about, what are we saying about society? And what are we saying about the best ways in dealing with the things that go wrong? And what are we saying about what is wrong and what is right, you know? And what are we saying about picking people up and saying 'that's them, that's you, that's you'? well one of the things that we say to some of the guys, well we say it to all of the guys, but with more effectiveness on some of them; I draw a circle on, on a flip chart and put a mark in the middle anywhere in it 'that's your offending, that's nothing to do with what you are like as a work colleague, what you are like as a son and what your like as whatever. Your skills around the house, your generosity to other... and so on', you know. But..... but that is what we are doing we are classifying people all the time, you know.....

IV; What that seems to be leading to, and what all of this has been leading to and the final question; when I say public, I mean your average person on the street, not anyone that has read around this area or what not....

IE; Yea, your average Joe Smith..

IV; Do you think the public have a good understanding of what paedophilia is?

IE; No, no, not at all, no, no. They are media fed. And there also, if you think about it they are emotionally responsive, some mothers, today's mothers will you know... say 'bastard, if he came near my kid', you know. And you know, it's hard to argue against those feelings, because you'd be the same and I'd certainly be the same you know, you know... as much as I am against you know, state executions if it was any of my nearest or dearest I'd be saying 'hang the bastard now', you know, because that's the way it works, all rationality goes out of the window in that sense. You're not going to rationalise it, saying 'but what you have got to understand is the way that society is structured...' you know, but people are not going to do that. But then its nurtured, its nurtured by the media I think, and you know one of the things

that I say to people occasionally, and I don't talk about what I do outside, but if I'm having a drink and somebody does know what I'm doing they will inevitably say something, you know, and I'll say 'look so and so and so is more likely to be abused by a member of the family, or a person next door than by a stranger, right? So why shouldn't they play out, why shouldn't they go down the fields and play cricket and so on', So Joe Public is misinformed, and I don't think that Joe Public, I wouldn't like to think that Joe Public is as ignorant as the media treat Joe Public; but then the media have got to grow up and stop patronising and pandering.

(Pause)

IV; That's brilliant

IE; Thank you.

End of interview.

Appendix G

Appendix G

Examples of the Overall analysis of qualitative research:

What is a paedophile?

Question	Categories	Sub-categories	Groups	Issues	Participants and location [participant (page.paragraph)]
What is paedophilia	Paedophilia	Paedophilia	a sexual attraction to children	Sexual attraction to pre-pubescent children	5(1.1); 8(1.1); 9(1.1); 11(2.7); 15(1.5); 15(2.2); 16 (1.8); 19 (1.2); 21(1.2); 24(1.2); 28(1.2)
				Erotic attachment between adults and children	14(1.7)
				Sexual attraction to under aged people	6(1.1); 27(1.2)
				Anyone with an attraction to children	22(1.4); 25(1.4); 27(1.2)
				Generally inappropriate behaviour with children	20(1.2)
				Targets children for there relationships	26(1.2)
			What causes paedophilia?	Nature vs. nurture?	7(7.4)
			Psychological explanations	A condition	13(2.3); 27(1.2)
				Mental illness	14(1.7)
				A behaviour, a motivation	13(3.1)
				paraphilia	28(1.2)
			Biological explanations	Paedophilia might be explained biologically	15(21.3)

				Can handedness lead to paedophilia?	6(8.1)
				Need to be careful in discussing the brain and paedophilia	6(8.2)
				Maybe the social ascepts of handedness that may lead to paedophilia	6(8.3)
				Not much evidence of a genetic link stating your more likely to be a paedophile if you have a sibling that's one	6(8.4)
				Paedophilia maybe related to a brain mechanism	6(8.6)
			Social explanations	Some paedophiles have had awful lives	15(21.3)
			Criminal activity	Criminal activity	14(1.7)
			Diverse forms of paedophilia	Different forms of paedophilia	13(3.1); 24(1.2); 26(1.4); 25(2.3)
				Not sure if there are diverse forms of paedophilia	25(2.3)
			No acceptable definition of paedophilia	No acceptable definition	20(1.2); 26(1.2)
				No legal definition	9(8.6); 20(1.2)
				The law defines paedophilia via the age of consent	9(8.6);
				No medical definition	20(1.2); 26(1.2)
			Cultural/social reaction	Modern cultural gesture	14(1.7)
				Cultural	14(1.7)

				obsession	
			Learning more about paedophilia	Currently learning more about it	20(1.2)
			Current explanations	Legal definition	25(1.4)
				Clinical definition	26(1.2)
			Paedophilia maybe based on power	Maybe based on power	26(1.2)
			Labelling	Paedophilia is a very stigmatising label	25(2.3)
				Generally the media labels people	25(2.3)
		The Paedophile	Personality	Full of self confidence	22(10.1)
			Intelligence	Paedophiles have similar levels of IQ	25(6.5)
				Intelligent paedophiles tend to side with NAMBLA	25(6.5)
				All paedophiles are capable of grooming	25(6.5)
			The paedophiles interaction with the child	Feels more comfortable with a child	5(1.1); 25(1.4)
				Not threatened by a child	5(1.1);
				Perceives themselves as having a mutual relationship with a child	5(1.1);
				Physical and emotional attraction	5(1.1); 25(1.4)
			Sexual relationship with children	Distorted thinking	24(1.2); 25(2.1)
				Child lovers	8(1.1)
			May not sexually abuse the child	May not actually act upon there impulse	8(1.1);13(2.1) ; 22(1.4); 24(1.2); 27(1.2)
				Sexual fantasies	6(1.1)

				Viewing child sexual abuse images	27(1.2)
			Paedophilia and criminality	A paedophile is not a criminal until they act on there behaviour	13(1.2)
			Relations with adults	No age appropriate relationships	25(1.4)
			Anyone can be a paedophile	Paedophiles aren't generally/easily identifiable as being different from 'normal' people	6(8.5)
				Anyone could be a paedophile	1(10.2); 25(1.5)
			Types of paedophile	Perception that there is more of a homosexual paedophile threat, than a heterosexual one	9(7.2)
				The majourity of paedophilie killings have been heterosexual, not homosexual	17(33.3)
				Male and women are subject to different coding in relation children	14(18.2)
				Paedophiles are always viewed as being male	14(17.2)
				Difference between the pre and post pubescent paedophile	17(29.1)
				Easier to understand paedophilia being linked to pre-pubescent children	17(29.3)

				Should sexuality and paedophilia be linked?	17(33.1)
			Female paedophiles	Behaviours that are suspicious for males are seen as normal for females	14(18.2); 21(12.4)
				There are female offenders	21(12.4); 24(5.1)
				The public tend not to see women as abusers	21(12.4); 24(5.1)
				Female abusers use the same techniques as male offenders	21(13.1)
				Is female child sexual abuse paedophilia?	17(31.3/32.1)
				Public tend to see male and female offenders differently	24(5.3)
				Female offenders are perceived as being less dangerous	24(5.3)
				Abuse by female offenders is seen as having less of an impact	24(5.3)
				Abuse is just as damaging, no matter the sex of the abuser	24(5.3)
			Paedophile rings	Not a lot of offenders are in paedophile rings	15(13.3)
				Most dangerous paedophiles plan and execute the abuse themselves	15(13.3)

				The leaders in paedophile rings are the most dangerous	15(13.3)
			Victims	Reactions to abuse	24(1.2)
				Types of victims	Paedophiles abuse evenly between males/female children
					14(4.3)
					People are more willing to discuss abuse of boys, as well as girls
					14(17.2)
				Media is only really interested in boy victims	14(4.3)
		Use of the term paedophilia	Understanding 'paedophilia'	Can be used diversely than by what it really means	11(2.7)
				Its important to have a good understanding of the term when discussing it	13(2.1)
				Understanding depends on training	25(1.4)
				Paedophilia is an un-useful term	3(5.4); 16(18.3); 20(10.2)
				Not happy with the term paedophilia	24(6.4)
				Paedophilia is a vague term	17(31.3)
				Whatever value paedophilia has had as a term has been undermined	20(10.4 – 11.1)
				The term paedophilia shouldn't be used	3(5.4)
				Paedophilia has	16(18.3);

				lost its meaning	20(10.2)
				Paedophilia has been hi-jacked	3(5.4)
				Paedophilia doesn't cover the full spectrum of offences/behaviours	3(5.4); 9(8.8); 17(31.3); 20(10.2); 22(32.3); 24(6.4); 26(1.5); 27(4.1)
				Paedophilia is a huge term	22(33.1)
			Paedophilia as an inclusive term for discussing child sexual abuse	Its not an inclusive term	26(1.4)
				The media use paedophilia as an inclusive term	26(1.4)
				The public see paedophilia as an inclusive term	26(1.4)
			Lay people vs. expert understanding	Lay people may have a different definition than experts	15(1.5)
				Not comfortable with anything in relation to discussing paedophilia that indicates mutuality	19(1.2)
				Not happy with the term	16(1.8)
			Need to be careful in discussing 'paedophilia'	Encourages the use of typologies because this categories the offender, and limits them	16(1.8-2.1)
			Problems with 'paedophilia'	Used incorrectly (as a catch all term for all sexual abuse)	16(2.1); 20(1.2)
		Media and paedophilia	Media use 'paedophilia'	Used more by the media than elsewhere	19(1.2)
				Media discusses paedophilia as sexual abuse	19(1.2)

				Paedophilia is used to discuss stranger danger	19(1.2)
			Incorrect media usage of 'paedophilia'	The media do not use the term correctly	11(2.7); 28(1.2); 26(1.4)
	Varieties of child sexual abusers apart from paedophilia	Child sexual abusers	Child sexual abusers	Against older children that are under 16	5(1.1)
				Can abuse anyone from a baby to a 16 year old	24(1.2)
				People view sex abusers as one group	15(2.4)
			Perceptions of child sex abusers	Sex abusers are viewed as paedophiles	21(1.2)
				Don't tend to abuse outside the family	15(2.4)
		Incest offenders	Offending patterns	Low re-offending rates	15(2.4)
				High re-offending rates	15(2.4)
		Extra-familial abusers	Offending patterns	More dangerous abusers	15(2.4)
				Attraction to vulnerable people	15(2.2)
		Ebophile	Conflicting ideas of ebophilia	Sexual interest in post-pubescent children	21(1.2)
				A manifestation of paedophilia	13(3.1)
		Child sex tourism	Child sex tourism and paedophilia	Most child sex tourism is not always paedophilia related	13(3.1)
				Child sex tourism does exist	1(4.7)
				As a form of prostitution	13(3.1)
			Types of child sex tourists	As situational sex tourism	13(3.1)
				As sexual violence	13(3.1)
			Victims	Most victims of	13(4.3)

				child sex tourism are girls	
		Child sexual abuse imagery	Viewing and doing	Is there a connection between viewing child abuse imagery and committing a contact offence	1(4.6)
				A link between viewing and doing	22(5.4 - 6.1)
				Assumption of link between viewing and doing by the media	8(5.3)
				Assumption of link between viewing and doing by professionals'	8(5.3)
			A sexual offence	Viewing child sexual abuse imagery is illegal	15(14.3)
				Viewing child sexual abuse imagery sexually deviant	15(14.3)
			Non-paedophilic viewers	A percentage of the normal population will view child sexual abuse imagery	15(14.3)
		Child on child abuse	Child on child abuse	Not discussing child on child sexual abuse	5(5.6)
		Relationship between different forms of abuse	Different forms of abuse are linked	Different forms of abuse are inter related	5(7.4)
				May have sexual and physical abuse happening together	5(7.4)
				May have sexual and psychological abuse happening	5(7.4)

				together	
				Sexual abuse maybe apart of domestic violence	5(7.4)
				A link between cruelty to animals and cruelty to children	5(7.4)
			Children may display sexual abuse in different ways	Signs of other forms of abuse maybe be an indication of paedophilia	5(7.4)
				Children suffering abuse at home may show it elsewhere	5(8.1)
			How much child sexual abuse is there?	Levels of child sexual abuse are smaller than other forms of child abuse	14(4.1)

Appendices

Quantitative Research with Trainee/Non-professionals'

Appendix H

Appendix H
Study 1 questionnaire

Dear Participant,

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. This study is part of my overall PhD research on the establishment of public’s perception of paedophiles. You are being asked to list as many adjectives/descriptors that you believe portrays the statement at hand. Also, do not worry if you write more characteristics for one question as apposed to another. Please, do not deliberate for too long over your answers, and write the first thing that comes into your head. Finally, these are your personal opinions so write what you actually think, this is anonymous and no body will be able to attribute your statements to you. **All data will remain private and confidential.**

Age;

Gender; Male Female

What is a paedophile?

What attitudes and behaviours do paedophiles typically display?

Appendix I

Appendix I
Study 2 questionnaire

Dear Participant,

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. This study is part of my overall PhD research on the establishment of public’s perception of paedophiles. This questionnaire asks you for your personal opinions and attitudes, so please write what you actually think. All the data collated is anonymous and no body will be able to attribute your statements to you. **All data will remain private and confidential.**

It’s important that this questionnaire is completed in sequence; please, fill out all parts of each section before moving on to the next one.

If you have any questions about this piece of research please contact me on;KM62@LE.AC.UK

Thank you

Section 1;

Please circle the category that represents you most accurately;

1. Gender;

Male

Female

2. Age;

18-21 21-30 30-40 40-50 50-60 60+

3. Religious affiliation:

Christian- Catholic

Christian- Protestant

Jewish

Muslim

Hindu

Sikh

Agonistic

Atheist

Other; _____

4. Ethnic origin;

White	Black
Asian	Chinese
Mixed	Indian
Other; _____	

5. Parent;

Yes	No
-----	----

Section 2

A likert scale follows all the statements in this section. The aim of this is to see where you place yourself on the scale in relation to the statement. Please be as honest as possible these are your opinions and there is no right or wrong answers, and all answers are confidential.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

A paedophile sexually abuses children

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Paedophiles are male

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

A paedophile has feelings towards children

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

A paedophile is an abuser

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

A paedophile is mentally disordered

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

A paedophile is sick

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

A paedophile is mad

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

A paedophile doesn't necessarily offend against children

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

A paedophile is a pervert

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

A paedophiles is a rapist

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

A paedophile can use mental imagery instead of abusing

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

A paedophile is a criminal

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

A paedophile is disgusting

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

A paedophile is addicted to children

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

A paedophile is not normal

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles are female

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

A paedophile finds the experience pleasurable

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

A paedophile has an unhealthy attitude to children

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

A paedophile is old

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Do you think that you have an understanding of what paedophile is?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Section 3

A likert scale follows all the statements in this section. The aim of this is to see where you place yourself on the scale in relation to the statement. Please be as honest as possible these are your opinions and there is no right or wrong answers, and all answers are confidential.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Strongly Agree Mildly Neutral Mildly Disagree Strongly
Agree Agree Disagree Disagree

Paedophiles appear normal

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles are secretive

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles spend a lot of there time near children

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles groom children

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles find there behaviour and attitudes acceptable

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles have psychological problems

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles have no remorse for their attitudes and behaviours

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles are friendly towards children

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles are loners

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles are interested in children

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles have a sexual interest in children

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles believe that the children are consent to their sexually advances

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles sexually assault children

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles are socially inept

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles are immature

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles groom members of the children’s family

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles have preferences for certain types of children

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles are predatory

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles are underhand

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles are false

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles are lairs

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles are manipulative

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Paedophiles believe that they are in love with the children

1234567

Paedophiles are very emotional

1234567

Paedophiles blame their victims

1234567

Paedophiles rape

1234567

Paedophiles are anti societies norms

1234567

Paedophiles are gentle with children

1234567

Do you think that you have an understanding of the attitudes and behaviours presented by a paedophile?

1234567

Section 4

1. Do you read a newspaper?

12345
EverydayRegularlyOnce in a whileRarelyNever

If so what newspaper(s) do you read?

2. Do you watch to the news programmes on the TV?

12345
EverydayRegularlyOnce in a whileRarelyNever

If so what news programme(s) do you watch?

3. Do you listen to the news programmes on the radio?

1	2	3	4	5
Everyday	Regularly	Once in a while	Rarely	Never

If so what news programme(s) do you listen to?

4. Is the news media your main source of opinion on social events?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Neutral	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

5. Would you be likely to discuss current events with others?

Yes	No
-----	----

If so, whom would you discuss them with?

6. Do you read/view or listen to the specific news that you do because it reflects your personal opinions?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Neutral	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

7. Do believe that the news media has an impact on your understanding of social events?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Neutral	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

8. Do believe that the news media has an impact on your perception of social events?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Neutral	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

9. Do you believe that the views represented in the news media are reflective of widely held social beliefs and perceptions?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Neutral	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

10. Do you think that news media acts responsibility in how it decides to cover socially sensitive material?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Neutral	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

11. Are you more likely to believe the news media more often than not?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Agree	Agree	Mildly Agree	Neutral	Mildly Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

Section 5

A series likert scales follows each of the statements in this section. Please check the length and scoring system for each statement because they can vary between 5 and 9 point scales. The aim of this is to see where you place yourself on the scale in relation to the statement. Please be as honest as possible these are your opinions and there is no right or wrong answers, and all answers are confidential.

For the next series of questions please use the following scale;

Not at all Representative Of me						completely representative of me
	1	2	3	4	5	

I should be able to organize everything in advance.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

One should always look ahead so as to avoid surprises.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

The smallest doubt can stop me from acting.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

I can't stand being taken by surprise.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Unforeseen events upset me greatly.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

I always want to know what the future has in store for me.

1 2 3 4 5

A small unforeseen event can spoil everything, even with the best of planning.

1 2 3 4 5

I can't stand being undecided about my future.

1 2 3 4 5

It frustrates me not having all the information I need.

1 2 3 4 5

I must get away from all uncertain situations.

1 2 3 4 5

Being uncertain means that a person is disorganized.

1 2 3 4 5

Being uncertain means that I am not first rate.

1 2 3 4 5

When I am uncertain I can't go forward.

1 2 3 4 5

Uncertainty keeps me from living a full life.

1 2 3 4 5

When I am uncertain I can't function very well.

1 2 3 4 5

Uncertainty makes life intolerable.

1 2 3 4 5

Being uncertain means that I lack confidence

1 2 3 4 5

Uncertainty makes me vulnerable, unhappy or sad.

1 2 3 4 5

I think it is unfair that other people seem sure about their future

12345

Unlike me, others always seem to know where they are going with their lives.

12345

Its unfair not having any guarantees in life.

12345

The ambiguities in life stress me.

12345

My mind can't be relaxed if I don't know what will happen tomorrow.

12345

Uncertainty makes me uneasy, anxious or stressed.

12345

Uncertainty keeps me from sleeping soundly.

12345

When it is time to act, uncertainty paralyses me.

12345

Uncertainty stops me from having a firm opinion.

12345

For the next series of questions please use the following scale;

1	2	3	4	5
Very Inaccurate	Moderately Inaccurate	Neither Inaccurate nor Accurate	Moderately Accurate	Very Accurate

I worry about things.

12345

I fear for the worst.

12345

I am afraid of many things.

1 2 3 4 5

I get stressed out easily.

1 2 3 4 5

I get caught up in my problems

1 2 3 4 5

I am not easily bothered by things.

1 2 3 4 5

I am relaxed most of the time.

1 2 3 4 5

I am not easily disturbed by events.

1 2 3 4 5

I don't worry about things that have already happened.

1 2 3 4 5

I adapt easily to new situations.

1 2 3 4 5

I avoid mistakes.

1 2 3 4 5

I choose my words with care.

1 2 3 4 5

I stick to my chosen path.

1 2 3 4 5

I jump into things without thinking.

1 2 3 4 5

I make rash decisions.

1 2 3 4 5

I like to act on a whim.

1 2 3 4 5

I rush into things.

1 2 3 4 5

I do crazy things.

1 2 3 4 5

I act without thinking.

1 2 3 4 5

I often make last-minute plans

1 2 3 4 5

I seldom get mad.

1 2 3 4 5

I am not easily bothered by things.

1 2 3 4 5

I am not easily frustrated.

1 2 3 4 5

I seldom take offence.

1 2 3 4 5

I keep my cool.

1 2 3 4 5

I get stressed out easily

1 2 3 4 5

I am easily disturbed.

1 2 3 4 5

I get upset easily.

1 2 3 4 5

I change my mood a lot.

1 2 3 4 5

I get caught up in my problems.

1 2 3 4

I try to identify the reasons for my actions.

1 2 3 4 5

I make decisions only after I have all of the facts.

1 2 3 4 5

I am valued by others for my objectivity

1 2 3 4 5

I am a firm believer in thinking things through.

1 2 3 4 5

I weigh up the pro's and the con's.

1 2 3 4 5

I try to have good reasons for my important decisions.

1 2 3 4 5

I am valued by my friends for my good judgment.

1 2 3 4 5

I don't think about different possibilities when making decisions.

1 2 3 4 5

I don't tend to think things through critically.

1 2 3 4 5

For the next series of questions please use the following scale;

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree	slightly disagree	disagree	agree	slightly agree	strongly agree

I can communicate an idea in many different ways

1 2 3 4 5 6

I avoid new and unusual situations

1 2 3 4 5 6

I feel like I never get to make decisions

1 2 3 4 5 6

I can find workable solutions to seemingly unsolvable problems

1 2 3 4 5 6

I seldom have choices when deciding how to behave

1 2 3 4 5 6

I am willing to work at creative solutions to problems

1 2 3 4 5 6

In any given situation, I am able to act appropriately

1 2 3 4 5 6

My behaviour is a result of conscious decisions that I make

1 2 3 4 5 6

I have many possible ways of behaving in any given situation

1 2 3 4 5 6

I have difficulty using my knowledge on a given topic in real life situations

1 2 3 4 5 6

I have difficulty using my knowledge on a given topic in real life situations

1 2 3 4 5 6

I have the self-confidence necessary to try different ways of behaving.

1 2 3 4 5 6

For the next series of questions please use the following scale;

1	2	3	4	5
Very Inaccurate	Moderately Inaccurate	Neither Inaccurate nor Accurate	Moderately Accurate	Very Accurate

I listen to my feelings when making important decisions.

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

I base my goals in life on inspiration, rather than logic.

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

I plan my life based on how I feel.

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

I believe emotions give direction to life.

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

I listen to my heart rather than my brain.

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

I plan my life logically.

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

I believe important decisions should be based on logical reasoning.

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

I listen to my brain rather than my heart.

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

I make decisions based on facts, not feelings.

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

I worry about what people think of me.

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

I want to amount to something special in others' eyes.

1	2	3	4	5
----------	----------	----------	----------	----------

I feel threatened easily.

1 2 3 4 5

I need reassurance.

1 2 3 4 5

I need the approval of others.

1 2 3 4 5

I am easily intimidated.

1 2 3 4 5

I am not concerned with making a good impression

1 2 3 4 5

I feel comfortable with myself.

1 2 3 4 5

I am not easily bothered by things.

1 2 3 4 5

I am not embarrassed easily.

1 2 3 4 5

I seldom feel blue.

1 2 3 4 5

I don't worry about things that have already happened.

1 2 3 4 5

For the next series of questions please use the following scale;

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Strongly								strongly
Disagree								agree

I tend to be a member of many different group

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

I tend to shy away from group memberships

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

I prefer remaining a member of one group rather than many different groups

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

I actively seek out new group memberships

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

I can't understand how others can find the time to be a member of so many different groups

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

I am identified with a variety of different groups

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

In order to benefit from group memberships, an individual should remain in a single group rather than become a member of different groups

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

There are many different ways of dealing with stress. This part of the questionnaire is concerned with the behaviours you adopt in attempting to deal with major stresses in your life. In the space below I would like you to give a brief description of a stressful event and the activities and/or thoughts you used in attempting to deal with this stressful event.

Now provide ratings of these activities and/or thoughts by circling the appropriate number on the following scales. To what extent did this/these activities

Not very much so							very much so
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	

Allow you to directly deal with the problem?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Help you to find meaning and understanding from the situation?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Allow you to manage the distress and upset caused by the event?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Allow you to grow and develop as a person?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Help you to divert your attention away from the problem?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Allow you to handle any anxiety caused by the event?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Provide you with information useful in solving the problem?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Allow you to deny that anything was wrong?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Enable you to deal with any emotional upset caused by the event?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Allow you to understand something of the nature of the problem, from which you could attempt to deal directly with it?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Allow you to avoid having to deal directly with the situation?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Allow you to learn more about yourself and others?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Distract you from thinking about the problem?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Help you to think about the problem in a new and useful way?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Allow you a more optimistic outlook on the future?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Allow you to step back and look at the problem, in a different way, such that it seemed better?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Thank you for your time and participation.

