The Online Communication of Paedophile Beliefs

The Online Communication of Paedophile Beliefs

Student: Patrick Martin
Student Number: 98971158
Year: CSPM2
Supervisor: Paul McNamara
Date: 31/7/2000

DECLARATION

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of M.A. (Research), is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

Signed: _Patrick Martin_
(Patrick Martin)

ID No:98971158

Date: 31st July 2000

Abstract

Paedophilia is classified as a 'disorder' and a 'dissexuality' within clinical practice and is delegitimated and demonised in social discourse. This research examines the means by which paedophiles seek to redress this delegitimation through the formation and communication of a complex of validatory ideas or ideologies. It is argued, on the basis of research into paedophile Internet writings, that (i) paedophile ideology is instrumentally directed at the displacement of responsibility from paedophiles for the harm of adult-child sexual relations and that (ii) paedophile beliefs function to absolve them of feelings of guilt; to mentally permit adult-child sexual relations and; to undermine the moral objection to paedophilia which inheres in dominant ideologies. These beliefs are communicated through various Internet technologies. The research examines the reasons for paedophiles' adoption of the technology and how it affects their understanding of themselves and their disorder.[1] By contrasting the self-presented beliefs of paedophiles with popular beliefs which obtain about paedophilia, the research also discerns which social values are protected by the delegitimation and demonisation of paedophilia.

---

[1] It is impossible to discuss 'paedophilia' without using the term extensively and constant repetition of the word makes for tedious reading. Substituting the pronoun 'it' for 'paedophilia' or 'they' for paedophiles is, in most cases, unsatisfactorily vague and so it was necessary, in the course of writing this thesis, to decide upon some suitable form of synonym or proform to replace it. The selection was complicated by the fact that all such terms are ideologically loaded. Paedophiles refer to paedophilia simply as an 'orientation'; psychiatric clinicians consider it a sexual 'deviance' or 'disorder' or as a variety of 'dissexuality'. (For a discussion of the term 'dissexuality', see Beier, 1998, pp 133-145). The term 'disorder' has been used in this thesis as there is no obvious ideologically neutral term with which to describe paedophilia. On a related point of terminology, the pronoun "he" is used extensively in this thesis to substitute for 'paedophile'. While there are convicted female paedophiles, the overwhelming majority are male. For example, Fisher states that the ratio of male to female convicted sex offenders is of the order of 25:1. (Fisher, 1995, p 11).

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank:

My supervisor, Paul McNamara, for his advice and assistance in completing this research.

Chapter One

Introduction

Chapter 1: Thesis Overview and Objectives

This research examines the ideologies, arguments and beliefs related in the Internet-based writing of paedophiles; how paedophiles understand themselves and their behaviour; how they justify adult-child sexual relations and how they attempt to absolve themselves of blame for its repercussions. The use of the Internet to communicate and share these beliefs, and the reasons why this technology has been adopted by paedophiles, are also examined.

Existing research of paedophile's cognitive strategies is derived extensively from the testimony of incarcerated offenders. Testimony arising from this context is mediated by the constraints and implicit demands placed upon the offender. Imprisoned paedophiles offering self-accounts usually do so in the context of seeking approval for probation or parole. This encourages them to frame their desires and behaviours in a manner consistent with that expected of a reformed offender.[1] In contrast, the paedophile testimony and literature which is available on the Internet is only mediated by the parameters of the technology.[2] It is unsolicited and is designed to attain the approval of other paedophiles and to convince non-paedophiles of the moral probity of the disorder, as opposed to appeasing those engaged in its delegitimation. For this reason, examination of paedophile's Internet-based testimony is a valid means of assessing the belief systems which underpin paedophile behaviour. Additionally, little research has been conducted into paedophile use of the Internet with respect to the strategic dissemination of beliefs and values.[3]

The research also presents a critique of the dominant ideological systems which inhere in representations of paedophilia as mediated by the popular press and medical authorities. This is warranted because of the degree to which the subject of paedophilia is often mythicised in popular representations.

It is contended that the set of values against which paedophilia offends are part of a dominant ideology which inheres in the descriptions, definitions and categorisations of paedophile behaviour. This is most apparent in the use of the terms 'abuse', 'disorder', 'dissexuality' and 'pathology' in reference to paedophilia. These labels are the focus of much of the ideological battle between paedophiles and their delegitimators. A critique of the values which these and other labels represent allows for an examination of the way in

which their use affects understanding and treatment of the problem and nature of child sexual victimisation. Critiquing dominant representations of paedophilia challenges its reification as an emblem of evil and the reduction of the wide spectrum of paedophile behaviour to the single act of sexual transgression. Dr. Patrice Dunaigre writes that:

> "With regard to the paedophile, it is essential that he not be reduced to the sole dimension of his act. This requires that due attention be paid to the very different aspects that the paedophile symptomology presents. The latter cannot be contained in the univocal picture presented by some media and whose unconsidered use will not only lead to silencing other issues, which in various ways, and in the social context, also contribute to the mutism surrounding the fact of paedophilia." [4]

Paedophile behaviour is not restricted to impulsive acts of molestation, but is supported by a complex array of beliefs and cognitive processes or, as the psychiatric literature argues, cognitive distortions. These beliefs permit the paedophile to offend. The availability of paedophile argument and testimony on the Internet offers researchers the opportunity to gain a better understanding of paedophile reasoning.

1.2 Definitions of Fixated Paedophilia

The meaning and proper use of the term 'paedophilia' is at the centre of the ideological battle, between paedophiles and legal, medical and moral authorities, for the representation of adult-child sexual relations. The term was originally used in a clinical context by Krafft-Ebing to describe an unnatural and preferential sexual attraction directed towards children.[5] The American Psychiatric Association's definition attributes the following highly formal characteristics to paedophilia:

> "The essential features of this order are recurrent, intense, sexual urges and sexually arousing fantasies, of at least six month's duration, involving sexual activity with a prepubescent child. The person has acted upon these urges, or is markedly distressed by them. The age of the child is generally 13 or younger. The age of the person is arbitrarily set at age 16 years or older and at least 5 years older than the child." [6]

Paedophilia is formulated as a 'disorder' for clinical psychiatric practice. This categorisation helps to anchor objections to it within a framework of

rationality. The term has been assimilated into social discourse and has become synonymous with the idea of child molestation and sexual abuse. A distinction needs to be made between individuals who have inflicted physical abuse upon children and those who have recurrent sexual fantasies involving children but have not acted upon them. Lanning's simple distinction between 'paedophiles' and 'child molesters' is useful in this regard in that it categorises paedophiles as individuals who have a preference for children as sexual partners but who have not necessarily acted upon those impulses.[7] For this discussion, it is not necessary to restrict consideration to those who have been convicted of child sex abuse since it is the ideology and beliefs of individuals who harbour a sexual interest in children which is being discussed.[8]

On account of this, the working definition of a fixated paedophile for this research is :

An individual, over the age of 18, whose primary sexual attraction is to children aged 13 or under.[9]

Paedophile advocates also welcome the distinction between 'child molestation' and 'paedophilia'. Paedophiles use the distinction to create a positive self-image for themselves as non-aggressive lovers of children: non-abusing and exclusive paedophiles are regarded as the 'true paedophiles' and 'child molesters' are disowned by the paedophile community.[10] The disparity between paedophile and medical conceptions of the disorder is exemplified by Jarod Benjamin's definition of paedophilia. Writing from the perspective of a paedophile, Benjamin defines it as follows:

> "Paedophilia means … emotional, spiritual and sexual attraction to boys by young adults or adult males."[11]

Paedophiles agitate against the classification of paedophilia as a "disorder", and campaign for its removal from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM III).[12] This redefinition is part of the attempt to positively reconstruct paedophilia.

The use of the term 'paedophile' to describe all adults who engage in sexual activity with children disguises the heterogeneity of behaviours and manifestations which comprise child sexual abuse. Situational incest abusers are very different to fixated extra-familial abusers in their

motivations, strategies and desires.[13] Of the different typologies of paedophilia, fixated extra-familial abuse is the one upon which this research mostly focuses.

Kenneth Lanning characterises fixated, or preferential, paedophiles as follows:

> "Preferential child molesters have a definite sexual preference for children. Their sexual fantasies and erotic imagery focus on children. They have sex with children not because of some situational stress or insecurity but because they are sexually attracted to and prefer children. They can possess a wide variety of character traits but engage in highly predictable sexual behaviour. These highly predictable sexual behaviour patterns are called sexual ritual and are frequently engaged in even when they are counter-productive to getting away with the criminal activity... Members of higher socio-economic groups tend to be over-represented among preferential child molesters."[14]

Media representations of paedophilia often use instances of sadistic child sexual abuse as metonyms for the disorder and invest paedophiles with monstrous and mythic attributes.[15] Paedophiles are popularly represented as evil, ubiquitous, depraved, and as possessing uncontrollable sexual appetites.[16] These mythicised representations are counter-productive to understanding the social aetiology of the disorder, its diverse manifestations, and the means by which beliefs and motivations inform paedophile behaviour. The belief systems and ideologies which facilitate paedophile offending are socio- and psycho-genic. Defining or representing paedophilia as a manifestation of evil obscures the fact that...

> "The perpetrators (paedophiles) are generally psychiatrically otherwise 'normal' men who are skilled at both planning their offending behaviours and denying their existence."[17]

The way in which paedophilia is understood, defined and represented has a pronounced effect on the way in which the problem is treated. Its categorisation as a 'disorder' requires that paedophiles be 'corrected' or socially 'excluded'. This research critiques these representations so as to provide an understanding of the values and beliefs which underpin paedophile delegitimation. This in turn allows for an understanding of paedophilia as a problem which is social and psychological in nature.

Thesis Overview and Objectives

1.2 Ideology: A Working Framework

Through sharing beliefs about the righteousness of their desires and behaviours, paedophiles develop a complex of ideas or a shared ideology which is directed at challenging the delegitimation and stigmatisation of their disorder. As a critical term, 'ideology' has a history of diverse meanings and applications.[18] Examination of the model of ideology upon which this research is based will help clarify what is meant by 'paedophile ideology'.

In ideological systems, certain types of knowledge, and the beliefs ensuing from the putative truth of this knowledge, are corroborated and disseminated by power-sanctioned authorities as a means of establishing a singular, stable worldview.

Dominant ideology is a system of beliefs whose function is to stabilise social order and to preserve that order's means of production or, as Mannheim defines it:

> "(An ideology is) those complexes of ideas which direct activity towards the maintenance of the existing order."[19]

Within this framework, ideology is a tool of the empowered which delegitimates those who hold beliefs which are not sanctioned by the ideological system – not consonant with its values, beliefs and teleological views.[20] This invokes a model of ideology which is close to propaganda or false consciousness in which the empowered interpret social processes for socially excluded groups in a way which validates their subjugation. This is the view which paedophiles have of their delegitimation. Medical, legal and media authorities are referred to by paedophiles as 'witch-hunters', 'book-burners', 'mythifiers', 'misinformers', 'propagandists' and 'brainwashers'.[21] Paedophiles perceive themselves as the possessors of the suppressed truth. They subscribe to the uncomplicated dichotomisation of truth and falsehood because, in common with any social grouping agitating for a change in social perspective, their objective is not to devise new and improved epistemological systems, but to insinuate themselves into power within the existing one. They perceive the objections to their desires and behaviour as phenomena arising from the social imposition of false consciousness and misinformation concerning their nature. As one paedophile commented:

"I'm truly amazed by how much we are hated. It's like the whole world has been brainwashed to hate pedophiles[22] more than anything else. So many people want us to die. So many people telling us we're sick and we should go to therapy. So many people shouting at us with all their power."[23]

Mannheim proposes the idea of a 'Utopia' as the means by which socially excluded groups attempt to wrest control of truth production from their nominal oppressors. Utopian worldviews have the same epistemological framework as ideological ones but have the opposite function. A Utopia is defined as:

"Those complexes of ideas which tend to generate activities towards changes in the prevailing order."[24]

Utopianism is an implicit component of Gramsci's model of counter-hegemonic agitation and involves the construction of an ideal future in which the truth will emerge and establish the agitating community as a legitimate part of the new orthodoxy.[25] For paedophiles, this relates to the assimilation of their behaviour into dominant ideology. Paedophile writing exhibits these Utopian characteristics. This is evident in the following question posed by a paedophile writer:

"How long will it take this time for the dark clouds of the real evil among us to be dispelled by the bright sunshine of reason and truth?."[26]

For the anti-paedophile orthodoxy, paedophilia is an outrage principally because: it deprives children of the innocence necessary for mature social development; it takes inappropriate advantage of the social inculcation in children of respect and deference to adults and undermines the traditional structure of the family unit. These are part of a complex of ideas about paedophilia which comprise the incest taboo and are rooted in social consciousness.

Paedophile ideology appeals to rationality as a means of challenging these beliefs. The simple dichotomy between truth and falsehood supports the self-legitimatory ambitions of paedophiles because it validates the idea of *a priori* rationally established facts and truths which can be used to assemble compelling arguments. The following quotation from a paedophile advocacy

website contains many of these features. It asserts the invalidity of objections to paedophilia by categorising them as 'malicious myths', it claims to be representing the truth divined from proper and empirical testing. It claims to be speaking about the 'facts' which the orthodoxy is suppressing through the imposition of false knowledge.

> "The bilateral love between a boy and a man, although it has a long and honorable history, has been corrupted in our time into something that is supposedly drastically harmful to the boy, and a perversion on the part of the man. Nothing could be further from the truth, and we shall attempt here to shed some light on these malicious myths that do their utmost to suppress the empirical facts."[27]

Mannheim distinguishes between 'ideology' and 'Utopia' by declaring that the former are the truths of the orthodoxy, the latter the counter-truths of unsanctioned social groups.[28] This is a useful working framework in that it avoids many of the ellipses which mark other applications of the term. One such example is Dahlgren's use of the term 'ideology' to describe:

> "Those social processes that ensue when meaning serves to maintain relations of domination rather than facilitate human freedom."[29]

Models of ideology are ideological products themselves. 'Human freedom', in so far as it means anything, entails the freedom to articulate counter-ideologies, dissonant views. The purpose of any catechism of beliefs is to encourage certain types of behaviour and mobilise the members of a social group to work towards a vision of the future which is the corollary of those beliefs. In this sense, the only distinction between an 'ideology' and a 'Utopia', to use Mannheim's terminology, is the degree of social authority supporting each complex of beliefs. In light of this, this research proceeds with a model of social processes which allows for a number of different, competing and localised ideologies of which a politicised paedophilia is one example.

1.3 Paedophile Ideology

Paedophilia has a localised ideology which provides paedophiles with a means to understand and accept themselves; a vision of a positive future which mobilises their attempts to agitate against their demonisation and a rationale for ceding to their own desires, regardless of the objections of the surrounding ethical culture.

Paedophile ideology is also a necessary adjunct of paedophile desires and behaviours. It is a means of reconciling the facts of the world presented to them by physiological and emotional drives (that children are sexually attractive and people need affection) with prevalent cultural facts (forcible coercion and manipulation of children is unethical). Group knowledge or ideology has a variety of functions. This research argues that, for paedophiles, the establishment and sharing of their ideology is directed principally at:

- Justifying adult-child sexual relations, thereby assuaging guilt and responsibility and allowing for sexual relations with children;
- Projecting blame for the trauma caused by adult-child sexual relations onto external factors such as misinformation and the behaviour of child-victim;
- Celebrating the disorder through a process of romanticising childhood and adult-child love, with the intention of portraying paedophilia as a form of devotion;
- Achieving the social legitimation, decriminalisation and acceptance of adult-child sex.

The relationship between the individual paedophile and the vague concept of paedophile group-values is dictated by the paedophile's need for emotional support, solidarity and corroboration of his views. To a large degree, self-accepting paedophiles profess the same beliefs about the righteousness of their behaviour and apply the same rationale for its justification. This exemplifies the extent to which beliefs which are 'useful' in attaining the goals outlined above permeate the social culture of paedophiles. It also demonstrates the importance of a communication network to foster this shared view.

Paedophiles achieve solidarity through the sharing of a problem – their demonisation – and the means with which to solve the problem – a counter-ideology. To construct a coherent worldview of this kind involves the devision and sharing of a large range of consonant beliefs. Conventional media channels are not open to paedophiles for the articulation of their counter-ideology. The importance of creating a public presence, and of having the opportunity to re-construct themselves, has resulted in their uptake of newly

emergent broadcast- and communication-model technologies (such as the World Wide Web, Usenet and IRC) for the dual purpose of validating and celebrating their behaviours and lifestyles by offering sympathy and solidarity to each other, and of challenging their delegitimation.

1.4 Paedophilia and the Internet

The reasons for paedophile adaption to the Internet and the way in which this affects their formulation of their ideologies are examined in this research.

Concerns about paedophile use of the Internet have tended to centre around its use:

- To contact children through IRC and 'lure' them into sexually abusive arrangements;[30]
- To advertise child-sex tourism;[31]
- To exchange information about the location and availability of child-victims;
- To distribute child pornography.[32]

Research indicates that these activities, though part of paedophile Internet usage, are not the main features of general paedophile online behaviour and are subject to exaggeration and misrepresentation.[33] Paedophile online presence, particularly on the World Wide Web, is principally directed at:

- The creation of a supportive network or community of paedophiles;
- The dissemination of literature which challenges the classification of paedophilia as a 'disorder';
- The provision of emotional and technical support to the paedophile community;
- The sharing of personal testimony which rehumanises paedophilia.

The Internet, because of its accessibility, relative anonymity and decentred, nascent regulatory structure is suited to paedophile communication needs. The analysis presented in this research of the particular qualities of the Internet which facilitate paedophile advocacy material, and the content and objectives of this material, should provide a clearer understanding of what effect paedophiles' Internet usage has on their beliefs and behaviour and on social attitudes to them.

1.4 Thesis Structure

The thesis comprises seven chapters.

Chapter Two (Methodology) presents the methods employed in garnering the information and research upon which the thesis is based. The strategies employed for uncovering Internet material relating to, and authored by, paedophiles are outlined as are the difficulties and limitations of Internet-based research. The methods employed in mining bibliographies, CD-Rom databases and abstract indexes are also related.

Chapter Three (Medical Conceptualisations of Paedophilia - Evaluations of Paedophile Behaviour and Appropriate Treatments) presents and examines research in the area of sexual offending against children. It summarises: criminal statistics and research pertaining to the prevalence and nature of paedophile crimes; the distinctions between incestuous-type abuse and extra-familial abuse; psychological literature on the situational and developmental factors which contribute to the offences and; the characteristics, methods and objectives of correctional treatment for offending paedophiles.

This information is presented to provide a broad understanding of the extent and nature of paedophile crimes and behaviours and the psychology of paedophile offending before critiquing the writings and testimonies of fixated paedophiles. It also serves to provide an understanding of the way in which paedophilia is clinically understood as a 'disorder' and what repercussions this has for its treatment.

Chapter Four (Paedophile Communication Channels) examines the characteristics of paedophile communication networks which preceded the Internet and the purpose, content and requirements of this communication. It then examines how and why the Internet facilitates these communication needs; and how Internet culture, regulation and structure influences the formulation of paedophile ideology.

Chapter Five (Paedophile Ideology) This chapter outlines specific paedophile beliefs, as related in Internet-based paedophile writing and testimony, and examines them in the context of the objective of instrumental paedophile ideology, which is posited as the rejection of responsibility for the

harmful consequences of adult-child sex. It deals with the specific narratives and strategies employed by paedophiles for the purpose of justifying and legitimating their desires and behaviours. It examines the contention of paedophiles that adult-child sex is natural and can be beneficial to both adults and children and the related complexes of ideas which are advanced to support this proposition.

Chapter Six (The Representation and Delegitimation of Paedophilia) presents and examines press representations of paedophilia to discern which dominant ideologies opposing paedophilia are articulated in the language of press coverage of the disorder. This is followed by an examination of:

- The basis for the social exclusion of paedophile desires and values;
- The social processes which effect this exclusion;
- The disparity between statistical and demographic records of paedophile behaviour and the construction, within the press, of the archetypal paedophile.

The effect of the mythicisation of paedophilia which inheres in popular representations of the disorder is examined.

Chapter Seven (Conclusion) brings together the different strands of the research to examine:

- The main differences between paedophile and dominant ideologies with regard to childhood and sexuality;
- The effects of the dominant representations of paedophilia on a progressive understanding of child sexual abuse;
- The effects of the availability of supportive and advocatory paedophile literature on paedophile beliefs and offending.

This chapter also examines the implications of Internet usage on the advancement of pro-paedophile ideology and for the future of the technology. It concludes by suggesting germane areas where further research is required.

Chapter Two

Methodology

Chapter 2: Methodology

This chapter presents the methodology employed in devising the research topic; collating research materials; organising the research findings; and presenting the thesis.

2.1 Devising the Research Topic

The topic under analysis was devised following participation in the Child Abuse on the Internet Research (CAIR) project. Much of the paedophile Internet activity uncovered during that research project was evidence of strategic attempts by paedophiles to legitimate and justify their disorder. This appealed as a profitable area for future research because much of this information, and many of the approaches to justification taken by paedophile advocates, were outside the remit and objectives of the CAIR project and, as a consequence, were not fully explored.

This was the initial objective of the research and defined the parameters and goals of the initial research period. The methodology employed for this research is based upon that devised for the CAIR project.[1]

2.2 Collating Research Materials

Three principle methods for researching the topic were employed:

(1) Internet searches for paedophile advocacy and testimony materials;

(2); Searches of CD-ROM and web-based databases of academic materials relating to paedophilia and other areas of interest;

(3) Using researched bibliographies of materials relating to paedophilia.

2.2.1 Internet Searches for Information on Paedophilia and Paedophile Advocacy

The central aim of the research was to examine the advocacy materials and the counter-ideologies inhered in them which paedophiles disseminate on the Internet. Searching for any specific material on the Internet is not as intuitive or straightforward as the query-interface of popular search-engines might indicate. As Costigan notes:

> "Companies specialising in data mining are capitalising on the notion that if there is a record of specifically everything, any question can be answered specifically. For the researcher, perhaps this is at the heart of our misguided pursuits."[2]

The difficulties of assessing the quantity and location of specific material is due to the limitations of the technology which search engines employ and the fact that, according to recent research, no search engine catalogues more

than 17% of the material available on the Web.[3] In the course of searching for paedophile material, a formal, reflexive and sometimes counter-intuitive approach is necessary. This is for three principal reasons:

- Search engine technology does not catalogue web content efficiently and effectively;
- Paedophiles eschew the use of explicitly 'paedophilic' meta-tags and descriptors, such as 'lolita', 'child sex' and 'paedophile'. In general, they either do not submit their websites to search directories or are refused entries;
- 'Paedophile' meta-tag descriptors are frequently used by commercial adult pornographers to attract custom to their websites.

In acknowledgement of this, an Internet research strategy needs to be diffuse to begin with, in order to collect as wide a corpus of material as possible. Succeeding this, more formal approaches can be devised, informed by the success of the initial browsing sessions. The research of Ellis et al. into efficient web search procedures provides a good framework for progressively focussed research into specific web information:[4]

Figure1: Information Seeking Behaviours and Web Moves

	Starting	Chaining	Browsing	Differentiating	Monitoring	Extracting
Literature Search Moves	Identifying sources of interest	Following up references found in given material	Scanning tables of contents or headings	Assessing or restricting information according to their usefulness	Receiving regular reports or summaries from selected sources	Systematically working a source to identify material of interest
Anticipated Web Moves	Identifying Web sites/pages containing or pointing to information of interest	Following links on starting pages to other content-related sites	Scanning top-level pages: lists, headings, site maps	Selecting useful pages and sites by bookmarking, printing, copying and pasting, etc.; Choosing differentiated, pre-selected site	Receiving site updates using e.g. push, agents, or profiles; Revisiting 'favourite' sites	Systematically searches a local site to extract information of interest at that site

This research examined paedophile material on the World Wide Web and Usenet. Different approaches are required for unearthing material on each of these technologies.

2.2.1.1World Wide Web

Limited access to paedophile advocacy is offered by conventional web directories such as Yahoo and AltaVista.[5] This material is generally part of the longstanding paedophile online presence and takes the form of advocacy and non-pornographic material. For example, Free Spirits, a prominent 'boy-love' website, is indexed on the *Yahoo* directory under the category of 'culture and sexuality'.[6] The best means of accessing paedophile testimony is to build up an initial list of these easily accessible websites and to examine the sites to which they link. Free Spirits, The Russian BoyLove Association[7] and Fresh Petals[8] each contain a copious amount of links to other sites, which in turn refer to other websites of interest to paedophiles. By means of 'spidering' through these links, a large repository of research material was built up without employing an indepth knowledge of how information is catalogued and indexed on the Internet.

A productive refinement of this procedure is to submit select terminology to search engines for information on paedophilia and paedophile advocacy. As indicated, there are a number of problems with searching for material of this nature. For example, the word 'paedophile' is an anglicised (UK) spelling which does not enjoy popular usage amongst online paedophiles, principally because Americanised English is the *lingua franca* of the Internet. Even the US variation – 'pedophile' – is of limited use, as it is a meta-tag commonly used by commercial pornographers to attract customers. The effect of this is that most of the information returned by a search for 'pedophilia/pedophile' is completely unrelated to the subject. For example, a search query for 'pedophile' on Altavista returned over 22 million web pages.[9] Simple searches for paedophile material are further enfeebled by the fact that paedophiles tend to use esoteric terminology when devising meta-tags.[10]

During the course of this research the following search engines were used

- AltaVista[11];
- Metacrawler[12];
- NorthernLights[13];
- Dogpile[14];
- Hotbot[15];
- Yahoo[16];
- Snap[17];
- Google[18];

- Infoseek[19].

The best strategy to employ when searching for material composed by paedophiles is to use the terminology which they use to describe themselves. This requires entering searches for information on 'child-lovers' as opposed to 'child molesters'.[20] The search terms which were submitted to these search engines were a mixture of orthodox and paedophile terminology relating to the disorder. The list of search terms used included the following:

- Alice, alice+girl, alice+love
- Boylove, boy+love
- child(ren)+ sex
- Child(ren)+abuse
- child(ren)+crime
- child(ren)+infatuation
- child(ren)+love
- child(ren)+naturism
- child(ren)+nudism
- child(ren)+rights
- child(ren)+sensuality
- child(ren)+sexual+abuse
- child+romance
- CSA (Child Sexual abuse)
- girl+love
- p(a)ederasty; paederastie
- P(a)edophilia, p(a)edophile(s), p(a)edophilic
- p(a)edosensual
- p(a)edosexual
- p(a)edosexuality

The main paedophile advocacy and lifestyle websites can be found using these search strategies on the aforementioned search engines. These websites have a nodal function in the online paedophile community and contain extensive links to other paedophile resources. The main links pages which were used for compiling corpus materials were:

- Alexis Mindscape: (http://www.demon.nl/freespirit/fpc/pages/alexis)
- Free Spirits: (http://www.ivan.net)
- Clausgz: (http://www.clausgz.com)
- Danish Pedophile Association: (http://www.danpedo.dk)
- European Boylove Homepage: (http://sinatra.freepage.de/index-en.html)
- Free Paed Co-operative: (http://www.fpc.net)
- Fresh Petals: (http://members.hknet.com/~alicel/right.html)
- NAMBLA: (http://www.nambla.org)
- Paedophile Liberation Front: (http://www.cyberpass.net/~plf/index.html)
- The Russian Boylove Association: (http://www.bl.ru)
- The Young Footlovers Association: (http://www.tyflas.org)

The literature accessed through these sites was assessed in terms of its relevance and usefulness in the research. Select and useful material was stored electronically. The means by which this material was sorted and grouped is described later in this Chapter.

2.2.1.2 Usenet Searches

There are a number of websites which catalogue Usenet postings and content. For this research, paedophile newsgroup postings were accessed through the following web-based portals:

- Deja[21];
- MailandNews[22];
- Ausmail[23].

Deja contains a back catalogue of two years posting to newsgroups. The Deja powersearch facility allows users to search for material through different data fields. These fields include

- Newsgroup Name;
- Name of Individual Poster;
- Title of Posting;
- Date of Posting;
- Subject Matter.

It is also possible to conduct queries for the cross-posting habits of individual users. Crossposting occurs when an individual sends one message to a number of different newsgroups. The groups to which individuals posting to the newsgroup alt.sex.pedophilia cross-post may be discerned through this facility and examined for paedophile material.

Through these search strategies, most paedophile material on the Usenet system can be uncovered.

In addition, the following sites provided background information, academic articles, crime statistics and media coverage on paedophilia:

- FBI site: (http://www.fbi.gov)
- US Department of Justice : (http://www.usdoj.gov)
- National Center for Missing and Exploited Children: (http://www.ncmec.org)
- Web of Science: (http://www.wos.ie)
- Psychline: (http://www.psychline.org)
- The Nudist Hall of Shame: (http://www.nostatusquo./ACLU/NudistHallofShame/index.html)
- The Irish Times: (http://www.ireland.com)
- The Guardian Online : (http://www.guardian.co.uk)

2.3 Collating Research Material from CD-ROM databases:

The CD-ROM archives available in Dublin City University Library were used to compile an inventory of academic research in areas germane to the research project. The following databases were accessed:

- SSCI: (Social Sciences Citation Index, 1995-1999);
- ERIC: 1995-1999;
- GSA: (General Science Abstracts); 1995-1999;
- SCI: (Science Citation Index) 1995-1999.

In addition, the Science Citation Index and the Social Science Citation Index (1970 – 1995) were examined.

Results were compiled for the following initial searches;

- Boylove, Boy-love
- Castration
- Child(hood)/(ren)+romance
- Child+abuse
- Child+love
- Child+molestation

- Child+sex(ual)+abuse
- Child+sex
- Childhood
- Cognition+sexuality
- CSA
- Demonisation
- DMPA
- Hysteria
- Incest
- Internet+future
- Internet+history
- Internet+law
- Media+ideology
- Media+representation
- Moral+panic
- Moral+system
- Paedophile, paedophilia, pedophile, pedophilia
- Sexuality+ethics

Journal articles were acquired through the inter-library loans facility and the acquisition of an ALCID (Academic Libraries Co-operating in Dublin) card which provide access to the library facilities at Trinity College, Dublin. The articles availed of through these searches are cited in the bibliography.

2.4 Mining Existing Bibliographies

The bibliographies presented in books which deal exclusively with sexual offending against children were consulted for relevant information. Morrison et al's "Sexual Offending Against Children"[24] and Lanning's "Child Sex Rings: A Behavioral Analysis"[25] proved useful in this regard, as they include compendia of most of the research in the area of child sexual abuse. Becoming familiar with the theory and theoreticians in the field of paedophilia and child sexual abuse allowed for a broadening of search terms and parameters in respect of Internet and CD-ROM enquiries. The names of two prominent child sexual abuse researchers, David Finkelhor and Gene Abel, were incorporated into search queries as a result.

Access to reports compiled by the FBI, on behalf of the US-based National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, as well as the findings of the

CAIR and COPINE projects, provided further specific knowledge with which to enhance the research methodology.

2. 5 Processing the Compiled Research Material:

Because of the extensive array of paedophile material on the Internet, it was necessary to devise a means of formally storing and archiving useful materials. As paedophile materials on the Web are prone to removal without warning, bookmarking websites of interest is not an efficient means of storage. When noteworthy paedophile material was discovered, it was saved as a HTML file and stored in computer folders. These HTML files were then sorted and saved as a website, using FrontPage 2000, on a desktop computer. This allowed for swift and easy access to the materials.

Notes from academic material were kept on A6 cards which were stored in a roller index. The author's name and the page numbers from which quotations and statistics were culled was marked on the top right hand corner of each card. These were sorted by the author's name.

Notebooks were maintained in which the development of the research topic into other areas was tracked. For instance, through keeping these notes it became apparent that children's rights, the politicisation of sexuality and sexual and social morality were areas which were heavily implicated in the research topic and which required further reading. Materials related to these areas were gathered and analysed for their relevance.

2.6 Writing and Presenting the Thesis

The production of the thesis involved two stages:

- Conceptualisation;
- Structuring; Drafting; Editing;

The original conceptualisation of the research topic, following on from the CAIR Project, was to analyse the relationship between paedophile's psychological needs and their Internet activity. This involved viewing paedophile advocacy as an ideology designed to absolve perpetrators of blame and responsibility for their actions. This initial conceptualisation provoked questions as to how paedophiles view themselves and to what degree this is influenced by common perceptions of their disorder. Their presence on the Internet, when viewed in the context of their occlusion or absence from other media channels suggested that analysis of the differing qualities and structures of these media might be instructive.

Drafting, Editing & Revision: Drafts of the thesis were composed and revised between October 1999 and June 2000. Drafts were submitted to the thesis supervisor for review and comment. Criticisms were taken into account in the redrafting and helped to re-structure and re-focus the research. The final draft was completed by 31st July, 2000.

Chapter Three

Statistics and Evaluations of Paedophile Behaviour and Treatments

Chapter Three : Statistics and Evaluations of Paedophile Behaviour and Treatments

This chapter summarises available research and statistical information. It examines:

- The prevalence, demographics and typologies of paedophile sexual offending behaviour;
- The psychological processes which underpin this behaviour;
- The conceptualisation of paedophilia implied by the various treatments prescribed for the disorder.

This information provides a basic understanding of the issues involved in paedophilia and child sexual abuse. This presentation of statistical, factual and theoretical information is necessary because of the mythicisation of the disorder in which both advocates and opponents of paedophilia engage.

This approach also allows for an understanding of:

- How the delegitimation of paedophilia is institutionalised by medical authorities;
- How these processes affect paedophiles and inform their own belief systems and behaviours;
- The possibility of effectively rehabilitating and reorientating paedophiles and the procedures employed to this end.

3.1 Definition, Prevalence and Incidence of Paedophilia

The American Psychiatric Association definition of paedophilia, cited in Chapter One, is as follows:

> "The essential features of this order are recurrent, intense, sexual urges and sexually arousing fantasies, of at least six month's duration, involving sexual activity with a prepubescent child. The person has acted upon these urges, or is markedly distressed by them. The age of the child is generally 13 or younger. The age of the person is arbitrarily set at age 16 years or older and at least 5 years older than the child."[1]

What is most important about this definition is not its formulation but its inclusion in the manual of mental disorders. The conceptualisation of paedophilia as a disorder within clinical practice is part of its delegitimation.

In relation to child sexual abuse, Fisher describes the term 'incidence' as referring to…

"…the number of new cases occurring over a specified time period, usually a year and based only on reported cases."[2]

Prevalence is described as…

"… retrospective information from subjects about their previous experiences. (It is) subject to a number of methodological problems."[3]

Attempts to estimate the extent of paedophile abuse are beset by difficulties. Russell estimates that the crime figures for cases of all sexual assaults in the UK represent only 10% of the true figure and that only 2% of incest cases and 6% of extra-familial cases of child sex abuse are reported.[4] UK 1990 Home Office statistics show that there were 29,044 sexual offences, of which 16% were committed against children (4,647 incidents).[5] A Northern Ireland research team asserted that the percentage of the population which had been sexually abused as children was just under one in every ten thousand of the population (0.009%).[6] However, given the silence which has enshrouded child abuse and confusion over the definition of what constitutes sexual abuse, official figures and speculative estimates of the extent of child abuse vary wildly. For example, estimates of the general prevalence of the disorder range from 7% to 62% of the population.[7]

A significant figure relating to the incidence of child abuse is the high proportion of adolescent offenders. Research indicates that one-third or more of all sexual offences against children are committed by males under the age of eighteen.[8] UK Home Office findings indicate that 20% of all sexual offences against children are perpetrated by males between the ages of seventeen and twenty and 32% by males between the ages of ten and twenty.[9] Dube & Herbert's analysis of 511 cases revealed the following findings in relation to the perpetrators of sexual offences against children under the age of twelve:[10]

Age Group of Perpetrator	Percentage of all Sexual Offences against Children <12 years of age
Less than 15 years of age	26%
Between 15 and 20 years of age	22%
Between 20 and 30 years of age	19%

Table 1: Age group of sexual offenders against children aged 12 or less

On the prevalence of child victimisation amongst the general sex offender population, US Department of Justice figures report that:

- Almost 40% of those convicted of forcible rape committed their crimes against a victim under the age of 18;

- More than 80% of those convicted of forcible sodomy had victims under the age of 18.[11]

Offence	Victim Aged<= 12 % of all crimes	Victim Aged 13-17 % of all crimes
Homicide	**9.0%**	**10.3%**
Murder	6.8%	8.9%
Negligent Manslaughter	2.2%	1.4%
Kidnapping	**2.0%**	**3.1%**
Rape and sexual assault	**75.4%**	**66.3%**
Forcible rape	11.7%	18.6%
Forcible sodomy	3.1%	2.6%
Statutory rape	1.8%	1.4%
Lewd acts with children	21.6%	11.8%
Other sexual assault	37.2%	31.9%
Robbery	**3.2%**	**9.6%**
Assault	**9.7%**	**10.4%**
Aggravated assault	4.9%	8.6%
Child abuse	4.5%	0.7%
Simple assault	0.2%	1.2%
Other violent offences	0.7%	0.3%
Total No. of offenders	**33,287**	**26,998**

Table 2: Crimes committed against children as a percentage of all crime

On the basis of these findings, it is impossible to assess, with any degree of confidence, the extent to which child sexual abuse occurs. There has been a

great deal of attention devoted to child abuse in recent years and the ensuing moral panic has added to the difficulty of gauging an accurate estimation of its prevalence. The methodologies employed by Marshall & Barbaree and Malamuth are designed to discern the extent to which paedophile desire obtains in the general population.[12] This research involves the administration of questionnaires to select samples of the general population (often male undergraduate students). Finkelhor and Lewis's research estimated that 10% of the males from their random survey sample admitted to sexually abusing a child.[13] Briere and Runtz reported that 21% of college males admitted to some degree of sexual attraction towards children, while 7% reported that they might sexually assault a child if it were guaranteed that they would not be caught or punished.[14]

In summary, the findings of these research initiatives indicate that:
- The prevalence of sexual abuse against children is higher than incidence figures indicate;
- Almost half of all sexual crimes against children are committed by men under the age of twenty;
- Paedophilic 'desire' is more common than either the prevalence or incidence figures indicate;
- Paedophile fantasies are common amongst a high percentage of non-offending young males;
- It is the risk of detection and punishment, and not an adherence to an internalised moral coda or social taboo, which limits the incidence of sexual offences against children.

3.2 The Differing Characteristics of Intra-familial and Extra-familial Abusers

This research is principally concerned with the belief systems of fixated preferential paedophiles who, in the majority of instances, are extra-familial (non-incestuous) offenders. Where fixated paedophiles engage in abusing their own children, it is either: as a result of an inability to develop a relationship with a child outside the family; as part of a longterm plan which has involved getting married and having children in order to abuse them; or is caused by a very deep pathology. Quantitative analysis, undertaken to predict the likelihood of recidivism amongst sex offenders, reveals that the

paedophiles most likely to reoffend are those who abuse indiscriminately: intra-familially and extra-familially as well as against both sexes[15]. The contrast between incestuous and preferential paedophiles is presented in this section to clarify the qualities of extra-familial fixated paedophilia which this thesis discusses. Consideration of the distinct traits of different classes of paedophiles allows for an informed consideration of the selective representation of the disorder which is used in its delegitimation.

The distinction between intra-familial (incestuous) abusing paedophiles and extra-familial paedophiles is similar to that between situational paedophiles and fixated – or 'true' – paedophiles. Dunaigre's assessment of the differing characteristics of intra-familial and extra-familial abusers is that the latter are sexually aroused by children while there is no conclusive evidence either way pertaining to the former.[16] It is generally recognised that incestuous abusers do not regard children as their preferential sexual partners but, within certain situations, come to exploit them as such. There are particular qualities to the situations in which this occurs. Finkelhor, in his four-factor framework for paedophile behaviour, stresses that one of the distinguishing characteristics of paedophiles is their ability to:

> "...(overcome) normal inhibitions about sexual approaches to children. (For this reason) the incidence of abuse by stepfathers is ... higher than that by natural fathers."[17]

Incestuous child abuse is mostly heterosexual in nature, occurs where the inhibiting incest taboo is absent, where marital breakdown has occurred and, particularly, where the daughter assumes many of the responsibilities which a mother otherwise carries in the family unit. Morrison writes that:

> "In many cases mothers play a role in the genesis of the sexual abuse of their daughters. From a normal daughter/father relationship in an isolated family, a bereaved husband may sometimes, not with any great pathology in certain cases, slide, without any clearly formed intent, into a sexual relationship."[18]

Abel's study of paedophile-type sex offenders presents an analysis of the prevalence and characteristics of each type of abuse.[19] Non-incest offenders with a preference for boys ('boy-lovers') commit the greatest number of offences but offend against each victim infrequently. Incest offenders

targeting females have fewer victims but abuse each many times. Further analysis revealed that:

"23.3% of subjects offended against both family and non-family victims. 20% offended against both sexes and 26% used both touching and non-touching behaviours when offending."[20]

Because of their different situations, intra-familial and extra-familial abusers use different methods to insinuate themselves into sexualised situations with children. Beckett outlines the contrasting approaches taken by each type of abuser as follows:

"Intra-familiar offenders may begin the abusive process by, for example, sexualising conversations with the child, or by inappropriate touching at bath or bedtime. For extra-familial offenders this process typically begins by be-friending a child or the child's parents. A relationship of trust is then developed, enabling the offender to be alone with the child and to test their response to surreptitious touching, before moving on to clearly abusive behaviour."[21]

O'Brien's research indicates that intra-familial offenders are also more likely to engage in penetrative intercourse; to assault more than one child and; to have a history of abusing that tends to go undiscovered for longer periods. [22] According to US Department of Justice figures, incestuous child abuse accounts for about 35% of all reported sexual offences against children. The percentage of reported crimes against children perpetrated by complete strangers is about 14%. The remaining 51% of offences are carried out by adults who are unrelated to, but known by, the victim.[23] These figures assert the invalidity of 'stranger-danger' information campaigns: in most paedophile crimes, the perpetrators are individuals known to both the victim and the victim's parents.

The process of sexual offending against children is a gradual and complex one. Paedophilia, as with all disorders, has its root in developmental experiences and, in particular, with the initial sexualisation of the individual and the development of a repertoire of appropriate desires, behaviour and actions.

3.3 Psychological and Developmental Characteristics of Fixated Paedophiles

In devising a profile of paedophiles, there is a danger in assuming that their cognitive and behavioural characteristics are homogenous. Investing significance in correlations between the developmental histories of different sex offenders, in an attempt to assert that the aetiology of the disorder is grounded in one particular feature of their backgrounds, has the effect of occluding the natural diversity of individual development. This results in simplified misconceptions about its nature and origins. As Beckett writes:

"As adults, child sex abusers vary considerably in their presenting characteristics. While some intra-familial offenders may display patterns of drug or alcohol abuse, sexual dysfunction, low esteem, dominance/authoritarianism, this is not universally the case. Extra-familial abusers share no single set of developmental or presenting characteristics. While some are socially incompetent, lack social skills and may be passive, dependent and isolated, others are socially skilled, assertive and successful".[24]

The psychological and developmental characteristics which are highly prevalent amongst paedophiles do not constitute a model for explaining the disorder aetiologically. However, they provide a useful insight into the mental and psychological processes which incite and permit a paedophile to offend.

3.3.1 Shared Developmental Characteristics of Fixated Paedophiles

"Those who sexually assault children tend not to have childhood patterns of conduct disorder: rather they have poor or distant relationships with parents, are socially isolated from peers and a significant number have been sexually abused."[25]

It has become part of the public idea of paedophilia that those who offend do so because they themselves have been offended against; that they have been sexually abused as children. This vague perception of causality has some basis in research findings. Research indicates that a high proportion (70%) of victimised boys who go on to become abusers, choose boys as their victims of preference.[26] The reasons for this are manifold and owe something to the way in which victimised children learn grooming and manipulation ploys and

acquire a desire for illicit and abusive sex. The convicted child molester Joseph Henry gives this description of his initiation into child sexual abuse:

> "As with most child molesters, I too, was molested as a child. It happened when I was 12. By the age of 14, I was, again, molested by the man who lived next door to me, a man who always seemed friendly and approachable. I first came to him just as someone to talk to, but after a while, I couldn't talk to him unless I also let him copulate me. It was a time of traumatic tragedy, a time for my secret sex education that would lead me into this hell called pedophilia.
> By the time I was 24, I had molested 14 young girls and had been arrested twice and sent to State hospitals, once for 18 months".[27]

To state that "a significant number" of paedophiles were abused as children implies, by contradistinction, that many were not. Wolf's hypothesis attempts to explicate exactly what effect early sexual victimisation has on the onset of paedophilia and to explain why the "circle of abuse" paradigm seems to have this weakness.[28] He considers that it is not necessarily being the victim of sexual abuse that has the strongest influence on nascent paedophilia but rather early exposure to abuse and victimisation, whether directly or indirectly experienced, through early sexualisation and dysfunctional family relationships.[29]

The leap from such developmental problems as these to fixated paedophilia is a large one, and the heterogeneity of backgrounds from which paedophiles emerge defeats attempts to make simple connections between childhood events and adult disorders. However, one experience common to most paedophiles is that of early sexualisation outlined above. Tom O'Carroll[30], a paedophile and paedophilia activist, recounts his sexual awakening as an adolescent:

> "My schooldays have in fact been the most sexually active ones of my life to date, particularly between the ages of eleven and fourteen; it was so easy then to slip into intimacy with one's peers... I remained only attracted to prepubescent (children)."[31]

However, early sexualisation is not a simple determinant for paedophilia. The genesis of paedophilia involves not only the development of fixation of erotic desire onto the prepubescent form but also the accumulation of other behavioural and personality qualities. In order to offend, paedophiles must,

amongst other things, learn to be disinhibited about adult-child sex, which itself requires them to ignore the possible consequences of their actions, to believe that they possess a strong emotional congruency with children, and develop a dependency on sexual stimulation as a form of coping with personal and emotional discomfort. Wolf refers to these personality qualities as 'potentiators'.[32]

Psychiatric literature on this subject asserts that the main developed characteristics of men who sexually abuse children are:

- Poor social problem-solving skills;
- Fear of being negatively evaluated by others;
- Histories of intimacy failure and emotional loneliness;
- Social skill deficits;
- Difficulties in relating to other adults, especially women;
- Inability to empathise;
- Problems with assertion;
- Tendency to sexualise the behaviour of others. [33]

This research also describes the thoughts and character of paedophiles as predominantly narcissistic. The implication of this is that paedophiles are excessively dependent on self-esteem and self-worth. Anxiety and depression have a more pronounced affect of the behaviour of paedophiles than those who do not suffer from the disorder and that, within the treatment of sexual offenders, consideration of the psychological problems and effects of depression upon paedophile behaviour is an important factor.

There is some disharmony and disagreement within the literature as to the social skills of those who sexually abuse children. This discrepancy may be partly explained by the different clinical settings in which these judgements were made and the different presenting characteristics of non-offending paedophiles and convicted child abusers. Paedophiles who have not offended or have not been incarcerated do not present the same characteristics as those who have, as they have not experienced the same sense of isolation and the need for validation of their beliefs or 'cognitive distortions', nor have they suffered from what convicted paedophiles view as unjust punishment. The psychological trauma which is concomitant with committing acts of sexual abuse deeply affects the paedophile's character traits. In many cases the initial transgression sets off a change in personality which increases the

likelihood of further offences as a means of seeking comfort against anxiety, negative evaluation and self-loathing.

3.4 The Cycle of Offending

"Depression and anxiety due to social isolation or interpersonal conflict are commonly reported by child sex offenders as mood states which increase the likelihood that they will seek association with children or as factors directly responsible for diminishing their urge to offend".[34]

Paedophiles often engage in symptomatic obsessive behaviour. They adapt routines which allow them to cope with their desires and which offer comfort against the encroaching sense of self-loathing which their fantasies may precipitate. In turn, the stages of depression and isolation through which paedophiles pass result in an increased proclivity to offend if deterrents are not in place. The following diagram represents Wolf's model of the progressive mental stages through which offending paedophiles pass.[35]

Wolf suggests that the function of deviant fantasies, masturbation and the sexualisation of other people's actions, is to overwhelm whatever feelings of guilt the offender may experience following an assault and contribute to disinhibiting him from the next assault.

Fig.1: Wolf's cycle of offending
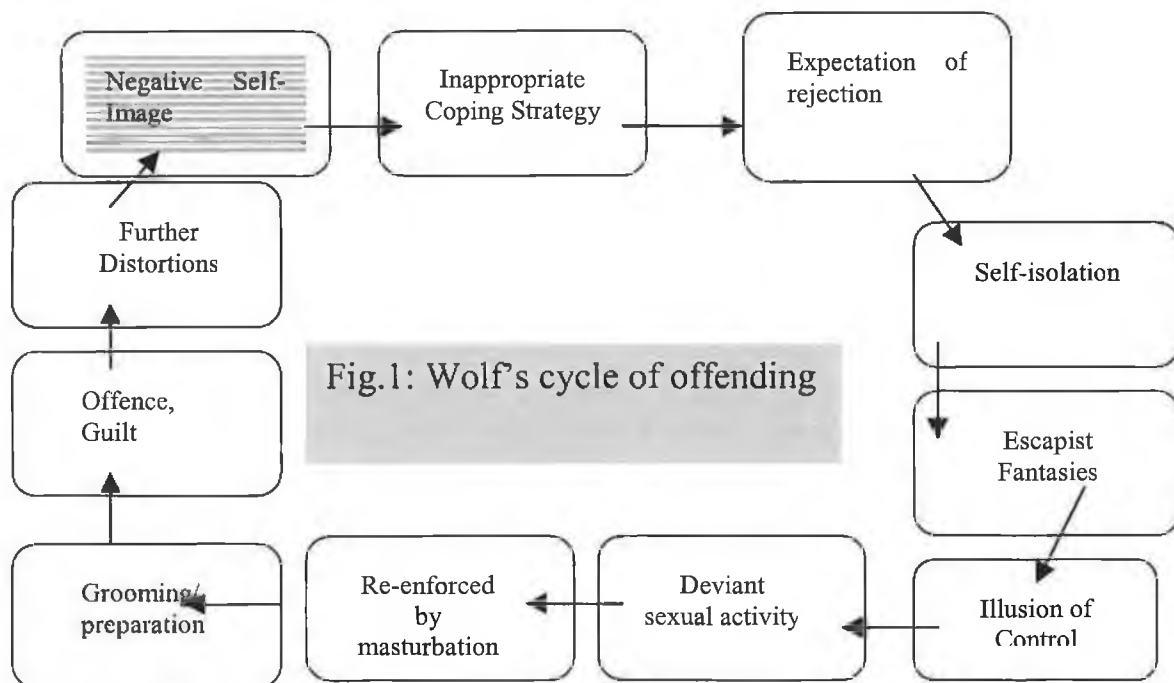
Sexual materials have a variety of functions for, and effects on, paedophiles. The following is the transcript of a dialogue between a convicted paedophile, Joseph Henry, and US Senator Joe Roth, which explains the use of child pornography in the process of 'grooming'[36]:

CHAIRMAN ROTH: You mentioned that in some cases, pedophiles will show pornography material to children. Is that to help justify the conduct and the actions?

MR. HENRY: No, it is to diminish the child's resistance.

CHAIRMAN ROTH: To minimize their resistance by showing that this conduct is being done by others; is that what you mean?

MR. HENRY: Other children.

CHAIRMAN ROTH: So that it's an acceptable behavior?

MR. HENRY: If a pedophile wants a little girl to do such an act and she says no, he can show, well, this little girl is doing it and show her a picture.

CHAIRMAN ROTH: So there is, in your judgment, a direct link- -

MR. HENRY: [interposing]. Definitely.[37]

Many notable points about the behavioural cycles of offending paedophiles are raised by Wolf's model. Paedophiles are stated to exhibit low self-esteem, intense introspection and extreme defensiveness. Introspection arises because of the paedophile's need to accommodate deviant and anti-social desires and the negative reactions which they elicit from others into a view of himself which is affirmative and approving. The effort to achieve this kind of emotional comfort is resolved through sexual fantasy, which reinforces the desire as well as giving expression to it. Masturbation, as well as sexual encounters with children, fulfil this need. Child pornography and erotic fantasy materials serve a number of functions in this regard. As well as being masturbatory and comforting materials, they reinforce many of the paedophile's conceptualisations of the sexual availability of children, the normalcy of paedophilic desire and the reification of the child as a sex-object. Pornography and eroticised images are assiduously collected by paedophiles. Many are not graphic or explicit but are fetishised by the paedophile and so assume an erotic appeal for him.[38]

The effect of social isolation and rejection on the behaviour of paedophiles is illustrated by Tom O'Carroll's experience. In the following passage he relates his state of mind in the aftermath of a relationship with an 11-year-old named Chris, which ended when the boy's parents became apprised of it and forbade their son to see O'Carroll again. O'Carroll, who had been working as a teacher, became obsessed with the boy and also lost his job on discovery of the nature of their relationship:

"I am ashamed to say – the concept of personal responsibility dies hard – that this dangerous state of mind translated itself into something as close as I have ever been to sexually predatory behaviour. Released from the rules that bound me in

> the teaching profession – released from having anything to lose by breaking them – I was determined to find a boy, or boys, for what I assured myself would be mutually pleasurable and affectionate sex. I would... concentrate on just giving the child a sexual turn-on. All I had to do was pop out to the nearest canal bank, or swimming baths, or park and start chatting-up boys... Instead I made a nervous, dry-mouthed guilty, almost totally out-of-the-blue pass at the paperboy – whose own conversation had never been earthy or sexual... Not surprisingly, he was terrified and the more I tried to sound kind and reassuring, the more inescapably I knew I was sounding – and indeed behaving – like the loony I appeared to be.... In the empty, lonely hours that followed, all I could see ahead of me was a relentless ache".[39]

O'Carroll relates that this chain of events lead to a failed suicide attempt. The guilt which ensued from all of these matters caused him to address his paedophilia and, eventually, to accept it and resolve that he would commit himself "emotionally to a point of view that might be right or wrong".[40]

As in Wolf's cycle of offending, the despair and feelings of worthlessness which accompany paedophilia enables or forces the sufferer to either address it as a problem which he must confront, or to attach himself to it as would an acolyte attach himself to an article of faith. In the latter scenario, he develops validatory beliefs which are based on further cognitive distortions. This is because the only emotional sanctuary for the paedophile is to either submit himself to the judgements of the surrounding moral culture and despise himself or to believe what noone else believes : that he is not monstrous or inhuman and that he has a civil decency and a right to act upon his desires. Concomitant with such a belief is a rearrangement of cognitive schema to allow for feelings of self-approval and self-worth. Fixated paedophilia might be said to occur where these thoughts and beliefs become entrenched and immutable through the formulation of an internally coherent and socially shared set of defensive ideologies.

Despite the fact that many paedophiles show a high level of emotional congruency with children, they also exhibit an inability to empathise with and understand their victim's situation and feelings. This inability to empathise is a corollary of the defensiveness and self-obsession which paedophiles exhibit and greatly restricts their ability to understand and accept the negative consequences of their actions for both themselves and their victims. The first objective for therapists dealing with sex offenders is to help them realise that they need help to avoid causing more harm. If the

offender does not accept that he has caused harm to his victim then the clinician encourages him to seek treatment so that he may avoid causing harm to himself. The inability of the paedophile to emotionally situate himself in his victim's position is a characteristic which enables him to abuse and to maintain a belief in the righteousness of his actions. It confirms the paedophile's ideology to himself and enfeebles attempts to challenge the righteousness of those beliefs.

Clinical therapy for sex offenders resolves to undermine the beliefs which are the foundation for paedophile behaviour. There are a number of different facets to the treatments currently applied in the case of paedophiles. These treatments address the disorder as a problem rooted in biological and psychological reality. Libido-suppressant and anti-depressant drugs are used to disrupt the routinised thought-processes which take hold of the paedophile offender and cognitive therapy is used to address the distortions of thought and sexually-motivated projections which explain and validate the paedophile's behaviour to himself.

3.5 Current Treatments for Paedophilia

Current methods employed in the treatment of paedophile offenders can be grouped under the following headings:

- Chemical Castration;
- Anti-depressant Drugs;
- Cognitive Therapy.

3.5.1 Chemical Castration

Chemical castration involves the injection of libido-suppressing drugs into the paedophile's bloodstream over a specified period of time. Four months is a common duration for this treatment, although it can extend over much longer periods. The substances most commonly used for this purpose are Depot Medroxyprogesterone Acetate, also known Depo-Provera or DMPA, and Triptorelin. Other anti-androgen compounds are also used. The purpose of these drugs is to lower the testosterone levels in the offender so as to inhibit the sex drive and to lessen the intensity and prevalence of sexually deviant fantasising. The drug reduces the sex drive by agitating the pituitary gland into releasing hormones which control the production of sperm.[41] Depo-Provera does not prevent the subject/offender from maintaining an erection or achieving ejaculation.[42] These drugs, or compounds derived from the same chemical source, are more widely used as an injectible female contraceptive,

where amenorrhoea (complete cessation of menstruation), weight gain, hair-loss, bone-calcium problems and bladder leakage are common side-effects.[43] Clinical trials of the substance have raised concerns about the side effects of its usage on men. Male sex offenders who have been treated with the compound have experienced weight gain, hair loss, sleep disturbance and gall bladder problems. There is also a possibility that the subject will develop female physical characteristics if the drug is used extensively.[44] The regular injection of DMPA also increases the likelihood of coronary vasospasm in vulnerable subjects and is dangerous when used by or on diabetics.[45]

Research on the feasibility and effects of chemical castration was originally conducted by recruiting incarcerated sex offenders as subjects, with the promise of remission on their sentences for co-operation. The State of California introduced a law in 1996 which was designed to make chemical castration mandatory for first-time paedophile offenders, as a prerequisite for parole.[46] Since then the efficacy and morality of the treatment has been questioned. Defenders of the treatment insist that it is not intended to be a panacea for sexual disorders, nor is life-long treatment of offenders an option that is likely to be pursued. Instead, Depo-Provera is administered preparatory to psychotherapy and behavioural correction and in conjunction with other correctional treatments.

Naturally, correctional procedures of this nature are strongly objected to by paedophiles on the basis that they are a deprivation of the civil right to procreate and engage in consensual sexual activity. Detractors also state that the treatment is no different to capital punishment which is prohibited in the US states which have adopted the treatment. The idea of redirectional treatment also offends against paedophile ideology in its implication that paedophilia is an aberration which it is necessary, and possible, to amend. The paedophile activist Tom O'Carroll writes that:

> "I feel it would be wrong to accept medical treatment aimed deliberately at destroying, or 're-directing' as doctors would call it, those very deeply held affections for another person which in normal people are held to be amongst the finer manifestations of the human spirit. I cannot accept that anyone with any self-respect would consent to being 'treated', that they would buy this particular euphemism.[47]"

Chemical castration is a process which attacks the dignity and self-respect of those who are submitted to it. It can be argued that it is an unsanctioned attack on civil liberties and potentially hazardous to the subject's general health. Whatever the weaknesses of the treatment, it should be borne in mind that strong punishment is not something exercised exclusively on paedophiles. The debate over the legality and morality of chemical castration is a civil rights issue. Attempts by paedophiles to construe it as a symbolic oppression only obfuscates the valid criticisms of the treatment which may be advanced.

Loss of self-respect is an important component of the cognitive therapy for paedophiles which follows chemical castration. Any treatment which contributes to a deterioration of the subject's self-acceptance and pride increases the likelihood of success in rehabilitative therapy.

As it is only a recent innovation, research on the effectiveness of the treatment is inconclusive. Rosler and Witztum's research concludes that the use of Triptorelin, in conjunction with psychotherapy, brings about a diminution of the offender's deviant fantasies and sexual behaviour.[48] It should be noted that this treatment trial was conducted over 42 months and in that period of time the subjects' testosterone levels fell, on average, to 30% of their original levels. Many of the subjects also experienced complete erectile failure. It is difficult, on the basis of this information, to disentangle the short-term effects of the chemical treatment from the desired long-terms effects of cognitive therapy. However, it seems fair to argue that, without supportive cognitive therapy, chemical treatment is only effective for the duration of its administration, or shortly after it has ended. Most of the concerns expressed about the long-term efficacy of chemical treatment on paedophiles are understandable, given the fact that the effects of the treatment are, to varying degrees, chemically reversible.[49]

3.5.2 Anti-Depressant Drugs

The behaviour of offending paedophiles often becomes routinised in a way which precludes change and which reinforces self-validating cognitive distortions. Clinical depression is a prevalent feature of the paedophile's psychological make-up as it impedes rehabilitation and self-evaluation and therefore enables the paedophile to offend. Beckett reports that:

"Depression and anxiety due to social isolation or interpersonal conflict are commonly reported by child sex offenders as mood states which increase the likelihood that they will seek association with children or as factors directly responsible for disinhibiting their urge to offend".[50]

As anxiety is an important part of the psychological cycle through which paedophiles pass prior to offending, anti-depressants have an amelioratory effect by disrupting the cycle of depression-fantasy-offence.

Anti-depressants, such as Prozac, Tofravil and Anafranil, have also been used successfully in the treatment of individuals suffering from obsessive-compulsive disorders and anorexia. Prozac has also been used to remedy conditions such as excessive sensitivity to criticism, fear of rejection, lack of self-esteem.[51] Many of the characteristics of obsessive-compulsive behaviour are evident in fixated paraphilias such as paedophilia.[52]

Prozac (or Fluoxetine) and Anafranil are both categorised as Selective Serotonin Reuptake Inhibitors (SSRIs). Serotonin is present in the cerebrospinal and renal fluid of the body and aids the movement of electrical energy along the brain's synapses. By impeding the uptake of this chemical, SSRIs have the effect of disrupting habituated depressive thought processes and lessening the anxiety and defensiveness of the paedophile which, in tandem with therapy, allow him to enter into serious consideration of his own actions and his responsibility for them. This is a slow process but some success has been recorded.[53]

3.5.3 Cognitive Therapy

Both of these chemical treatments, where practiced, are prefatory to cognitive therapy in the attempt to minimise the risk of reoffending. The primary aim of this type of correctional therapy is to assess the possibility of recidivism and, where individuals present symptoms which are deemed actionable, to rehabilitate and reorientate him. This involves a multi-faceted approach wherein the paedophile is invited to consider and discuss the nature of his thoughts at the time of his offence/s. Paedophiles are also encouraged to discuss any encounters with their victim/s which preceded the offence, with a view to explaining how their impressions of the child/victim influenced their subsequent actions. The objective is to stress to the paedophile the centrality of his sexual desire and motivation in his formulation of impressions about other people's behaviour. In these situations, paedophiles, in keeping with the primary need for exculpation,

are disinclined to accept their own desire and motivation as precipitating the offences and it is the function of therapy to direct them towards an understanding of their own behaviour and offending which is congruent with that of their victims. In Beckett's words:

"(The) focus (of cognitive therapy is) on altering patterns of deviant arousal, correcting distorted thinking, increased social competence, assisting offenders to gain knowledge in sexual matters, the effects of sexual abuse and sexual assault cycles".[54]

Cognitive intervention treatment for paedophiles is successful in lessening the recidivism rate for particular classes of offenders. Many violent and inveterate paedophiles are not accepted into treatment programmes, owing to an unwillingness on the part of the treatment administrators to damage the credibility of the programme by involving individuals who, statistically, are extremely likely to re-offend, regardless of intervention. McGrath suggests that the most suitable criteria for judging which offenders are accepted for intervention programmes are that the paedophile should:

- Acknowledge that he has committed a crime;
- Perceive his offending as a problem, for himself and his victims;
- Voluntarily enter and participate in the treatment programme.[55]

Cognitive therapy for sex offenders has no resemblance to orthodox self-help psychotherapy, in that it is not the duty of the therapist to help the offender to understand and accept himself. Its objectives are the converse of that: any self-acceptance which the paedophile exhibits about his behaviour and desires is to be undermined. It might be described as a rational-emotive form of therapy which has the corollary function of increasing the paedophile's communication with and understanding of himself and others, thereby resocialising him and inveigling him back into the moral ethos of the adult social sphere. The methods employed are direct and subtly confrontational and seek to persuade the offender of his culpability for his actions and to help him to avoid a relapse into deviant behaviour and fantasy.

According to Beckett, in most treatment programmes non-fixated offenders receive about 75 hours of cognitive treatment, while fixated paedophiles receive an average of 150 hours.[56] This is in addition to whatever other

treatment programmes they might be involved in. Having undergone one-on-one behavioural therapy, offending paedophiles may be initiated into group or family therapy sessions depending on the nature of their crime – incestuous or non-incestuous - and an evaluation of their mental state and suitability. Subsequently they may undergo maintenance sessions, where the specific objective is to guard against a relapse into ways of thinking and behaving which lead to offending.

The specific components of cognitive therapy treatment are:

(1) The Removal of Psychological Defences – This involves confronting the offender with his strategies for absolving himself of guilt and for minimising the extent of his deviant behaviour and desire. The strategies employed in this regard include outright denial, projecting blame for the offence onto the victim, questioning the immorality of the offence, or citing other external factors as contributory. Exculpatory defences are erected by the offender as a means of fending off feelings of guilt and anxiety and as a means of retaining some self-esteem.

(2) Victim Empathy Training – The offender is encouraged to participate in role-playing activities in which the objective is to gain an understanding of the feelings his victim experienced at the time of the offence. Paedophiles exhibit a narcissistic inability to empathise with other people or to contemplate different subjective viewpoints. Empathy training further orientates the paedophile towards questioning the validity of his construction of events - with regards to his offences - and highlights how his own desires cause him to incorrectly impute sexual desires and intentions to his victim. Part of this process involves the paedophile writing letters to his victim. This is used to gauge the degree of his contrition which implies acknowledgement of wrong-doing and to observe how the paedophile construes his own and his victim's role in the offence, in terms of the acceptance, or projection, of blame. The following is an excerpt from one such letter, written at the beginning of a therapy programme. It portrays thought processes which many untreated paedophiles possess; namely, that their crime, if indeed it is one, is of a vague irresponsibility and that they are only really guilty of acceding to the child's desire:

> "The most important things I want to say to you are sorry and no hard feelings...now here's the most important part of this letter. Even though you

asked me, you must blame ME for doing it – never ever blame yourself for asking. Grown-ups are meant to know best and do what is right and I failed, didn't I? Certainly we're meant to know better than cheeky, pretty 9-year-olds with huge curiousities."[57]

These exercises are used to demonstrate to the paedophile that his failure to understand the motivations for his behaviour results in a stratagem of distorted thoughts and projections and, by extension, an incapacity to accept responsibility for his actions. By pointing out to the offender that his attempts to exculpate himself - by effectively reversing the perpetrator-victim relationship through the projection of intention and strength of will onto his victim - betray a way of thinking which encourages and permits him to offend, the therapist begins to undermine the moribund cognitive logic of the offending cycle.

(3) Discerning High-risk Situations for the Offender - Many paedophiles deliberately insinuate themselves into positions of authority over children as a means of having frequent and inconspicuous access to them. Paedophiles also seek opportunities to exert control over children through the power and authority which is invested in their position of adults and/or guardians. They specifically target children who show a need for affection and company. The following example, from a testimony given by the convicted paedophile Joseph Henry to the US Senate, explains his *modus operandi* for accessing and manipulating children:

> "I used all the normal techniques used by pedophiles. I bribed my victims; I pleaded with them, but I also showed them affection and attention they thought they were not getting anywhere else. Almost without exception, every child I molested was lonely and longing for attention. For example, I would take my victims to movies and to amusement parks. When I babysat them, I would let them stay up past their bedtime if they let me fondle them. One little 8-year-old girl I was babysitting came over to my house one day soaking wet from a rainstorm. I told her I'd pay her $1 if she would stay undressed for an hour. This incident opened the door for 3 years of molestation."[58]

Offending paedophiles, during the course of their treatment, are directed towards scrutinising their own behaviour in this regard, with specific reference to how they avail of opportunities to be alone with children, either

professionally, socially or familially, and of how they target children with particular emotional characteristics and vulnerabilities. The behaviour of paedophiles in attaining positions of authority and emotional power over children is often discreet and becomes embedded within their thoughts and behaviour until it comes to be seen by them as natural and unpremeditated. By presenting these kinds of behaviour to him as manipulative, deep-rooted and problematic, the therapist endeavours to convince the paedophile that his only means of avoiding relapse and further punishment is to be sensitised to the means by which he allows himself access to children and in which situations he is most likely to offend against them.

(4) Covert Sensitisation - The aim of covert sensitisation is to help the offending paedophile to develop his own psychological mechanisms for dealing with inappropriate desires and high-risk scenarios. Typically, the offender is encouraged to envisage plausible situations in which he risks offending, the memory of a past victimising incident, for example. An 'aversive image' or deterrent, such as prison or humiliation, is then interposed. The offender is encouraged to forge the association between re-offending and punishment and to take measures against entering into high-risk social situations and deviant arousal. By sensitising the paedophile to the implications of a relapse, the therapist diminishes the attractions of offending to the paedophile. Other, more immediate, deterrents are also suggested to the paedophile as a means of discouraging excursions into high-risk situations, such as carrying smelling-salts or valeric acids to be used when he fears he may be inclined to offend. All of these measures have the objective of interrupting the cognitive and behavioural cycle which leads to offending behaviour.

These treatments are considered necessary because of the effect that strong desire has on the behaviour and motivation of individuals who have a low tolerance for anxiety and conflict management. The fact that paedophiles exhibit a disproportionate dependence on sexual stimulation for the relief of anxiety means that thoughts of engaging sexually with a child, for a 'treated' paedophile, produce a high degree of cognitive dissonance. This cognitive dissonance is based on the fact that the aversive images conditioned during treatment cause a high degree of tension which the paedophile's repertory of past behaviours incline him towards alleviating through sexual stimulation. A high level of motivation against offence is required of the paedophile if he

is to avoid a relapse. On a simplistic cognitive level, Straub writes about the emotive experience related to the realisation of goals:

> "A... related characteristic of personal goals is the arousal of tension upon the activation of a goal, which continues to exist until either the goal has been reached or it has been de-activated in some manner".[59]

Covert sensitisation is directed towards supplying the paedophile with just such means of deactivating a conditioned response to the pursuit of the 'goal' of sexual relief.

(5) Devising Relapse Prevention Strategies and Maintenance – Covert sensitisation treatment is part of a process which seeks to invest the paedophile with the skills necessary to avoid committing further offences. The ideal culmination of the cognitive therapy treatment is the production of an individual who recognises his own problematic behaviour and has the ability to curb it and to avoid high-risk situations. Social skills training plays a role in this matter, since it addresses the feelings of anxiety which many paedophile offenders experience in social situations and which contribute to feelings of inadequacy. Anxiety and discomfort, being part of the offender's psychological make-up, are emotional states which the paedophile needs to be able to cope with if he is to become 'rehabilitated'.

Ideally, the paedophile should be capable of exercising moral judgements, based on his newly acquired understanding of his responsibility and of the harm caused by sexual activity with a child, in order to avoid reoffending. However, more pragmatic methods of managing the risk of the reintroduction of paedophiles into social life are used.

'Booster sessions' are availed of by previously incarcerated offenders who have found that they require further therapy to consolidate their improved behaviour since being released. Released offenders are also supervised, often by lay people who have assumed the responsibility with the agreement of the prison counsellor. If the supervisor perceives the paedophile to be acting in a way liable to undermine his rehabilitative efforts, s/he is empowered to notify the counsellor who arranges for the paedophile to be admitted to a 'halfway house'. It is also not uncommon for the paedophile to attend prison clinical sessions for a few months after his release.

3.5.4 The Effectiveness of Cognitive Treatment

In general terms, cognitive therapy decreases the chances of repeat offences. There are a number of reasons for this which have little to do with the effectiveness of the therapy in reducing the paedophile's deviant sexual urges or his sense of responsibility to himself and others. The criteria used to assess who receives treatment militates against the inclusion of long-term abusers or paedophiles with other personality disorders. As a result, it is those paedophiles who are statistically less likely to reoffend who are treated.

Cognitive therapy is effective in these situations because it provides those who want to overcome their paedophilia with the ability to do so. However, it is only effective for those offenders who submit themselves wholly to it and who show a willingness to forsake all offending behaviour. Recidivism rates for fixated, multiple-offending, gender-indiscriminate paedophiles vary to a small degree but indicate that between 80-90% of convicted abusers will continue to offend.[60]

The medical understanding of paedophilia as a sexual and mental disorder has many consequences. It implies that all of the paedophile's repertoire of behaviours is supportive of, and contributory to, his sexual offending. Paedophiles' mental operations, as well as their sexual urges, are subject to theoretical scrutiny and result in the view that paedophilia is:

- A disorder which is social and psychological in origin and which is supported by an array of deviant fantasies, desires, behaviours and cognitive distortions;

And that paedophilia is:

- Characterised by defensiveness, hostility, poor self-image and an over-reliance on sex and fantasy to overcome these failings.

Treatment of paedophiles addresses these behavioural characteristics through the redirection or lessening of erotic fixation on children; a correction of distorted thought processes and the feelings of anxiety which support them.

These thought processes support offending behaviour by allowing the paedophile to justify such behaviour to himself. Through sharing these thoughts with each other, paedophiles evolve a legitimatory ideology. The research will now focus on the role of the Internet in facilitating this sharing.

Paedophile Communication Channels

Chapter 4: Paedophile Communication Channels

"The World Wide Web is primarily used (by paedophiles) as a channel for advocacy, support and low-level fantasy materials. As an electronic environment, it is central to the generation of a sense of community among paedophiles online and to the propagation of a coherent set of arguments justifying and celebrating paedophilia. That this is contingent on the existence and possibilities of the Internet is obvious. How paedophile use of the medium affects its development is less so. It is possible to suggest that the Internet has not only provided a platform for paedophiles to congregate but has changed the nature of the social problem which paedophilia represents."[1]

This Chapter examines how and why paedophile literature and advocacy are disseminated through Internet technologies. The features of these technologies which appeal most particularly to paedophiles, and how they affect the formulation of paedophile ideologies, are examined. This information adumbrates the discussion of paedophile ideology as communicated via the Internet in Chapter Four.

4.1 Pre-Internet Paedophile Communication Channels

For a counter-ideology to reach its audience, it needs a communication channel or social forum through which it can be disseminated effectively. This is a problem for paedophilia, since it has no voice in the arena of broadcast or press media.[2] For self-evident reasons, conventional media participate in paedophile delegitimation. Apart from the fact that the fundamental beliefs of paedophile ideology are anathema to prevailing morality, the manner in which it is articulated exhibits a paranoia and a militancy which exacerbates its lack of media-friendliness.[3]

However, paedophilia and its attendant ideology has not always been occluded from social communication and distribution in this way. In the US in the 1970's, with the growth of the commercial pornography industry, a number of magazine publications, paedophile support groups and child pornography film producers catered for the 'paedophile lifestyle'. The advent of these groups resulted in the sharing of information, pornography, fantasy materials and child-victims between paedophiles.

Paedophile abuse-rings and pornography-rings were established through adverts placed in child pornography publications. Most child pornography originated from Denmark and Sweden, where the blanket decriminalisation of pornography in the 1970's had facilitated the setting up of a number of

cottage child pornography publications.[4] Joseph Henry, a convicted child abuser, recounts the influence of these magazines on his behaviour and how they brought him into contact with other abusers:

> Around 1974, when I was beginning to hang around 42nd Street porno shops in New York City, I got my first exposure to commercial child pornography. I got to be friends with one of the porn shop owners and one day he showed me a magazine that just arrived called Nudist Moppets. There were paperback books with stories of child sex, adult/child sex. The films in the peep shows were of men with girls, boys with girls and a few that looked like families together in sexual activity.
>
> Eventually, I put together a photographic collection of 500 pages of children in sexually explicit poses. Before long, films started coming in and I bought a film projector.
>
> I started reading some of the pornographic tabloids called Screw, Finger and Love, which were filled with all types of sex stories, ads and listings for pen pals. At least one of the issues was devoted to a pedophilic theme. In one issue of Finger, there was an ad about organizations that were devoted to sexual intimacy between children and adults. I wrote to three of them - Better Life, the Guyon Society and the Childhood Sensuality Circle. Better Life and the Childhood Sensuality Circle responded, so I sent in the membership fee to join them.
>
> I was disappointed with the Better Life publication because it was a homosexual pedophilia newsletter and my sexual interest was girls. However, in the third issue, there was an ad that had a street number to write instead of the usual coded numbers. I wrote to them, and a few weeks later, I received a letter from a man named Lance Carlson. His real name is John Duncan, and he was a central figure in the child prostitution ring I eventually got involved in.
>
> In his letter to me, Duncan wanted assurance I was not a cop or any other such person trying to entrap him. He also wanted to hear about my experiences, past or present. I wrote and said I wasn't a police officer. I also told him about Barbara, the first girl I molested and how I got interested in little girls. We began a long correspondence. This was in October of 1975.[5]

Paedophile information sharing developed out of the wide distribution of these magazines. Contact between geographically disparate paedophiles became possible through the use of personal ads and letters pages providing contact information. These relationships outlasted the brief window of

opportunity for the development of paedophile networks which lax US obscenity laws had facilitated. When US obscenity laws were changed in 1977 to control the growth of the pornography industry, informal paedophile networks had already been established. The following excerpts are part of the correspondence between two paedophiles, which developed out of an initial contact through these magazines. They exemplify the type and quality of information which paedophiles share when allowed to communicate through discrete and private channels.

> (1) The letter I got was from Anthony Latimer of 256 South Robertson, ever heard of 256? Someone gave him my name... He has 20 different books that I can buy. He wants 8 dollars a piece or 15 for two. I wish I had about 100 dollars.

> (2) I told you that I got a letter from someone that has a lot of child books for sale. Well I found it, and guess what, the letter was from Mr. Latimer, the man that knows more children than any other person in California... I don't know Latimer, and didn't think he know me, and I sure wondered how he got my last name!! Now I know, it was John. Thank you. I would like to meet him.[6]

Information distribution through these magazines had many of the qualities which appeal to paedophiles. The magazines contained pornographic and erotic images of children. They were discreet, in that the points of distribution were initially known or of interest only to paedophiles, and they allowed for direct one-to-one contact outside the scope of police detection. However, distribution of physical material is easy to monitor and disrupt once legal authorities have been empowered to do so. Federal authorities in the US disrupted these communication networks by criminalising production, possession and distribution of the material and by monitoring the post of known offenders.[7]

The qualities which paedophiles require for effective communication are complicated and highly selective. In order to communicate with each other on a long-term basis, paedophiles need the communication channel to provide security and privacy and to be able to carry codes of reference which they alone understand, so as to avoid detection. Esoteric requirements of this kind prohibit the easy and widespread communication of

propagandising and legitimating materials. Because of the legal limitations which are placed on what can be broadcast or made publicly available, paedophile information exchanges have generally existed in small formal cliques whose membership remains undisclosed to the public.[8]

This illustrates the dilemma facing paedophiles who, for various reasons, wish to communicate with other paedophiles and with the broader public. Secrecy is necessary for undetectable 'narrowcast' communication such as the conveyance of illegal material, but is counter-productive to the aims of improving the public perception of the disorder which requires a broad scope of dissemination. This explains why Internet technologies, with their hybrid broadcast and narrowcast qualities and fuzzy legislative boundaries, have been so readily adapted by paedophiles.

The principle communication requirements of paedophiles are:

1. The ability to communicate anonymously with each other on matters which are illegal such as the sharing of child pornography and of information or fantasy literature pertaining to sexual relations with children. This is to avoid detection, identification and persecution as well as to conceal the 'unethical' side of paedophilia from public view;

2. That the communication channels have a permanent location, secure and outside the control of non-paedophile authorities;

3. That their ideology can be communicated to a non-paedophile public without revealing their identity, thereby avoiding persecution.

The various technologies which comprise the Internet, with their disparate functions and capabilities, meet this broad range of requirements. However, the most important characteristic of the Internet, for paedophiles, is its uncentred regulatory structure.

4.2 The Regulation of Internet Content

Paedophile's adoption of the Internet as a means of dissemination and communication is attributable to the unstructured approach to regulation which allowed the technology to develop rapidly in the first instance.[9] There is no overarching international regulatory body governing what can and cannot be published on the Internet. That is not so say that the digital communication is *sui generis* as far as the application of law is concerned.

What it means is that the promulgation and application of law to deal with digital crimes, specifically with the dissemination of child pornography, has been erratic and disjointed. The constitutionality of many of the laws occasioned by the advent of widespread digital communication is still not established. Neither has the liability of service providers for the material they provide access to been satisfactorily appraised.[10]

Unlike mechanisms in traditional media structures which deny a voice to 'ethical paedophilia', all censorship of Internet-published materials is *post facto* and contingent upon the scrupulousness and efficiency of webspace and content providers and law enforcement agencies, as well as the existence and enforcement of relevant legislation. Internet content and access to it are to a large extent controlled autonomously by the service and access provider industry (ISPs).[11] Given the transnational structure of the medium, any weakness in the control of web content in any one jurisdiction may render other legal efforts ineffective in deterring individuals from posting obscene or harmful material. Material hosted on any free-access server in the world is accessible from any computer terminal connected to the Internet. National and legal boundaries are transcended by Internet communication[12], and this weakness is readily exploited by those interested in the communication of data which is outlawed in their own jurisdiction but permitted in others.

In the case of child pornography magazine publications from the 1970s, measures outlawing the possession and distribution of material were effective because the monitoring of the distribution system involved mainly the postal system and retail shops, was a realistic and feasible endeavour. This is not the case with the Internet where special expertise on the part of law enforcement agents and a large resource commitment by service providers is required for any effective monitoring to take place. The US Child Pornography Protection Act, for example, is an analogue of earlier prohibitions on the circulation of obscene material and is designed to effect the same curtailment of paedophile communication. Even allowing for this, the widespread use of encryption software[13] and anonymising procedures[14] by individual users enfeebles any reasonable attempts to discern the nature of any illegal activity which is taking place or to identify those involved in it.

Both the CAIR and Copine research initiatives indicate that the publication and distribution of child pornography on the Internet is mostly limited to

web servers in Japan and Russia.[15] Recently, Japan has promulgated new legislation to curtail these activities. Such sites are difficult to find and access and so, inadvertently, fulfil one of the necessities of paedophile communication: that material which reflects negatively on the disorder be obscured from public view.[16] The presence of this material on servers in these jurisdictions is due, in the case of Russia, to the lack of relevant legislation and/or enforcement. In the case of Japan, the fault is bipartite: the eroticisation of young girls is acceptable within the culture and excessive deference is paid to the ISPs with regard to the enforcement of obscenity laws.[17]

Paedophile use of the Internet is characterised by the fear of being monitored by governmental and law enforcement agencies, intelligent use of the facilities provided by each of the different technologies and displays of resourcefulness in countering the effects of short-term *ad hoc* censorship. This latter trait is particularly evident in their use of the Usenet newsgroup system. The disruption of paedophile activity on Usenet where most of the distribution of child pornography occurs[18] is sometimes more effective when carried out by hostile, anti-paedophile protesters ('flamers').[19] This is because there is no overarching governance of the Usenet system. Where regulation exists in newsgroups it is under the aegis of a self-appointed 'moderator' who enforces the rules and conventions which pertain to the newsgroup. In the case of paedophile newsgroups, these rules encourage the distribution, or 'posting', of pornographic photographs of children. The strongest type of censorship which prevails is service providers' refusal to provide access to these newsgroups. Even this is quite ineffective, as many web-based Usenet portals sell their services by advertising the fact that they provide access to these blacklisted newsgroups.[20] Posters to paedophile newsgroups which have been occluded in this way simply migrate to another newsgroup and resume their activities.[21]

Attempts at regulation in this area have been disadvantaged by the development of new forms of encryption software, the difficulty of tracing the origin of the obscene material and the fact that online communication between paedophiles is not restricted to the World Wide Web or Usenet and, through the use of IRC, Mailing Lists and FTP servers, becomes less easy to detect.

Each of the different Internet technologies have their own separate functions, qualities and regulatory procedures. The main technologies which comprise the Internet are:

- World Wide Web (WWW)
- Usenet;
- Internet Relay Chat (IRC);
- E-mail;
- I-Seek-You; (ICQ)
- File Transfer Protocol (FTP).

Of these, the World Wide Web, Usenet and IRC are the most important for the examination of paedophile use of the Internet. In terms of the area under research the communication of paedophile ideologies and values, the World Wide Web is the most significant.

4.3 Types and Functions of Paedophile Internet Communication

This section summarises the uses which paedophiles make of each of the main Internet technologies. This foreshadows a more in-depth discussion of the legitimatory purposes of paedophile communication in the next chapter.

4.3.1 World Wide Web

Of all of the forms of Internet communication, the World Wide Web affords the most stability, permanence and public exposure. It is also the most assiduously regulated. The CAIR report contends that the World Wide Web is primarily used by paedophiles as a means of disseminating advocacy and legitimatory literature:

> "Paedophiles and those sexually interested in children attempt to use the World Wide Web to create an electronic resource to legitimate, normalise and naturalise adult sexual interest in children to other paedophiles and the broader non-paedophile community."[22]

And that its ancillary functions are as:

- An arena in which those sexually interested in children can engage in fantasy and role-playing;
- A channel for the provision of social, emotional and technical support;

- A repository for the archiving of child pornography texts.[23]

By adhering to certain guidelines, much of the content of paedophile websites is nominally protected under the First Amendment of the US constitution as many of these websites are hosted in the United States of America.[24] Paedophile material on the World Wide Web is almost entirely of an advocacy and justificatory nature and is anchored by the presence of four or five large and longstanding websites. BoyLinks[25], BoyLove Webring[26], The Russian Boylove Association[27] and Fresh Petals[28] are amongst the foremost of these. Newly created paedophile websites are introduced to online paedophile culture by establishing links to and from these sites. In this way, long-term communication channels have been established and maintained and paedophile ideology has acquired a stable channel through which it can be disseminated. The World Wide Web is viewed as a means of presenting the 'acceptable' face of paedophilia to the public, and for initiating PR campaigns in other media. The following tract, from a posting to the BoyChat messageboard, discusses this idea and uses common paedophile arguments against the delegitimation of the disorder.

> As you probably know, we are the most hated minority on earth right now. Especially in the last few years the media has been depicting pedophiles as the symbols of extreme evil, possibly even messengers of the devil. I really don't know what originally started this negative attitude but lately the media has surely gotten more good reasons to consider us monsters. Several "pedophile" cases in which a man has raped and killed little girls has formed the image the public has of us now. This is what we have to change. The media won't change its opinion about us as long as we don't make them do it ourselves. And the media is what forms the public opinion.
>
> The only way to make things different is to tell people what we're really like. It'll be hard to convince them since we're after all a small minority (probably not quite as small as you think, though), so we need to be extremely active to make ourselves visible. There are dozens of campaigns against us, we need organized campaigns, too (I know, there are some, but the problem is that they only have a few members and most of them aren't active enough). We need to unite! We must fight back! This is WAR and we'll have to WIN to get a better life for the children and ourselves!
>
> How exactly to participate?
>
> If you're planning on sending me an e-mail message after reading this and tell me you're supporting us and we should keep up the good work and stuff

like that..well, it'd be nice and it might encourage me a bit but there's much more you can do. You can't wait for other people to do everything for you. If everybody just waits and hopes, we'll never gain anything. If not for yourself, do it for the innocent. For the children. They must be allowed to love and to be loved. Since we're such a small minority, even one more person actively contributing makes a huge difference. There's really no reason to leave yourself out. Since not all pedophiles know as much as I, and possibly you, do, you'll have to tell every pedophile you know to start getting information about these things and pressurizing the media (more about this on Pedo Pressure Group's pages). The most effective thing to do is send letters and e-mails to magazines and tv shows but you can use your imagination and do whatever you see useful. Whatever you do, be polite and reasonable. Better than anyone else, we should know how little flaming and pointless shouting does good, since most of us receive it all the time from those who have no idea of what we are. And before you start acting, make sure you have read all the most important articles on PLF's[29] pages so that you have a good general view of both us and our 'enemies'.

Vincit omnia veritas (lat. "truth conquers all things").[30]

Apart from central online resources such as BoyLinks and Free Spirits, the quantity and location of paedophile websites changes frequently. This is because of the self-censorship effected by the free webspace providers on whose servers a lot of paedophile ephemera is hosted. The CAIR report states that:

"... free webspace is ... regulated by censorship policies which prohibit the hosting of material judged to be offensive or which promotes instructional information about illegal activities. "Boy-love" sites are considered to fall within this category. The policy of Geocities, for example, is to remove sites which breach the following guidelines:

1. Displaying material containing nudity or pornographic material of any kind;

2. Providing material that is grossly offensive to the online community, including blatant expression of bigotry, prejudice, racism, hatred or excessive profanity;

3. Displaying material that exploits children under 18 years of age;

4. Promoting or providing instructional information about illegal activities, promoting physical harm or injury against any group or individual, or promoting any act of cruelty to animals.[31]

The removal of 'boy-love' and 'girl-love' websites from free webspace is carried out without notification or explanation from the webspace providers. Such forms of mandatory censorship have the effect of reinforcing paedophiles' belief that they are discriminated against and that their civil rights to free speech are being infringed. By making this argument, paedophiles insinuate themselves into the position of free speech protectors. This argument is part of a strategy which they have adopted to ensure greater longevity for their websites – to align themselves with the Internet Free Speech issue and thereby attempt to avail of space on the servers of Free Speech organisations.

However, the most expedient option for paedophiles is to acquire their own server, which they may govern, moderate and regulate. Such an approach resulted in the formation of FPC.Net (Free Paed Co-operative Network). The history of the FPC is related on its website as follows:

> Throughout the history of boylove on the Net there have been few places where boylovers can safely store their pages. Free providers such as Geocities regularly "purge" their servers of boylove sites, allowing no assurance of stability or security to those who wish to present their thoughts and resources online. Even on commercial Web providers content is often censored and removed without notice.
>
> This widescale censorship created frustration and disorganisation amongst the online boylove community, particularly when the provider Geocities stepped up its regular purges. The Free Paed Cooperative (FPC) was founded by **Jimf3** and **Tygyr** in May 1997 as an answer to the problems of censorship.
>
> FPC provides free, secure Web space to boylovers who wish to see their thoughts displayed on the Net. It is dedicated to representing the many views of people on the subject of boylove, whether it be from a personal, historical, scientific or ethical perspective. Through this representation FPC hopes to educate the world about boylove and provide support and entertainment for boylovers everywhere. We hope that FPC will quickly become a hub of boylove resources on the Web and an important part of the online boylove movement.
>
> The June 1997 decision by Digiweb (then the centre of the largest boylove resources collection) to remove all boylove-related pages sparked outrage and action in the boylove movement. This led to the creation of Free Spirits (FS), an organization of online boylovers committed to providing service and support within the boylove community. FPC soon joined with Free Spirits and is now managed under the FS umbrella.

> Today FPC continues to grow and is maintained and updated by **Babel-17**.
> Services are continually being expanded as both Free Spirits and the online
> boylove movement evolves.[32]

The FPC server, and others like it, have the effect of consolidating paedophile presence online through the provision of a stable long-term paedophile resource. The FPC website fulfils a nodal function in that it allows other, more transient, 'boy-love' websites to attach themselves to it, by means of mutual hyperlinking. The FPC is self-regulating and, as a result, is legally responsible for all material hosted on its server. It operates under the following regulations to avoid litigation:

> Here's our rules:
>
> o You have to make your pages about boylove, preferably containing scholarly content.
>
> o We don't take pages that are mainly picture galleries.
>
> o We don't take pages that contain or link to material considered illegal in the US.
>
> o We don't usually take mirror or duplicate sites.
>
> o And we don't accept nude pictures.
> Breaches of these rules might result in a warning or deletion of your page without notice, depending on the situation. Why? Because it's a witchhunt and we don't want to get arrested, that's why. So please don't complain if your artistic black-and-white naturist shot gets removed, or (if) your page is entirely about credit card fraud.[33]

Apart from acting as rallying points for online paedophiles, the main 'boy-love' websites, such as the FPC's, are significant because they effectively control and filter access to newly created paedophile information resources. Search engines play an insignificant part in this process: most referrals to new 'boy-love' websites are from well-established 'boy-love' resources.[34] This substantiates the hypothesis that paedophiles effectively operate within their own 'Undernet' on the World Wide Web, in an effort to avoid the persecution of anti-paedophile protesters.

'Boy-love' websites heavily outnumber 'girl-love' websites on the World Wide Web.[35] 'Boy-lovers' are more overtly political about their disorder, possibly because male-oriented paedophilia is the variation which is mostly demonised. Some branches of 'boy-love' activism attempt to force a coalition

with gay rights activism by articulating common concerns with age of consent laws which discriminate against homosexuals.[36]

Estimates about the number of child pornography websites in existence at any one time are difficult to calculate or verify. Japanese police estimated in 1998 that there were about 1,000 websites trading in child pornography on Japanese servers.[37] There are no recent figures with which to gauge the effectiveness of the 1999 Japanese legislation dealing with this area. The number of advocacy and ephemera websites is similarly variable. What is important, for the purposes of paedophile communication, is that the World Wide Web provides a structure for the dissemination of paedophile advocacy and information which is secure and wide in scope.

4.3.2 Usenet

The Usenet system allows individual computer users to create and maintain their own newsgroups in which they and others may publish text and distribute electronic files.[38] Unlike IRC, Usenet is not a real-time environment, in that there are varying delays in the appearance of newly posted messages, depending on the means by which the newsgroup is accessed. Usenet facilitates quicker communication than does the World Wide Web and, more importantly, it is less regulated and less easy to control: newsgroups names and the names of their moderators are not centrally registered in the way that websites are.[39] Consequently, newsgroups are ideal for groups of individuals who wish to illicitly share illegal materials without disclosing their identities.

Paedophile newsgroups are principally used for the following purposes:

- To develop the idea of a paedophile community with shared interests and values;
- To distribute child pornography and erotica;
- To offer technical and emotional support.

The Cair and Copine research suggested that, at any one time, there were between 40 and 60 newsgroups active in the dissemination of child pornography or the promotion of paedophile values.[40] Of these, a small number are dedicated to extensive distribution of child pornography.[41] Research indicates that these newsgroups contain up to 15,000 photographs at any one time.[42] The research in this thesis is principally concerned with

those newsgroups which have been colonised by paedophiles for the purposes of offering emotional and technical support and allowing for fantasy engagement. Many of these newsgroups do not contain pornography. It is through these designated paedophile channels that common values and ideologies are engendered.

The newsgroup alt.support.girl-lovers is an instance of a paedophile newsgroup maintained for the purpose of encouraging group cohesion and support. Its purposes are defined by the newsgroup's moderator as follows:

> "It is intended to provide peer support for those having difficulty with their feelings, for girl-lovers who feel isolated with their girl-loving, for those who possibly have no other avenue of discussion than via the Internet, and for anyone else wishing to educate themselves about the nature of girl-love and girl-lovers."[43]

One result of the interaction amongst paedophiles in a safe area is the development of a sense of shared experience and beliefs, and the engagement in paedophile fantasy. This latter trait is particularly evident in the newsgroup alt.fan.prettyboy, where the paedophile romanticisation of childhood and the notion of online identities or avatars resulted in the formation of an idyll called 'The Fort'. The Fort is close to childhood in conceptualisation. Within it, online paedophiles take on the personae of children and indulge in fantasy. A contributor to alt.fan.prettyboy describes The Fort as follows:

> "Life in prettyboy was hectic at first. I kept hearing more and more about the 'Fort'. Somebody pointed me to the Artful Dodger's digs. He spoke more and more about the Fort. It seemed a mystical magical place where kids could have fun together and so, I'm told, it was for a while. My image of 'the fort' has always been a distant, fleeting thing, appearing and disappearing in the cool mist. Magic. Definitely magic... The Fort seems to me to be at least a holy place, a sanctuary. I hold the fort in awe".[44]

Paedophiles have a characteristic tendency to abuse fantasy and to avoid adult responsibility.[45] These features, which in off-line social life cause difficulties, find expression in the Usenet system where such behaviour is tolerated and pervasive.

Newsgroups are based on the premise of user-interaction: unlike websites, there is no single author and, although in some cases there is a moderator responsible for monitoring and censoring content, paedophile newsgroups

are democratic; access to post and read messages, rights of complaint and criticism are allowed to all users. Through this interaction, the notion of a community working together is cultivated.

4.3.3 Internet Relay Chat (IRC):

Internet Relay Chat (IRC) is a technology which allows for real-time online text conversations between several users. IRC conversations are not hosted on a particular server but are relayed to the computer of each participant through a network of servers. Each IRC network comprises of a backbone of servers which are connected to auxiliary servers worldwide. The administrators of these servers claim no responsibility for the content of the conversations to which they play host nor for the transmission of files from one user to another through the network:

> "Without compromising privacy, there's no way to tell whether a person is actually planning to indulge in illegal activities. Again, the Undernet does not monitor traffic content passed through its network or maintain any editorial content over it. In no way do Undernet operators/administrators monitor private messages between individuals, nor are they able to find/join secret channels. We do not monitor or edit content."[46]

The CAIR research stated that the primary attraction of IRC to paedophiles are that:

1. It allows for the discreet transmission of illicit material, (via DCC)[47];
2. It allows for the real time exchange of information about web-based and other 'boy-love' resources;
3. It provides an arena for fantasy role-playing and the normalisation of paedophilic fantasies;
4. It can be used to quickly disseminate information about FTP sites and other resources which contain child pornography and paedophile resources.[48]

The number of active channels or chat-rooms devoted to paedophilia is impossible to gauge, given the proliferation of different IRC networks, the ease with which a channel is created and the absence of any strict registration or governance of the channels.[49] An audit conducted as part of the CAIR research uncovered 37 channels in which participation in paedophile fantasy and offers of access to vast collections of child pornography occurred. The facility to discreetly send digital files across the

IRC network through DCC would seem to be the most attractive quality of IRC to paedophiles. It is impossible to discern what volume of files are transferred in this way – or whether they are pornographic images or other illegal materials - by observation of the chat-rooms. Given their anxiety about sending illegal files to strangers, however, it seems unlikely that many paedophiles engage in extensive distribution of child pornography via DCC.[50] IRC is attractive to paedophiles because it allows for, and encourages, synchronous interaction, communication and discussion. It permits the distribution of information which requires immediate action, such as access to child pornography FTP sites which may be restricted by time constraints.[51] Its immediacy is a valuable quality, given the precarious and fleeting nature of many paedophile resources. In terms of promoting a coherent ideology, IRC serves mostly to engender a sense of commonality. The conceptualisation of IRC channels as 'rooms' substantiates this feeling of community in that in bestows upon the participants a common territory over which they are sovereign. It also facilitates real-time fantasy engagement and cyber-sex role-playing.

Each of the Internet technologies have separate functions for paedophiles but are used strategically to complement each other. The CAIR Report states that:

> "It is acknowledged that paedophiles use different technologies for different purposes. Resources on each technology – IRC, Usenet and the World Wide Web – are also advertised and alluded to on the others. This method of disseminating information allies the short-term, real-time nature of communication in IRC with the long-term stability of the WWW. In this way the strengths of one technology compensate for the weaknesses of another. This strategic use of the technology results in the information on 'boy-love' web resources being exchanged within the more stable 'boy-love' chat-rooms."[52]

In some ways this enfeebles legislative approaches which seek to control and/or prohibit the online paedophile presence by concentrating on the most easily regulated sphere : the World Wide Web. Paedophile use of the Internet is evidence of an intelligent and resourceful approach to the communication possibilities which the technology offers. The amalgamation or convergence of the separate technologies allows them to achieve the basic requirements outlined at the beginning of this chapter: secure and discreet dissemination of illegal and offensive material and the establishment of an

autonomous, secure and stable platform for the advancement of their counter-ideology.

The Internet is attractive to paedophiles as a means of communication because it facilitates their need for effective, secure and personalised information distribution. Paedophiles also have a strong need for anonymity, which is met through the use of anonymising and encryption software[53]. However, it seems that most online paedophiles do not avail of these services and that they are attracted to the 'seeming' anonymity of the medium: the fact that the technology does not involve the physical transference of objects and that no face-to-face interpersonal communication takes place gives the impression that online activity is divorced from real life. Paedophile's tendency to overindulge in fantasy is facilitated by the technology: they use avatars and engage in role-playing to create idylls in IRC and Usenet.

Most of the paedophile use of the Internet is directed at positive self-representation. Through the dissemination of a coherent set of paedophile values, strategic attempts at self-validation, and resource-swapping runs the current of community-building. These communication strategies aid the convergence of values, of ideology and promote an understanding of paedophilia which is approving and validatory.

4.4 Paedophilia and Internet Utopias

The attempts to build coalitions with Free Speech and Age of Consent activists intimates another means by which paedophilia becomes ideologised through Internet usage. In many ways, paedophiles' views of themselves and of the technology they employ to promote these views are consonant with ideologies of the social impact of the information age society. Utopian ideas of global digitisation precipitating the development of a 'real' liberal democracy, of equal access to self-representation and of the emergence of decentralised, localised controlling ideologies is something which appeals to paedophiles[54]. It is also a Utopia which mobilises their efforts. The 'Infotopia' view of the effect of Internet technology, and the view that this technology, in its provision of 'universal access', is a tool of increased democracy and decentralisation has influenced or informed the development of paedophile ideologising on the Internet.[55] This Utopia of the ideal expression of liberal democracy being realised through Internet technologies is part of the popular but nebulous ideology of some facets of cyberculture. John Perry Barlow's *Declaration of the Independence of Cyberspace* articulates the idea

of cyberspace as a new frontier in which the involvement of traditional systems of governance and the application of extant value systems is not welcome:

> "We are creating a world where anyone, anywhere may express his or her beliefs, no matter how singular, without fear of being coerced into silence or conformity. Your legal concepts of property, expression, identity, movement, and context do not apply to us. They are all based on matter, and there is no matter here."[56]

The exultation of individual rights to free expression over issues of morality and legality is something which appeals to paedophiles. Organisations such as Electronic Frontier Foundation[57], are part of a coalition which view global computerisation as necessitating the vigilant protection of democratic rights to privacy and self-expression. The protection of paedophiles' rights to free expression and advocacy is an unintended corollary of these ambitions.

Whether paedophile use of the Internet can help effect any degree of acceptance for its ideologies and values deserves some consideration. It seems evident from the deluge of legislation designed to curtail their use of the technology, and from the representation of the Internet as a 'paedophile paradise', that the increased public exposure to the disorder which the Internet facilitates, tarnishes the image of the network more than it improves that of paedophiles. The dominant values which paedophiles offend against are not absent from the Internet but have been slow to manifest themselves in the entanglement of new legislation and control. The negative publicity which paedophiles generate for the Internet has had the effect of inciting anti-paedophile protesters to make an organised attack on visible online paedophile communities. A number of groups and individuals are involved in the pursuit of online paedophiles.[58] They are particularly active in the Usenet system where 'spam' protesting can be effective in disrupting paedophile activity. The effectiveness of such measures is transient and limited, however. As the Copine research argues:

> "It would appear that instead of discouraging paedophile activity on Usenet newsgroups, the anti-paedophile reactionaries might well serve to aid a process of group cohesiveness amongst paedophiles. By voicing a very real threat to their activities it would be reasonable to suggest that this accentuates a need among paedophiles for group cohesiveness and reinforces the important role of 'advice co-ordinators'. As with so many well-intentioned initiatives in this area they actually encourage and develop, rather than diminish and control."[59]

The effect of paedophile use of the Internet is significant and is not limited to the distribution of child pornography, child entrapment and the discursive reification of 'cognitive distortions' amongst inveterate child abusers. Many of those involved in the online paedophile community are young and nascent in their paedophilia. The sharing and substantiation of a coherent ideology for the justification of the disorder effects the concrescence of their beliefs and justifies their desires. This aspect of online paedophile activity is treated in the next chapter.

Paedophile Ideologies:
Exculpatory & Legitimatory Strategies and Romanticisation

Chapter Five: Paedophile Ideologies:Exculpatory and Legitimatory Strategies and Romanticisation

"As science advances and explanations of behaviour become less fanciful, the Specter of Creeping Exculpation ... will loom larger. Without a clear moral philosophy, any cause of behaviour could be taken to undermine free will and hence moral responsibility."[1]

"A man can reason and reason and still be a villain."[2]

Paedophiles share coherent strategies for exculpating themselves which form part of a system of self-justificatory cognitive logic. Exculpation, scapegoating and legitimation fulfil the same functions for paedophiles: they allow them to accept their disorder and regard its attendant behaviours as normal. This is achieved by denying that sexual relations harm children or by projecting the blame for the harm elsewhere, through a strategy of scapegoating. This Chapter discusses these strategies and examines how they fit into a composite picture of paedophile ideology.

5.1 The Function of Paedophile Ideology

It is argued in this chapter that the ideologies which are established and shared by paedophiles are principally directed at:

- Justifying adult-child sexual relations, thereby assuaging feelings of guilt and responsibility and 'permitting' sexual relations with children;
- Projecting blame for the trauma caused by adult-child sexual relations onto external factors such as misinformation; social repression; and the behaviour of child-victim him/herself;
- Countering their demonisation through a celebration of the disorder which involves romanticising childhood and adult-child love with the intention of portraying paedophilia as an aesthetic devotion;
- Creating group cohesion and establishing the paedophile group's identities and qualities.

In order to achieve this, the complex of ideas is coherent and is directed at attacking the delegitimation of paedophilia present in popular and medical representation. This involves undermining the assumptions about

paedophilia which are articulated by delegitimatory authorities. This is attempted through:

1. Undermining the idea that power plays an important part in adult/child sexual relationships;
2. Advancing the idea that paedophilia is a biologically 'natural' sexual orientation;
3. Constructing paedophilia as an ethical lifestyle;
4. Arguing that paedophilia is a counter-authoritarian movement which challenges social oppression;
5. Justifying paedophilia through ethical relativism;
6. Celebrating paedophilia through a process of romanticisation.

Through a critical reading of Internet-based paedophile testimony of paedophile relationships, this Chapter examines the rhetoric and arguments employed to this end.

5.2 An Example of Paedophile Arguments

The following message, posted on the BoyChat messageboard, is a useful introduction to the tone and content of the abundant paedophile literature on the World Wide Web.[3] It contains the arguments and moral relativisms used most frequently by those involved in the advancement of the idea of paedophilia as a legitimate sexual orientation. There are a number of examples of such tracts on the World Wide Web which offer insight into how paedophiles understand their disorder and how they react to the social demonisation of it.[4] Of particular interest in this document are the counter-arguments its writer uses to deride public concern for children's welfare and to imply that objections to paedophilia are indicative of sexual repression and parental fears of child sexuality.

> Information for pedo-bashers
> I'm only telling you clear facts here, you don't have to be afraid of getting
> brainwashed or hypnotized into being a pedophile. :)
> So you're one of those people who think that pedophiles
> (1) are sick;

(2) are child-molesting monsters;

(3) should be cured simply;

(4) should be killed.

You're pretty much as far from the truth as you can be. Here are the corrections to the sentences above:

An exact translation for "pedophile" is "child-lover". Along with "pedosexual" this is the only right word to use of us, so this is not something you should change when talking about us. Pedophilia is not a sickness, it's a sexual orientation, just like homosexuality or heterosexuality. Pedophiles are often the most reasonable and stable people you'll ever meet. True pedophiles never hurt children or do anything without their consent, we love them too much to do anything against their will. Besides, if we're talking about sex, it's not the only thing we want to have with children (besides, sex is not only about penetration and the intercourse itself..not to me and to the pedos I've talk about it with, anyway), it's only one part, though a very important one, of a loving relationship.

Pedophilia can't be "cured", because it's not a disease. You could as well try to "cure" a heterosexual to a homosexual. All the possible forms of therapies have been tried but naturally none works. A true pedophile loves children as long as he/she lives.There's no "back", pedophiles have never been anything other than pedosexuals. I don't know what causes person's sexual orientation to be what it is, but it definitely doesn't have anything to do with a childhood trauma or anything like that.

What's normal? No two people with exactly similar sexual tendencies exist. Besides, pedophilia is perfectly natural. Only in the last couple of centuries has our society been repressing us for some reason, before that it's been OK for a child to love and have sex.

(Killing)… is the only way to stop someone being a pedophile. It's interesting that so many people consider love so bad that the most suitable penalty is death. I've heard about a case where a group of pedo-bashers tried to kill a pedophile by setting his house on fire. I don't know if the pedophile died, or was he even at home but his loved one, a young girl was there and she died in the fire. While reading this report I actually cried the first time since my childhood. This is a good example of what the "child-savers"/pedo-bashers really accomplish: they only harm the children.

Let's write the above sentence again, now with the right words: "pedophiles are healthy, child-loving citizens who should be granted the same rights as the other sexual orientations or even more".

I'm truly amazed by how much we are hated. It's like the whole world had been brainwashed to hate pedophiles more than anything else. So many people want us to die. So many people telling us we're sick and we should go to therapy. So many people shouting at us with all their power. Why? WHY?

What is it about children's sexuality that you can't approve?

Sex itself is harmful to children? How could that be possible, if sex doesn't harm adults, why would it harm children? And as we're talking about sex itself here, penetration or any other specific action doesn't count now.

Children aren't able to enjoy sex? Children love sex just as much as adults do, or in fact probably even more: not only are the first times very enjoyable with all the new feelings but young children also haven't yet been taught to consider sex something dirty and bad and therefore they can regard it as it is: pure pleasure and enjoyment. About their matureness for sex.. I was personally very sexual when I was a pre-teen, and I have heard many other people tell me the same about themselves. Besides, I've seen a one and a half year old girl enjoy sex, possibly even have an orgasm (read about it on my "About myself" page). I read on a magazine an upcoming mother asking from a doctor if it's possible that yet to be born baby boys can have orgasms (maybe she had felt something? :-), after all they have erections in womb (some babies' sexes have been recognized for their erected penises). The doctor answered something like "Of course not, the erections they have are only reflexes". Oh? If a baby boy has an erection after getting rubbed by his mother's womb wall, how does that differ from an adult erection? And how do the results of continuous rubbing differ, either? Why couldn't he have an orgasm if he can have a hard-on? :)

Child's mental health suffers after having sex with an adult? Why would that happen? A child can get mentally hurt only after going to brainwash therapy, not after enjoying sex with a loving pedophile. The child could also get scared because of his/her parents' reactions; "-Oh my god, did you say he touched you under your panties? Now we're going to take you to the psychiatrist immediately! -But mom, he didn't hurt... -Don't speak, just get in the car and try not to think about it!" She feels that she's done something real bad according to her parents' behavior. If they just got to know the pedophile, see he's a good person and let the child and the pedo be with each other, everything would be OK. She would be with him most of her free time and not possibly get raped by somebody who really hurts children and therefore is not a real pedophile. Sex itself doesn't cause mental damage, instead therapy, parent's reactions, getting a feeling of

guilt after seeing the society consider children's sexuality bad and maybe seeing a loving pedophile getting locked up in prison, these do cause damage.

After now reading how pedophiles love children and don't want to hurt them, you might be asking, "Who are those people who've raped, killed and cut children into pieces, then?" One thing is absolutely sure: they're not pedophiles. To me they aren't, anyway. In my eyes love simply has nothing to do with violence ... and therefore a person who loves children can't possibly intentionally violate them. It's possible, though, that they are pedosexuals, only sexually desiring children, but it's not guaranteed they have any feelings towards children at all. They're probably non-pedosexual rapists who just think it's easier to rape a child since she can't resist as much as an adult. They don't love children, they just want to fuck and to dominate and they don't really care whom or how. The best way to prevent them from doing this is to let the children be with real pedophiles who take care of them, this way they won't be available to those who hurt them.

If you don't love children yourself, let us love them, it'll be better for us all.

Let the children love and be loved![5]

5.3 Paedophile Exculpation and Legitimation

"An apology is a gesture through which an individual splits himself into two parts, the part that is guilty of an offence and the part that disassociates himself from the delict and affirms a belief in the offended rule".[6]

The following discussion concentrates on the wide variety of paedophile arguments which fall within the categories of exculpation and legitimation. To the extent that these two processes are mutually exclusive, exculpation may be defined as the act of absolving oneself of responsibility for wrongful behaviour and its repercussions, whereas legitimation involves the argument that the act was not 'wrong' (illegitimate) in the first place. These arguments differ in their context – some are about the minute details of adult-child sexual relationships, others are broader socio-philosophical treatises – but they all indicate an adherence to the belief that personal responsibility is to be abjured and that the putative harm caused by sexual offending against children is the cause of misattributions, external forces and flawed social knowledge and not by the combination of paedophile sexual desire, grooming

strategies and a model of responsibility which is viewed as socially derelict by the standards of dominant ideologies.

Within legal and moral frameworks, the belief that individuals are not unduly effected or influenced by factors beyond their control while behaving immorally is implicit in the pronouncement of judgement upon them.[7] By offering explanations for criminal or immoral behaviour, which attribute its cause to some outside force, individuals minimise and mitigate their own culpability for it and, in so doing, present themselves as unfortunate victims of circumstance. This method of projecting blame for deviant behaviour on to some uncontrollable external or internal agency is a strategy for remoting self-responsibility of which paedophiles regularly avail.

Early exposure to adult sexuality – whether physically abusive or not - has a traumatic effect upon children in most cases.[8] Paedophiles do not accept this and therefore do not accept their own culpability for it. Most paedophile offenders choose to disavow their actions and the repercussions as this allows them to maintain positive self-identity and self-esteem.

This is an exculpatory mentality which leaves paedophiles with a poorly formed idea of contrition and without sufficient motivation to amend their behaviour. It also means that paedophiles do not empower themselves to make choices. The decision to pursue (1) self-control/abstinence over (2) 'self-realisation as a paedophile' is too difficult without moral and social support and encouragement. By maintaining the belief that paedophilia is 'natural', immutable and irreversible, as the above writer does, the argument is being made that paedophiles are not endowed with the facility to modify their behaviour and that the only aberrant thing a paedophile can do is to deny his 'true nature'. This is also a comforting belief – it precludes the possibility of change, and therefore the necessity of considering or enforcing it.

These paedophile beliefs/arguments are presented in the form of concise statements. Each argument is substantiated and critiqued in the passage which follows it. These are not quotes attributed to individual paedophiles, but have been distilled from various sources of paedophile writing.

5.4 The Putative Absence of Power in Paedophile Relationships

The following arguments are proffered by paedophiles to undermine the received notion that the adult partner in adult/child sexual relationships is necessarily predatory, manipulative and exploitative. The accusations that the imbalance of power within such relationships invests the adult partner

with undue control over the child are dealt with by denying that paedophiles have any interest in control over children. Paedophiles argue that they are not manipulative or predatory: they are simply receptive to the 'natural' and unsolicited needs and desires of children.

5.4.1 "Sex between paedophiles and children is unplanned, uncoerced and spontaneous."

In 'The Radical Case', Tom O'Carroll describes his first sexual encounter with a child. The boy to whom O'Carroll refers in the following passage is an 11-year-old student whose parents entrusted him to O'Carroll for tutoring:

> "Neither of us made the first move or gave any signal – it happened spontaneously, even unexpectedly. Its perhaps worth mentioning that in sexual relationships I have since had with other boys, the same thing has often happened : as though there is some unspoken need in them that subconsciously reaches out and connects with my need. The whole question of who seduces whom is largely irrelevant in many paedophile relationships".[9]

It is a quality of paedophile testimony that sexual encounters are always described as spontaneous and unpremeditated. This allows the perpetrators to think of adult-child sexual encounters as mutual, romantic and non-predatory. Most paedophile accounts do not entertain the possibility that the child may have been prepared or prompted to act as s/he is described as doing. By this ellipsis, paedophiles attest that there is no such thing as a 'grooming' period wherein the child's apprehensions about physical intimacy are gradually eroded. O'Carroll argues that children are capable of behaving in a sexually aggressive manner under the 'right' conditions, for example; when the fear of social sanctions are removed and they are allowed to act in a 'natural' way. This kind of thinking does not allow for a consideration of whether provoking and participating in sexual activity with a child is an abuse of parental trust or an abnegation of adult responsibility.

For a paedophile, the cultivation of a relationship with a child is a process of removing inhibitions by means of a discrete movement towards physical intimacy. O'Carroll's claim that he and the child spontaneously moved towards physical intimacy, without coercion, is a typical 'cognitive distortion', in its insistence that no such planning or manipulation took place prior to the abuse.

Beckett writes that:

> "Offenders may begin the abusive process by, for example, sexualising conversations with the child, or by inappropriate touching at bath or bedtime... The offender may attempt to describe these events as unconnected to the abuse" .[10]

Pithers describes the 'grooming' procedure as one which appears to the paedophile as being a series of AIDs (Apparently Irrelevant Decisions).[11] O'Carroll's claim that his encounter with the boy was unplanned and unprompted is an attempt to dissuade himself that he, like other 'true paedophiles', is not predatory, but simply an individual who is receptive to the sexual longing which he believes is exhibited by children. This belief is supported by an aversion to critically examining his own behaviour with children and how it differs from the behaviour of other adults who are not sexually attracted to them.

This is also evident in the following excerpt from an account posted by an individual named 'Oliver'. Here he describes the beginning of physical intimacy with his eight-year-old cousin, who is referred to as '8':

> "During parts of the show, he'd snuggle up, give me a hug, or say that I was "fun" to be with. I was in a trance. I'd only known this kid for 6 hours and we're already best friends. I was wondering if I was "moving too fast." But I wasn't moving at all. 8 did all of the initiating, affection, and horse play. I just participated. He was so starved for affection anyway, how could I push him away?".[12]

Logic of this kind surfaces throughout paedophiles' discussion of their own actions. It is evidence of their conviction that their actions are not directed at eliciting physical intimacy from children nor encouraging them to submit to their desires.

In the following excerpt, Tom O'Carroll relates his experiences with prepubescent boys while teaching at a boarding school:

> "At other times, boys of no more than nine or ten have flaunted erect little penises at me in the changing rooms, introduced the subject of masturbation into the conversation, asked questions about homosexuality, requested me to take photographs of then urinating, and invited me to inspect 'operation' scars in private places – in all cases with a positive disinclination on my part to introduce what I thought for them might be a distasteful or frightening subject. Such incidents might

happen to any adult who likes children enough to spend a lot of time in their company and who is able to gain their confidence".[13]

This promise that "such incidents" might happen to other adults who gain the confidence of children ignores the nature of O'Carroll's motivation for gaining the children's confidence. O'Carroll is not only excusing himself from charges of wrongdoing, immoral or irresponsible behaviour, but is implying that the child-victims are complicit in the acts and are expressing an interest in, and a comfort with, sexual relations with an adult.

Such arguments are also designed to undermine the idea that paedophile relationships are governed by an imbalance of power. Paedophiles deny that they possess unfair advantages of authority, experience and knowledge over children and use coercive and manipulative tactics to control them in the context of an illicit sexual relationship.

It is claimed that:

> "The boylove relationship is void of the demeaning power relationships which are customarily part of adult/child relationships".[14]

And furthermore that:

> "There's no hint of power in child sexuality. Or, at least, power relationships are not so clearly defined as supposed. Either partner can become the dominant one, but more often than not, there is no dominant one – anymore than there is in all aspects of child socialisation – at school, at play".[15]

By arguing that power is absent from adult/child sexual relationships, paedophiles attempt to convince of the idyllic and consensual nature of such encounters. The insistence on mutuality, balance and consensus is a direct attack on the anti-paedophile orthodoxy's idea of the child's victimhood : if a child is given full control of the relationship then the paedophile cannot be guilty of co-ercion or manipulation. This disguises the fact that paedophile empowerment only occurs after the adult partner has provided a sexualised context in which the relationship may develop.

5.4.2 "Children are sexually attracted to adults"

The most expedient way to justify adult-child sexual relations is to declare that children need and want physical attention from adults and possess

sufficient sexual maturity. By extension, this implies that adults who deny children the right to sexual fulfilment are unduly oppressing them and infringing upon their civil rights. The research and theories of Malinowski, Sandfort and Brongersma are frequently cited by paedophiles to corroborate their views on the sexual development of children.[16] The use of scientific truth by paedophiles is selective and self-serving. For example, the abundance of academic literature which supports the idea that early sexualisation has a traumatic effect on children is absent from paedophile discussion of the subject or is declared *en masse* to be an instrument of ideological oppression. As with a lot of paedophile arguments, this is a reaction to one of the criticisms frequently levelled at them: that they predate upon children who are inveigled into sexual activity without knowing what it entails. By asserting that children know and understand what sexual activity involves and, furthermore, that they can enjoy and initiate the behaviour, paedophiles undermine the basis of their delegitimation. Paedophiles argue that children's reluctance to engage in sexual intimacy is a corollary of oppressive attitudes to sex:

> "This ... (negative view of paedophiles) ... which is obviously completely uninformed, is derived in our view from the anxiety of parents (who after all compose the bulk of voters in Western democracies) at losing their power over children".[17]

This implies that:

1) Only prevailing repressive attitudes to child sexuality, as exemplified by the very existence of age of consent laws, are preventing widescale child sexual activity and;

2) Paedophilia is simply an expression of a liberal and unrepressed attitude towards the reality of children's sexual curiousity.

Believing these to be true allows paedophiles to accept their desires as normal and valuable, and to feel a righteousness in their crusade for the acknowledgement of paedophilia as a legitimate orientation.

5.5 Naturalising Paedophilia

Paedophiles propose that paedophilia has an unchanging biological reality which is ineradicable; historically part of human relations and; no more immoral than any other idiosyncracies manifest in human behaviour. The

claim that the disorder is an immutable 'fact of life', implies that it should be accommodated within dominant ethical culture. It also convinces paedophiles that there is no need for them to modify or address their behaviour and desires.

5.5.1 "Paedophilia is a 'natural' orientation with no aetiology"

> "*Many people think: sick man He goes to children, because he cannot succeed with women, and children are easier to deal with. He should go to the doctor and cure himself.*
>
> Pardon me, dear reader, but our love cannot be cured. In most cases, our attraction to boys is a feature we are born with. Apparently, Nature created us this way. While 5% of male population are homosexuals, and the number of people sharing our feelings is unknown, these people certainly exist".[18]

Arguing that paedophilia is not a psychological affliction which can be explained by some accident of socialisation undermines the orthodox thesis that paedophilia is a behavioural sickness, deviancy or abnormality. Convention dictates that, within the wide spectrum of human behaviours, only anomalies need to be explained or have their aetiology enquired into. Behaviour which is considered natural and normal does not need an explanation – it justifies itself. In the case of paedophilia, attempts have been made to explain it as resulting from: flaws in the human limbic system[19]; victim-perpetrator cycles of behaviour[20] and; formative erotic fixation on other children. The paedophile's desire to consider himself and have himself considered 'normal' forces him to reject explanations of this sort as they imply that his desires are the product of a dysfunctional biological or social development.

O'Carroll cites the following example:

> "I myself was loved by a man when he was 26 and I was 13. Having read that, many critics would immediately carp 'Aha – he learned to be a pederast by the example of this older man'. Nothing could be further from the truth for I can remember looking lasciviously at an age-mates rear when I was a mere five years old: and I got caught looking at the other "parts" of a different age-mate, in a different city, when I was 8. What I did learn from this man, however, was that sex was fun and an emotional attachment made it all even better. I believe that he taught me, at least in my beginning stages, how to love another person. I was a pederast long before I met him".[21]

It is argued by paedophiles that their sexual interest in children is not a product of socialisation. They understand paedophilia as something which has always been part of their identity and personality. The extension of most essentialist arguments of this nature is usually to conclude that the behaviour (paedophilia, in this case) is a genetic trait. Although this offers the paedophile a means to eschew liability and responsibility for his actions, it merely records paedophilia as a genetic anomaly as opposed to a social one. However, the essentialist argument has some attractions for paedophile advocates in that it has a history of success in aiding the legitimation of minority sexualities. Hilary Rose writes about the use of biological and essentialist arguments in the struggle to legitimate homosexuality:

> "The (gay genes) claims... resurrect the essentialist thesis advanced by politically engaged gay men and argued intermittently since the mid-nineteenth century to secure political and cultural space for homosexuality. (This argument aims) to ground the claim for civil rights within the body".[22]

Political culture is not ready to accept an argument from paedophiles which allows them to profess themselves innocent of wrongdoing on the basis that they are not accountable for behaviour resulting from their *ab ovo* nature.
The best means for them to maintain that paedophilia is 'natural' is to use vague elliptical terms to describe the category of 'the natural' or to avoid addressing the issue. This results in the implicit construction of the category of 'natural' as something devoid of a physical, biological or social reality. This is a strategy of mystification. This means of constructing the disorder allows them to fulfil most of the requirements made of a counter-ideology: which are that it should propose itself as a hidden and oppressed truth without leaving the means for the weaknesses of its own 'truth' to be exposed.
Paedophiles also seek to validate the disorder by pointing out analogous behaviour in other species :

> "It's also known to be quite usual amongst chimpanzees and other bigger apes for the young ones to have sex though they can't get pregnant yet".[23]

There is an implicit assumption that primates have the same behavioural impulses and genetic components as humans. It is argued that the behaviour

of primates is indicative of the desires of humans and that such behaviour is absent from human culture only because of the moral sanctions against instinctive and impulsive sexual behaviour: that only repression prevents paedophilia from becoming rampant. Similarly, Malinowski's largely discredited anthropological work with 'primitive tribes' is an urtext for paedophile advocates because it relates the relaxed attitude which prevailed amongst African tribes towards the sexual behaviour of children.[24]

In representing their disorder in this way, paedophiles portray it as part of natural human history, as a biological reality and argue that its delegitimation is based solely on the putatively repressive attitude to sex which has been concomitant with the rise of civilisation. The crusade in favour of paedophilia is fuelled by the belief that a redress of this repression is imminent.

5.5.2 "Paedophilia is a sexual orientation, not a disorder"

Paedophile advocates position themselves as the oppressed party within the wider debate over the politics of sexuality. One result of this belief is the contempt for adult heterosexuality, the oppressive norm, which is often expressed within paedophile tracts. Adult heterosexuals are referred to as 'breeders': a term which implies that 'normal' sex is a functional, procreational pursuit devoid of pleasure or any understanding of the appeal of 'true' eroticism. It seems important for paedophiles to describe their sexuality in aesthetic terms, as playful and beautiful, as a means of projecting the counterpoint of a joyless reproductivity within the sex lives of the general population. This argument has parallels with the Foucauldian poststructuralist critique of the advent of sexual Puritanism:

> "A single locus of sexuality was acknowledged in social space as well as at the heart of every household, but it was a utilitarian and fertile one: the parent's bedroom."[25]

To argue that paedophilia is no different to heterosexuality is to attempt to convince that the demonisation of paedophiles is based upon a philistinism which is part of the make-up of oppressive attitudes to sexuality. Paedophilia is presented as a valid sexual interest in children and an orientation as morally sound as any other. Paedophiles contend that objections to them are simply an expression of outdated moral conservatism within the culture and

the result of oppressive socialisation with regards to sexual attitudes and individual liberties.

The term 'disorder' is attacked by paedophiles on the basis that it is a static, ideologically loaded and oppressive term which serves to categorise all non-normative behaviour as deviant and in need of correction. Paedophilia is categorised as a 'disorder' because it deviates statistically from normal sexual behaviour and because its beliefs and ethics are not consistent with social consensus on appropriate conduct with children. Widespread use of 'orientation' as a descriptive term for paedophilia can only occur when the moral precepts against which it offends become unimportant to the anti-paedophile orthodoxy. The paedophile attempt to positively reconstruct paedophilia is no different to the categorisation imposed upon them. Their efforts are simply directed at fixing the meaning of the term in a more approving fashion.

The kind of categorisation evident in the formulation of the idea of a 'True Paedophile', is a trait which paedophiles repeatedly attack when employed by the medico-legal orthodoxy. Tom O'Carroll writes that:

> "For a variety of good reasons, many sexual radicals completely reject medically derived means of categorisation which, since Krafft-Ebing's day have built up a picture of the 'homosexual' and the 'paedophile' as clinical entities: in so far as the raison d'etre of the medical descriptions is to oppress sexual minorities (to say nothing of the crude distortion of reality that simple labels impose upon complex subject matter) I agree they are to be rejected".[26]

This avoids the evident point that the argument for paedophilia is simply a matter of counter-categorisation: an attempt to wrest the right for – and power over - classification, of paedophiles and everything else, from the sanctioned auspices of medicine, law and the surrounding ethical culture. The fact that paedophile writers employ the same strategies as those whom they view to be oppressing them is not discussed. The language of oppression, when argued into existence by the self-proclaimed oppressed, is described as if one-directional. This is forgetful of the fact that all ideologies employ the same linguistic strategies when seeking legitimation.

5.6 Ethical Paedophilia

Counter-ideologies have many functions. One such function is the rehabilitation of the public perception of the group's moral nature.

Paedophiles, through a process of increasing public vilification, have been presented as monstrous and sexually predatory. Orthodox perceptions of paedophilia do not allow for them to possess any sense of morality: being inhuman, they are deemed not to share any of the 'enriching qualities' of human nature. In particular, paedophiles are regarded as having no morality, no sense of contrition and no sense of personal or social responsibility. Paedophile ideology attempts to address these claims through the construction of an 'ethical paedophilia' which illustrates concerns for child welfare and a class of personal responsibility. The following charter of 'boy-love' ethics is an explicit attempt to achieve this positive reconstruction:

- A boylover should do everything possible to protect his young friend from any harm, including exposure or embarrassment from arrest. This could mean abstaining from fully consensual sexual relations if such is illegal in the state or country where the boylover lives.

- A boylover should protect his own reputation, so that his young friends will not be hurt or suffer as a result of association with him.

- A boylover must be truthful and honest, and never lie to his young friends.

- A boylover should not seek intimate contact with a boy, without knowing and understanding the boy's interests and feelings.

- Intimacy with a boy should never develop into a sexual relationship without the boy fully consenting and understanding the social, legal, and health implications of the relationship.

- Boys should not be treated as sexual objects to be enjoyed at the whim of a boylover.

- A boylover must respect the role and authority of a boy's parents and not seek to undermine that role.

- A boylover should not provide his young friends with alcohol or drugs, and certainly will never use drugs to weaken a boy's sexual inhibitions, or "to get him into the mood" for sexual intimacy.

- A boylover has the responsibility of encouraging and helping a boy to develop his normal heterosexual tendencies, unless the boy confirms that he has an innate homosexual orientation.

- A boylover should guide and encourage his young friends to stay in school, avoid crime, and do all he can do to help them to develop a successful career.

- A boylover should not "cruise" to pick up strange boys for sexual encounters, because that encourages boys to "hustle" or prostitute themselves.[27]

'Ethical' paedophile ideology also reconstructs the disorder positively by establishing a hierarchy of paedophile types and by creating a new lexicon of terms which cast an approving light on the disorder. For example, the term 'paedophile' is rarely used by paedophiles to describe themselves. 'Boy-lover', 'child-lover', 'paidarest' and 'pedosexuals' are more common as they do not carry the same negative connotations as 'paedophile'. This is also the case in the formulation of the 'True Paedophile', which is the metonym of the disorder which paedophiles project.

5.6.1 'The True Paedophile'

"True pedophiles never hurt children or do anything without their consent, we love them too much to do anything against their will. Besides, if we're talking about sex, it's not the only thing we want to have with children (besides, sex is not only about penetration and the intercourse itself..not to me and to the pedos I've talk about it with, anyway), it's only one part, though a very important one, of a loving relationship."[28]

"Children are killed by child molesters, not by boylovers".[29]

The popular image of them as sexually predatory and manipulative is the greatest obstacle for paedophiles to surmount in their efforts to project a positive self-image. There are a number of strategies employed to undermine this characterisation. Mostly they involve offering a more beneficent picture of 'child-loving' and of what it entails. In effect, this is the process of rehumanising paedophilia. The use of the words 'true' and 'real' in these self-definitions are part of this process of reconstruction. Paedophiles cannot dismiss or deny the fact of child molestation, incestuous abuse or child rape and so instead resort to the creation of an hierarchy of paedophile-types: those who molest and abuse (child molesters); and those who love children and engage only in consensual sex, if sexually active at all ('true paedophiles', 'boy-lovers', 'girl-lovers' or 'child-lovers'). This redefinition attempts to shift the focus of the debate over the validity of adult-child sexual relations:

paedophile advocates claim not to be defending the perpetrators of abuse, molestation or rape but rather the other, 'true' paedophiles who abstain from such acts. The true paedophile, it is argued, is never guilty of manipulation or the forcible rape of a child but, instead, is only interested in the welfare, both social and sexual, of their child-partner. The issues of the balance of power within such a relationship, or of the adult's many advantages in directing it, is generally not treated.

Paedophile writers are skilled at making strategic use of silence and ellipsis when discussing those areas where the argument for paedophilia is weak. If a position cannot be defended then it is not expressed in the first place.

5.6.2 "Sex is not the central element of paedophile relationships"

The romanticism with which paedophiles dress their sexuality is indicative of a desire to reconstruct themselves as misunderstood, tragic lovers as opposed to sexual predators. Paedophiles argue that they form relationships with children easily because of a strong emotional congruence with them. This is proposed as proof of their profound concern for the child's development and well-being as opposed to a psychological trait which they develop and cultivate, whether consciously or otherwise, in order to be able to understand and manipulate children.

The implication is that the emotional, nurturing facet of the 'romantic relationship' is its foundation and that physical intimacies only follow when the child-partner expresses comfort with it. In this way paedophiles can portray themselves as having a primarily platonic and pedagogical relationship with the child which segues 'spontaneously' into a sexual one only when the child instigates it or indicates a willingness to do so.

> "Boylovers seek sex only as an enhancement to the bond that is (already) formed".[30]

Contrary to the prevailing opinion that the imbalance of experience in such relationships invests the adult partner negatively with power and control over the child, an adjunct of this belief is that paedophiles are the best partners for children to have, either platonically or sexually. The objection to paedophilia on the grounds that adults are too socially and emotionally mature to be children's sexual partners is reversed by paedophiles and turned into a positive attribute.

> "Children start forming relationships with each other at about the age of 12, and so a boylover's relationship cannot be condemned ... A boylover can, in fact, offer more stability, support and helpful advice than a child/child relationship".[31]

This is part of a broader legitimatory argument which seeks to position paedophiles as the only party truly interested in children's welfare.

5.6.3 "Paedophiles, more than other adults, love children"

Paedophiles attempt to redeem themselves by portraying their interest in children as based in concern about children's well-being. In particular, they express concern about the prohibition on children from engaging in sexual activity. Paedophile rights are presented as children's rights. To substantiate their concern, paedophiles portray the treatment of children by non-paedophiles as insensitive, callous and hypocritical. It is maintained that:

> "The vast majority of people – with the notable exception of paedophiles – regard other people's children as a nuisance".[32]

and that...

> "The average citizen will shoot at children who trespass or steal from him, will vote to take welfare from teenage mothers".[33]

By contrast, paedophiles regard paedophile relationships as sanctuaries for maltreated and ignored children. Paedophiles project themselves as mentors, lovers and guardians in this idyllic construction of the relationship.

> "In fact, paedophiles care more about the child's happiness than do most adults. Together with paedophiles, children are never ignored or beaten: their opinions are always taken into consideration. Adult/child sexual and emotional relationships are, on the whole, much nearer to the 'ideal' love story than most adult/adult ones; they are hardly ever abusive".[34]

5.7 Paedophilia as a counter-authoritarian movement

In this aspect of the ideology, paedophilia is constructed as a political activism which challenges oppressive political authority through:

1) Attacking outmoded conventions, laws and norms;
2) Championing the rights of the individual; freedom of speech and information.

These measures are sought to effect a change in attitudes and legislation affecting paedophilia. They also serve to conceal the nature of the disorder, and its central interest in adult/child sex, by dressing it as a civil rights initiative.

5.7.1 "Paedophilia is part of the healthy attitude to sex"

The obverse of the argument that the social maintenance of heterosexuality as a norm is oppressive, is that paedophilia and all other minority sexualities are expressions of a more liberal, self-truthful and enlightened attitude to sex. The terms 'healthy' and 'animalistic' often become twinned in the expression of these views; as though to argue that the pursuit of pleasure is the only function of sexual activity. In general, this is the contention of paedophile advocates and offenders. A convicted child sex offender, Jeff Poland, describes the attitude to sex which underpinned his abusive behaviour:

> "I believed that sexual pleasure was inherently good, and that some (not all) types of erotic play were age-appropriate for children, such as masturbation, fondling and nudity. If sex were basically good, then sexual learning would begin as soon as the child showed interest". [35]

The mental categorisation of sex as 'inherently good' has the extended argument that repression of it is 'inherently bad'. This is the most convenient way for a paedophile to justify his behaviour to himself. This construction of sex as an incontrovertible good is an *a priori* truth for many paedophiles and explains their dependence on sexual stimulation as a means of dealing with anxiety. It also leads to other beliefs concerning the sexuality of others – children in particular.

These social norms, as portrayed by paedophiles, are the expression of a moribund system of ethics which Christian conservatism maintains and enforces. Paedophiles argue that it is sexual repression and not abuse which causes the most damage to children. Sexual repression is regarded by paedophiles as the product of orthodox Christian and conservative moral reasoning which opposes pleasure.

> "Obviously it is part of Christian culture to imply that if something feels good then automatically it must be bad. But if we could free ourselves from the special taboo

linked to sex, then things could be normal again, and we could judge with more
equanimity what to do in each case".[36]

The belief that their attitude to sex is healthy allows paedophiles to engage in
a parody of children's rights by arguing that the criminalisation of child sex is
not only unfair on paedophiles but has deleterious effects on the mental well-
being of children.

"The discrepancy between the desire a child may experience and the restrictions
placed upon these desires by society harms the nature and healthy development
of his/her own sexuality".[37]

Focussing the arguments about the legitimacy of paedophilia is also a means
of distracting attention from the main reasons for the objection to
paedophilia. As Kitzinger writes:

"Dichotomising attitudes into the anti-sex and pro-sex type ignores issues around
the social construction of 'consent', 'desire' and' compulsory heterosexuality".[38]

This kind of reasoning is part of the politicisation of the disorder which
constructs it as a cogent expression of liberal individualism.

5.7.2 "Paedophilia is politically subversive liberalism"

Much of the paedophile advocacy material on the World Wide Web invites
paedophiles to engage in political activism. For example the principle
objectives of MIRSO, a political pro-paedophile organisation, are to:

- Form a vehicle that allows any member to be an activist, whether that
  involves taking part in a non-governmental lobby, marching in a parade,
  speaking in public, organising and taking part in local support/ activist groups or
  just putting down in words things that they feel;
- Educate the public as to the truth;
- Work to change outmoded, impractical and archaic laws;
- Help to educate people, and protect children from actual abuse in all forms;
- A desire to empower and love ourselves and those we were created to love
  and care about, towards strong and vibrant community and resistance in these
  times of increasing horror.[39]

Paedophile activism is reactionary and its objectives are dictated by the needs of paedophiles to achieve formal legitimation and decriminalisation. Paedophiles' alignment with these libertarian issues is more expedient, however.

By aligning themselves with other lobby groups and interests, paedophiles manage to create a network of non-paedophiles who support parts of their ideology. Paedophiles are one of a number of disparate groups of non-conservatives united by Free Speech, Age of Consent and Freedom of Information issues.[40] The North American Man-Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) also aligns itself with gay rights activists, as though to make the debate about paedophilia indistinct from the civil rights concerns of homosexuals. One of the ambitions of paedophilia's affiliation with 'issue politics' and multiple interest groups is to cause confusion about the exact nature of paedophilia.

Paedophiles can thus regard themselves – and be regarded in turn – as being involved in a movement against outmoded conservatism. This obscures the motivation for seeking a change in age of consent laws in the first instance : the facilitation and decriminalisation of their sexual interest in children.

The following document was posted to the BoyChat message board. It consists of a discussion on the Age of Consent issue between a paedophile and a non-paedophile. It is a good example of the differences between anti-paedophile values and agitants for paedophile legitimacy and of how they are manifested. The dependence on supposed 'known facts' to corroborate paedophile views is instructive.

Note: 'BL' denotes 'boy-lover'.

> "I have been discussing age of consent issues with a non-BL on a non-BL related message board. The discussion is reconstructed here, with my comments on a white background, and his on grey. This individual, not surprisingly, presents arguments typical of cement-headed straight clowns (to borrow a term), and all of my counter-arguments (which, you will note, he has elegantly bypassed) have not deterred him from his close-minded worldview by one bit."

> The legal age of consent here is 16 years, this age is designed to protect children from abuse by adults. No-one is going to lock up two consenting 14 year olds.
> You are never going to stop abuses of power, no matter what you believe. I'm sure that Rodney King didn't deserve to get beaten up by the police either. I agree with you that taking an eleven year old into custody is excessive, but it is an exception rather the rule.

It doesn't alter my opinion that kids require guidance from adults.

Do you really think the AOC laws protect children from abuse? You've probably never come across the known fact that in countries which have a low AOC (say, 12), the rate of CSA is much lower than otherwise.
This is understandable-- when a minor-attracted adult is constantly told by the media that the likes of him are evil abusers, chances are that this person will eventually offend, pertaining to all the stigmas perpetrated against his kind.
However, in an environment which views intergenerational relationships as natural and acceptable, sexual abuse of children will be as unwarranted as it is toward adults.
You seem to believe that a child lacks the ability to consent. What on earth gives you this impression?

Children will consent to anything - what I believe is they don't have the judgement to make an informed decision.
I know also that laws will not stop some people from committing crimes - but there has to be laws or anarchy will prevail.
The examples you state of 12 year olds is in my opinion an example of abuse, probably practised by some Muslim country (no offence anyone) which will not allow women basic human rights let alone children. Surely you don't condone this.

You're mistaken. I was referring to the Netherlands, where the legal AOC of 12 has, in fact, caused the country's CSA rate to sink quite rapidly. You will note that light drugs are also legal in the Netherlands, and the rate of drug abuse is low, as well.
The Netherlands allow their residents a large amount of personal freedom. Most responsible people can make the decision whether to abuse this freedom or not.
This is, in fact, what I condone.
I do not believe that anarchy could currently succeed; mankind is not ripe for it. However, as Voltaire has so well put it, "A great number of laws in a country, just like a great number of doctors, is a sign of malady".

It depends on your perspective I suppose - how can you have a high incidence of an illegal activity if you make it legal? It's like saying the number of incidents of shoplifting has been reduced after you make all stock free.

Bad example. When all stock is made free, shoplifting can, in fact, no longer exist. However, CSA can very well exist even when the AOC is lowered or banished.
I think the facts speak for themselves in that regard.

Ronnie,
I've come to my senses and thought better of arguing with you.
Your opinions are your own and you have a right to them.
Frankly though, I find them quite worrying and a little dangerous to say the least. So I think we should agree to disagree as the old saying goes, and leave it at that.
Feel free to have the last word, I won't be responding.[41]

5.8 Ethical Relativism in Paedophile Legitimation

Counter-intuitively, the admission that adult interest in child sexuality has negative and traumatic consequences for the child is also used as a

legitimatory tactic. Paedophiles contextualise these admissions of harm, though not intent, by contrasting child sexual abuse positively with other 'sanctioned' forms of 'abuse' of children, such as third world child slave labour and religious indoctrination. In order to argue that paedophile abuse of children is not a significant transgression, paedophiles construct a vision of social attitudes to childhood which is bleak, pessimistic and hypocritical. By extension, a paedophile can argue that:

> "Buying a video with a 7-year-old prostitute giving blow-jobs is just as bad as buying a carpet that's been made by little slaves. I mean, it's bad but hey, we're not in a perfect world". [42]

Or that...

> "Children are not co-erced into posing for child pornography more than they are co-erced into sex. If anything, the lower emotional involvement that sex-for-show has over a private sexual relationship makes it easier for a child to do it. Also, the material reward for participation in pornographic films, is usually much welcome by the child". [43]

This also obtains in their view of the value of practical and religious education for children:

> "Sex is no worse than religion. All education is co-ercive". [44]

These arguments try to establish an equivalence between sexual and ideological 'conditioning'. By promoting the belief that formal education is an affront to the natural development of the child, paedophiles can argue that 'practical sexual education' is as legitimate as any other act of guidance. The logic of this argument is that since children already suffer emotionally and ideologically at the hands of adults, sexual misuse will not make much difference.

The adoption of these ethical relativist principles brings forth further arguments which excuse paedophilia on the grounds that paedophiles only do to children what everyone else does : that is to manipulate them and expose them to experiences which they would not naturally seek out for themselves:

> "Is it so wrong to talk a child into having a sexual relationship with you? It's no worse than bringing a child to a religious service, or letting him/her watch violent

movies, or witness the bitter divorce of their parents. It may be a bit weird for the child to learn things s/he is really not prepared to learn. But that's all".[45]

By undermining the whole idea of a hierarchy of moral practices -'Sex is no different (worse) than religion' – the way is paved for paedophiles to open up an explicit attack on the notion of moral authority. Without moral codes against which to gauge the acceptability of certain behaviours, paedophiles are beyond judgement, both their own and society's. The attack on moral absolutism is a means of questioning the purpose of legal and moral authorities.

"Why are paedophiles called sick? It is convenient for moralists to go along their sure path, without having to confront the fact that perfectly sound people, intelligent civil and kind, have a sexual attraction for children... What they call a sick person really has beliefs and values that do not conform to traditional ones ... Admitting this would be admitting that morality is not so absolute after all. They can't afford to tell people that. Because they're wrong. And if you are allowed to look, it shows".[46]

5. 9 The Politicisation of Paedophilia

Paedophile advocates have positioned themselves in a crusade against the oppression of sexual and civil liberties which they impute to various legal, political and medical authorities. This politicisation of sexuality, pleasure and desire portrays deviancy as a form of insurgency against oppressive norms. It is a common strategy amongst paedophile writers and has roots in Foucault's discourse on the subject of the twinned development of civilisation and oppressive sanctions:

"If sex is repressed,..., then the mere fact that one is speaking about it has the appearance of a deliberate transgression. A person who holds forth in such language places himself to a certain extent outside the reach of the power; he upsets established law; he somehow anticipates the coming freedom".[47]

This utopian idea of the 'coming freedom' mobilises paedophile advocacy. It resembles a teleology of sexuality: a faith which holds that if the acolytes (paedophiles) show courage in telling their truth and rebel against those who deny them a voice and a sexual identity then their day will come. A quote on

the BoyChat message-board website, attributed to Mark Twain, attests to the importance of these values amongst paedophiles:

> "We can secure other people's approval, if we do right and try hard; but our own is worth a hundred of it".[48]

A lot of paedophile writing betrays its origins in this type of quasi-religious thought and the attendant belief that by arrogating the right to self-representation - to tell their truth - they are disrupting the silence which has been imposed upon them by the strictures of social Puritanism. The statements of justification can be seen to have an effect on the extent to which paedophiles overcome anxieties about their desires and behaviour. Paedophile writing serves as an affirmation of faith in the probity and righteousness of paedophilia, not only for its writer but for other readers, in that it acts as a catechism for paedophiles who read and emotionally connect with it. An individual naming himself Johnathan Lynn, posting to the BoyChat messageboard, articulates these beliefs:

> "I also ask that you show some solidarity with each other! As a group, we're a pretty unpopular sort, however well-intentioned we may be. We need each other's support in order to effect any social change, and I feel the next few years will be crucial to civil and basic human rights! Don't let those who feel they must impose their own control over even our most sacred possession - our thoughts - have their way through passively acquiescing to their ideas, and hiding in fear! It was once said that "We must all hang together, or we will surely all hang separately." Those words will always ring true, so long as men continue to oppress their fellows over property, attitudes, or ideology!". [49]

Subversive and reactionary ideas which avail of the motifs of manifest destiny and martyrdom, as paedophilia does, are capable of eliciting strong sympathy and allegiance to the cause. Foucault writes of the expression of counter-authoritarian and counter-moral values as involving the following:

> "The affirmation of a sexuality that has never been more rigorously subjugated than during the age of hypocritical, bustling and responsible bourgeouisie ... coupled with the grandiloquence of a discourse purporting to reveal the truth about sex, modify its economy within reality, subvert the law that governs it, and change its future".[50]

5.10 The Romanticisation of Paedophilia

Within paedophile ideology, the establishment of paedophilia as an ethical and political behaviour is complimented by the formulation of the disorder as a form of spiritual and aesthetic worship. One strategy designed to achieve this is the veneration of children as asexual, angelic and natural beings. This construction is evident in much paedophile literature and fiction. The aestheticisation of paedophilia also takes the form of constructing the disorder as a lifestyle or culture, replete with lifestyle artefacts such as art, literature and media products which have particular appeal to paedophiles.[51] The purpose of aestheticising paedophilia in this way is the reconstruction of the disorder as something which is more than sexual and which has a venerable history and a noble purpose. The aestheticising process extends to investing paedophilia with a glorious and romanticised past and the reclamation of putative famous paedophiles from the annals of history with the purpose of lending the disorder some historical validation. It also results in the disorder being invested with the qualities of spiritual worship.

5.10.1 Paedophile Notions of Romantic Love

"Love don't ask about age or sex or family. it just happens.[52]"

Lindholm's analysis of the structure of romantic love defines it as a feeling of transcendence which has three manifestations[53]. In the case of 'structured disharmonic societies', which is the prevalent paedophile conceptualisation of existing social order, romantic love is viewed as something which does not belong within formal social relations and which is subsumed by arranged marriages so as to preserve existing social arrangements and economic structures. Romantic love is viewed as a threat to the social order. This is also the narrative of forbidden and tragic romance with which paedophiles construct their own relationships. They deem their love to be doubly tragic : it is wrongly forbidden and it is of a higher order of love than that which is sanctioned. The paedophile invocation of love has a number of attributes. It involves;

- An idealisation of the child as the object of desire;
- Viewing love as a transcendent, mysterious and uncontrollable force;
- Constructing love as a means of achieving liberation from oppressive social relations.

It also serves a number of functions in the legitimation of the disorder by asserting that:

- Sexual relations with the child are simply a manifestation of love;
- 'True' love has sex as its corollary;
- Ideal creatures such as children deserve adoration.

Through the attribution of overwhelming and transcendent powers to the concept of love, paedophiles exonerate themselves from responsibility for their actions on the grounds of helplessness. Their behaviour is based on an adoration of the child and that they cannot but defer to these feelings. This conception of love also gives it the characteristics of inscrutable logic: 'Love' is invoked to mysticise and mythicise the paedophile relationship and to insist to non-paedophiles that they cannot understand what transpires in sexual relationships between an adult and a child. The conceptualisation of the paedophile relationship as a loving one implies that it is formed by a transcendent force and cannot be sundered. This disguises the social and situational development of the relationship in the sexual longing of the paedophile and the authority over children invested in him as an adult. 'Love' is also used as a term to conventionalise these relationships. As it is a term which enjoys common understanding and sympathy, its use by paedophiles implies that the bond in an adult/child sexual relationship is the same as that between one adult and another in a sanctioned, romantic union.

In that it connotes mutuality, tolerance and respect, the use of 'love' as a description for the attitude which an adult bears for a child in a paedophile relationship is a legitimatory strategy: it undermines the exploitation thesis of the anti-paedophile orthodoxy and implicitly excludes mention of sexual desire from a definition of paedophilia. However, the paedophile construction of the 'love' they bear for children is more varied and has more functions than that. Its chief qualities are:

- Transcendence: Love is a preternatural, god-inspired force, which is beyond understanding and therefore defies explanation;
- Selflessness: Paedophiles characterise themselves as altruistic and non-manipulative and considerate of their child-partners to the point of submissiveness when in love:

> "It is love when the well-being of the other is more important than my own.[54]"

- Redemptive: Loving the child who is being victimised offers the paedophile redemption. Paedophiles who profess their love for their victim can assuage any feelings of guilt they may experience by protesting that their behaviour was inspired by their adoration of the child.

Another feature of the emotions expressed in romantic paedophile writing is its degree of emotional-investment in the child as an object of desire. Dunaigre writes about this particular cognitive arrangement in paedophile mentality:

> "Thus, in his imagination, a child will be aggrandised, idealised and invested with magical power. it must be clearly understood that this is an intimate, internal scenario built up unconsciously by the adult. He will then project this scenario onto a child form the 'outside' i.e. onto a flesh and blood child, whom he will ask to perform acts of a sexual nature".[55]

'Love' is a term used with great regularity by paedophiles. Tom O'Carroll writes that in his two years as a school teacher he met at least 30 boys whom he loved, or fell in love with.[56] Research on attachment styles suggests that this degree of emotional investment is characteristic of a narcissistic insecure personality type which has a tendency to over-use 'love' as a means of defining the strength of personal relationships, and of assuaging fears and concerns about low self-worth.[57] This is consistent with clinical evaluations of paedophile behaviour.

5.11 Historical Validation

> "Today, once more, *the love that dare not speak its name*' is despised and rejected, as if the sexual mores of Classical Greece, medieval Japan or Islamic civilisation could be adequately comprehended under a heading such as child abuse".[58]

As part of the process of creating a celebratory paedophile lifestyle and sub-culture, romantic histories of the disorder are established and circulated. Socratic Greece and its practice of mentorship and pedagogy appeals particularly to paedophiles as an historical construct with which to make

comparable analogies to their own practices. This is an attempt to invest contemporary paedophilia with a nobility and an august heritage. It validates and celebrates the disorder by establishing a pantheon of historically celebrated 'paedophile civilisations' and individuals. The website, Famous British Paedophiles reclaims a number of eminent men from the annals of history as though to lend the disorder some dignity by association.[59] History is also plundered to argue that the embargo on adult/child sexual relations is a social and moral construct. Victorian marriage statutes which allowed for marriage at the age of 12 are cited as proof that opposition to paedophilia is only a modern innovation and is a part of the contemporary process of scapegoating the disorder.

5.12 Chapter Summary

The beliefs which paedophiles hold about the nature of their disorder, child sexuality and the structure of social relations, allow them to offend whilst maintaining a sense of self-esteem. Arguments in favour of paedophilia are put forward by paedophiles in order to

1) Deny that any harm takes place in adult-child sexual relations; or

2) Accept that while harm is caused, it is not caused by the paedophile.

In both instances the objective is to exonerate paedophilia and to establish it as a valid and ethically sound practice. To achieve this, paedophilia is portrayed variously as:

- An orientation based in biological reality and therefore natural and ineradicable;

- A sexual desire which has no interest in issues of power or domination over children;

- An expression of concern for children's social, economic and sexual well-being;

- A political movement designed to challenge oppressive and outmoded dictats;

- A sexual orientation and practice which is no worse than other forms of abuse visited upon children;

- A romantic disposition to children based upon transcendent love.

On a social level, these beliefs mobilise paedophile ideology towards the objective of social assimilation. On an individual level, they are beliefs which

allow paedophiles to justify their sexual desires, fantasies and behaviour to themselves.

The Representation and Delegitimation of Paedophilia

Chapter Six: The Representation and Delegitimation of Paedophilia

"Paedophilia has replaced witchcraft and communism in popular demonology."[1]

"While it is easy to understand the fear for children and sense of social anxiety that fuels such images, ultimately they are not helpful. Not only do they help to incite unacceptable vigilante behaviour (but) it impoverishes our understanding of the nature of the problem and responses to it."[2]

6.1 Introduction

Press coverage of paedophile-related incidents and cases is presented in this Chapter to examine some of the motifs, framing devices and narratives employed in popular representations and understandings of the disorder. This allows for an examination of the differences between (a) the understanding and social knowledge of paedophilia which is circulated through news organisations and (b) the statistical evidence of paedophile behaviour as presented in Chapter Three. What these differences imply about the nature of the social objection to paedophilia is examined. The basis for paedophiles' claims that they are misrepresented and demonised is also examined. The Chapter also examines if the 'social knowledge' of paedophilia present in press treatments is helpful in countering the problem of paedophilia.

6.2 The Representation of Paedophilia in the Press

News reporting is a process which discursively enacts certain worldviews.[3] It is a selective and ideological discourse which is empowered by the milieu of realism in which it is based.[4] The ideological process of news reporting is made manifest in:

- The selection of which events are newsworthy;
- The linguistic strategies employed in the representation of these events.

This is not to make the claim that news reporting is explicitly biased or distorts the reality of the events which it portrays: ideology permeates news representation through the categories, narratives, transformations and metaphors with which it frames newsworthy events, as well as the choice of

the event to be covered. This analysis is not a formal, empirical treatment of press output relating to paedophilia, but an attempt to outline the main tenets of the ideology at work in the press representation of the disorder. This is based on the principle that:

"Analysis of output can reveal abstract propositions which are not necessarily stated, and are usually unquestioned, and which dominate the structure of presentation."[5]

These 'abstract propositions', which are the expressions of ideological frameworks, are examined in this Chapter on the level of (1) the selection of contexts in which paedophilia is represented and (2) the language used in that representation. Through their articulation and accepted use, the ideas which inform the representation of paedophilia in press cases are part of general social knowledge about the disorder and form part of the rhetoric of delegitimation. As such, they form part of the accepted reality of the social problem of paedophilia.

The following is an exposition of the critical terms with which selective press coverage of paedophilia is examined.

6.2.1 Selectivity

The newsworthiness of an event is dependent upon the event possessing certain characteristics. Galtung and Ruge's criterial selection model proposes the following as some the main requirements for an event to be considered worthy of coverage[6]:

- Frequency;
- Unambiguity;
- Cultural Proximity;
- Consonance;
- Demand;
- Unexpectedness;
- Scarcity;
- Continuity;
- Reference to Elite Nation/Person/Something negative.

'Consonance' is a particularly relevant criteria. It suggests that events which conform to cultural expectation and stereotype are more likely to be represented than those which undermine or contest the stereotype. It also

suggests that cultural assumptions are projected onto the event in order to frame it in a manner which is consistent with prevailing values. In this way, news organisations can be said to implicitly construct the value systems of their audience and portray issues and events which validate those values. The ideologies thus disseminated are not imposed by the news producers, but belong to the dialectical relationship between reader and producer.

Media coverage of paedophilia occurs in uniformly negative contexts, as it is provoked by child sexual abuse trials, allegations of child sexual abuse, arrests of individuals for possession of child pornography, the promulgation of policy relating to the welfare of children, 'sightings' of paedophiles and the enactment of laws dealing with child sex offenders. These contexts require or permit unambiguous reporting and do not allow for representations of paedophiles which are dissonant from prevailing values. In other words, paedophilia only becomes 'newsworthy', within the framework of these criteria, when set within a context of negative judgement.

6.2.2 Language of Representation

This treatment of the language used in press coverage uses critical linguistic theory to examine how paedophilia is constructed in press reports. It specifically analyses:

- The use of metaphor in the description of paedophile behaviour and attitudes to their behaviour;
- How other acts are established as synonymous with paedophilia;
- How, through these selective processes, a metonym of paedophilia – the archetypal paedophile - is established.

Ideology, as expressed through language, has a number of manifestations, apart from simple derogation. These are:

- Metonymy and categorisation;
- Grammatical transformation;
- Ellipsis and elision.

Metonymy and Categorisation: Metonymic reasoning is defined as follows:

> "The idea that a part of a category (that is, a member or a subcategory) can stand for the whole in certain reasoning processes."[7]

With regard to paedophilia, this involves the selection of one set of paedophile behaviours as representative of the entire disorder. From the

heterogeneous nature of child sexual offending and the many manifestations of it a paedophile (stereo-) type is assembled. The archetypal paedophile is used to facilitate easy comprehension of the events in which he is involved.[8] In this way, representations of paedophilia can be seen to implicitly create a singular model of paedophilia based upon available information or assumptions. Where the attribution of qualities to this archetypal paedophile simplifies the complex and contradictory mass of information about the nature of paedophilia, value judgements and the ideology which they represent can be said to have mediated the representation. Khedive refers to commonly used metonyms as 'static', in that they are part of a conventionalised language use and embody dominant values. These are opposed to dynamic metonyms which challenge archetypes and assumptions.[9]

The categorisation of paedophilia as a 'type of behaviour' involves the selection of synonyms for the disorder and lexical choices to describe how that behaviour is made manifest. For example, as shall be related later in this Chapter, all paedophile behaviour – regardless of whether it is sexually related - is referred to as an 'operation', or an 'activity' which places paedophilia within the category of strategically organised abuse.

Grammatical Transformation: Ideological processes are present in the syntactic and lexical choices which are made in sentence composition.[10] Choices about tense, subject and object relations, use of synonyms, and other grammatical matters in the representation of an event, dictate the way in which the event is to be judged.

> "Transformations serve two functions, economy and distortion, often so inextricably linked that the speaker cannot separate them."[11]

Ellipsis & Elision: These are ancillary features of transformations. Ellipsis involves the occlusion of relevant information from the coverage of the event with the effect of accentuating certain facets of it. Elision occurs when the boundaries between two pre-defined categories are blurred so that they are presented as synonymous. This occurs in coverage of paedophilia where male-oriented paedophilia is described as 'homosexual', despite the mutual exclusivity of the two categories.

The following case study examines the use of these and other features in the context of four articles relating to paedophilia.[12]

6.3 A Case Study of Paedophile Coverage

The following excerpts are from articles which comprised two separate news features concerning paedophilia. One is the alleged sighting of a "self-confessed paedophile" filming schoolgirls in a playground from a blacked-out van. The second reported on the arrival of a convicted British paedophile to Ireland. Neither report relates allegations of any attempt on the part of these men to elicit sexual relations from children.

> Standfirst: "He makes videos of young girls in school playgrounds from his blacked out van."[13]
>
> "(These) tapes are sold as pornographic videos and distributed amongst paedophiles."[14]

This interpretation picks up on two recurring features of paedophile stereotyping – that they work in organised networks and that they are heavily involved in the production, distribution and consumption of child pornography. The inference to be drawn from the standfirst - due to the fact that 'videos' is unqualified (an elision) - is that the videos are pornographic. This is asserted in the body of the text despite the fact that the scene being filmed is evidently not pornographic. The implication is that paedophiles perform some alchemy upon non-pornographic images of children which makes them obscene. The use of the present infinitive ('he *makes* videos') establishes it as an ongoing activity and as a cause for concern and immediate action. The qualifier 'young' accentuates the vulnerability of the children in question. This is also evident in the following:

> "(He is) a major threat to young children".[15]
>
> "He lives in a popular housing estate where young schoolchildren also live".[16]

The latter sentence establishes the proximity of the danger. By failing to name the housing estate in question, it enacts the idea that all housing estates are at risk. This escalation of fear is also evident in the following headline:

"He Is After Your Kids"[17]

This establishes the local relevance of the article but also suggests that this paedophile is ubiquitous and predatory. The heading also assumes the reader to be the parent of a prospective victim of paedophilia and, in so doing, establishes a consensus that something must be done about the dangers which paedophilia represents. The nature of this danger is expressed through the lexical choice of synonyms and qualifiers for the term 'paedophile' or paedophiles. These include:

> Pervert (3); Dangerous; A major threat; Offender[18]; Sick; Evil monsters; Evil (2); The most evil; Pervert; an out-and-out paedophile; a serious abuser; clever; uncontrollable; highly devious; twisted.

These are straightforward manifestations of value judgements being imposed upon the category of paedophilia and as such, are not exemplary of covert ideologising. They perform a mythicisation of paedophilia: paedophiles are monstrous, clever, uncontrollable and devious. They are promethean and abnormal. "The most evil" is a superlative which categorises paedophiles beyond any notion of morality which the reader may bring to bear upon the representation. These values are also implicit in the choice of verbs and nouns to describe paedophile behaviour:

> Preys (3); operating; activities; lure (5); lures away the innocent children; on the prowl; lurid activities; inflict maximum fear and compliance; truly depraved attacks.

Paedophiles have 'operations' and 'activities' which have a negative, clinical valence, as opposed to deeds and endeavours, which do not. 'Operations' also connotes organised military-style behaviour. Paedophiles 'inflict' themselves upon 'innocent' children. Paedophile behaviour is always described in the active infinite present, as though they are engaged in perpetual abuse. As with clinical appraisals of paedophile, this coverage implies that all of the personal characteristics and attributes of the paedophile contribute to his offending and that paedophiles have no ambitions, thoughts or aspirations beyond sexually abusing children:

"This man whose sole thought for a child is to satisfy his twisted sexual appetite"

"His education is now used to serve his twisted lifestyle".

"Trained psychologist and travelling artist uses his travelling sideshow to lure away the innocent children."[19]

The innocence of children is the thing against which paedophiles are deemed to offend most gravely. As with mythic narratives, oppositions are heavily in evidence: paedophiles are depraved, evil monsters possessed of mystical powers and their victims are 'young' ,'innocent' and at their mercy unless something is done.[20] In this coverage, salvation is proposed within the editorial via the establishment of a retrospective sex offender register. The inculcation of fear of paedophilia within the coverage is used to mobilise support for this exclusionary measure.

The following are some of the other prevalent features of the language and selectivity inherent in press coverage of paedophilia.[21]

Paedophilia Rings and Networks

Incidents involving paedophiles are likely to be represented in the press if they involve large numbers of offenders or sadism.[22] The idea of a 'network' or 'ring' of paedophiles is part of a contemporary mythicisation of the disorder. These representations suggest comparisons between paedophilia and malevolent secret agencies, by stressing their pan-national 'membership', their complex organisation and suggesting ritualised behaviours.[23] Most of these 'networks' are described as being involved in the production of child pornography and/or child prostitution rings. This representation of paedophilia parallels that of satanic ritual abuse (SRA) rings and secret occultist groups. In each case, it is implied that the physical abuse of children is accompanied by an abuse of power by public figures who protect the perpetrators from exposure and punishment.[24]

Allegations of satanic ritual abuse (SRA) are at the centre of much dispute within the psychiatric population of the UK and USA. It is argued by a number of researchers that these allegations are iatrogenic in origin: that is, they are confabulations arising from the interaction between clinician/police officer and the child, on the basis of verbal cues provided by the former and the child's familiarity with the details of similar allegations. SRA allegations suggest that the sexual abuse of children is widely practiced in conjunction

with animal sacrifice, cabalistic ceremonies, the drinking of blood and coprophagy.[25] There is no evidence to support any of the allegations, nor is there evidence of the use of rituals in child sexual abuse for any purpose other than to create fear.[26] This is more properly referred to as pseudo-ritualistic abuse, wherein ritualistic behaviour is not an expression of any faith or cultist belief but an expedient means to an end.[27] Pseudo-spiritualist rituals, if and where they occur in child sexual abuse, are simply another means of coercing children into sexual activity. As Lanning writes:

> "Use of the term 'ritual child abuse' is confusing, misleading and counterproductive. The newer term, satanic ritual abuse (SRA), is even worse[28]... The offender may be deliberately engaging in ritualistic activity with a child as part of child abuse and exploitation. The motivation, however, may be not to indoctrinate the child into a belief system, but to lower the inhibitions of, control, manipulate and/or confuse the child".[29]

Investing paedophiles with diabolistic properties, practices and intentions is a very literal way of demonising them. Paedophile behaviour is only ritualised in the sense that it involves recurrent practices which are likely to disinhibit the child and lower his/her sexual defences.[30]

Representing paedophiles in this way has its effects. Peter Stanford writes that:

> "Labelling something Satanic can be a way of expressing distrust or disgust. Paedophiles or pornographers are often deemed demonic when there is no evidence that they have any interest in Satan. It is a word that sums up contempt. Such nomenclature can become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Those alienated by society can turn their anger against those who they perceive as having pushed them to one side by indulging in the most anti-social behaviour they can think of".[31]

Some paedophiles embrace this portrait of themselves as being in extreme transgression of moral codes, and act accordingly, as a means of expressing their own contempt for the moral structures which ostracise them. However, this does not take the form of satanic worship but is expressed through extreme forms of sexual practices. Paedophile transgression is complex in its origins and sexual in its expression. For example, the posting of particularly offensive child pornography and fantasy material on the Internet is a trait of

individuals who deliberately conform to their social representation by behaving in a manner designed to evoke further outrage.[32]

The disproportionate portrayal or common conception of paedophiles as engaged in secret malpractices validates the conception of them as latterday demons; predating upon children, possessed of hidden powers, shrouded in secrecy. As Lanning remarks, this conception of paedophilia is counter-productive : it mysticises the origins and motivations of the offender by attributing them to an allegiance with supernatural powers as opposed to examining the socio-psychological factors which affect the disorder.[33]

Homosexuality and Paedophilia

"While the actuality is of largely adult male exploitation of young girls, often in and around the home, male homosexuals have frequently been described as the chief corrupters" .[34]

One of the most common representations of paedophilia is that the majority of abuse is 'homosexual' in nature.[35] This can be construed as a manifestation of homophobia – a means of coalescing two scapegoat groups into one category. As shown in the previous Chapter, the most prevalent sub-category of child sexual abusers are intra-familial heterosexual males. In terms of age-related demographics, the most common offenders are adolescent males.[36] This, however, does not suit prevailing conceptions of paedophilia and does not fit with the arguments most frequently used in the delegitimation of the disorder.[37] It can be argued that adherence to heterocentrism – the maintenance of privilege for Christian morality and the reproductive family unit – is inconsistent with the reality of sibling and paternal incest as the dominant expression of paedophilia and that the selective representation of paedophiles as organised and exotic collectives of strangers is a means of validating their exclusion and demonisation. Such representations serve to externalise the danger of paedophilia whilst also investing the disorder with mysterious powers.

Paedophilia, Murder and Rape

Paedophilia is represented as a crime whose severity is equivalent to capital offences such as murder and rape.[38] Bracketing paedophilia with murder represents the disorder as a crime in itself, as opposed to a complex and deviant sexuality the expression of which breaches legal codes. It also frames

CSA perpetration as the most serious of transgressions. Categorising paedophilia as a crime invites an understanding of paedophile behaviour as something which functions with only one objective: to sexually abuse children. In such a formulation, paedophilia no longer has much to do with sexual desire as it is commonly understood; it is a social and moral transgression. Resultantly, paedophilia is an unqualified and uncomplicated evil. The exclusion of non-sadistic cases of adult-child sexual relations from press coverage substantiates this view.[39] Sadistic sexual abuse of children by strangers is made to stand as a metonym for paedophilia – occluding the wide diversity of paedophile behaviours and motivations.

Paedophilia and Lust

Paedophilia is often represented as a lust-driven behaviour[40] and the only characteristics attributed to paedophiles are features associated with their criminal offending and their sexuality. Paedophiles are not considered to have any moral, social or romantic aspirations. Since their offences are regarded as sexually predatory and contemptuous, and their behaviour as manipulative and deceitful, the idea of paedophiles having 'human' qualities, such as decency and morality, is dismissed. Paedophilia is thus animalistic – an expression of primitive urges. The characterisation of paedophiles as depraved and debased - is an extension of this and an ancillary feature of their demonisation. By focussing purely on the sexual nature of their behaviour, these representations of paedophiles preclude consideration of the offenders other motivations, comfort-seeking behaviour or the possibility that they feel emotionally involved with their victims. These constructions also inhere a simplified notion of sexual desire devoid of psychological complexity.

Paedophilia and the Abuse of Power and Trust

In portraying paedophile crimes, the fact that the offender has abused powers of authority and of trust is presented as an ancillary feature of his wrongdoing.[41] It is implied that paedophiles inveterately abuse their power and are incapable of self-control.[42]

Another representation of paedophilia presents child abuse as an activity that has nothing to do with sexual desire. Instead, it is presented as a means for the paedophile to attain feelings of potency, control and power which he cannot achieve in adult social life.[43] This is a simplistic reduction of a complex issue. This dichotomy between sex and power is a fruitless one

which ignores the fact that paedophiles empower themselves to offend by sexualising the behaviour and language of others.

'Hunting' and 'Purging' Metaphors Describing the Detection of Paedophiles

Demonisation of a group justifies and incites its social exclusion and removal. Vigilantism, as an instrument of exclusion, is excited by the presence of paedophiles within the community and is validated by the representation of the disorder in the press. Police searches for paedophiles are described as "hunting" and "purging".[44] This validates the conceptualisation of paedophiles as things-to-be-hunted/purged and by extension implies the necessity of their social exclusion. The process of scapegoating requires that the objectionable group be identifiable and visible so as to facilitate their easy expulsion from the community against which they offend. Sex offender registers are one means of accomplishing this. By identifying paedophiles and constructing them as things to be hunted, pursuit and expulsion of them is not only validated, but compelled.

Metonyms of Paedophilia - The Archetypal Paedophile

The archetypal paedophile, as presented by press coverage, has the following attributes:

- He is likely to work with other paedophiles in formal networks or rings;
- He is clever and devious;
- His crime is equivalent to murder;
- He abuses other people's children and not his own;
- He is incapable of exercising control over his desires and is not trustworthy;
- He needs to emotionally and psychologically control children;
- His only psychological and emotional characteristics are those which facilitate his offending;
- He has no interest in children beyond sexually abusing them.

These representative attributes are not consonant with the statistical or psychological information advanced about paedophile offending. This disparity is due to the process of symbolic delegitimation which is carried out against paedophilia. The method and effects of this delegitimating process are examined next.

6.4 The Process of Delegitimation

"A belief in evil cults is convincing because it draws on powerful cultural axioms. People are reluctant to accept that parents, even those classified as social failures, will harm their own children and even invite others to do so, but involvement with the devil explains it ... Demonising the marginalised or poor and linking them to unknown Satanists turns intractable cases of abuse into manifestations of evil".[45]

These representations of paedophilia imply a categorical objection to it which transcends a simple distaste for illegal or inappropriate behaviour. Paedophilia offends against fundamental beliefs and values and it is this which mobilises the demonisation of the disorder. Paedophilia involves behaviour which traduces:

- Legal frameworks of acceptable behaviour;
- Moral codes of appropriate behaviour;
- Social mores and taboos concerning incest, trust, consent and the structure of the family unit.

And yet the way in which it is socially constructed indicates that its offence is regarded as greater than the sum of these transgressions.

The demonisation of paedophilia can be regarded as a means of validating commonly-held values. This is one of the functions of demonisation and delegitimation: by asserting the unacceptability of the out-group's (paedophiles') values, the validity of the in-group's prevailing beliefs is re-enforced. The process of delegitimation involves practices such as the promulgation and enforcement of statutes which govern acceptable and appropriate behaviour, but these are subtended by the process of symbolic invalidation. The demonisation of a sub-group is achieved by a series of measures:

- Representing the group as devoid of moral or spiritual value;
- Criminalising the group's practices, or membership of the group;
- Dehumanising the group's members;
- Denying the group the means for self-expression, representation and validation.

The effect of this denial of the group's humanity is to legitimate their social expulsion. As Aho writes:

> "In our everyday life, the enemy's presence in our midst is a pathology of the social organism serious enough to require the most far-reaching remedies : quarantine, political excision or, to use a particularly revealing expression, liquidation and expulsion".[46]

This construction of paedophilia as the embodiment of evil – as an enemy to conventional morality - validates its delegitimation, invites the social exclusion of paedophiles, and results from the projection of social fears onto the disorder.

6.5 The Social Functions of the Demonisation of Paedophilia

> "The paranoid disposition is mobilised into action chiefly by social conflicts that involve ultimate schemes of values and that bring fundamental fears and hatreds, rather than negotiable interests into action".[47]

The question arises as to which fundamental beliefs and values are protected by the demonisation of paedophiles and how this affects paedophile's behaviour and their formulation of a counter-ideology. The social construction of paedophilia and the counter-representations and ideologies which paedophiles present, are so divergent as to prohibit any reconciliation. Nor is this the purpose of the debate. The social opposition to paedophilia is formulated in such a way as to anchor certain ideologies in social relations. Extreme demonisation is a means of bringing together these ideologies and beliefs. It is effective because it conceals its own motivations within the mythicisation: because paedophilia is constructed as bereft of common human values, the reasons for objecting to it are self-evident.

Fears about the protection of children, the state of childhood, lawlessness, moral and social control, are common in the campaign against paedophilia. The disorder is invested with practices and beliefs which are the antithesis of prevailing moral 'knowledge' of ethical imperatives and basic social requirements. Paedophilia is represented in such a way as to compel objections to it. Equivocation over the issue is not countenanced and is regarded as collusive as it undermines the in-group's fundamental beliefs.[48]

Inflexible objection to paedophilia brings cohesion to the group and reasserts the validity of its beliefs. Or as Elaine Showalter writes:

> "Witch-hunting became one of the ways in which people could maintain their equilibrium at a time of great stress".[49]

The beliefs which the demonisation of paedophilia preserve are that:

- The innocence of childhood needs to be preserved;
- Children are not sexual beings and do not understand the repercussions of sexual relations;
- The solidity and functionality of the family unit and of adult/child relations needs to be maintained;
- Consent and responsibility are primary components of any acceptable moral framework for behaviour;[50]
- Children are not capable of giving consent.

The demonisation of paedophilia is also designed to curb the incidence of child sexual abuse. It is questionable whether the symbolic logic employed to this end is effective. It is also arguable whether the process of paedophile demonisation is in keeping with the value system which it is designed to protect. As Girard writes:

> "The borderline between rational discrimination and arbitrary persecution is sometimes difficult to trace".[51]

Paedophiles regard themselves as victims of irrational persecution:
> "We boylovers are stigmatized by this hypocritical and puritanical society that we have to live in. The media mixes the murderers, the rapists and those of us that love boys, all in the same box, as if we were all the same. There is a real witch-hunt against us, making us appear before the public's opinion as real monsters. Many boylovers exist that are traumatized by social rejection, stigmatized, "pathologised", alienated... Many boylovers commit suicide as the only means to escape their own situation, from detestation of their own feelings, from fleeing of their own tendencies... Nowadays it is the boylovers that have to endure the propaganda campaigns that come down on minority groups".[52]

Authorities which delegitimate paedophilia justify their objections to it by situating them within prevailing rational and moral systems. The symbolic and actual 'persecution' of paedophiles is simply a means of strengthening these objections. Chapter Five examines how paedophiles endeavour to reconstruct themselves positively by outlining their own system of ethics and undermining the moral system upon which their demonisation is based. It might be argued that paedophile advocates and the authorities which delegitimate the disorder exhibit equal amounts of paranoia. Paranoia is more obviously associated with the persecuted group but it can be seen to be a social disposition which sanctioned authorities can mobilise to justify the persecution.

Demonising paedophilia serves an important purpose. It reinforces implicitly accepted views of moral conduct. Yet it has negative effects in that it obscures much about the social genesis of the disorder. The archetypal view of paedophile offending not only portrays the paedophile as a two-dimensional monster, but also hypostasises a romanticised view of children as asexual and innocent. This construct – and the corollary protection of childhood innocence – facilitates paedophile offending. As Dunaigre writes:

> "Although one might concede that by diabolising the paedophile, society as a body exorcises its fears, this attitude contributes nothing either to the understanding of the phenomenon or to its prevention. This is all the more worrying as diabolising the aggressor is tantamount to infantilising the victim... Any strategy based on an imaginary precept (albeit a politically expedient one) runs the risk of treating the victim as an indistinctive identity and of perpetuating the very nature of the lack of understanding of the paedophilic act".[53]

Paedophilia is socially delegitimated because existing moral and social structures cannot assimilate it's values. As it cannot be assimilated it is derogated. This derogation in turn mythicises the disorder and prohibits an understanding of how child sexual abuse is facilitated by social arrangements. Social demonisation has helped to create a cohesion amongst paedophiles. The specific objections to paedophilia (anti-paedophile ideology), which exist outside of social mythology, have provided paedophilia with a template against which to construct its counter-ideology.

In summary, objections to paedophilia are grounded in fears about childhood innocence and sexuality, family relations and social anomie.

These objections are augmented and solidified by the construction of paedophiles as inhuman. Such portraits are manifest in media portrayals of paedophilia which implicitly construct the archetypal paedophile as an organised, depraved, extra-familial offender, protected by institutions and people of authority. This enfeebles a useful understanding of the social aetiology of paedophile offending.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

This research has examined the belief systems which paedophiles develop to justify their desires and behaviours to themselves and others; the means by which they communicate these beliefs; the features of the Internet which facilitate this communication and; the composition of the dominant representations of paedophilia which de-legitimate and demonise it. This Chapter collates the research and addresses the main issues which arise from it. It consists of three sections. The first section examines:

- The fundamental ideological oppositions between paedophile advocates and paedophile delegitimating authorities;
- The social value of the demonisation of paedophilia and whether it justifies the lack of progressive understanding of the disorder which it promotes.

The second section examines the relationship between paedophilia and the Internet. It focusses specifically on the long-term implications of paedophile use of the Internet for both the disorder and the development of the technology.

The third section discusses areas where further research are required.

7.1 Popular Beliefs and Paedophile Logic

The main arguments and counter-arguments about the legitimacy of adult-child sex are presented in the following table in summary of the research thus far presented:

Social, Medical, Legal and Moral Authority	Paedophilia
Childhood innocence is necessary to allow for the development of mature and socially responsible individuals.	The preservation of notional innocence during childhood represses children's sexuality and is an infringement of their civil rights.
Children cannot 'consent' to sex as they do not possess sufficient knowledge or experience to understand what they are consenting to.	Children can understand, appreciate and initiate sexual activity with their peers and adults.
Adult-child sexual relations are traumatic for the child.	Adult-child sexual relations are liberating for children. Repression of sexual desires damages them.
Paedophilia is a disorder and a deviance of aberrant psychological or physiological origins.	Paedophilia is a natural sexual orientation.
Paedophiles manipulate and coerce children into	Paedophiles are not interested in controlling

having sex.	children and never initiate sexual acts with them if the child indicates an aversion to such acts.
Paedophiles are without morality or a sense of responsibility.	Paedophiles are devoutly ethical and are more socially responsible to children than other adults.
Sexual abuse is the worst crime which can be visited upon a child.	Sexual relations with a child are no worse than other exploitations of children.
Paedophiles have no concern for their victims or the repercussions of their behaviour.	Paedophiles love children and are the sole protectors of children's rights.
The taboo on adult-child sex needs to be maintained: ■ For the stability of the family unit and relations; ■ To preserve the moral standards of consent and responsibility; ■ To allow children the innocence necessary for mature development.	Adult-child sex should be legitimated: ■ To allow individuals to pursue guilt-free and legal sexual relations with children; ■ To allow paedophiles to attain self-esteem; ■ To end the witch-hunt of 'child-lovers'.

The fact that child sexual abuse occurs is not disputed by paedophiles. It is the definition and representation of it and its perpetrators which is contested. Child rape and molestation are not regarded by paedophiles as acts of 'true paedophilia'. 'True paedophiles' only engage in sex with 'consenting' children within loving relationships.

Representations of paedophilia involve the coterminous construction of a number of other concepts. 'Childhood', 'sexuality' and 'consent' are central in this regard. The way in which these concepts are differently understood by paedophiles and paedophilia delegitimators prevents the social acceptance of paedophile values. The principal differences between the opposing ideologies are in their responses to the following questions:

- What is 'childhood' and what are its functions?
- What is the nature of consent?
- To what extent should personal liberties and values be subsumed by broader social values?

The differing conceptual models of childhood are the most important. These conceptualisations of childhood differ most obviously on the issue of childhood sexuality: paedophiles impute a sexuality, an ability to consent to and a capacity to enjoy sexual activity to children whereas dominant

ideology does not. This is something which inheres in media representations of child sexual abuse cases. As Dunaigre[1] and Kitzinger point out, media treatment of child sexual abuse symbolically erases the child from the event.[2] The child is simply a victim. This implies an attitude to childhood which excludes the qualities of autonomy, sexuality and responsibility. This representation of simple victimhood takes the right to representation of the experience from the child and, in so doing, preserves a view of childhood which is idyllic and uncontaminated.

To deprive children of self-representation invalidates their experiences, precludes their empowerment and preserves their vulnerability. It is worthwhile, therefore, to examine the different constructions of childhood which are respectively maintained by paedophiles and paedophile de-legitimating authorities, as a means of improving the understanding of the social aetiology of child sexual abuse.

7.1.1 Different Conceptualisations of Childhood

Dominant and paedophile ideologies romanticise childhood for different reasons. Paedophiles often construct childhood as a period of grace, and children as idealised creatures.[3] This is an attempt to make children acceptable aesthetic objects. The proposition that paedophiles love children can then be defended as a logical extension of the romantic argument that children are a divine form of humanity. This way of thinking frames paedophilia as a form of religious worship, as opposed to a disorder which is sexually concerned and psychologically complex. Such a composite minimises any cognitive dissonance which the paedophile may experience about his behaviour and allows him to pursue intimacy with children without feelings of self-reproach. The idea of childhood as a mythic place or time is not necessarily an edict to which paedophiles openly subscribe, although there are examples of this.[4] In paedophile writing these ideas recur in explicit and implicit forms which betray their conceptualisation of children as creatures with mythic attributes. The idealisation of the child is prefatory to sexual engagement with him/her.

The dominant social understanding of childhood regards mature and moral development as its objective. Childhood is a category whose qualities are the obverse of those found in adult life and one which adults are obliged to preserve. Through the social and cultural maintenance of childhood innocence, the moral values of a culture are reaffirmed.

In order to discuss the particular qualities of the romanticisation of childhood which paedophilia effects, it is useful to examine the cultural and social origins of the idea of childhood and how it has become invested with the concept of innocence.

7.1.2 The Social Construction of Childhood

Childhood is not a fixed biological category, but an arbitrary social one of about 200 years standing. It has its roots in concerns about education particularly moral education and in the increase in general literacy and information-sharing associated with the late Renaissance period and the Enlightenment. Prior to this no distinction was made between children and adults, in terms of the provision of separate moral or statute laws regulating the expected behaviour of each. Sexual knowledge and activity, in particular, were not viewed as inappropriate for children and the idea of child welfare, paediatrics and child education were completely absent from social consciousness. Aries even reports that:

> "The practice of playing with children's privy parts formed part of a widespread tradition." [5]

These details play a part in the mythicisation of the past which paedophiles engage in and explain why the 'medicalisation' of sexuality and the development of moral reasoning which occurred during the Enlightenment and resulted in the desanctioning and criminalisation of such behaviour are objected to by paedophile activists.

The details of the development of childhood as a conceptual category which pertain most to the discussion of paedophilia concern the discourse over the education of children which arose during the Enlightenment period. With some necessary reductivism, this debate can be expressed as a philosophical opposition between Rousseauesque libertarianism which viewed formal education as an unjustifiable traduction of the proper and natural development of the child, and Lockean moral pragmatism, which viewed the child's mind as a *tabula rasa* upon which the values and knowledge of the surrounding culture should be inscribed.

Rousseau's conception of the state of childhood was complementary to his general attitude to the debilitating effects of progressive civilisation. Contemporary social changes, in his view, had resulted in the replacement of

instinctual behaviour and natural forms of social organisation with an artificial construct which deprived its constituents of what he considered to be appropriate ways of living and worshipping. The corollary of these arguments is that children, being untarnished by the invidious processes of socialisation, are still in touch with the 'truer' nature of humanity and should be revered because of this. Education, in so far as it concerns children in Rousseau's philosophy, should be aimed at developing just this unmediated relationship with nature. In contrast to this, the educationalism of John Locke, though not directed at the children of the working classes, was a product of social concern which posited the child as a citizen-to-be, whose development of character, in terms of morality and literacy, should be brokered by the state and the institution of the family. With the 'invention' of the child came the idea of adult or parental responsibility. Both of these philosophies attributed special characteristics to childhood and implicitly constructed their own manifesto of childhood needs. The idea of children having specific needs and dependence upon adults invested both the state and the adult family with power over, and obligation to, the child. The implicit acceptance of children's needs, as opposed to children's rights, still obtains and has repercussions for the debate about the nature of paedophilia and social reactions to it.

Rousseau's ideas are more empowering to children than Locke's and cast the child as a *sui generis*. A mixture of both these conceptions of childhood permeate paedophiles' mental categorisation of it. However, it is Rousseau who appeals particularly to self-accepting paedophiles who wish to celebrate their condition and build a lifestyle culture around it. This is due to the ardour with which he describes children and because he argued that the child, being permitted to determine without interference its own pursuits and course of behaviour in life, could not, by its nature, act immorally. This idea has a particular attraction for paedophiles: empowering children with the right to choose or to consent is more useful to them than helping children to develop the critical faculties necessary for making an informed choice. The frequent projection of blame for sexual abuse onto the child-victim by the paedophile can also be seen as an attempt to remove such acts from the rule of morality: if children cannot act immorally then the acts to which they are party also transcend moralising.

The role of selective and restricted education in the formation of the concept of childhood was, and is, of central importance in the discussion of paedophilia because of the means by which it allows for adulthood and childhood to be maintained as two separate realms of social knowledge which, being maintained by adults, invests them structurally with an authority over children. The social knowledge to which children are allowed access by adults of a culture, as well as the attendant category of social knowledge deemed inappropriate for children, is directly related to that culture's conception of the qualities, needs and functions of childhood.

The prevailing conceptions of the nature and purpose of childhood within our culture is complex, but can be said to have at their centre the twin necessities of protection and nurturing. However, these two functions do not complement each other: one is an attempt to preserve the child's notional innocence, the other to disabuse them of their innocence and prepare them for the adult world. The 'repression of children' implicit in the idea of protection and child-appropriate knowledge is justified on the basis that children need time to develop in order to be able to deal with adult knowledge. Postman's opinion on the necessity of this seeming 'hypocrisy' is insightful:

> "... the word hypocrisy is sometimes used to describe a situation where public knowledge and private knowledge are rigidly kept apart. But the better face of hypocrisy is, after all, a certain social idealism. In the case of childhood, for example, secrecy is practiced in order to maintain the conditions for healthy and ordered growth. Childhood, as we ideally think of it, cannot exist without a certain measure of hypocrisy... Surely hypocrisy in the cause of strengthening child growth is no vice." [6]

The restrictions placed on children's access to certain knowledge are interesting for what they impart about how the needs and nature of childhood are culturally understood and constructed. They are of interest here because of the way paedophiles manage to exploit this seeming disempowerment of children which the desire to preserve childhood innocence in our culture effects. The implicit construction of childhood is also of note because the prevailing cultural motif of childhood innocence is one which paedophiles adapt and romanticise in an attempt to sanitise their sexual desires.

7.1.3 The Protection of Innocence and the Empowerment of Adults

"Protecting our children is our most important responsibility, and paedophilia is the greatest, most insidious threat to them."[7]

Postman's treatment of the adultification of children, which he believes to be a product of breakdown in control over children's access to adult information and values, is expressed in a way which exemplifies the dominant conception of the state of childhood:

"In having access to the previously hidden fruit of adult information, they (children) are expelled from the garden of childhood."[8]

With reference to the Genesis story to which this metaphor alludes, childhood, as socially conceived, is an Eden in which innocence is the defining characteristic. This innocence is seen to be eroded through exposure to the world of adult knowledge and practices, in which sex and sexuality play a large part. This figurative childhood is seen as the time in which children develop the mental and moral faculties to cope with the nature of the adult world without having to directly experience it. Sexual knowledge and activity are part of the adult world which impinge negatively upon the child and offend gravely against the concept of childhood. These sentiments are formulated in Weeks' discussion of the immorality of adult-child sexual relations:

"From the point of view of moral absolutism, intergenerational sex poses no problem of interpretation. It is wrong because it breaches the innocence necessary for mature development."[9]

Childhood is affirmed by adults as a period of innocence which is to be preserved by means of curtailing children's access to experience and knowledge which is considered inappropriate. In principal, this is one of the things deemed most objectionable about paedophiles: they introduce children to adult knowledge, desires, values and strategies prematurely. As indicated in Chapter Four, some paedophiles regard child protectionism as a form of institutionalised repression and propose it as an example of the contradictions inherent in social standards regarding the welfare and development of children. Their argument is that parents want their children

to be educated but won't give them the liberty to educate themselves. Just as importantly, the whole principle of defining childhood in terms of 'needs' as opposed to rights, enfeebles the child's attempts at autonomy and self-assertion, which faculties are necessary for the child to deal with unwanted intrusions such as paedophile advances. With specific regard to paedophilia, children are not socially or knowledgably empowered to assert themselves in situations where they are vulnerable. Kitzinger writes that the vigilance with which the innocence of childhood is safeguarded at all costs complicitly assists those who wish to take advantage of children's lack of knowledge or awareness. In her own words:

"Child abuse is not an anomaly but is part of the structural oppression of children."[10]

She also asserts that media coverage of paedophile cases implicitly suggest that:

"Childhood is not defined by age but by some set of qualities or experiences which are incompatible with being assaulted."[11]

This argument is based on a critique of the language employed by the press in the reporting of child abuse cases. Her arguments, and those of other child's rights activists, in no way seek to remove the burden of blame for child abuse from the perpetrators. They are an attempt to highlight the contradictions which exist between the plangent defence of the child's right to 'innocence' and the desire to inform children about the dangers of adult figures of authority who may abuse their power, thus empowering the children. This contradiction is part of the reason why discussion of paedophilia has, until recently, been conspicuously absent from social discourse and why objections are still raised about its discussion in public fora. This is exemplified by the following complaint of an individual protesting against public awareness campaigns focussing on child sexual abuse:

"We have been forced to think about issues we would rather not have faced. Our children are having their innocence taken away."[12]

This insistence on the child's fundamental need for innocence has become one of the focal points of the objections to paedophilia. Paedophile agitators,

in approaching this issue, have declared parental concern of this nature, and the insistence that children are innocent and asexual, to be repressive and a violation of the child's rights.

> "These cherished tenets are foundational for the enormously profitable and well entrenched child sexual abuse industry. They are also mainstays for those who are determined to preserve the archaic concept of asexual and innocent children, sexually uninformed robotic chattel property who are to be manipulated, molded, and used however their owners see fit, until they reach an arbitrary age at which they are to be suddenly and magically transformed into intelligent, responsible, and sexually competent adults".[13]

The elision of children's 'needs' and 'rights' is part of the entablature of International Human Rights. Article 34 of the United National Convention of Children's rights affords them the 'right' to be protected from sexuality in all its manifestations.[14] This is a peculiar construal of civil rights: it does not seek to empower children to take action in situations in which they are being exploited. It presumes they cannot and instead requires others (adults) to do so on their behalf. The ideals of childhood innocence and victimhood embodied in the dominant construction of childhood, are protected at a cost. The desire to protect children from adult sexual exploitation by investing adults with more authority over them, in tandem with the misconception that sexual abuse is perpetrated by extra-familial individuals, leaves them more vulnerable to abuse at the hands of adults familiar to them.

The contrasting simplistic representations of paedophiles and children - the former as demons, the latter as innocents – serves a social function in that it reenforces the incest taboo and the prohibition of child sexual abuse. However, its formulation also perpetuates children's vulnerability and obscures the social relations which facilitate continued paedophile offending.

7.2 Paedophilia and the Internet

Two aspects of the relationship between paedophilia and the Internet are examined:

- Can paedophilia and paedophiles achieve any kind of social acceptance through Internet-based advocacy?
- Will fears about paedophilia and paedophile use of the Internet influence the regulations and development of the technology?

7.2.1 The Effectiveness of Internet-based Paedophile Advocacy

Paedophiles cannot achieve a change in the social perception of the disorder without a more prominent platform than their currently circumscribed sphere of influence on the Internet. While their advocacy and rhetoric have the effect of concrescing their own views of their behaviour and desires, it has no effect outside of that enclosed circle of paedophiles who have an emotional investment in ceding to the ideology. It can be argued that the simple fact of introducing the idea of paedophilia as something in which people can take pride is itself a measure which may change the way in which paedophilia is perceived, but that requires acknowledgement of the fact from a non-paedophile audience.

Paedophilia has many of the attributes of a subversive activist organisation: it has a coherent ideology, a means to disseminate it and emotive narratives to mobilise it. Paedophiles have group cohesion, not least because of their collective social demonisation. However, apart from the fact that its values are at odds with the dominant ideology in which it seeks acceptance, legitimatory paedophile ideology has neither a public audience nor a public presence. Without these elements, it remains fixed as a 'depraved disorder'. There is a tension between paedophiles' need to garner publicity and their need for seclusion in order to avoid persecution. Seclusion is important to paedophiles because, as paedophilia becomes more visible, it invites more extreme forms of demonisation and methods of social exclusion. It also militates against changing the social perception of the disorder.

Paedophile ideology has an Internet presence because of the legislative difficulties which have attended the censorship of 'speech' in many jurisdictions; the disharmony of policy regulations pertaining to harmful uses of the medium and because of the current economics of access to web space. Paedophile web server organisations have no network of financial support, no strategic commercial allegiances, no sponsorship and no prospect of acquiring such while the illegitimacy of the disorder persists. Paedophile-friendly web-servers, such as the 'The Free Ped Co-operative' service, are privately funded.[15] Internet paedophile advocacy can only subsist as long as such approaches remain financially viable. Increased commercialisation of the World Wide Web and the development of search engine technology with improved methods for selectively occluding non-

commercial minority-interest information will enact an online simulacrum of paedophile exclusion.[16]

Paedophile ideology currently enjoys a guerilla-like existence on the web. It is difficult to locate using popular search engines; the identities of its operators are undisclosed and it is structurally protected by the free-speech culture of the Internet. It is difficult to foresee any developments, whether regulatory or commercial, which will change this. Any realistic permutation on the many speculated futures of the Internet is likely to restrict paedophile ideology to an audience of paedophiles or those avowedly interested in the disorder. This still presents social dangers in that it provides paedophiles with narratives of validation and social support networks.

The thought processes of paedophiles which justify their offending are regarded within clinical practice as 'cognitive distortions' and the purpose of cognitive therapy is to undermine the paedophile's dependence on these beliefs to justify his behaviour. The partial success of cognitive aversion therapy is based upon depriving the paedophile of the kind of solidarity which the paedophile Internet community offers. The sharing and disseminating of advocacy and justification through Internet technologies effects an acceptance amongst paedophiles about the legitimacy of their thoughts and thereby undermines the efforts of cognitive therapy and dominant ideology as a whole.

This is one of the effects of public information networks: the increased presence of contrasting values and perspectives ensures that consensus and authority views are easier to challenge and undermine. The Internet contains a myriad of narratives and ideologies which seek to justify different behaviours and desires. Paedophiles seek out justification and comfort which will allow them to maintain their beliefs and behaviours and this is the most important facility which Internet-based paedophile advocacy provides.

7.2.2 The Development of the Internet and Fears about Paedophilia

"For governments, the tendency to intervene and to seek intrusive and inflexible methods of control must be balanced with an urgent need to enshrine freedom of expression and freedom of information as key principles in the development of new information technologies".[17]

The future direction of the Internet will be dictated by the manner in which the tension between the vision of the technology as a tool for greater democracy and the need to devise means for policing its use is resolved. The rapid development of the Internet has been based upon minimal regulatory intrusion allied to strong economic and policy directive support on the part of governments.[18] There is a strong aversion within the online community for any intervention or change which could serve to realign the structure of the Internet along traditional lines of economic and bureaucratic domination. There are a number of utopian narratives, 'infotopias', which have helped to direct and mobilise the development and social acceptance of information technologies. These emphasise the educational and democratic benefits of public information networks such as the Internet. Iacono and Kling point out that:

> "Advocates of computerisation focus on the creation of a new revolutionary, world order where people and organizations use state-of-the-art computing equipment and the physical limitations of time and space are overcome".[19]

This is part of the narrative which motivates organisations like the EFF[20] and EPIC[21] to defend the civil liberties of 'online citizens' from legislation which might negatively affect the realisation of that vision. It is also one advanced by governments and information industry operators to further the development of national information infrastructures and to ensure full participation in future digital economies. The idea that the Internet can help in the decentralisation of social authority and power and circumvent information monopolies is premised on its putatively democratic means of access and right to free speech. There are a number of problems with this, not least of which is the fact of the Internet's low penetration in economically disadvantaged areas, and the fact that the idea of democratic access to the technology makes assumptions about users' educational and economic status. These infotopias are weakened by the increasing commercialisation of the medium and corollary concerns with network security and individual privacy.

The need for increased control and regulation of the Internet is premised on growing criminal use of the medium. Fears of paedophile uses of the technology are part of this. Campbell and Machet point out that reporting of

paedophile use of the Internet and the reaction to the Marc Dutroux affair were followed closely by EU Communications, White and Green Papers dealing with regulation of harmful content in the audiovisual sphere and, specifically, the harmonisation of policy relating to the preservation of the dignity of minors.[22]

Other issues, the resolution of which will directly impinge upon the development of the technology, are:

- Online privacy;
- Network Security;
- Free Speech Issues – Obscenity, Slander, Libel;
- Intellectual Copyright;
- Commercial Monopolies.

The extent of these problems are prone to be exaggerated to justify increased control of the medium. It is in this context that the effect of the demonisation of paedophilia is important. Misrepresentations of the extent and nature of child pornography distribution and child prostitution conducted through the Internet can be used to promote legislation which restricts online privacy and takes regulatory control from the remit of the service provider industry. This is not to pass judgement on the desirability of industry self-regulation, but rather to highlight the potential influence of misinformation relating to paedophile internet usage on the development of regulatory control of the medium.

7.3 Future Research

Within its broad ambit, this research has touched upon a number of issues which require further research. Future research on paedophile use of the Internet should pay particular regard to the way in which the features of paedophile Internet usage change with the development of new technologies and the increase in Internet penetration. Particular attention should be paid to the uptake of personal cryptography software and the private communication facilities offered by convergent media and telecommunications hardware. The CAIR project remarked on the disproportionate use of WebTV™ technology by paedophiles.[23] WebTV™ is a product which, as its name suggests, provides rudimentary Internet capabilities within a television set.[24] The CAIR research indicated that paedophiles use this technology because of the low standard of technological

sophistication and understanding which it requires and the anonymity which is inadvertently offered by the means of connection to the Internet with which it works.[25] Similarly, many paedophiles exhibit a lack of awareness about Internet security issues.[26] The decreasing demands placed on Internet users by newly developed Internet access and communication equipment and protocols and the advent of wireless Internet devices will affect the constitution of the Internet population and the organisation of online communities. Similarly, the resolution of the bandwidth problem and the convergence of digital media and telecommunications technology will open up new avenues of communication to paedophiles. The necessity of circumventing new laws and methods for detecting illegal Internet usage will also require paedophiles to develop new communication methods. This provides an opportunity for research into the psychological and social organisation of paedophiles within the public sphere of Internet communication, such as the World Wide Web and Usenet.

Research in this area should serve to augment existing knowledge of paedophile cognitive patterns and the cognitive cycle of offending which, in turn, should be of assistance in the understanding of fixated paedophiles and treatment of nascent or latent paedophiles.

In the area of media research a number of issues arise which deserve closer scrutiny. An analysis of how incitement of fear about paedophilia is used to mobilise support for increased control of media, for political reform and for regulatory intervention of communication technologies will allow for a critical assessment of the way in which social fears are inculcated in the interest of political expediency.

Notes

Notes Chapter One

[1] The tendency of incarcerated paedophile offenders to self-report in a way which positively affects the treatment they receive in prison is discussed in Fisher, 1995.

[2] It can be argued that the ideologies and utopias of paedophilia are similar to the utopias which permeate cyberculture. This is examined in Chapter Four.

[3] Amongst others, non-governmental organisations such as ECPAT and UNESCO, and research initiatives such as the Copine Project (1998-2000) and the CAIR Project (1999), have conducted research into paedophile's use of the Internet. The dissemination of child pornography and the advertising of child sex tourism have been the central foci of their enquiries. While some of this work alluded to the nature and extent of paedophile advocacy websites, the findings were not placed within the context of the social delegitimation of the disorder nor did they refer to paedophile's psychological needs.

[4] Dunaigre, 1998, p 9.

[5] Krafft-Ebing, 1912.

[6] Def. 302.20, Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 3rd edition, 1997. This is also the World Health Organisation's formulation of the disorder.

[7] Lanning, 1992, pp 5-8.

[8] In any case, as the focus is on the Internet-based testimony of self-proclaimed but anonymous paedophiles, there is no way of distinguishing between active and non-active paedophiles. The assumption that consumers of child pornography and paedophile fantasy fiction are necessarily engaged in child sexual abuse is difficult to corroborate.

[9] There is an assumption in this that the paedophiles whose testimony is treated within the research are over the age of 18. This is impossible to corroborate and it is assumed only on the basis of their presentations of themselves as adults.

[10] This redefinition of the disorder is part of the notion of 'ethical paedophilia' : a central precept of paedophile advocacy which is discussed in Chapter Five.

[11] Benjamin, 1997. Benjamin is arguing from the perspective of a 'boy-lover' and makes no reference to female-oriented paedophilia.

[12] For example, the North American ManBoy Love Association (NAMbLA) uses its website to collate research which undermines the 'disorder' thesis. See: http://www.nambla.org

[13] Situational incest abusers are not considered to view children as their preferential sexual partners:

> "The incestuous father does not feel any general attraction towards children with the unique exception of his own. Incest occurs solely within the framework of family relationships." (Dunaigre, 1998, p 6)

The distinctions between incestuous and extra-familial abusers are discussed in Chapter Three.

[14] Op. cit.

[15] A metonym is the use of one member of a category to represent the entire category. Lakoff defines metonymic reasoning as follows:

> "The idea that part of a category (that is, a member or a subcategory) can stand for the whole category in certain reasoning processes." (Lakoff, 1987, p 12).

The social representation of paedophilia involves the implicit selection of the sadistic multiple-offender as the archetypal paedophile. This area is discussed further in Chapter Six.

[16] For example: "This Pervert is After Your Kids", Evening Herald, February 23, 2000, p 1.

[17] Glaser, 1998, pp 162-167.

[18] The term 'ideology' was used by de Tracy to describe the science of human ideas. The interpretation of Marx's model of ideology as the manifestation of the values necessary for the preservation of extant economic and social relations proceeded through diachronic argument to become synonymous with the idea of 'false consciousness'. This is particularly evident in Adorno's concept of ideology as a tool of ideostatic enlightenment. Gramsci's rejection of the deterministic relationship between superstructure and economic base– dismissing it as *primitive infantilism* – allows for a more reflexive model of the workings of ideology. In tandem with Volosinov's diluted determinism, this idea is more in keeping with the model of ideology presented in this research. It allows for the presence of disparate ideologies competing for domination and for the possibility of localised ideologies dominating the aspirations and beliefs of select groups. Historically, the three prevalent critical applications of the term 'ideology' are as:

- The Science of Human Ideas;
- False Consciousness/Propaganda (A means of imposing illusory relations on real social structures);
- Localised self-serving worldviews in which a community interprets social processes in the way which bests validates its own social behaviour.

See: Marx and Engels, 1970; James, 1998; Jameson, 1990; Adorno and Horkheimer, 1979; Gramsci, 1996 ; Voloshinov, 1973.

For further discussion of ideology, see: Barrett, 1991; Larrain, 1979; Thompson, 1984, and Pareth, 1992.

[19] Mannheim, 1962, p xviii.

[20] The critical terms 'mentality', 'worldview', 'weltanschaung' and 'conceptual models' have similar applications to that of 'ideology', each connoting the idea of a shared complex of ideas. Ideology has been selected as the most apposite term for this research because of the social processes and instrumental dissemination of beliefs which are being discussed.

[21] These labels, and the documents from which they are taken, are discussed in Chapter Five.

[22] The US spelling, 'pedophile', is the most common variation in use on the Internet.

[23] Source: http://www.cyberpass.net/plf/index.htm

[24] Op. cit., p xviii.

[25] Gramsci, 1996.

[26] Source:http://www.phix.com/~cipher/acrepa/realevil.htm

[27] Source:http://www.safet.net/info

[28] Op. cit., pp xv – xxii.

[29] Sack & Fejes, 1987, p 3.

[30] "Group says it has names of Irish paedophiles", The Irish Times, January 6, 1999, p 8.

[31] Ibid. Also in Hermoso & Cullen, 1998.

[32] "Laws to Net Perverts", Evening Herald, March 11, 2000, p 4.

[33] The use of Usenet technologies by paedophiles to distribute child pornography is corroborated by the CAIR and Copine research projects. Claims that the World Wide Web is home to extensive collections of child pornography are misguided. The regulatory structure and technology of the World Wide Web is not suited for the long-term distribution of illegal materials. Child pornography is fleetingly present on the Web in small caches which are difficult to find. This is discussed in Chapter Four.

Notes Chapter Two

[1] See CAIR 1999a, pp 17-36.

[2] Costigan, 1999:vii.

[3] NEC reports (summer 1999) that the amount of the web indexed by popular search engines as follows:

	Search Engine
16.0%	Northern Light
15.5%	AltaVista
15.5%	Snap
11.3%	HotBot
8.5%	MSN
8.0%	InfoSeek
7.8%	Google
7.4%	Yahoo
5.6%	Excite
2.5%	Lycos
2.2%	EuroSeek

Source: http://www.upsedll.com/BrowserNews/stat_search.htm#s03

[4] (Ellis et al., 1989, 1993, 1997).

[5] http://www.yahoo.com; http://www.altavista.com

[6] See http://www.freespirits.net; http://www.yahoo.com

[7] http://www.bl.ru

[8] http://members.hknet.com/alicel/index2.htm

[9] Search conducted on March 11, 2000.

[10] Examples of these are provided in CAIR 1999a,1999b.

[11] See: htpp://www.altavista.com

[12] See: http://www.metacrawler.com

[13] See: http://www.northernlights.com

[14] See: http://www.dogpile.com

[15] See: http://www.hotbot.com

[16] See: http://www.yahoo.com

[17] See; http://www.snap.com

[18] See: http://www.google.com

[19] See: http://www.infoseek.com

[20] For a further discussion of the descriptive meta-tags which paedophiles employ, see CAIR 1999b, pp 100-101; CAIR 1999a, pp 29-30.

[21] See: http://www.deja.com

[22] See: http://www.mailandnews.com

[23] See: http://www.ausmail.com

[24] Morrison et al., 1995, pp 227-239.

[25] Lanning, 1995, pp 65-69.

Notes Chapter Three

[1] Def 302.20, Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 1997.

[2] Fisher, 1995, p 3.

[3] ibid, p 3.

[4] Russell, 1983, pp 133-146.

[5] UK Home Office, 1990, cited in O'Callaghan and Print, 1995, pp 149-150.

[6] Northern Ireland Research Team, 1991, cited in O'Callaghan and Print, 1995, pp 149-150.

[7] Respective figures cited in Fritz et al.,1981, pp 54-59; Wyatt, 1985, pp 507-519.

[8] O'Callaghan and Print, 1995, p 149; Havgaard and Tilley, 1998, p 12.

[9] UK Home Office, 1990.

[10] Dube & Herbert, 1988, pp 321-330.

[11] U.S. Department of Justice figures. Accessed at http://www.usdoj.gov

[12] Marshall & Barbaree, 1990; Malamuth, 1981.

[13] Finkelhor and Lewis, 1988.

[14] Briere & Runtz,1989.

[15] Abel et al, 1988.

[16] Dunaigre, 1998. Many studies, including those conducted by Freund, 1987 and Quinsey, Chaplin and Varmy, 1979, have established that extra-familial abusers are erotically fixated on children. This is divined by use of instruments such as the penile plethysmograph and the erectiometer and a methodology which equates the extent of blood-flow to the penis with degree of sexual arousal.

[17] Finkelhor, 1984.

[18] Morrison, 1995, p 33.

[19] Abel, 1987.

[20] Fisher, 1995, p 9.

[21] Beckett, 1995, p 88.

[22] O'Brien, 1991.

[23] Statistics from US Department of Justice (http://www.usdoj.gov).

[24] Beckett, 1995, p 64.

[25] Op. cit., p 64.

[26] O'Brien, 1991 cited in O'Callaghan and Print, 1995, p 151.

[27] http://www.nostatusquo.com/aclu/nudisthallofshame/index.htm

[28] Wolf, 1984

[29] ibid.

[30] O'Carroll is a self-professed paedophile and paedophile activist. He was a member of the UK Group Paedophile Information Exchange in the 1970s. His book, The Radical Case, is a defence of paedophilia. See Note 31.

[31] O'Carroll, 1978. 'The Radical Case' was published by Peter Owen. It is no longer in print. A html version of the book was web-published by the Free Paed Co-operative (http://www.fpc.net) without page numbers and remained available until September 1999. This version is the one cited here.

[32] Op. cit.

[33] Beckett, 1995 p 58; Fisher,1995, p 17; Bridges et al.,1987, p 19.

Investigations into these characteristics of paedophiles, conducted by Bridges et al, corroborate these findings, presenting the chief qualities of paedophiles as anxiety and helplessness; chronic oppositionality and hostility; tendencies to abuse fantasy; poor defences against feelings of vulnerability; morbid introspection and distorted views of others.

[34] Beckett, 1995, p 91.

[35] Reproduced in Fisher, 1995, p 19.

[36] 'Grooming' is the name given to the activities in which paedophiles engage to disinhibit the child and to minimise his/her objections to physical and sexual advances. Grooming activities include surreptitious touching, massages, sexualised conversation and viewing pornography.

[37] Source: http://www.nostatusquo.com/aclu/NudistHallofShame/Index.htm

[38] The pleasure which paedophiles experience from collecting pornography exceeds simple sexual gratification. The compulsive need to collect, index and save child pornography arises from the needs which paedophiles have to forge self-identity and understanding of themselves through fetishised objects. In online paedophile culture, pornography is a currency of esteem. Those who publish pornography in paedophile newsgroups are accorded a higher value than those who simply download it or post comments. The collection of pornography is also regarded as their 'achilles heel' as it is through tracking the distribution of this material that many paedophiles are apprehended. (See Copine, 1998, pp 56-71).

[39] O'Carroll, 1978.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Berlin, 1997.

[42] Cumming, 1997.

[43] See Sathyamala et al., 1994; Walling, 1998; Apgar, 1999; Davidson et al., 1997.

[44] Bradford and Pawlak, 1987, reported on a 15 year-old sex offender who began to develop breasts after four months of treatment with DMPA.

[45] Miyagawa et al., 1997.

[46] Under the amendment to Californian Law, a first time offender is obliged to receive the medication if the Board of Probation and Parole demand it as a condition of parole. For a second-time offender, the

drug would be a condition for parole if the offender's victim is under the age of thirteen. Chemical castration is obligatory for a third-time offender, no matter what age the victim is. The bill, or modified versions of it, has been adopted by other US states, including Missouri and Georgia. The wording of the Georgian amendment is as follows:

> "A bill to amend Code Section 16-6-4 of the Official Code of Georgia Annotated, relating to child molestation and aggravated child molestation, so as to authorize the court to require that a person convicted of a first offense of aggravated child molestation when the victim is 14 years of age or younger at the time of the offense undergo medroxyprogesterone acetate treatment or its chemical equivalent as a condition of eligibility for probation; and for other purposes."

Source: http://www.legis.state.ga.us/Legis/1997_98/leg/fulltext/hb211.htm

[47] O'Carroll, 1978.

[48] Rosler and Witztum, 1998.

[49] Practitioners who express concern about the efficacy of coerced chemical castration point to the increased sex drive of the subject after the treatment is discontinued and question whether the treatment can achieve its objectives without supportive psychotherapy. The legality of the treatment is also in dispute, as in the US it is said to infringe upon the Eight Amendment rights of the individual and to constitute corporal punishment. Maletzky (1997) regards it as follows:

> "Castration as part of a court-imposed sentence cannot be distinguished from corporal punishment and, as such, has lacked a serious support base in this country, despite the frenetic and vengeful clamor among cursory observers to cut it off. We lack follow-up studies of castration and it is unlikely now that they will be done. It would be of interest to learn how castratos now go about their lives and how they regard their prior surgical decisions about their lives and how they regard their prior surgical decisions (or more likely their European governments' decisions)".

The following excerpt from a legal article discusses these concerns with reference to the compound Triptorelin.

> "Proponents of mandatory chemical castration can be expected to rely on the study to bolster their response to these challenges, contending that the study's results are even more potent than those of previous studies of other drugs used to effect chemical castration. The proponents will argue more than likely that the reported 100% effectiveness rate of triptorelin overwhelmingly demonstrates its therapeutic value; that, while not currently used in American treatment programs and in need of further study, triptorelin may, and in light of its advantages over more commonly used drugs, arguably should become accepted medical practice in the future; that, as administered in the study, triptorelin was used in combination with psychotherapy; and that its side-effects are less severe than those of other drugs used currently. As a result, proponents will argue that mandatory chemical castration effected by triptorelin does not violate the Eighth Amendment. With regard to the non-constitutional challenges, proponents can be expected to argue that, although the study participants consented to the treatment, the circumstances under which they did so (i.e. to reduce or avoid criminal sanctions) are more in line with mandatory provisions than if the participants had sought treatment independently, outside of the criminal context. Moreover, concerns

about the state's ability to monitor and administer chemical castration are reduced arguably where monthly, not weekly, injections are required".

Source: http://www.law.uh.edu/Lawcenter/programs/health/research.html

Clark summarises the research and efficacy of the treatment with regards to juvenile offenders as follows:

"Of further concern is the use of antitestosterone drugs with juvenile offenders. Several researchers reported disturbing side effects. Hawker and Mayer (1981) found a weight gain in nearly 50% of the subjects; sperm production returned to normal levels, there was hyperinsulinemic response to glucose load and gastrointestinal functioning and gall bladder functioning was called into question. Gagne (1981) reported levels of fatigue, weight gain, hot and cold flashes, phlebitis, nausea, vomiting, headaches and sleep disturbances. Berlin and Menicke (1981) reported nightmares, hypoglycemia, leg cramps. Antitestosterone treatment did however, in low dosages during a short period of less than 3 months, suppress sexually deviant behavior while other behavioral/cognitive treatments were started (Barbaree, Marshall, Hudson, 1993). Bradford reports the use of clomipramine for a sexually obsessive-compulsive 17-year-old who was a high risk for offense. The adolescent had been referred for fetishism and had clear iust-murder fantasies directed at 10-year-old girls. The individual had been placed on an antitestosterone drug with the result of the side effect of breast enlargement. He had remained untreated after the discontinuation of the drug. Within a 2 to 3 week period after the use of clomipramine, which had little side effects, the individual reported reduction in sexual fantasies. A follow up penile plethysmograph test confirmed reduced overall arousal including rape arousal and other pedophilic patterns. The use of chemical castration should only be available to those who want the treatment or can be actually helped by it (ATSA, 1997). While the use of chemical castration has its place with some sex offender cases there are much more humane treatment programs for the majority of sex offenders who chose to change their behaviors".

Source: http://www.asarian-host.org/inpsyte/chemicalcastration.htm

[50] Op. cit., p 91.

[51] Agpar,1999; Kirchner, 1998; Goode, 1997.

[52] 'Paraphilia' is a category which comprises all abnormal or deviant forms of sexual behaviours, such as paedophilia, frotteurism and necrophilia.

[53] Kafka, 1994.

[54] Beckett, 1995, p 94.

[55] McGrath, 1991, pp 328-250.

[56] Ibid., p 82.

[57] Beckett, 1995, p 97.

[58] Source:http://www.nostatusquo.com/aclu/NudistHallofShame/index.htm

[59] Straub,1978, p 91.

[60] Abel et al., 1988; Marshall & Barbaree, 1988.

Notes Chapter Four

[1] Child Abuse on the Internet Research (CAIR) Report, 1999a, p 83.

[2] Amongst other groups, the pro-paedophile faction of an Italian anarchist group named 'Luther Blissett' has agitated for the use of aggressive PR tactics to arrogate some television and radio exposure for its cause. It has not been successful.

[3] Chapter Five discusses these attributes of paedophile advocacy literature. The exclusion of non-sadistic paedophilia from conventional media-representation is a particular example of the manifestation of dominant values and beliefs in press and television representations as treated in Fowler, 1991; Curran et al., 1986; Cockburn and Loach, 1986.

[4] This provides an interesting case study of what effect the delegitimation of adult-child sex precipitates.

[5] Available at http://www.nostatusquo.com/aclu/nudisthallofshame/index.htm

[6] Available at http://www.nostatusquo.com/aclu/nudisthallofshame/index.htm

[7] Details of the effects of the introduction of this legislation can be read at:

http://www.cyberpass.net/~plf/index.html

[8] For example, the UK group Paedophile Information Exchange (PIE) claimed to have up to forty members in the 1970s, but would not publicly release the list. See O'Carroll, 1978.

[9] ARPANET was the earliest prototype of the Internet. One of its pioneers, Steven Crocker, describes the lack of planning involved in its development in the following way:

> "During the initial development of the ARPANET, there was simply a limit as to how far
> ahead anyone could see and manage. The IMPs were placed in cooperative ARPA R&D
> sites with the hope that these research sites would figure out how to exploit this new
> communication medium."

Source: http://www.vissing.dk/inthist.html

The research and development of the Internet were government funded, with a view to applying developments to military communication. The degree of US government intervention was negligible. Other networks and applications (IRC, BBs, Usenet) developed organically from the Arpanet project without the coterminous development of policy and legislation to control and direct their development. For information on the development of the Internet see:

Hafner & Lyon. 1996; Sterling, 1993; O'Neill, 1995; Heart et al., 1978; Hauben & Hauben, 1996.

[10] On November 17, 1999 a verdict against Compuserve Germany which had ruled that:

> "The accused provided customers of Compuserve USA in Germany jointly with
> Compuserve Incorporated... with access to violent, child and animal pornographic
> representations stored on the news-servers of Compuserve USA."

was overturned because...

> "There was no technology available at the time that would have let Compuserve block
> the publication of the questionable material" .

Original judgement translated by Christoper Kuner. Further information is available at http://www.cyber-rights.org

Test cases on ISP liability for obscene material have been inconsistent in their rulings. Similarly constitutional challenges to US laws prohibiting the possession and circulation of pseudo-child

pornography have been successful in undermining the Child Pornography Protection Act (CPPA) legislation passed in the US Senate.

Free Speech vs Reno (US 9th Circuit Court of Appeals, 97-16536, December 1999) concluded that

> "Any victimisation of children that may arise from paedophiles sexual responses to pornography apparently depicting children engaging in explicit sexual activity is not a sufficiently compelling justification for the CPPA's speech restriction. To hold otherwise would enable the criminalisation of figments of creative technology that do not involve any human victim in their creation or production."

Source: http://laws.findlaw.com/9th/9716536.html

[11] This is a summary reduction of a complex issue. Naturally, illegal uses of the technology are within the ambit of law enforcement agencies and not the responsibility of the ISP industry. However, given the confusion over the liability of ISPs for web content, most censorship is effected by them as a means of safeguarding themselves from litigation.

[12] This is disputed by lawyers specialising in the application of law to digital commerce who state that the existing legislative apparati are capable of dealing with the issues arising from use of the Internet for illegal purposes.

[13] Encryption software, such as Pretty Good Privacy (PGP) , allows a user to encode files in such a way that only individuals in receipt of the user's public key may decode and view them. The UK Government tried to enact laws to regulate the use of this software which would legally compel all PGP users to put their public keys 'in escrow' i.e. in the trust of an ombudsman to whom law enforcement agencies would be compelled to present a warrant before being entitled to seize the key. The law was overturned on the grounds of unconstitutionality. More information is available at:

http://www.cyber-rights.org/crypto/index.htm

[14] Anonymising services generate false information when the user's computer is registered in a website's logfile.

See: http://www.anonymiser.com

[15] The CAIR Project was a research initiative into the use of Internet technologies by paedophiles. It covered paedophile activity on the Internet from November 1997 – July 1999. The Copine Project (O'Connell and Taylor, 1998) had a similar research brief.

[16] There are a number of reasons why this material is not easily discovered on the World Wide Web, not least of which are the efforts of regulatory bodies and anti-paedophile hackers to remove it from distribution. These efforts are successful to the extent that they disrupt the easy transmission of some paedophile material. However, the posters of this pornography, and the material itself, usually migrate to more convenient, stable and 'paedo-friendly' resources and fora, such as Usenet.

[17] In April, 1999, new Japanese laws were promulgated to curtail the distribution of child pornography on Japanese servers. This law does not make possession of child pornography illegal. It promotes the registration of pornography distributors and advises ISPs to remove such material voluntarily. There are no penalties or sanctions for failing to adhere to these directives.

[18] Both the CAIR and Copine reports corroborate this view of the Usenet system whilst pointing out that the amount of child pornography traded over IRC is untraceable and, hence, inestimable.

[19] 'Flamers' are individuals who post derogatory and/or inflammatory remarks about other individuals or the community to which they belong.

[20] To varying degrees, the news-servers Remarq, Pictureview, Ausmail and MailandNews have carried paedophile newsgroups in the past. See CAIR 1999a, pp 93-95.

[21] For example, when the paedophile newsgroups alt.fan.prettyboy anticipated their removal from many service providers' newsgroup lists, they migrated to alt.binaries.pictures.asparagus and re-commenced the distribution of child pornography. The Cair Report states that

> "The structure of Usenet is more important to paedophiles than any of the individual newsgroups which are currently part of the paedophile communications system. Suspension and censorship of specific paedophile newsgroups will lead to a short-term interruption of the supply of child pornography. But this approach will be ineffective if it does not also seek to disrupt the dissemination of paedophile information through other communication technologies such as websites, IRC and mailing lists. Paedophiles will simply colonise another newsgroup and communicate change-of-address through other communication channels". (CAIR, 1999a, pp 102).

See CAIR, 1999a, Chapter Four and Proceedings from the First Copine Conference, 1998, for further details of paedophile newsgroup activity and organisation.

[22] CAIR, 1999b, p 9.

[23] CAIR, 1999b, p 9.

[24] Test cases in the USA involving recently promulgated laws dealing with the advent of digital crimes, involving pornography, libel and slander, have floundered on the grounds of unconstitutionality. While there is no grey area with regards to the distribution and possession of child pornography, the promotion of beliefs in the validity of adult-child sex, within certain parameters, is protected. This fact has resulted in the forging of an uneasy role for the American Civil Liberties Union as a protector of paedophile rights. See ACLU's website at: http://www.aclu.org

See also note 10.

[25] Address: http://www.fpc.net/boylinks

[26] Address: http://www.webring.org/cgi-bin/webring?ring=boylovering;id=10;next5

[27] Address: http://www.bl.ru

[28] Address: http://members.hknet.com/alice1/index.htm

[29] PLF is an acronym for the Paedophile Liberation Front. This organisation's website contained a wealth of paedophile advocacy statements and sociological articles in favour of paedophilia. The site no longer exists. It was removed from the Cyberpass server around June 1999.

[30] Posted to BoyChat messageboard (http://www.fpc/net/bc/BoyChat), January 18, 1999.

[31] CAIR, 1999b, p 20.

[32] Available at: http://www.fpc.net

[33] Source: http://www.fpc.net

[34] The following research from the CAIR Report Phase Two provides information to support this contention:

Statistics for visitors to a new 'boy-love' website were analysed and indicated that the majority of referrals come from within the online 'boy-love' community and, specifically from well-established 'boy-love' websites which maintain their own server. The main referrers were as follows:

Website	Percentage of all referrals
Boylove Association of Russia	16.77%
BoyTales	15.36%
BoyLove webring	9.49%
FPC Users page	9.16%

CAIR 1999b, p 26.

[35] See CAIR 1999a, p 52.

[36] For example, NAMBLA (North American Man-Boy Love Association) uses its website to attack existing legislation regarding homosexual age of consent laws.

See: http://www.nambla.org

[37] For further details see: http://www.unesco.org

[38] Laursen describes the development of Usenet as follows:

> "Usenet, developed by Duke University and University of North Carolina students Tom Truscott and Jim Ellis, turned out to be the ultimate exponent for the physical anarchy of the ARPANET (no central command control, all connected computers being completely equal in their ability to transmit and receive packets). Utilizing the increasingly popular UNIX operating system developed at AT & T's Bell Laboratories in 1969, and its derived communication protocol UUCP (Unix-to-Unix-Copy Protocol), Truscott and Ellis created a hierarchy of discussion groups which were distributed between a growing number of academic institutions via modems and phone lines. This hierarchy soon turned out to accommodate a wide number of interests, from computer programming to car maintenance, and enabled the participants to read and post information and opinions in what became known as Usenet Newsgroups".

Source: http://www.vissing.dk/inthist.html

[39] Website domain names are registered along with the personal details of the registering party. This information can be accessed at:

http://www.allwhois.com

[40] CAIR, 19991, pp 87-143; Proceedings from the First Copine Conference, 1998.

[41] The CAIR research indicated that, as of August 1999, there were some 12 newsgroups in operation whose focus was purely on the publication and sharing of child pornography. CAIR, 1999a, pp 99-101.

[42] This is based on figures accessed through Ausmail (http://www.ausmail.com) for the number of binary files in each newsgroup as of April 29, 1999, reproduced in CAIR, 1999a, p 101. It is not possible to ascertain whether these photographs adhere to the legal definition of 'pornography'.

[43] FAQ for alt.support.girl-lovers, reproduced in CAIR, 1999a, p 358.

[44] Posted to alt.fan.prettyboy, April 13, 1999. Accessed through ausmail (http://www.ausmail.com).

[45] Beckett, 1995; Fisher,1995; Bridges et al.,1987.

[46] The full text of this legal disclaimer can be viewed at:

http://www.wildstar.net/~mandar/legal-faq.html

[47] DCC stands for Direct Communication Channel. This allows a user to send files directly across the network to another user, simply by clicking on that user's name or icon as it appears in the IRC consul.

[48] CAIR, 1999b, p 54.

[49] The primary IRC networks are Efnet; Dalnet; Undernet and IRCNet. Each has its own network of servers and system administrators. Their approaches to regulation are similar to that of Dalnet.

[50] The FBI's 'Innocent Images' campaign monitored paedophile activity in AOL chat-rooms and FBI agents were instructed to solicit child pornography from individuals occupying paedophile chat-rooms. This procedure was used to capture and convict a number of online paedophiles under obscenity laws prohibiting the distribution of pornography depicting minors.

[51] FTP stands for file transfer protocol. FTP sites allow users to externally access file directories and archives. IRC channels are subject to automated messages which advertise the presence of child pornography at FTP sites. They also supply passwords for these sites. In many cases the adverts stress that the passwords will only operate for a short period of time. See CAIR, 1999b, pp 45-63.

[52] CAIR 1999b, p 60.

[53] The CAIR research findings suggest that paedophiles do not engage in widespread use of anonymising services or software and, in fact, are often technically naïve when it comes to taking fundamental security precautions whilst surfing the Net. For example, at least 82% of them do not disable javascripts and cookies which retrieve information from their computer and record it in the visited website's logfiles. See CAIR 1999, p 35.

[54] For examples of infotopias, see: http://www.eff.org

[55] For research and theory on the democratising potential of the Internet see:
Coombs, 1998; Everett,1998; Katz, 1998; Warf & Grimes, 1998.

[56] Barlow, 1996.

[57] The Electronic Frontier Foundation's website can be viewed at:
http://www.eff.org

[58] The anti-paedophile webring comprises 67 websites devoted to the protection of children. The following are the names of some of them:

The Watchers;

Australian Youth Shelter Project;

Pedal Prayers;

Child Abuse will not stop until we stop the predators;

Citizens Against Child Porn;

PSTOP;

The only solution;

Brisons le silence;

Stop Child porn;

Keeping You and/or Your Children Safe on the Internet;

Gentle Touch's Web;

Pedo-Stop.Org.

Source: http://www.webring.org/cgi-bin/webring?/stop-pedos;list

[59] O'Connell, 1998, p 94.

Notes Chapter Five

[1] Pinker, 1997, p 54.

[2] Black, 1975, p 29.

[3] BoyChat (http://www.ivan.net/bc/boychat.shtml) is the messageboard facility on the *Free Spirits* website. It allows readers to initiate and contribute to discussions relating to 'boy-love'.

[4] There are copious amounts of paedophile advocacy sites which contain tracts of this kind in various forms.

[5] Source: http://www.fpc.net/users/~taygan

[6] Goffman, 1972 , p 113

[7] For a discussion of the ethics which inform judgements in criminal cases, see Thomson, 1998; Freeman,1999; Close & Meier, 1999.

[8] Amongst the body of research which substantiates this are:
Slavney, 1994; Fallon et al. 1994; Roesler, 1994; Waldinger, 1994.

[9] O'Carroll, 1978.

[10] Beckett, 1995, pp 88-89.

[11] Pithers et al., 1988.

[12] Available at: http://www.fpc.net/boychat

[13] Op. cit.

[14] See: http://www.arlekin.com/index2.html

[15] This is part of an online essay entitled "A Different Kind of Sexuality", which was posted on the website of the Paedophile Liberation Front (http://www.cyberpass.net/~plf/index.html).

[16] Bronislaw Malinowski's work is attractive to paedophiles because of his observation of the cultural acceptance of adult-child sexual relations amongst African tribes. (Malinowski, 1998,1999).
Brongersma's work (Loving Boys, Volumes 1-3 (1986, 1990,1991) seeks to assert the centrality of emotion in male-oriented paedophilia.
Sandfort (1982, 1987, 1988) conducted research into the positive experience of boys in adult-child sexual relationships.

[17] This extract is taken from an online document describing the work of the Paedophile Liberation Front, available at: http://www.cyberpass.net/~plf/index.html

[18] See: http://www.fpc.net/users/blufik/kto.htm

[19] Garzatrevino 1994, p 694.

[20] Wolf, 1984.

[21] Op. cit.

[22] Rose, 1996, p 54.

[23] See: http://www.fpc.net/users/taygan/index.htm

[24] The impartiality of Malinowski's work has been re-examined in light of the revelation that he was sexually involved with members of the tribes which he was observing.

[25] Foucault, 1978, p 57.

[26] Op. cit.

[27] Source: http://www.fpc.net/pages/paiderastia/ethics.html

[28] Posted on BoyChat, October 17, 1998 (http://www.fpc.net/boychat).

[29] See: http://www.fpc.net/pages/jongensliefde/frames.html

[30] See: http://www.clausgz.com/richie/index_e.html

[31] See: http://www.clausgz.com/richie/index_e.html

[32] This is another excerpt from the online essay "A Different Kind of Sexuality", which was posted on the website of the Paedophile Liberation Front (http://www.cyberpass.net/~plf/index.html).

[33] The source of this quote is an essay entitled "The Great Bogey Man" which is available at: http://www.cyberpass.net/~plf/index.html

[34] From the Paedophile Liberation Front website, available at: http://www.cyberpass.net/~plf/index.htm

[35] Source: http://www.nostatusquo.com/aclu/nudisthallofshame/index.htm

[36] This excerpt is from a collection of essays posted to the newsgroup alt.sex.paedophilia in September 1995 which were subsequently published in the website of the Paedophile Liberation Front. This site has since been removed.

[37] This excerpt is from The Boylove Manifesto, published on the European Boylove Homepage (http://sinatra.freepage.de/index-en.html).

[38] Kitzinger, 1997, p 186.

[39] http://www.denny.org/mirso/index.html

[40] For example, the Electronic Frontier Foundation (EFF), Outrage and Internet Society (ISOC) are online groups the objectives of which are supported by paedophiles.

[41] Boychat Messageboard, (http://www.fpc.net/bc/boychat.shtml). Posted on November 24, 1999.

[42] The source of this quote is an essay entitled "The Great Bogey Man" available at: http://www.cyberpass.net/~plf/index.html

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Foucault, 1978, p 8.

[48] See: http://www.ivan.net/bc/boychat.shtml

[49] Posted to the newsgroup alt.binaries.pictures.children on February 9 1995. Available at: http://www.nostatusquo.com/aclu/NudistHallofShame/index.htm

[50] Foucault, 1978, p 81.

[51] For examples, see the Fresh Petals website (http://members.hknet.com/alicel/index2.htm); Catamite College (http://www.fpc.net/pages/college/entrance.html); Serge Valinium's Princess Page (http://www.daxcom.com/valinium/welcom.html).

[52] See: European Boylove Homepage: http://sinatra.freepage.de/index-en.html

[53] Lindholm, 1998.

[54] From the essay Boylove and Sex, available at: http://www.clausgz.com/index.html

[55] Dunaigre, 1998, p 7.

[56] Op. cit.

[57] See Kesner and McKenry, 1998; Meeks et al, 1998.

[58] From a synopsis of "Dares to Speak" – an anthology of Contemporary Perspectives edited by Joseph Geraci, which is advertised on the Gay Men's Press website (http://www.gmppubs.co.uk).

[59] See: http://home.hkstar.com/~neutre/brits.html

Notes Chapter Six

[1] Newey, 1997, p 11.

[2] Professor Harry Ferguson ("Demonising Paedophiles Does not Help Problem", The Irish Times, December 18, 1997, p 5).

[3] For background research and treatments of the role of ideology in news reporting, see:

Bell, 1995; Hodge & Kress, 1993; Dixon, Reicher & Foster, 1997; Fowler, 1991; Geis, 1986; Kuusisto & Ostman, 1997; Lalliberte, 1976; Montgomery, Tolson & Garton; 1976; Roeh & Nir, 1990; Van Dijk & Teun, 1978.

[4] Fowler, 1991, p 3.

[5] Fowler, 1991, p 2.

[6] See Galtung & Ruge, 1973. The full list of criteria is as follows:

- Frequency;
- Threshold;
- Absolute Intensity;
- Intensity Increase;
- Unambiguity;
- Meaningfulness;
- Cultural Proximity;
- Relevance;
- Consonance;
- Predictability;
- Demand;
- Unexpectedness;
- Unpredictability;
- Scarcity;
- Continuity;
- Composition;
- Reference to Elite Nation;
- Reference to Elite People;
- Reference to Elite Persons;
- Reference to something Negative.

[7] Lakoff, 1994, p 12.

[8] As Fowler, 1991, p 95, writes:

"Having established a person as an example of a type, our relationship with that person is simplified: we can think about the person in terms of the qualities which we attribute to the category already pre-existing in our mind."

[9] Chkeidze, 1999, pp 118-120.

[10] See Huck, 1995.

[11] Hodge & Kress, 1993, p 10. See also Halliday, 1973; Fowler,1991.

[12] "This Pervert is After Your Kids", Evening Herald, February 23, 2000, p 1; "Time is Running Out for Evil Monsters", Evening Herald, March 11 2000, p 5; "Pervert Puppet Master", Evening Herald, March 11 2000, p 4; "Perverts Must be Stopped"; Evening Herald, March 11 2000, p 7.

[13] "This Pervert is After Your Kids", Evening Herald, 23rd February 2000, p 1.

[14] Ibid., p 1.

[15] "Pervert Puppet Master", Evening Herald, 11 March 2000, p 4.

[16] Ibid., p 4.

[17] "Time is Running Out for Evil Monsters", Evening Herald, 11 March 2000, p 5.

[18] "Offender" is used to describe the alleged 'self-confessed paedophile' against whom no criminal proceedings have been brought.

[19] "Pervert Puppet Master", Evening Herald, 11 March 2000, p 4.

[20] For a discussion of the structure and function of mythic narratives, see: Propp, 1968; Todorow,1990; Campbell, 1991.

[21] The newspapers examined were The Independent (UK), The Independent on Sunday (UK), The Financial Times (UK), The Irish Times (Ireland), The Evening Herald (Ireland). A liberal attitude to the disorder prevails in some of the coverage in some of these newspapers, for example, the publication of sympathetic articles attacking the scapegoating of paedophiles. The selective representation of paedophilia in broadsheets is more subtly delegitimatory than that of the tabloid newspapers which demonise paedophilia in an egregious manner. This examination of press coverage of paedophilia is qualitative and necessarily selective. Because of this, it could be argued that it is a) unrepresentative of general press coverage of the issue and b) that the representations and ideologies of the press are not necessarily related to popular conceptions of paedophiles. This research is not proposing that the media coverage 'mirrors' or 'creates' social beliefs, but that the array of press reports and the beliefs inherent in them, represents a general framework of popular beliefs about paedophilia and paedophiles.

[22] This can be explained by the structural selectivity which informs the type of event which is regarded as newsworthy (see Curran et al., 1986) or because legal proceedings are easier to instigate against paedophiles with multiple victims, where there are many corroborative witnesses.

[23] The UK Independent ("Paedophile Film Trial Opens in Paris", June 17, 1997, p 15) reports that "71 Frenchmen (were) accused of organising or subscribing to a network selling pornographic films involving boys". Representations of this kind seem to implicitly argue that being organised exacerbates the criminality of the act.

[24] In the coverage of 33 institutions under investigation for child-abuse in the UK (Catalogue of Horrors Prompts Inquiry", UK Independent, February 8, 1997, p 1), the allegations that supervisors and management figures colluded with the abuse were presented as being as important as the allegations of

abuse themselves. The identity of those under investigation is protected by law. This anonymity embellishes the mythic representation of paedophilia as dark, protected and mysterious.

[25] The debates about SRA are synopsised in Bernet & Chang, 1998 and Putnam, 1991. The main areas of debates are elaborated in Braun B, 1986; Mulhern, 1991; de Young, 1994.

[26] Bauserman et al., 1998, recount a number of SRA cases and relate the inability of legal counsel to secure a prosecution due to lack of any substantiating evidence, and the presence of extensive evidence indicating the contrary.

[27] Bernet & Chang, 1998, pp 32-38.

[28] Lanning, 1995, p 20.

[29] Lanning, 1995, p 21.

[30] The 'grooming' process is discussed in Chapter Five.

[31] Stanford, 1998, p 232.

[32] See CAIR 1999a (pp 115-121) for a discussion of the paedophile newsgroup alt.fan.prettyboy in which child pornography was posted with the partial intention of acting to stereotype so as to offend non-paedophile visitors.

[33] Lanning, 1995, p 17.

[34] Weeks, 1985, p 224.

[35] An article reproduced in the UK Independent ("Gay men are, alarmingly, 17 times more likely to be paedophiles than straight men - discuss", August 1, 1997, p 3) elides the distinction between paedophilia and homosexuality. Crime statistics suggest that male-oriented child abusers have more victims than female-oriented ones, but offend against them less often. There are a number of methodological problems with inferring from this that male-oriented paedophilia is more prevalent than the female-oriented variety. There is no research to indicate that male-oriented child abusers have any prevailing interest in male adults as sexual partners. Describing male-oriented paedophiles as homosexual causes an elision between the two categories of sexuality, which is to forget the fact that homosexuality is defined and understood as an adult practice. There is the further problem that higher percentages of non-reporting occur in cases of incest. All of this enfeebles attempts to gauge the nature of offences and the gender-orientation of the offenders. This confusion is not made manifest in press coverage where the need to disambiguate the disorder results in the selection of male-oriented paedophiles as viable metonyms of the disorder and the use of the term 'homosexual' to describe their orientation.

[36] US Department of Justice figures indicate that 48% of CSA cases involve perpetrators below the age of 20. Available at: http://www.usdoj.gov

[37] Similarly, the narrative of court judgements in cases of child sexual abuse are most assured when dealing with stranger-abusers. The research of Coates et al., 1999, p 278, into the language of sexual assault trial judgements asserts that

> "There is virtually no accurate vocabulary or narrative structure for the more common cases where the assailant is not a stranger to the victim."

[38] A spokesman for the UK National Health Service speaks of the necessity of new laws to govern "serious offences such as rape, murder or acts of paedophilia." ("The UK Independent, March 14,

1997). A local spokesperson for 'People Power Liverpool', referring to the presence of a convicted paedophile in the area, commented that "Paedophilia has been a sensitive issue in the area since the murder two years ago of Sophie Hook". ("Child Sex Couple Fight for Right to Remain Anonymous", The UK Independent, July 01, 1997, p 4). Sophie Hook was an 11-year-old girl who was sexually abused and murdered in Liverpool in 1995. Statements such as this imply that paedophilia is a crime in itself and has some equivalence to murder.

[39] The idea of non-sadistic sexual abuse of children is a problematic one for a number of reasons: it does not conform to the model of perpetrator/victim upon which criminal law is based. Cases involving children who do not accept that they have been victimised by their sexual experiences with adults have necessitated the formulation of the term "participant victim" to describe the child's status. One of the problems with the media representation of paedophile cases, and the means by which child abuse cases are formulated in law and clinical practice, is that there is no clear picture of the extent to which manipulation and physical intimidation are generally used in paedophile crimes or of what they consist. The dominant view of paedophilia does not countenance the possibility that adult/child sex can be anything but abusive. This is evident in the treatment of cases which do not involve the easy dichotomy between abusive perpetrator and traumatised victim. These are regarded as anomalous and strange. An article in The Irish Times article ("11 Year Term for Priest Abuse of Boys Suspended", June 7, 1998, p 13) related the case of a priest who had admitted to sexual offences against children, sought treatment and whose victims did not want to initiate legal proceedings against him:

> "Judge Anthony Murphy said that the crimes the defendant admitted were "a
> monstrous breach of trust", and the general view of society and the courts was that
> they merited a harsh custodial sentence. "However, this case is startlingly different
> from every other of this type that I have heard. Never before have I heard of a
> perpetrator owning up and expressing remorse before any allegations were made."

[40] Judgements on paedophile crimes often highlight lust as the perpetrator's motivation. Whereas in other sexual crimes this might be seen to mitigate the offence on the grounds that the perpetrator was temporarily consumed with sexual desire, in paedophile cases this interpretation is generally not employed in the passing of judgement.

[41] Matthew Brace reports ("Social Services Chief Jailed For 20 Year's Abuse: Judge Condemns 'Perverted Lust'", The UK Independent, March 8, 1997, p 11) that a social services chief was jailed for committing "twenty years of child sexual abuse". The presiding judge's comments, that the convicted man had "abused his position of power and his position of trust", reflect the prevalent conception of paedophiles as manipulative, coercive and irresponsible.

[42] In a lot of cases this conception of paedophiles is warranted. It is the implication that paedophiles, above all other categories of people, are subject to overwhelming temptation which is being stressed.

[43] Former Irish Government Minister, Maire Geoghegan Quinn, ("Report Shows Rumours Should Have Been Heeded", The Irish Times, June 20, 1998, p 3) writes:

> "These atrocities are rarely, if ever, really sexual in motivation. Typically the compulsion
> is based on an appallingly low feeling of self-worth. To alleviate that feeling these people

must find a way to dominate others, to be in charge. And the easiest targets for this domination and control are those least able to defend themselves, children".

[44] The suicide of a suspected paedophile in the UK was reported in The UK Independent ("Four suicides follow French child porn raid", June 23, 1997) in the following manner: "Suicide is linked to paeodophile purge". French police searches for active paedophiles in the aftermath of the Dutroux affair was described as a nationwide paedophile hunt ("Paedophile hunt gains momentum", The UK Independent, June 18, 1997, p 12).

[45] La Fontaine, cited in Showalter, 1997, p 179.

[46] Aho, 1988, pp 115-116.

[47] Hofstadter, 1965, p 39.

[48] A 1998 article detailing meta-research undertaken on the subject of Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) and its effects (Rind, Bauserman and Tromovitch, 1998, pp 22-53) concluded that

> "Many lay persons and professionals believe that child sexual abuse (CSA) causes intense harm, regardless of gender, pervasively in the general population. The authors examined this belief by reviewing 59 studies based on college samples... (and concluded that)...Basic beliefs about CSA in the general population (are) not supported (by the evidence)".

The article was printed in the American Psychology Association's Psychological Bulletin. Reactions within the media and anti-paedophile movement were swift and denunciatory. Debra Saunders of the "San Francisco Gate" commenting on the article, said:

> "You expect that sort of (cynicism) from a cruel pervert, but you don't expect to read it in an APA journal".

Saunders also describes Dr. Laura Schlesinger as:

> "beginning a crusade against the piece and the APA for printing it. She fears the piece is part of a concerted effort to get the APA to remove pedophilia from its list of mental disorders'.

Source: http://www.join-hands.com/psychology/drlaura.html

The paedophile organisation NAMBlA made the following comment:

> "The authors and the American Psychological Association, which published the article in one of their journals (Psychological Bulletin), have been repeatedly castigated by unabashedly homophobic organizations such as the Family Research Council and the National Association for the Research and Therapy of Homosexuality, as well as by ultraconservative individuals like "Dr. Laura" Schlesinger. There have been indignant news conferences and outraged responses from the child sexual abuse industry; even the United States House of Representative entered the fray by passing a resolution condemning the research, despite the fact that none of the congresspersons ever read it. Apparently Congress thinks that they can evaluate the validity of a scientific report by merely looking at its conclusions, or being told of them second-hand from special interest groups, as in this case".

Source: http://www.nambla.org

For further reaction from the online paedophile community to this article, see:

http://www.phix.com/~cipher/acrepa/realevil.htm

http://www.phix.com/~cipher/acrepa/JL98pedl.html

[49] Showalter, 1991, p 28.

[50] Spieckel & Steutel, 1998, pp 341-342, argue that social objections to paedophilia will only be maintained so long as the principles of consent and responsibility are accepted as the basis for all sexual relationships.

[51] Girard, 1973, p 19.

[52] Source: http://www.arlekin.com/index2.htm

[53] Dunaigre, 1998, p 6.

Notes Chapter Seven

[1] Dunaigre, 1998, p 6.

[2] Kitzinger, 1998, p 184.

[3] The Fresh Petals website (http://members.hknet.com/alicel/index.htm) contains example of paedophile romanticisation of childhood.

[4] See Chapter Five and, in particular, the discussion of "The Fort" (p 56).

[5] Ariés, 1996, p 101.

[6] Postman, 1982, pp 92-93.

[7] "Report Says Rumours Should Have Been Heeded", The Irish Times, June 20, 1998, p 3.

[8] Postman, 1982, p 97.

[9] Weeks, 1985, p 224.

[10] Kitzinger, 1998, p 185.

[11] Ibid., p 166.

[12] Cited in Morrison, 1995, p 34.

[13] Source: http://www.phix.com/~cipher/acrepa/realevil.htm

[14] The UN Convention on Human Rights, Article 34, states that:

> States and Parties undertake to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. For these purposes, States and Parties shall in particular take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent:
>
> a. The inducement or coercion of a child to engage in any unlawful sexual activity;
>
> b. The exploitative use of children in prostitution or other unlawful sexual practices;
>
> c. The exploitative use of children in pornographic performances and materials.

[15] See: http://www.fpc.net

[16] For example, many commercial search engines have a three-to-six month backlog on the indexing of newly submitted website URLs. Because of the competition for returns on search enquiries, Altavista have begun to offer a service to commercial businesses whereby, in return for a negotiable fee, the

company will receive first placing on specific search-term queries. By charging for placement on query responses, search engines will being to occlude non-commercial or unsponsored websites, such as those operated by paedophiles. (See www.altavista.com for details)

[17] White, 1998.

[18] See Laursen, 1995.

[19] Iacono and Kling, 1995, p 128

[20] The Electronic Frontier Foundation. See: http://www.eff.org

[21] The Electronic Privacy Information Centre, a special interest lobby group based in Washington DC the objective of which is to safeguard the interests and civil rights of online citizens. See: http://www.epic.org

[22] Campbell and Machet, 1999.

[23] CAIR, 1999b, pp 30-33.

[24] WebTV is similar in function to the recently launched Unison product. See: http://www.webtv.net; http://www.unison.com

[25] WebTV operates with a point-to-point (PPP) protocol which changes the IP address assigned to a user during the Internet session. This makes tracing the physical location of the computer more difficult.

[26] CAIR, 1999b pp 17-42.

Bibliography

Bibliography

Abel, G, 1987, "Surveillance groups", a paper presented at the annual meeting of the association for the Behavioural Treatment of Sexual Abusers, Newport, Oregon, USA, May 1987.

Abel, G; Becker, J; Cunningham-Rathner, J; Mittelman, M; Rouleau, J; Kaplan, M and Reich, J, 1984, The Treatment of Child Molesters, SBC-TM, 722 West 168th Street, Box 17, NY 10032, New York.

Abel, G; Mittelman, M; Becker, J; Rathner, J and Rouleau, J, 1988, "Predicting child molesters' response to treatment", Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, vol 528, pp 223-234.

Adorno, T and Horkheimer, M, 1979, Dialectic of Enlightenment, Verso, London.

Aho, JA, 1994, This Thing of Darkness: A Sociology of the Enemy, University of Washington Press, Seattle.

Allarddansereau, C; Haley, N; Hamane, M and Bernardbonnin, AC, 1997, "Pattern of child sexual abuse by young aggressors", Child Abuse and Neglect, vol 21, iss 10, pp 965-974.

Apgar, B, 1998, "Treatment of women with hypothalamic amenorrhea", American Family Physician, vol 57, pp 144 et seq.

Apgar, B, 1999, "Fluoxetine for treatment of panic disorder", American Family Physician, vol 59, no 7, pp 1924 et seq.

Ariés, P, 1996, Centuries of Childhood, Pimlico, London.

ATSA statement, February 7, 1997, Anti-androgen therapy and surgical castration.

Banyard, VL, 1997, 'The impact of childhood sexual abuse and family functioning on 4 dimensions of women's later parenting', Child Abuse and Neglect, vol 21, iss 11, pp 1095-1107.

Barbaree, HE; Marshall, WL and Hudson, SM (eds), 1993, <u>Juvenile Sex Offenders</u>. Guilford Press, New York.

Barlow, JP, 1995, "One man's declaration of the independence of cyberspace", Available at: http://www.cyber24.com/essay/barlow.htm

Barrett, M, 1991, <u>The Politics of Truth</u>, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Bauserman R and Rind, B, 1997, "Psychological correlation of male child and adolescent sexual experiences with adults – A review of non-clinical literature", <u>Archives of Sexual Behaviour</u>, vol 26, iss 2, pp 105-141.

Bauserman, R; Rind, B and Tromovitch, P, 1998, "An examination of assumed properties of child sexual abuse based on nonclinical samples", Paper presented to the symposium sponsored by the Paulus Kirk, Rotterdam, The Netherlands, December 18, 1998.

Beckett, RC, 1995, 'Assessment of sex offenders', in Morrison, T; Erooga, M and Beckett, RC (eds), <u>Sexual Offending against Children – Assessment and Treatment of Male Abusers</u>, Routledge, London and New York.

Beckett, RC, 1995, 'Cognitive-behavioural treatment of sex offenders', in Morrison, T; Erooga, M and Beckett, RC (eds), <u>Sexual Offending against Children – Assessment and Treatment of Male Abusers</u>, Routledge, London and New York.

Beier, KM, 1998, "Differential typology and prognosis for dissexual behavior - a follow-up-study of previously expert-appraised child molesters", <u>International Journal of Legal Medicine</u>, vol 111, iss 3, pp 133-141.

Bell, A, 1995, "Language and the media", <u>Annual Review of Applied Linguistics</u>, vol 15, pp 23-41.

Benjamin, J, 1997, "On Boys and Boylovers", Available at: http://www.demon.nl/freespirit/fpc/pages/boy-muse/report.html

Benton, T, 1984, <u>The Rise and Fall of Structural Marxism: Althusser and his Influence</u>, St. Martin's Press, New York.

Berlin, FS and Menicke, CF, 1981, "Treatment of sex offenders with antiandrogen medication: conceptualization, review of treatment modalities and preliminary findings. American Journal of Psychiatry, vol 138, pp 601-607.

Berlin, FS, 1997, "Chemical castration for sex offenders", [Letter to the editor]. New England Journal of Medicine, vol 336, iss 14, p 1030.

Bernet,W and Chang, DK, 1997, "The differential-diagnosis of ritual abuse allegations", Journal of Forensic Sciences, 1997, vol 42, iss 1, pp 32-38.

Black, M, 1975, Caveats and Critiques: Philosophical essays in langauge, logic and art, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York.

Bradford, JM and Pawlak, A, 1987, "Sadistic homosexual pedophilia: treatment with cyproterone acetate: A single case study". Canadian Journal of Psychiatry, vol 32, pp 22-33.

Braun, B, 1986, "Issues in psychotherapy of multiple personality disorder", In Braun, B (ed), Treatment of multiple personality disorder, American Psychiatric Association Press, Washington DC.

Bridges, MR; Wilson, JS and Gacono, CB, 1998, "A Rorschach investigation of defensiveness, self-perception, interpersonal-relations, and effective states in incarcerated pedophiles", Journal of Personality Assessment, vol 70, iss 2, pp 365-385.

Briere, J and Runtz, M, 1989, "University males' sexual interest in children: predicting potential indices of paedophilia in a nonforensic sample', Child Abuse and Neglect, vol 13, pp 65-75.

Briggs, D, 1995, 'The management of sex offenders in institutions', in Morrison, T; Erooga, M and Beckett, RC (eds), Sexual Offending against Children – Assessment and Treatment of Male Abusers, Routledge, London and New York.

Brongersma, E, 1986, Loving Boys, Volume 1, Global Academic Publishers, Elmhurst, New York.

Brongersma, E, 1990, <u>Loving Boys, Volume 2</u>, Global Academic Publishers, Elmhurst, New York.

Brongersma, E, 1991, <u>Loving Boys, Volume 3,</u> Global Academic Publishers, Elmhurst, New York.

Burton, DL and Nesmith, AA and Badten, L, 1997, "Clinician views on sexually aggressive children and their families – a theoretical exploration", <u>Child Abuse and Neglect</u>, vol 21, iss 2, pp 157-170.

CAIR, 1999a, <u>Child Abuse on the Internet Research Report Phase One</u>, Dublin, 504 pages.

CAIR, 1999b, <u>Child Abuse on Internet Research Report Phase Two</u>, Dublin, 136 pages.

Campbell, J., 1991, <u>The Masks of God</u>, Penguin/Arkana, New York.

Campbell, P and Machet, E, 1999, "European Policy on regulation of content on the Internet", in Liberty (ed), <u>Liberating Cyberspace</u>, Pluto Press, London and Virginia.

Chkeidze, VV, 1992, "The statics and dynamics of metonymy", <u>Vestnik</u>, Issue 9, pp 118-120.

Clark, N, 1998, "Use of chemical castration with male sex offenders", available at: http://www.asarian-host.org/inpsyte/chemicalcastration.htm

Clark, Paul and Erooga, Marcus, 1995, "Groupwork with men who sexually abuse children", in Morrison, T; Erooga, M and Beckett, RC (eds), <u>Sexual Offending against Children – Assessment and Treatment of Male Abusers</u>, Routledge, London and New York.

Close, D and Meier, N, 1999, <u>Morality in Criminal Justice : An Introduction to Ethics</u>, Wadsworth Pub. Co., New York.

Coates, L, 1997, "Causal attributions in sexual assault trial judgments", <u>Journal of Language and Social Psychology</u>, vol 16, iss 3, pp 278-296.

Cockburn, C and Loach, L, "In whose image?", in Curran, J; Ecclestone, J; Oakley, G and Richardson, A; Bending Reality – The State of the media, 1986, Pluto Press, London.

Coombs, WT, 1998, "The Internet as potential equaliser – new leverage for confronting social irresponsibility", Public Relations Review, vol 24, iss 3, pp 289-303.

Cooper, AJ, 1981, "Placebo-controlled trial of the antiandrogen cyproterone acetate in deviant hypersexuality", Comprehensive Psychiatry, vol 22, pp 458-465.

Copine, 1999, Proceedings from the First Copine Conference, January 20-21, 1998, Dublin Castle.

Costigan, J, 1999, "Forest Trees and Internet Research", in Jones, S (ed), Doing Internet Research, Sage Publications.

Craissati, J and McClurg, G, 1997, "The challenge project – a treatment program-evaluation for perpetrators of child sexual abuse", Child Abuse & Neglect, vol 21, iss 7, pp 637-648.

Cumming, G and Buell, M., 1997, Supervision of the Sex Offender, Safer Society Press, Brandon, Vermont, USA.

Curran J; Ecclestone, J; Oakley, G and Richardson, A (eds), 1986, Bending Reality – the State of the Media, Pluto Press, London.

Davidson, AR; Kalmuss, D and Cushman, LF, 1997, "Injectable contraceptive discontinuation and subsequent unintended pregnancy among low-income women", American Journal of Public Health, vol 87, pp 1532-1534.

De Young, M, 1994, "One face of the devil: The satanic ritual abuse moral crusade and the law", Behavioural Science Law, vol 12, pp 389-407.

Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 1997, 3rd Edition revised, American Psychiatric Association, Washington DC.

Dixon, JA, Reicher, S and Foster DH, 1997, "Ideology, geography, racial exclusion: the squatter camp as 'blot on the landscape", Text, vol 17, iss 3, pp 317-348.

Dube, R and Herbert, M, 1988, "Sexual abuse of children under 12 years of age: a review of 511 cases", Child Abuse and Neglect, vol 12, pp 321-330.

Dunaigre, P, 1998, Paedophilia, Paper delivered to UNESCO symposium on child abuse and the Internet, Stockholm, August, 1998.

Ellis, D and Haugan, M, 1997. "Modelling the information seeking patterns of engineers and research scientists in an industrial environment," Journal of Documentation, vol 53, no 4, pp 384-403.

Ellis, D, 1989. "A behavioural model for information retrieval system design," Journal of Information Science, vol 15, nos 4/5, pp 237-247.

Ellis, D; Cox, D and Hall, K, 1993, "A comparison of the information seeking patterns of researchers in the physical and social sciences," Journal of Documentation, vol 49, no 4, pp 356-369.

Erooga, M, 1995, 'Where the professional meets the personal', in Morrison, T; Erooga, M and Beckett, RC (eds), Sexual Offending against Children – Assessment and Treatment of Male Abusers, Routledge, London and New York.

Everett, M, 1998, "Latin-America online – The Internet, development and democratisation", Human Organization, vol 57, iss 4, pp 385-393.

Fallon, BA; Sadik, C; Saoud, JB and Garfinkel, RS, 1994, "Childhood abuse, family environment, and outcome in bulimia-nervosa", Journal of Clinical Psychiatry, vol 55, iss 10, pp 424-428.

Ferguson, H, "Demonising paedophiles does not help problem", The Irish Times, December 18, 1997, p 5.

Finkelhor, D, 1984, Child Sexual Abuse: New Theory and Research, Free Press, New York.

Finkelhor, D, Lewis, IS, 1988, "An epidemiological approach to the study of child molestation", in Prentky, RA and Quincey, V (eds) Human Sexual Aggression:Current Perspectives, vol 258, New York University of Sciences, New York.

Fisher, D, 1995, " Adult sex offenders: who are they? Why and how do they do it?", in Morrison, T; Erooga, M and Beckett, RC (eds), Sexual Offending against Children – Assessment and Treatment of Male Abusers, Routledge, London and New York.

Foucault, M, 1979, History of Sexuality: Part One, Allen Lane, London.

Fowler, R, 1991, Language in the News – Discourse and Ideology in the Press, Routledge, London and New York.

Freeman, SJ, 1999, Ethics : An Introduction to Philosophy and Practice Wadsworth Pub Co., New York.

Freeman-Longo, R and Blanchard, GT, 1998, Sexual Abuse in America: Epidemic of the 21st Century, Safer Society Press, Brandon, Vermont.

Freund, K, 1987, "Erotic preference in paedophiles", Behaviour Research and Therapy, Vol 5, pp 339-348.

Fritz, GS, Stoll, K and Wagner, N, 1981, "A comparison of males and females who were molested as children", Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy, vol 7, pp 54-59.

Gagne, P, 1981, "Treatment of sex offenders with medroxyprogesterone acetate". American Journal of Psychiatry, vol 138, pp 644-646.

Galegher, Sproull and Kiesler, 1998, "Legitimacy, authority and community in electronic support groups", Written Communication, vol 15, iss 4, pp 493-530.

Galtung, W and Ruge, B, 1973, "Structuring and selecting news", in Cohen, S and Young, J (eds), The Manufacture of News: Social Problems, Deviance and the Mass Media, Constable, London.

Garzatrevino, ES, 1994, "Neuro-biological factors in aggressive-behaviour", Hospital and Community Psychiatry, vol 45, iss 7, pp 690-699.

Geis, ML, 1986, "Language and the media", Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, vol 7, pp 64-73.

Girard, R, 1986, The Scapegoat, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

Glaser, B, 1998, "Psychiatry and pedophilia - a major public-health issue", Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, vol 32, iss 2, pp 162 et seq.

Goffman, E, 1972, Relations in public: Microstudies of the Public Order, Harper Colophon, New York.

Goode, E, 1999, "Still some despair in a Prozac nation", New York Times, p 1, July 27 1999 (Late New York Edition).

Gramsci, A, 1996, Prison Letters, Pluto Press, London and Chicago.

Hafner, K and Lyon, M, 1996, "Where Wizards Stay Up Late: The Origins of the Internet", Simon & Schuster, New York.

Halliday, MAK, 1973, Explorations in the Functions of Language, Edward Arnold, London.

Hauben, M and Hauben, R, 1996, Netizens: On the History and Impact of Usenet and the Internet, Columbia University.

Havgaard, JJ and Tilley, C, 1988, "Characteristics predicting children's responses to sexual encounters with other children", Child Abuse and Neglect, vol 12, pp 347-362.

Hawker, PA and Mayer, WJ, 1981, "Medroxyprogesterone acetate treatment for paraphilic sex offenders", in Hayes, JR; Roberts, TK and Solway, KS (eds), Violence and the Violent Individual, Medical and Scientific Books, New York.

Heart, F; McKenzie, A; McQuillan, J and Walden, D, 1978, "The ARPANET Completion Report", Washington, D.C.

Hermoso, AC and Cullen, S, 1998, "Sexual Abuse of Children, Child Pornography and Paedophilia on the Internet: An International Challenge", Paper delivered to UNESCO symposium on child abuse and the Internet, Stockholm, August 1998.

Hodge, R and Kress, G, 1993, Language as Ideology (2nd Ed.), Routledge, New York.

Hoefnagels, C and Baartman, H, 1997, "On the threshold of disclosure – the effects of a mass-media field experiment", Child Abuse & Neglect, vol 21, iss 6, pp 557-573.

Hofstadter, D, 1965, The Paranoid Style in American Politics, Vintage, New York.

Iacono, S and Kling, R, 1995, "Computerization movements and tales of technological utopianism", in Kling, R (ed), Computerization and Controversy: Value Conflicts and Social Choices (2nd ed), Academic Press, Washington.

James, M, 1998, "Gramsci's Political Analysis: a Critical Introduction", MacMillan Press, New York.

Jameson, F, 1990, Late Marxism: Adorno or the Persistence of the Dialectic, Verso, London and New York.

Jones, S, 1999, Doing Internet Research, Sage Publications.

Kafka, M, 1994, "Sertraline pharmacotherapy for paraphilias and paraphilia-related disorders: an open trial", Annuals of Clinical Psychiatry, vol 6, no 3, pp 177-191.

Katz, JE, 1998, "Struggles in Cyberspace – fact and friction on the World-Wide-Web", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol 560, pp 194-199.

Kelly, Michael, 1995, "The Road to Paranoia", New Yorker, iss 6, p 25.

Kesner, JE and McKenry, PC, 1998, "The role of childhood attachment factors in predicting male violence toward female intimates", Journal of Family Violence, vol 13, iss 4, pp 417-432.

Kirchner, JT, 1998, "Fluoxetine for depression in children and adolescents", American Family Physician, vol 57, no 7, pp 1671-1672.

Kitzinger, J, 1997, "Who are you kidding? Children, power and the struggle against sexual abuse", in James, A and Prout, A (eds), Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood, Falmer Press.

Krafft-Ebing, R von, Psychopathia Sexualis, Rebman, New York, 1912. (12th ed.)

Kuusisto, P and Ostman, JO, 1997, "The media as mediator: How foreigner discourse constructs ideology in Finnish newspapers", Belgian Journal of Linguistics, vol 11, pp 157-182.

Lakoff, George, 1987, "Women, Fire and Dangerous Things", University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Lalliberte, Raymond, 1976, "Concerning the journalists, various powers", Communications et Information, vol 3, pp 231-242.

Lanning, KV, 1992, Child Molesters: A Behavioural Analysis, FBI Academy, Virginia.

Lanning, KV, 1995, Child Sex Rings: A Behavioural Analysis, FBI Academy, Virginia.

Larrain, J, 1979, The Concept of Ideology, Hutchinson, London.

Laursen, J, 1995, "The Internet Past, Present and Future", available at: http://www.vissing.dk/inthist.html

Laws, RD (ed), 1989, Relapse prevention with sex offenders, Guilford Press, New York.

Lindholm, C, 1998, "Love and Structure", <u>Theory Culture & Society</u>, vol 15, iss 3-4, pp 243 et seq.

Malamuth, NM, 1981, "Rape proclivity among males", <u>Journal of Social Issues</u>, vol 37, pp 138-157.

Maletzky, B, 1991, <u>Treating the sexual offender</u>, Sage Publications, Newbury Park, California.

Maletzky, B, 1997, "Castration: A personal foul", <u>Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment</u>, vol 9, iss 1, pp 1-5.

Malinowski, B, 1997, <u>Freedom and Civilisation</u>, Greenwood Press, London.

Malinowski, B, 1998, <u>The early writings of Bronislaw Malinowski</u>, Cambridge University Press, New York.

Mannheim, K, 1962, <u>Ideology and Utopia: an Introduction to the sociology of knowledge</u>, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, San Diego.

Marks, IM, 1981, <u>Cure and care of neuroses</u>, John Wiley, New York.

Marshall, WL and Barbaree, HE, 1990, "Outcome of cognitive behavioural treatment", in Marshall, WL; Laws, DR and Barbaree, HE, (eds) <u>Handbook of Sexual Assault</u>, Plenum, New York.

Marx, K and Engels, F, 1970, <u>The German Ideology</u>, Lawrence and Wishart, London.

Maynard, C and Wiedermann, M, 1997, "Undergraduate students perceptions of child sexual abuse – effects of age, sex and gender-role attitudes", <u>Child Abuse & Neglect</u>, vol 21, iss 9, pp 833-844.

McCaghy, CH, 1967, "Child molesters: a study of their careers as deviants", in Clinard, MB and Quinney, R (eds) , <u>Criminal behaviour sytems: a typology</u>, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York.

McGrath, RJ, 1991, "Sex offender risk assessment and dispositional planning: a review of empirical and clinical findings", <u>International Journal of Offender Therapy Comparative Criminology</u>, vol 35, iss 4, pp 328-350.

Meeks, BS, Hendrick, SS and Hendrick, C, 1998, "Communication, Love and Relationship Satisfaction", Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, vol 15, iss 6, pp 755-773.

Miyagawa, K, Vidgoff, J, and Hermsmeyer, K, 1997, "Ca[sup 2+] release mechanism of primate drug-induced coronary vasospasm", American Journal of Physiology, vol 272, pp 2645-2654.

Money, J, Bennett, RG, 1981, "Postadolescent paraphilic sex offenders: antiandrogenic and counseling therapy follow-up", International Journal of Mental Health, vol 10, pp 122-133.

Montgomery, M; Tolson, A and Garton, G, 1989, "Media discourse in the 1987 general election: ideology, scripts and metaphors", ELR, vol 3, pp 173-204.

Morrison, Tony, 1995, "Context, Constraints and Considerations for Practice", in Morrison, T; Erooga, M and Beckett, RC (eds), Sexual Offending against Children – Assessment and Treatment of Male Abusers, Routledge, London and New York.

Mulherm SA, 1991, "Satanism and psychotherapy: A rumor in search of an inquisition", in Richardson, JT, Best, J, Bromley, D (eds), The Satanism Scare, Aldine de Gruyter, Paris.

Newey, A, 1997, "Don't mention the 'P' word: Paedophilia is the new demon but the betrayal of academic freedom is a greater disgrace", The UK Independent, August 18, 1997, p 11.

Northern Ireland Research Team, 1991, Child Sexual Abuse in Northern Ireland, Greystone, Belfast.

O'Brien, M, 1991, "Taking sibling incest seriously', in Quinn-Patton, M (ed), Family Sexual Abuse: Frontline Research and Evaluation, Sage, Beverly Hills, California.

O'Callaghan, D and Print, B, 1995, "Adolescent sexual abusers: research, assessment and treatment", in Morrison, T; Erooga, M and Beckett, RC (eds),

<u>Sexual Offending against Children – Assessment and Treatment of Male Abusers</u>, Routledge, London and New York.

O'Carroll, T, 1978, <u>The Radical Case</u>, Peter Owen, London.

O'Connell, R and Taylor, M, 1998, <u>Paedophilia and the Internet</u>, Department of Applied Psychology, University College Cork.

O'Connell, R, 1998, "Paedophilia networking and Internet 2: Newsgroups", <u>Proceedings from the First Copine Conference</u>, January 20-21 1998, Dublin Castle, pp 85-103.

O'Neill, J, 1995,"The Role of ARPA in the development of the ARPANET, 1961-1972." <u>IEEE Annals of the History of Computing</u>, vol 17, iss 4, pp 73-85.

Pareth, B, 1982, <u>Marx's Theory of Ideology</u>, Crom Helm, London.

Paykel, ES, 1979, <u>Sexual offender research</u>, Paper presented to the Society for Psychotherapy Research, Oxford, June.

Pinker, S, 1997, <u>How the Mind Works</u>, Penguin, London.

Pithers, WD; Ashima, K; Cumming, GF; Beal, LS and Buell, M, 1988, "Relapse prevention of sexual aggression", in Prentky, R and Quinsey, V (eds), <u>Human Sexual Aggression Current Prespectives</u>, New York Academy of Sciences, New York.

Postman, N, 1982, <u>The Dissappearance of Childhood</u>, Delacorte Press, New York.

Propp, V, 1968, <u>Morphology of the Folk Tale</u>, University of Texas Press, Austin.

Putnam, FW, 1991, "The satanic ritual controversy", <u>Child Abuse and Neglect</u>, vol 115, pp 175-179.

Quinsey, VL; Chaplin, TC and Varny, G, 1981, "A comparison of rapists' and non-sex offenders sexual preference for mutually consenting sex, rape and physical abuse of women", Behavioural Assessment, vol 3, pp 127-135.

Rind, B; Bauserman, R and Tromovitch, P, 1998, "A meta-analytic examination of assumed properties of child sexual abuse using college samples," Psychological Bulletin, vol 124, no 1, pp 22-53.

Robin, RW; Chester, B; Rasmussen, JK; Jaronson, JM and Goldman, D, 1997, "Prevalence, characteristics and impact of childhood sexual abuse in a south-western American-Indian tribe", Child Abuse and Neglect, vol 21, iss 8, pp 769-787.

Roeh, I and Nir, R, 1990, "Speech presentation in the Israel radio news: Ideological constraints and rhetorical strategies", Text, vol 10, iss 3, pp 225-244.

Roesler, TA, 1994, "Reactions to Disclosure of Childhood Sexual Abuse - The Effect on Adult Symptoms", Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, vol 182, iss 11, pp 618-624.

Rose, H, 1996, "Gay brain, gay genes and feminist science theory", in Weeks, J and Holland, J (eds), Sexual Culture, Macmillan, London and New York.

Rosler, A and Witztum, E, 1998, "Treatment of men with paraphilia with a long-acting analog of gonadotrophin-releasing-hormone", New England Journal of Medicine, vol 338, iss 7, pp 416-422.

Russell, D, 1983, "The incidence and prevalence of intrafamilial and extrafamilial sexual abuse of female children", Child Abuse and Neglect, vol 7, pp 133-146.

Sack, JD and Fejes, F, 1987, "The Ideology of the Information Age", Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Sandfort, T, 1982, The Sexual Aspect of Paedophile Relations: The Experience of Twenty-Five Boys, Pan/Spartacus, Amsterdam.

Sandfort, T, 1987, Boys On their Contacts with Men: A Study of Sexually Expressed Friendships, Global Academic Publishers, Elmhurst, N.Y.

Sandfort, T, 1988, "Constructive questions regarding paedophilia", Paidika Issue 4, pp 28-31.

Sathyamala, C;   Shah, P and Jain, Y, 1994, "Use of injectable depot medroxyprogesterone acetate in lactating Indian women", Lancet, vol 344, pp 134-5.

Showalter, E, 1996, Hystories, HarperCollins, London and New York.

Slavney PR, 1994, "Pseudo-seizures, Sexual Abuse, and Hermeneutic Reasoning", Comprehensive Psychiatry, vol 35, iss 6, pp 471-477.

Spieckel, B and Steutel, J, 1997, "Pedophilia, sexual desire and perversity", Journal of Moral Education, vol 26, iss 3, pp 331-342.

Stanford, P, 1998, The Devil – a Biography, Vintage, London.

Sterling, Bruce, 1993, "Short history of the Internet", Available at: gopher://gopher.isoc.org/00/internet/history/short.history.of.internet

Stewart, Joseph L., 1971, "Psychosomatic (iatrogenic) disorders of communication", General Semantics Bulletin, vol 38, iss 10, pp 143-155.

Straub, 1978, "Predicting pro-social-behaviour", in Pervin, L and Lewis, M, (eds), Perspectives in Interactional Psychology, Plenum Press, New York.

Thompson, J, 1984, Studies in the Theory of Ideology, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Thomson, A, 1998, Critical Reasoning in Ethics : A Practical Introduction, Routledge, London and New York.

Todorow, T, 1990, Genres in Discourse, Cambridge University Press, New York.

U.S. Department of Justice, 1996, "Child Victimizers: Violent Offenders and their Victims", Office of Justice Programs Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Jointly published with the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. NCJ-153258.

UK Home Office, 1990, Criminal Statistics, London, HMSO.

Valliant, PM and Bergeron, T, 1997, "Personality and criminal profile of adolescent sexual offenders, general offenders in comparison to non-offenders", Psychological Reports, vol 81, iss 2, pp 483-489.

Van Dijk, F and Teun, A, 1989, "Critical news analysis", Critical Studies, vol 1, iss 1, pp 103-126.

Voloshinov, VN, 1973, "Marxism and the Philosophy of Language", Seminar Press, New York.

Waldinger, RJ; Swett, C; Frank, A and Miller, K, 1994, "Levels of Dissociation and Histories of Reported Abuse Among Women Outpatients", Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, vol 182, iss 11, pp 625-630.

Walling, AD, 1998, "Influence of fluoxetine on length of menstrual cycle", American Family Physician, vol 57, no 10, pp 2514 et seq.

Warf, B and Grimes, J, 1997, "Counterhegemonic discourses and the Internet", Geographical Review, vol 87, iss 2, pp 259-274.

Weeks, J, 1985, Sexuality and its Discontents – Meanings, Myths and Modern Sexualities, Routledge, London and New York.

Weinrott, MR and Riggan, M and Frothingham, S, 1997, "Reducing deviant arousal in juvenile sex offenders using vicarious sensitisation", Journal of Interpersonal Violence, vol 12, iss 5, pp 704-728.

White, A, 1998 "Freedom of information in the face of worldwide concern about the sexual abuse of children, paedophilia and pornography on the Internet", a paper delivered to Unesco symposium on child abuse and the Internet, Stockholm, August 1998.

Wincze, JP; Bansal, S, and Malamud, M, 1986, "Effects of medroxyprogesterone acetate on subjective arousal, arousal to erotic

stimulation, and nocturnal penile tumescence in male sex offenders", Archives of Sexual Behavior, vol 15, pp 293-305.

Wolf, SC, 1984, "A multifactor model of deviant sexuality", a paper presented at Third Interdisciplinary Conference on Victimology, Lisbon.

Wyatt, G, 1985, "The sexual abuse of afro-american and white american women in childhood", Child Abuse and Neglect, vol 9, pp 507-519.

Zbytovsky, M and Zapletalek, M, 1979, "Cyproterone acetate in the therapy of sexual deviations", Acta Nervosa Scandinavica Supplement (Praha), vol 21, pp 162 et seq.