RECONSTRUCTING PAEDOPHILIA: AN ANALYSIS OF CURRENT DISCOURSES AND THE CONSTRUCT OF CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS

Jonelle Naudé

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Supervisor: Mr C. Petty

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work, and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

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Jonelle Naudé   **Date**
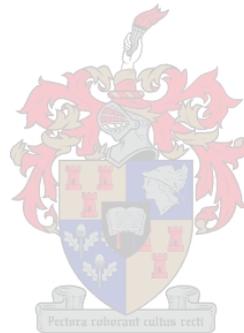
ABSTRACT

There is a growing need for research to facilitate a better understanding of paedophilia. This study aims to make a contribution in this regard by providing an analysis of current discourses in paedophilia research as well as a phenomenological exploration of how the male paedophile constructs his close relationships with children. Analysis reveals how the dominant positivist approach to paedophilia research embeds and perpetuates moral and often prejudicial positions that in turn influence the validity of empirical findings and theory, and tend to marginalise contradictory evidence. In an attempt to circumvent these obstacles, it is argued that the psychological need to form close relationships is a universal one. On this basis the central components of close relationships are presented as a conceptual framework. These components are then applied to an exploratory phenomenological investigation and analysis of the ways in which three paedophilic men interpret, understand and construct their relationships with children. Tentative conclusions include the suggestion that, since there was strong evidence that the participants constructed their relationships with children in terms of the constructs of close relationships, the framework of close relationships is useful for separating the psychological needs of paedophiles from 'deviant sexual behaviour'. Furthermore, it appears that the framework opens a discursive space in which the psychological dimensions of paedophilia may be problematised in ways that are less susceptible to implicit prejudice and bias, and therefore empirically more sound. The implications hereof for research, theory and psychotherapeutic intervention in the area of paedophilia are discussed briefly.

OPSOMMING

Daar is 'n toenemende behoefte aan navorsing wat tot 'n beter begrip van pedofilie kan lei. Hierdie studie het ten doel om 'n bydrae in hierdie verband te maak deur 'n analise van huidige diskoerse in die navorsing van pedofilie, asook 'n fenomenologiese ondersoek na die wyse waarop die manlike pedofiel sy verhoudings met kinders konstrueer. Analise toon hoe die dominante positivistiese benadering tot navorsing oor pedofilie morele en dikwels vooroordelende posisies vergestalt en in stand hou, en hoe dit die geldigheid van empiriese bevindinge en teorie beïnvloed en teenstrydige bevindinge marginaliseer. In 'n poging om hierdie struikelblokke te omseil, word daar geargumenteer dat die psigiese behoefte om hegte verhoudings te vorm universeel is. Derhalwe word die sentrale komponente van hegte verhoudings as 'n konseptuele raamwerk aangebied. Die komponente word toegepas op 'n eksploratoriese fenomenologiese ondersoek en analise van die wyses waarop drie pedofiliese mans hulle verhoudings met kinders interpreteer, verstaan en konstrueer. Tentatiewe gevolgtrekkings sluit onder andere in die aanbeveling dat, na aanleiding van die sterk indikasies dat deelnemers hulle verhoudings met kinders in terme van komponente van hegte verhoudings konstrueer, die raamwerk van hegte verhoudings dus nuttig kan wees om die psigiese behoeftes van pedofiele van 'afwykende seksuele gedrag' te onderskei. Verder blyk dit dat hierdie raamwerk 'n ruimte skep waarin die psigiese dimensies van pedofilie geproblematiseer kan word, op wyses wat minder neig tot implisiete vooroordeel of sydigheid, en gevolglik empiries meer gegrond is. Die implikasies vir navorsing, teorie en psigoterapeutiese intervensie in die area van pedofilie word kortliks bespreek.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

This study explores the phenomenon of paedophilia. It investigates the construction of the relationship between the male paedophile and a child, focusing on historical and contemporary views and discourses, and highlighting the tensions between these. A phenomenological exploration will be presented of the ways in which the male paedophile (who does not use violence or physical force) experiences and understands his relationship with a child.

The word *paedophilia* is derived from the Greek words *paido* and *fileo* – meaning *child* and *love* (Engelbrecht, 1989). Historically, this word was used to indicate the loving feelings an adult may have for a child. These loving feelings were not limited to emotions but included sexual desire for a child. It will be shown that, until fairly recently, paedophilia was not perceived as immoral. Constantine first condemned paedophilia on moral grounds in 325 A.D. The concepts of 'sexual abuse of children' and 'child molester' came into existence then and are still here today (Engelbrecht, 1989).

On a societal level, paedophilia has been defined as immoral and monstrous (Ivey & Simpson, 1998). In South Africa, the paedophile is seen as a "social pariah, the extreme embodiment of deviant sexuality" (Ivey & Simpson, 1998, p. 15). It is especially in the last two decades (Rind, Bauserman, & Tromovich, 1998) that the social status of the paedophile has become even more demonised, to that of a "filthy pervert" who "abducts" and "murders" children (Kempe & Kempe, 1984). This is often the picture portrayed and reinforced by the media (Levine, 1995). As Ivey and Simpson (1998) point out, much of what is popularly believed about paedophiles is not true, and is the result of a socio-cultural process of demonisation, often fuelled by biased research findings (Howitt, 1995; Mirkin, 1999; Rind, Bauserman, & Tromovich, 2000).

Empirically, paedophilia is a problematic construct to define. Today, it is listed in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV-TR (DSM-IV-TR), *the* modernist charter of psychological disorders. According to the medical model, which is inherently positivist, paedophilia is seen and defined as a psychopathology – an illness. The DSM-IV-TR (American Psychiatric Association, 2000) classifies paedophilia as a sexual disorder under the category of paraphilia, while the ICD-10 (Kaplan & Sadock, 1998) classifies paedophilia as a disorder of sexual orientation. Sexual disorders are thought to interrupt the major functions of sexual behaviour (the enhancement and expression of love, bonding and procreation) and are seen as deviant behaviour

(Kaplan & Sadock, 1998). According to the positivist view, paedophilic acts are seen as perversions of 'normal' sexuality.

This classification system rests to a large extent on a body of academic literature on paedophilia that is almost exclusively positivist in nature, although alternative approaches do exist. Within this paradigm, two parallel, yet overlapping, aspects emerge. One explains paedophilia in terms of psychopathology, the other in terms of its illegality. Positivist research on paedophilia has thus focused predominantly on its criminal and psychopathological dimensions.

The rational-instrumental underpinning of positivism has thus far served to contain paedophilia in the interests of maintaining social order. However, as will be shown below, this paradigm has limited usefulness in furthering understanding of paedophilia, since it operates from an inherently biased moral position. This paper will argue that the positivist view of paedophilia in fact contains crucial value judgements regarding paedophilia, which are disguised as 'scientific findings' and which trap the concept of paedophilia in moral and political agendas (Green, 2002; Mirkin, 1999; Schmidt, 2002). The argument then follows that when these assumptions and judgements remain hidden, positivist research on paedophilia tacitly supports and reinforces the existing social and legal order, in which paedophilia is classified as pathological and paedophiles are demonised and criminalised.

Apart from providing an analysis of contemporary theories on paedophilia, this study will provide an alternative framework for understanding paedophilia. This is in line with the call for research that approaches paedophilia from the perspective of the paedophile without *a priori* moral judgement or condemnation (Green, 2002; Levett, 2004; Moser, 2001; Schmidt, 2002). Numerous psychotherapists working with paedophiles have also expressed a need for a more rational and compassionate approach towards paedophilia (Gieles, 2001; Moser, 2001; Van Lessen, 1990) and have adopted a more supportive approach to paedophiles in their therapeutic work (Kear-Colwell & Boer, 2000; Van Lessen, 1990).

In keeping with social constructionist theory, this study acknowledges that choosing a specific definition of paedophilia is in itself a political act. As such, I will not attempt to provide an absolute definition of paedophilia, but will rather highlight the contradiction between the historical and contemporary modes of defining this construct, and give promenance to moral judgements implicit in the current theory.

In order to substantiate the need for alternative constructs in the generation of theory on paedophilia, the following steps will be taken: firstly, the historical view of paedophilia will be presented, highlighting its socially constructed nature; secondly, the positivist perspective of paedophilia will be analysed in terms of its limitations and intrinsic contradictions; and thirdly, the influence that the positivist perspective has had on research, therapeutic intervention and theoretical models of paedophilia will be described. This process will substantiate the manner in which the positivist paradigm has shaped the discourses of paedophilia and the ways in which it has influenced our understanding of the phenomenon. Proceeding from this basis, an alternative conceptual framework, namely of close relationships, will be outlined.

The need to form and maintain close relationships may be construed as a universal human need, in that these relationships are a primary source of fulfilment, happiness and satisfaction with life (Campbell, Converse, & Rodgers, 1976; Freedman, 1978; Myers & Diener, 1995; Seligman, 2002). The notion of close relationship offers a useful universal container for a range of related constructs relevant to intimate interpersonal relationships that may be present in paedophilic relationships. Furthermore, as sexuality is often expressed most clearly within a close relationship (McKinny & Sprecher, 1991), the notion of close relationships provides a valuable framework for studying sexuality in general, and thus paedosexuality. It will be argued that the close relationship framework to a large extent circumvents the moral bias inherent in positivist models, thereby creating new spaces for problematising the phenomenon and new avenues for research and intervention. Lastly, the usefulness of this framework will be tested by applying it to the phenomenological data gathered from three paedophiles and by discussing emergent implications.

While this study challenges current conceptualisations of paedophilia, it should not be construed as an approval of adult-child sexual relations. Rather, the intention is to illustrate how current theory has been constrictive to our understanding of the phenomenon, and to open up a discursive space in which new ways of understanding paedophilia can be explored.

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2. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

</div>

2.1. Introduction

The purpose of this section is to provide an overview of how paedophilia has been viewed historically, to highlight the fact that a change has taken place in the hegemonic conceptualisation of paedophilia over time, and to emphasise the socially constructed nature of this phenomenon.

2.2. Historical notions of paedophilia

In Ancient Greece and Rome, a sexual relationship between an older man and a boy was conceived as normal, rather than being deviant. To the Greeks, pederasty was an important element in raising male youth (Licht, 1953). Pederast marriages and honeymoons were common in Crete and Boeotia, and 'rent-a-boy' services were available in Athens (De Mause, 1974). Young Romans soon followed the local customs while studying in Athens and Rhodes. The presence of boys also became a common feature in the Roman army. At the end of the first century B.C. it had become common practice for a centurion to have a boy accompanying him wherever he went for the purpose of a constant sexual relationship: this led to the custom of 'tent-sharers' in the Roman army. De Mause (1974) labelled Greek and Roman men 'ambisexual' in their inclinations and practices, since their sexual attraction was to both women and children and they could not be referred to as homosexual or bisexual. He reports that in the passage from childhood dependence to adult responsibilities, the sexual and moral guidance of a caring man was seen as invaluable.

The idea of pederasty as an approved phase in the development of the male is not unique to ancient Greece or Rome; it is found in its most extreme form among the Sambian people of New Guinea (Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg, 1991). It was believed that a young man who did not engage in sexual activities with an older man would remain a child, never to become a warrior. They further believed that by ingesting the semen of an older man, a boy would grow to be self-confident and masculine. More cross-cultural examples of adult-child sex include the people of the Siwa Valley in North Africa and the people of Aranda in Central Australia, where most men and boys engaged in anal intercourse (Ford & Beach, 1951). Diamond (1990) reviewed adult-child sex in Hawaiian and Polynesian history. During the eighteenth century in Hawaii sexual interactions between adult and child were seen as benefiting the child, rather than as gratifying the adult. The sexual desire by an

adult for a non-adult, heterosexual or homosexual was also accepted (Pukui, Haertig, & Lee, quoted in Diamond, 1990). The same occurred in Polynesia (Diamond, 1990).

Ancient religious law also acknowledged sex between men and very young girls. The Jewish Talmud allowed that a girl over 3 years of age may, with her father's permission, be engaged to a man by sexual intercourse (Rush, 1980). Sex with a girl younger than three would not be illegal, but invalid for the purpose of engagement. In ancient Christian tradition this age was 7 years (Rush, 1980).

For three hundred years, up until the 20th century, the age of sexual consent in England was 10 (Green, 2002). The decision to increase the age of sexual consent in England was encouraged by concerns regarding child prostitution, not by concerns regarding paedophilia.

Historically, the concept realisation of paedophilia as a pathological condition or criminal behaviour pattern did not exist. Rather, adult-child sexual activities often served cultural, moral-religious and spiritual-ritualistic purposes (Radbill, 1980). Therefore, in many contexts over time, these practices were also socially condoned. The terms *perpetrator* and *victim* were non-existent. There were only *men*, and the term *passives* were used for boys indulging in sexual activities with men.

Men continued to use children as sexual objects, largely without reservation or fear of social sanction, up until the 1800s (Schultz, 1980). From that time an argument was made that children needed protection from their 'own sexual instincts' as they were 'sexually dangerous', and needed adults to enforce asexuality and innocence (Schultz, 1980). Since then society has moved from denying the sexual exploitation of children to gradually recognising child rights (Kilpatrick, 1992). Paedophilia as a harmful adult-child sexual practice is therefore a conceptual construct that emerged with the growing influence of the Christian religion (Engelbrecht, 1989) and the emergence of child rights (Jackson, Karlson, & Tseng, 1991). Children only recently became a focus of protection and seen as deserving of their own rights. In South Africa, for example, the Child and Family Welfare Society only started its operations in helping victims of child abuse in 1918 (Snyman, quoted in Schurink, 1992).

In the 1940s and 1950s, more awareness of child welfare and child rights increased as the fields of child psychology and social work gained prominence. Also, more advanced social programmes for children could now be created. With the arrival of television, the media heightened public

awareness of child abuse in the 1960s. It was also in the 1960s that child sexual abuse became a distinct focus of academic study. A landmark for research in child abuse, which received great publicity, was the study in 1962 by Kempe, *The battered child syndrome* (Bullough, 1990). This resulted in even more societal awareness of child abuse and the need for appropriate legislation. Consequently, government funding in America increased specifically for research of child sexual abuse (Jackson et al., 1991). Paedophilia has since been condemned on moral grounds, and the terms *child sexual abuse* and *child molester, perpetrator* and *victim* were firmly established in the language of adult-child sexual relations (Engelbrecht, 1989).

It is overly simplistic to assume that paedophilia was uniformly and unquestioningly accepted in pre-modernist times. These activities were mostly practiced by adult men in a patriarchal society and they controlled the narratives and discourses surrounding adult-child sexual relations, positing these as normal and commonplace, even beneficial to the child. Kilpatrick (1992) points out that children and females were seen as having few or no human attributes and were mainly regarded as property of the male, to be dealt with as he saw fit.

2.3. Conclusion

Two central points were made in this section. Firstly, the meaning of adult-child relations has changed over time and context, thus illustrating the socially constructed nature of this phenomenon. Secondly, dominant groups in society have been responsible for defining and therefore controlling the conceptualisation of adult-child sex. In pre-modernist societies, which were strongly patriarchal, it was men who had the power to define paedophilia (although they did not use this term). In our contemporary society, by contrast, science (that until recently has been a predominantly male domain) has defined and classified paedophilia.

3. CONTEMPORARY EMPIRICAL APPROACHES TO PAEDOPHILIA

3.1. Introduction

The aim of this section is to locate paedophilia within contemporary research and theoretical paradigms. The chapter will start with a discussion of positivism and recent changes regarding this paradigm. This will be followed by an explication of research that has been conducted on paedophilia, focusing on theories and therapies that have been developed to contain it. Finally, this chapter will present paedophilia in terms of psychological aspects of its criminality.

3.2. Historical view on positivism

In order to understand the current position that paedophilia occupies within contemporary research paradigms, it is necessary to look at the historical position of positivism within scientific research, as well as to review recent changes that have influenced this paradigm. Positivism, which has historically been a dominant factor in all scientific research, including psychological research, is built on three assumptions: logical empiricism, rationality and objectivity (Babbie, 1998). Positivism holds that science is based on the results of experimentation and observation; scientific theory is an abstract representation of a phenomenon; and that good theory, therefore, is a mirror of reality. Positivism also assumes the belief that it is possible to describe any experience in value-neutral language, and that an objective reality exists to which all humans have access (Davis & Stasz, 1990).

However, in recent decades dissenting voices from within various disciplines have begun to question even the most axiomatic assumptions that positivism is built upon (Lash, 1990; Stein, 1998). Theorists such as Popper (1963) and Kuhn (1962) have argued convincingly that research is and remains a human endeavour, that it cannot be removed from the social context in which it operates and that it is fundamentally shaped by the dominant institutions and discourses in society. Kuhn (1962), specifically, deconstructed the notion that science is a rational, objective endeavour freed from human passion and error.

Feminist theorists (De Beauvior, 1977; Fraser, 1987; Young, 1987) have, in similar fashion, uncloaked the strong influence that institutions such as patriarchy have had (and still have) on

science, and in the process have questioned the concept of a rational, objective observer who can conduct research from an ahistoric, uninvolved position. Feminist theory has in large measure been responsible for the notion that a researcher cannot and should not attempt to conduct research without first acknowledging his or her values, assumptions and social attributes. Finally, advances within linguistic theory have led to the post-structuralist movement and meta-theories such as social constructionism, wherein the very notion that language can be neutral is radically deconstructed (Lash, 1990).

It can be argued that there has been a definite, broad movement in theoretical fields that has started to spill over into research and particular methodologies, affecting the way that research is conceptualised and carried out. Specifically, researchers have begun to recognise the importance of acknowledging their own values and assumptions, and to move away from attempting to conduct 'value-free' research. This study aims to align itself with this broad movement, and will attempt to apply these new theories and concepts to the research on paedophilia.

3.3. Position of paedophilia within contemporary research paradigms

In recent years, the phenomenon of paedophilia has held a central position in psychological debates. Two major issues that have been contested are whether paedophilia genuinely causes harm and whether it is indeed a pathological condition. As stated earlier, paedophilia is defined as a disorder in the DSM-IV-TR and the ICD-10. Definitions of paedophilia as pathological rely on assumptions of behaviour that is deemed deviant. Subsequent attempts to generate explicatory theory should therefore serve to support this label.

However, it is in fact the assumption that paedophilia is a mental disorder that has been contested by researchers such as Green (2002) and Schmidt (2002). Although both researchers received harsh criticism, they also enjoyed the support of fellow colleagues and researchers. Subsequently, paedophilia was one of the 'disorders' discussed at the annual American Psychiatric Association (APA) convention in May 2003 (Lawrence, 2003). The discussion centred on the possible removal of paedophilia from the DSM. Although paedophilia was not removed, the definition of paedophilia was changed in the Text Revision of the DSM-IV. The DSM-IV-TR now states that only an adult that acts on his or her paedophilic urges qualifies for a diagnosis of the disorder (Lawrence, 2003).

Another controversial event in the study of paedophilia was a paper published in the *Psychological Bulletin* by the APA in 1998, presenting the findings of researchers Rind, Bauserman and Tromovich. The authors argued that not all instances of sex between adults and children cause psychological harm to children. Coming from the APA, this article could be seen as a major breakthrough regarding paedosexual politics. However, the APA and the authors of the above-mentioned article have since been subjected to harsh criticism and disapproval (Ruark, 1999), to the extent that the APA issued a statement (APA, 1999) proclaiming their condemnation of child sexual abuse, and stating that it remains *morally wrong*. This statement of course highlights the implicit moral viewpoint that is held with regards to this 'scientific' topic, yet it does not go beyond this viewpoint to acknowledge that positivist research is informed by these moral assumptions.

The latter is exactly the point Rind et al. (1998) make in their articles: not that child sexual abuse is harmless, but rather that morality and non-scientific assumptions are arresting scientific development. In a later article they state "we need to recognise and counter non-scientific advocacy in the social sciences" (Rind, Bauserman, & Tromovich, 2000, p. 211). They further explicitly point out the distinction between *wrongfulness*, a moral/legal view on abuse, and *harmfulness*, which is a scientific definition of abuse. These two terms have implicitly and erroneously been used in academic literature as interchangeable terms, thus confusing morality and law with science (Ruark, 1999).

Even though the Rind studies (Bauserman & Rind, 1997; Rind et al., 1998) were supported by other researchers and academics (Mirkin, undated; Bullough, 2000; Oellerich, 2000), the strong emotive reaction arrested the contribution it made to the research of child sexual abuse. The articles especially held valuable contributions for therapists working with paedophiles and children who have experienced adult-child relations (Bullough, 2000), as it challenged assumptions regarding child sexual abuse and the treatment thereof. According to Mirkin (undated), the intense controversy was due to the challenge the Rind articles posed to the empirical foundations of moral claims made about child sexual abuse. It broke the rules of sexual politics and as a result, the value of the research could not be appreciated.

In agreement with Moser (2001), it is my contention that the attacks levelled at the researchers have strongly impeded similar research within this arena. This study aims to encourage further research on the phenomenon of paedophilia. A central point of this study is to acknowledge and answer to the intrinsic problems in studying paedophilia, by analysing where unacknowledged moral and legal constructs have taken possession of so-called scientific enquiry, and how this has impacted our

understanding of this phenomenon. However, it is first necessary to locate paedophilia within current and contemporary research approaches and academic literature.

3.4. Research on paedophilia

There is ample literature on paedophilia that is informed by a positivist research paradigm. Within this paradigm, two parallel yet overlapping approaches emerge. The one approach explains paedophilia in terms of psychopathology, the other in terms of its illegality. These two pathways are often fused in positivist research and literature and together they contain most essential positivist assumptions held on paedophilia: that it is an illness, it is morally wrong and it causes harm to society. These two approaches will be discussed in this chapter by presenting literature and research findings on both categories. Alternative contemporary approaches towards paedophilia will also be discussed. This chapter will furthermore highlight the limitations contemporary approaches (in particular the positivist approach) place on the research of paedophilia; the boundaries it places on therapeutic interventions; and ultimately the extent to which it impedes a fuller understanding of this phenomenon.

3. 4. 1. Paedophilia as a pathological condition

3.4.1.1. Theories on paedophilia: the positivist perspective

Several theories built on radically divergent foundations have been proposed to explain paedophilia (Howitt, 1995). Since paedophiles appear to constitute a heterogeneous group (Greenberg, 1990), it may well be impossible for one single theory to be applied to all paedophiles. A few of the most influential theories will be presented below, focusing also on their limitations. The theories have been divided into two groups: those embedded in the positivist paradigm (including social learning theories, cognitive theories and biological theories) and alternative (non-positivist) approaches towards paedophilia (such as psychoanalytic theories, feminist and post-feminist theories, as well as the phenomenological approach).

Howells (1981) framed paedophilia as a sexual learning process. The central hypothesis is that children engage in various forms of sexual activity during childhood. The association of sexual arousal with immature body characteristics of other children may condition a long-term sexual response to immature bodies. However, this theory fails to explain why many people pass through their childhood with childhood sexual experiences without becoming adult paedophiles – an

argument that effectively undermines this theory and suggests the presence of other significant variables.

The precondition model (Araji & Finkelhor, 1986) categorises factors that characterise paedophiles and the circumstances leading to offending into four basic types. These types could also be named 'motivating factors' in sexual attraction to children. The possibility of an interaction of two or more of these factors, as motivational force, is proposed:

1. Emotional congruence – the paedophile's emotional need to relate to children. He seeks to have this emotional need met by engaging in sexual activity with children.
2. Sexual arousal – children are sexually arousing to the paedophile.
3. Blockage – factors responsible for the unavailability of adult sexual and emotional gratification. The appropriate means of fulfilling these needs are unavailable or less attractive.
4. Disinhibition – factors responsible for the disregard of normal prohibitions against sex with children. The usual inhibitions regarding sex with children are overcome.

The precondition model is one of the most widely acknowledged and accepted explanations of paedophilia. However, much of the evidence used for this model is weak or lacks methodological integrity (Okami, 1990) and comes from highly biased samples, nearly always consisting of offender populations (Kilpatrick, 1987; Okami, 1990). It has been argued that the characteristics found in the paedophiles from these populations may be related to the arrestation process and the treatment they endure from other prisoners (Howitt, 1995).

The cognitive distortion theory argues that paedophiles use whatever cognitive means they can to validate their activities (Wyre, 1990). Some of the characteristic cognitive styles of paedophiles are:
1. Minimalising their offence.
2. Redefining the abuse as something consensual and desired by the child.
3. Excusing their offence by attributing blame to external factors, such as family break-up and unemployment or by blaming the child.

Approaches such as the cognitive distortion theory rest on a moral and ideological basis in that it assumes a type of conscious mental manipulation of reality on the part of the paedophile that is both self-serving and self-exculpatory. For example, if a paedophile should refer to the sexual activity he enjoyed with a child as 'a game', it could be labelled 'redefining the abuse as something desired by

the child' and 'minimising the offence'. Such approaches, however, often have little basis in systemic research and theory (Howitt, 1995).

The last positivist theory on paedophilia discussed here is that of physiological disposition. Langevin, Wortzman, Dickey, Wright and Handy (quoted in Freund, 1994) used CAT (computer-assisted tomography) to detect structural anomalies of paedophiles' brains. A similar study was conducted by Wright, Nobrega, Langevin and Wortzman (1990). They proposed that structural abnormalities are more common in the brains of sexual offenders than in the brains of control groups, thus implying a biological basis to paedophilic tendencies. However, Lang, Flor-Henry and Frenzel (quoted in Howitt, 1995) reviewed research on the sex hormone profiles of paedophiles and incestuous people, but found no clear hormonal profile. They strongly discredited this theory.

3.4.1.2. Theories from non-positivist approaches

From a psychodynamic perspective, paedophilia has traditionally been viewed as a perversion (Socarides, 1991; Storr, 1964). Scruton (1986) regards perversion as the sexual interest in a less than fully regarded partner. As such, the love object is wanted in diminished form. Referring to paedophilia, the child is wanted, because he or she is a child (less than an adult), not in spite of being a child. According to Scruton (1986), a child could be seen as a prelude to a person: a person in diminished form, a less than fully regarded partner. However, this general definition of a perversion could indicate that even masturbation should be seen as a perversion, since it does not include any form of a partner, but only the fantasy thereof. Overall, assumptions of perversion have not withstood sociological or psychological review. It became apparent from the studies conducted by Kinsey (Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948; Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, & Gebhard, 1953) that many socially condemned sexual activities are very common. Expressions of sexuality have since been difficult to define as perversion.

Most feminist theories argue that boys and men generally learn to experience their sexuality as an overwhelming and uncontrollable force that has to be expressed and that they focus their sexual feelings on submissive objects (Howitt, 1995). The feminist view of child sexual abuse developed from an earlier focus on family violence and sexual violence against women. The feminist principle is that interpersonal relationships involve power relationships that transform the private realm into a political one, thus making sexual politics an integral part of male-female and adult-child interactions (Dominelli, 1989). The political undertone of feminist discourse on adult-child sexual relations is even more evident in post-modern feminism. For example, the post-modern feminist approach to sexuality sees sexuality as constructed in relation to, and in interaction with, historically

and culturally available social practices such as religion, education and medicine (Harding, 1990). As a result, some sexual experiences, beliefs and practises are legitimised and others are denigrated or remain hidden (Harding, 1990). Post-modern feminism acknowledges in-group diversity and gives attention to the multiplicity of experiences and understandings that may exist within one group. This approach leads to the concept of *sexualities*, acknowledging different experiences and meanings of sexuality, rather than one 'sexuality' (Barber & Allen, 1992). Consequently, this approach considers the experiences of those whose sexuality have been ignored or misinterpreted.

However, post-modern feminists also take the position that all claims of truth do not carry the same justificatory force (Barber & Allen, 1992). They assert that critical reflection and rational argument should be used to illuminate problems in social relations and to identify inaccuracies in opposing perspectives (Hawkesworth, 1989). Adult-child sexual relations are therefore not considered by post-modern feminists as a sexuality that has been misinterpreted. Adult-child sexual relations are seen as replicating the oppressive power relations of patriarchy. Specifically, sexual relations entailing an adult male and underaged female are viewed as a medium for the victimisation of women. This position concludes that the young female might be emotionally or materially dependent on the adult and is therefore exploitable. Man-boy sexual relations are also typified as paradigmatic of patriarchy, as the dominant/submissive power dynamic is also present in such a relationship (LeMoncheck, 1997).

On this basis, post-modern feminists conclude that they oppose adult-child sexual contact, even if the child does consent (Barber & Murray, 2001). From this perspective, one can argue that feminist discourse on sexual offending against children seems to have a political dimension that is similar in nature, although contradictory in intent, to the attempts by paedophile organisations to normalise paedophiliac activity (Howitt, 1995). They have demonised patriarchy, and by implication, also paedophilia. The danger here is that 'critical reflection' and 'rational argument' seem to become substitutes for moral and social condemnation. If this should be the case, the post-modern feminist approach to sexuality seems to diverge quite radically from the stated position of giving voice to those individuals whose sexuality has been ignored.

A South African study by Ivey and Simpson (1998) represents a phenomenological approach to paedophilia. These authors explored the subjective meaning of the paedophilic experience by conducting qualitative open-ended interviews with 6 paedophiles. The study emphasised that paedophilic behaviour originates from a range of non-sexual motives related to unmet childhood needs for parental affection and affirmation. Their psychological profile of a male paedophile

included the following: he is emotionally still a child, and feels inadequate (socially and sexually) to negotiate in an adult world. They concluded that the paedophile feels accepted, in control and more adequate in his relations with children, which compensates for the rejection he experiences in adult relations (Ivey & Simpson, 1998). This approach challenged traditional stereotypes of the 'child molester' and provided a new perspective on paedophilia. However, the study was still embedded in the positivist assumption that paedophilia is a pathological condition. In their conclusion, paedophilic behaviour was described as "deviant sexual strategies that some individuals employ to avoid psychic pain" (Ivey & Simpson, 1998, p. 19).

The theories on the pathology of paedophilia presented in this section have included positivist approaches of sexual learning, preconditioning, cognitive distortion, biological abnormality and alternative approaches to paedophilia, including sexual perversion, oppressive power relations and the phenomenological approach. However, not one of these theories manages to fully explain the phenomenon of paedophilia. Three fundamental problems that limit the validity of these theories were identified and will now be summarised.

Firstly, no single theory could explain *all* manifestations of paedophilia. As explained earlier, paedophiles comprise a heterogeneous population and, subsequently, this phenomenon demands a heterogeneous set of theories (Howitt, 1995). The phenomenon is too complex to be explained from within merely one theoretical model. Present theories and explanations of paedophilia are based on extreme and divergent theoretical foundations and these theories vary across historical, sociological, biological, psychological and even political domains. Some theorists argue that it is the heterogeneous nature of the paedophile population itself that is the reason for these greatly divergent foundations (Howitt, 1995).

Secondly, as was pointed out, each theory has fundamental empirical or theoretical issues undermining its validity. For instance, none of the mentioned theories can lay claim to a sound empirical basis, as research evidence that 'supports' these theories is often inconsistent, contradictory or lacks methodological integrity (Howitt, 1995; Okami, 1990). Thirdly, all of the above theories conceptualise paedophilia as pathological. As such, these theories share the same positivist assumption of paedophilia, namely that paedophilia is an illness and morally wrong. It is proposed, moreover, that this assumption might be the factor creating the inaccuracy of all these theories (Howitt, 1995). The next section of this chapter will discuss the therapies that have flowed from these theoretical conceptualisations of paedophilia.

3.4.1.3. Psychotherapeutic approaches

As different theories of paedophilia evolved, different therapies were adopted for 'treating' paedophilia. According to Howitt (1995), therapeutic intervention has struggled to yield long-term positive results. Some theorists (Cossins, 2000; Howitt, 1995; Okami, 1990) interpret this as proof that there is an inherent weakness connecting all contemporary conceptualisations of paedophilia.

The current most popular therapies are multifaceted programmes that cover deficits in the knowledge, skills and thinking of offenders. There is, however, a lack in research specifying which parts of the programmes work best. It is also not clear why these social programmes have to dominate therapy when the level of programme effectiveness (and therefore also cost effectiveness) is in question (Howitt, 1995). Two major problems raised in conventional treatment programmes for paedophiles are:

1. They are almost invariably designed for prisoner or psychiatric hospital populations (Howitt, 1995).
2. They are designed for *all* sex offenders (Howitt, 1995), for instance they are aimed at rapists, general sexual offenders *and* paedophiles, while no empirical evidence exists that suggests similarity between these groups.

In the 1960s, depth therapy was used to search for the fermenting psychological conflict causing the 'paedophilic symptoms' (Howitt, 1995). Behaviour therapy employed psychological techniques that promoted the unlearning of learnt paedophilic behaviour. Much of the early behaviour therapy treatments for paedophilia emerged from earlier attempts to convert gay men and lesbians into 'normal persons' (Doyle, 1992).

The most popular modern therapy – cognitive-behaviour therapy – entails the dismantling of self-justifications, attitudes and beliefs of the paedophile, while including more behavioural-orientated strategies aimed at stopping the paedophilic behaviour (Barbaree, Bogaert, & Seto, 1995).

Although therapy for paedophiles has evolved since depth therapy, it still remains largely underpinned by a theoretical and ideological framework that defines paedophilia as a disease.

A small number of therapists have adopted a position that is more supportive of paedophiles (Van Lessen, 1990). These supportive therapies help paedophiles to understand the emotional functions

of paedophilia. Kear-Colwell and Boer (2000) are in support of such an empathic approach. They believe that paedophilia is a description of particular sexual interest and behaviour, rather than a mental disorder. They also believe that it is the therapist's role to try to understand why an adult prefers a child as a sexual partner and to help the adult develop skills to deal with his thoughts and feelings that could lead to further paedophilic behaviour. Kear-Colwell and Boer (2000) have noted that present approaches to treatment of the paedophile are not as effective as they should be. They found that confrontation during treatment could be counter-, if not anti-therapeutic, and that other more empathic and supportive approaches are needed, at least in the beginning of the treatment process.

Kear-Colwell and Boer (2000) acknowledge the influence of socio-political constructs that surround and distort therapists' perceptions, decision making and practice. However, they suggest that therapists deal with their clients as individuals with profound difficulties, and not as representative of a class of criminals. This suggested approach could lead to the development of a therapeutic alliance that may serve as a template for the development of a healthy attachment to a caregiving adult. The therapeutic alliance could be a very important learning experience for the paedophile in terms of trusting and relating to adults. According to Kear-Colwell and Boer (2000), a significant shift is also needed toward helping the paedophile understand his history and how that history has influenced his life to date, as well as his emotional and cognitive vulnerabilities and his emotional attraction to children.
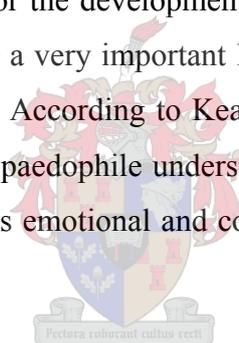
In supportive treatment, the potential conflict between the needs of the client and the protection of society poses a problem for the therapist (Kear-Colwell, 1996). The therapist would therefore need to think through the issues that are involved, to be clear about his or her own position and to discuss this with the client. It is a matter of dealing openly with the paedophilic client, as one human being to another, and developing a mutual rapport that becomes an effective alliance for successful treatment. It is therefore proposed that the paedophile's problems be addressed in a more holistic manner, as opposed to simply treating the offending behaviour as the only issue and ignoring the person who generated the behaviour (Kear-Colwell & Boer, 2000).

Although supportive therapies might provide useful guidelines, there is a great need for more research in this area, as little is available to evaluate or support this therapeutic approach. Overall, paedophiles continue to be demonised by society and any research that would enhance understanding and treatment consequently remains vital (Moser, 2001).

3.4.2. Paedophilia as a criminal act: typology

The second approach of positivist research concerning paedophiles focuses on paedophilia as a criminal act. The main purpose for such research is to *identify* a child molester in order to apprehend possible offenders and contribute to their conviction. Two major typologies of sexual abuse offenders are Groth's (1978, 1982) typology of male offenders and Mathews's (1987) typology of female sexual offenders. The foundation of these approaches also includes the conceptualisation of paedophilia as pathology. *Child molester* is the term given to the paedophile that transgresses the law by engaging in sexual activities with children – a term that contributes to the homogenous categorisation of paedophiles and emphasises the predatory quality that is commonly attributed to them.

The DSM-IV-TR distinguishes paraphilias primarily on the basis of the structure of the inappropriate stimulus or situation. Behavioural scientists have devised additional structural subtypologies in an attempt to refine the DSM category of paedophilia. Extensive research has been done to compile a profile of the typical paedophile (Adams & McNaulty, 1994; Anderson & Kunce, 1979; Duthie & McIvor, 1990; Grobbelaar, Snyman, & Steyn, 1995; Guddjonsson & Sigurdsson, 2000; Murray, 2000). Social inadequacies of the offender (Knight, Carter, & Prentky, 1989), the presence of antisocial tendencies (Fitch, 1962), and the degree of entrenchment of fixation of the behaviour (Groth, 1979; Knight et al., 1989) have all been suggested as helpful distinctions between different child molesters. Other studies sought to identify personality traits of the paedophile (Ching & Yanagida, 1995; Dean, Joy, Miller, & Ridenour, 1997; Henderson & Kalichman, 1991; Maric & Marshall, 1996), using different psychometric measuring instruments. For example, Ames and Houston (1990) reported that 77 members of a paedophilia self-help club presented themselves on the Eysenck Personality Questionnaire as introverted, shy, sensitive and depressed. They also found paedophiles to be more fearful of negative evaluations, unassertive, socially inept, and overly sensitive compared to other groups.

Many similar studies have been conducted, but the utility and validity of popular psychometric measuring instruments used on paedophiles are being questioned (Chantry & Craig, 1994). The Milton Clinical Multiaxial Personality Inventory (MCMI), for example, measures enduring personality disposition, which would not be susceptible to situational variables, whereas clinical states, such as anxiety and depression, would be affected by such variables. Therefore, it cannot be determined whether the personality styles found in convicted paedophiles are pre-existing, or whether the results are a reaction to their incarceration (Chantry & Craig, 1994).

The classification of paedophiles developed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is an example of structural typology and was developed to assist the police in criminal cases. Lanning (quoted in Academy of Investigation, 2001) of the FBI differentiates between two types of child molesters: the situational molester and the preferential child molester.

The situational child molester does not have a true sexual preference for children, but engages in sex with children for some other reason. There are four types of situational child molesters:

1. The regressed child molester has low self-esteem and poor coping skills and uses children because of the unavailability of suitable peers.

2. The morally indiscriminate child molester has antisocial personality traits. The sexual abuse of children is a continuation of a general pattern of abuse in his life.

3. The sexually indiscriminate child molester wants to experiment with sex. He does not have an exclusive preference for children, but experiments with them, as he would experiment with sadomasochism and homosexualism.

4. The inadequate child molester suffers from psychoses, personality disorders, mental retardation or senility. He is typically withdrawn and does not have the confidence to approach adult partners.

The preferential child molester is the second type of child molester and prefers children as sexual partners to adults. There are three types of preferential child molesters:

1. The seductive child molester will court the children, like an adult would court his partner, with attention, affection and gifts.

2. The introverted child molester has a sexual preference for children, but lacks the interpersonal skills to seduce them. He usually molests strangers or very young children.

3. The sadistic child molester has a sexual preference for children, but needs to inflict and see pain before he is aroused. He might murder his victims.

Typology models contribute to the understanding of the motivations of child sex offenders, but fall prey to attempting to fit the offence into an existing theoretical perspective, rather than generating an explanatory model from data concerning the phenomenon itself (Hollin, 1989). There is a need for the establishment of a psychological profile of a paedophile, especially in juridical systems (Murphy & Peters, 1992). To date there is still no agreed psychological profile of a paedophile and a reliable profile has not yet been identified (Bancroft, 1989; Becker & Quinsey, 1993; Conte, 1991;

Ivey & Simpson, 1998). This is a probable result of paedophiles comprising a heterogeneous population (Bancroft, 1989; Barnard, Fuller, Robbins, & Shaw, 1989; Glasner & Frosh, 1998; Ivey & Simpson, 1998; Renvoize, 1993).

3.5. Conclusion

Two dominant research perspectives on paedophilia, namely that of pathology and criminality, both primarily embedded in the positivist view, have been discussed in this section. It has been highlighted that both these perspectives fall prey to criticism of inconsistency and lack of sustainable research evidence (Hollin, 1989; Howitt, 1995). An essential problem with these views seems to be the fact that paedophiles comprise of a heterogeneous population, an issue that these theories fail to capture adequately. One could even go so far as to say that, in dealing with paedophilia, not one theory, classification system or therapeutic programme might ever be adequate to fully explain this phenomenon. Finally, the root problem embedded in these two parallel positivist approaches seems to be the unacknowledged and hence unquestioned assumption that paedophilia is a pathological condition. The following section will address the influence the positivist approach has had on the classification, categorisation and ultimately society's understanding of paedophilia.
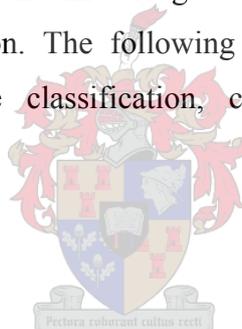
4. THE INFLUENCE OF POSITIVISM ON THE UNDERSTANDING OF PAEDOPHILIA

"To bring about significant change in practice and social behaviour is improbable where there is too much contradiction and too little understanding" (Levett, 2004, p. 430).

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter an analysis of positivist discourses of paedophilia is provided. Working from a social constructionist perspective, inherent contradictions within positivist discourses on paedophilia will be identified and challenged.

Social constructionism is a theoretical paradigm that falls within and is informed by the philosophical field of postmodernism (Paul & Sailor, 2004). The social constructionist perspective breaks with conventional conceptions of social problems by analysing them as a *social process* of definition. Social problems, such as paedophilia, are not seen as objective conditions to be studied and corrected, they are rather orientations to alleged conditions that are argued to be immoral or unjust (Holstein & Miller, 1993).

It is therefore assumed that the way in which we experience reality is not an ahistorical given, but that it varies between different historical periods and between various cultural systems. Within the context of this study, the conceptual tools provided by social constructionist theory will be used to explore the multiple ways of understanding paedophilia. This theoretical position does not deny the value of positivist discourses and views on paedophilia, but rather aims to forge a less restrictive conceptual space in which they can begin to compete with alternative constructs of the phenomenon.

It has been demonstrated that the positivist paradigm, although limited in usefulness, is still the dominant paradigm from which paedophilia is studied and that it informs the dominant discourses that define and classify this phenomenon. While positivism claims to be a value-free endeavour, critics have begun to seriously question these contentions (Green, 2002; Schmidt, 1990, 2002). Many theorists and researchers (Gergen, 1994; Weeks, 1985) now accept, almost as axiomatic, that contradictory to positivist ideology, morality and political agenda precede science in any positivist study. Consequently, positivist research also contains many crucial value judgements regarding paedophilia. These judgements are then disguised as 'scientific findings' that are held to be absolute

and unquestionable (Rind et al., 2000). The purpose of this chapter is to uncover these implicit moral assumptions and judgements, and to show the links between these discourses and contemporary institutions.

Three discursive substreams surrounding paedophilia were identified while conducting a literature review on this topic, namely the discourse of sexual politics, child molester discourse and victim discourse. In the following section each of these will be discussed with reference to relevant theory and research findings. In order to problematise these findings, I will also present opposing research findings where relevant.

4.2. Sexual politics

Prominent theorists and researchers (Kuhn, 1962; Popper, 1963; Weeks, 1985) have, in the course of the past few decades, pointed out the subtle yet powerful links that exist between science as an institution and other powerful, dominant institutions, while science purports to be a value-free, neutral endeavour that is removed and separate from the political sphere. These theorists contend that science, and especially science in its positivist form, often plays an important role in supporting and even advancing certain institutions such as patriarchy, capitalism and religion. Within this critical theoretical space, Mirkin (1999) has developed a theory of sexual politics and proposes a two-phase model. Firstly, an issue is prevented from being seen as political (in other words related to a power struggle) and negotiable. Instead, it is presented in terms of psychological and/or moral categories; these categories de-politicise an issue by depicting it, for instance, as a pathology, rooted in the realm of medical illness. Consequently, the political aspects of the issue are obfuscated. In the case of paedophiles, this categorises them as mentally ill sexual deviants, thereby silencing any socio-political claims and denying them any valid space from which to negotiate. The second phase of sexual politics is characterised by an issue becoming overtly political in nature and, as such, also becoming negotiable.

Mirkin (1999) further notes that phase one struggles are usually harder to detect, since they exist before issues become politically visible. Moreover, he argues that most phase one struggles display similar patterns. The pattern visible in for instance contests regarding the position of feminism in society and the liberation of female sexuality was also present in the contests over homosexuality. Homosexuality was first condemned as an immoral practice and psychological illness. As more and more gay and lesbian people acknowledged their sexual orientation, their voices became louder. Homosexual minority groups started to emerge and stood up in opposition to the dominant social

groups. Homosexuality started moving into the second phase of sexual politics by becoming an overtly political and negotiable concept.

According to Mirkin (1999), the politics of paedophilia has already started to emerge in this self-same pattern. Although paedophilia is currently in the first phase, paedophilic minority groups such as North American Man-Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) have already emerged. NAMBLA advocates, for example, the sexual rights of young people and paedophiles and argue for a change of consent laws. In the *Journal of Homosexuality*, the link between the politics of homosexuality and crossgenerational sexual relations has been made even more explicit. Graupner (1999), for example, discussed the question whether, or to what extent, crossgenerational sexual relations with minors could be considered to be a gay rights issue.

Crucially, Mirkin (1999) contends that the discipline of psychology has historically been the primary arena for disputes relating to normalcy and human nature, under which all debates regarding human sexuality will inevitably fall. Mirkin (1999) argues that, in phase one debates, psychology has almost always functioned as a supporter of the dominant ideology. Proceeding with the example of homosexuality, when it was trapped in the first phase of sexual politics, psychology, and more specifically psychoanalytic theory, branded it a sexual perversion (Dollimore, 1991). Indeed science, and thus psychology, often seems welcome as long as it leads to conclusions that coincide with the predominant ideology of society (Bernard, 1979; Elkin, 1998; Husserl, 1970). For the last century this has been based on positivist philosophy and epistemology (Paul & Sailor, 2004). In summary, Mirkin (1999) suggests that positivist psychological research often supports the dominant ideologies and institutions in society, while in turn being reinforced by these institutions. This is also true for research on paedophilia. An example is found in the field of victimology.

Okami (1990) noted that victimologists often use legal, moral, and political criteria to supplant the use of empirical or phenomenological criteria in their investigations. Victimology has to do with the study of victims of crime (Schurink, 1992), while victimologists include researchers, clinicians, political activists and popular writers. According to Okami (1990), victimologists use argumentative devices and research methods that blur the line between social science and social commentary or judgement. It is Okami's (1990) contention that the social-activist posture against paedophilia taken by many professionals has caused a body of literature that prescribes against this phenomenon while pretending to be merely descriptive. This is the same body of literature, fuelled by political agenda, that provides the support for viewing paedophilia as a criminal act.

There are, of course, many reasons why paedophilia has been so strongly condemned in our society. One of these, and perhaps the least obvious, is to create distance between society and paedophiles, to isolate paedophiles and to prevent symbolic contamination. However, this othering process is more complex, as many theorists have pointed out (Cossins, 2000; Dollimore, 1991). It entails a denial and projection on the part of 'normal' members of society, whereby their own paedophilic inclinations are denied and then projected on 'deviant' others. This process is instrumental in preventing members of society from having to explore or accept these inclinations. As will be shown, research suggests that sexual attraction to children and child eroticisation are two factors that are commonly construed as sick and deviant and thus allocated to the paedophilic realm. Yet they are found within a 'normal' society.

As stated above, one of the most prominent difficulties regarding the moral condemnation of paedophilia is that paedophilic attraction is a much more common phenomenon than it is purported to be (Green, 2002). Research supporting this suggestion, some of which will now be presented, comprises both clinical and self-report studies.

In Briere and Runtz's (1989) study of 193 university male students, 21% reported some sexual attraction to small children and 7% indicated that they might have sex with a child if not caught. In another sample involving 100 male and 180 female undergraduate students, 22% of males and 3% of females reported sexual attraction to a child (Smiljanich & Briere, 1996).
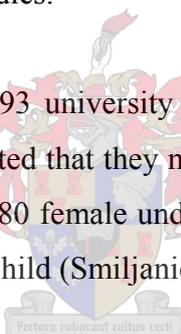
Clinical research has physiologically validated the self-report studies of non-clinical, non-paedophile-identified volunteers. In such a study by Freund, McKnights, Langevin and Cibri (quoted in Green, 2002), it was found that non-paedophilic community volunteers showed significant penile tumescence in response to images of female children as young as 6 years of age. The extent of the reaction increased with the age of the stimulus person. In another study, heterosexual males demonstrated erections in response to pictures of pubescent and pre-pubescent girls (Quinsey, Steinman, Bergersen, & Holmes, 1975).

The men's erections averaged at 70% and 50% of their responses to adult females and for pubescent girls respectively. In a sample of 66 males recruited from hospital staff and the community, 17% showed a penile response that was paedophilic (Fedora et al., 1992). In another a study by Firestone, Bradford, Greenberg and Nunes (2000), nearly one-third (27.7%) of a comparison group of unselected young men, who were compared with homicidal and non-homicidal child molesters,

showed a positive paedophile index, indicating their principal arousability by visual paedosexual stimuli. These studies support the argument that paedophilic attraction is a common feature in many 'normal' males, and, as such, a general phenomenon in society (Green, 2002).

Finally, it is interesting to note, as Sternberg (1998) points out, that even in adult-adult relationships, the image of the child may be re-invented. Men are often attracted to women who, in certain ways, resemble infants having big eyes or soft skin. These men will also refer to their loved ones as cute or cuddly, use baby talk when being affectionate or use diminutive nicknames for their lovers. Women engage in the same behaviour by enjoying the 'little boy' aspects of their partner. Sternberg (1998) names this the parental protection tendency: A person seeks not only to be protected by his or her partner, but also to protect him or her. The notion of seeking the child within one's love object is, in part, also a social creation. Furthermore, some theorists argue that western civilisation has, to a significant degree, eroticised the child (Kincaid, 1993; Levine, 1995).

One might argue that what is found to be erotic and desirable has largely been constructed by society (Dworkin, 1987; Ericksen, 2002; Gagnon, 1990; MacKinnon, 1987). Young girls are frequently eroticised in our culture, from children's beauty pageants to the practice of using underdeveloped teens to model adult women's clothes. Models become younger and younger, and are picked for body types that emphasise the developmental stage of early teenage (Culture watch: pedophilic chic, 1999; Levine, 1995; Murray, 2000). It is proposed that the female object of (sexual) desire has changed to become the infertile underweight teenager. Herrick (1999) pointed out that, if fertility is an undesired component of sexuality, then the erotic ideal must be at or before the line of puberty.

Kincaid (1993) suggests that Western humanity has for the past two hundred years believed a tale of childhood innocence. He further asserts that somewhere in the vision of the child, an idea lurks that these "smooth-faced, hairless pouting innocents are also erotic" (Kincaid quoted in Wilson, 1998, p. 46). He identifies a process of othering at work; he is of the opinion that Western culture has sexualised the child, while fiercely denying it. Our culture partly realises that it is paedophilic but partly deplores this fact and demonises those who actually engage in sexual approaches to people under the age of puberty. The irony is that while paedophilia has become so despised, the innocence of childhood itself has been systematically violated by an exploitative commodity culture. According to Dixon (2002), there is a sexual discourse around forbidden pleasures, which states that it is the forbidden nature of sex that makes it exciting. There are, of course, few things more prohibited, and by implication, as exciting, than sexual relations with a child.

According to Mirkin (1999), the concept of paedophilia is still entangled in the first phase of sexual politics. This has certain implications on the general understanding of paedophilia. Firstly, positivist literature and research are used to reject any deeper exploration or understanding of paedophilia in order to prevent this concept from being seen as political or negotiable. Secondly, this research also denies the phenomenological experience of paedophiles any space and validity in the empirical discourses around paedophilia, thereby discounting or marginalising the potentially significant data that experience may have to offer in furthering our understanding of paedophilia. Thirdly, the research prevents society from acknowledging paedophilic inclinations as being present or even common within society. Fourthly, the Western civilisation is also prevented from acknowledging the part it has played in eroticising the child.

4.3. 'Child molester' discourse

Within the realm of positivism and first phase sexual politics, another discourse has evolved that could be termed *child molester discourse* (Schmidt, 2002). Child molester discourse consists of negatively loaded terminology referring to paedophilic acts or concepts in terms associated with criminality. These terms, commonly used in discussions of paedophilia, include words such as *abuse, assault, attack, molestation, victimisation, exploitation, child molester, offender, child sexual abuse, sexual attacks* and *victim* (O'Grady, 1988; Okami, 1990). O'Grady (1988) calls this the 'slippage' of legal and moral constructs into social science research. Child molester discourse has also been referred to as a blunt, emotional, overgeneralised and prejudiced discourse (Schmidt, 2002).

The term *child sexual abuse* has been used in psychological literature to describe virtually all sexual interactions between children or adolescents and significantly older persons, as well as between same aged children or adolescents when coercion is involved (Rind et al., 1998). Kilpatrick (1987) noted that researchers often fail to distinguish between abuse as some type of harm to the child and abuse as a violation of social norms. It is not scientifically sound to assume that violations of the social norms would necessarily lead to harm to the child. The indiscriminate use of terms such as *child sexual abuse, perpetrator* and *victim* has also been criticised in terms of their scientific validity (Kilpatrick, 1987; Nelson, 1989; Okami, 1990; Rind & Bauserman, 1993).

Another example of negatively charged words that have slipped into the social sciences is the synonyms used for the term *paedophile*. The word *paedophile* is often used interchangeably in the professional literature with *child molester*, *sex offender*, *perpetrator*, *abuser*, *rapist* and *victimiser* (Ames & Houston, 1990; Bradford, Bloomberg, & Bourget, 1988; Fuller, 1989; Hobson, Boland, & Jamieson, 1985; Kelly, 1982; McCormack & Selvaggio, 1989; Peters, 1976; Toobert, Bartelme, & Jones, 1959; Travin, Bluestone, Coleman, & Melella, 1985). Indiscriminate interchange of the term *paedophile* with terms such as *child molester* prevents one from making the distinction between sexual behaviour and the sexual orientation of the paedophile (Okami & Goldberg, 1992).

In a study by Hall, Maiuro, Vitaliano and Proctor (1986) on men who had sexual relations with children, more evidence of negatively loaded terminology was found. The authors used the term *sexual aggression* to characterise the nature of the topic being studied. The authors, however, also reported that 86% of their sample was classified as not having used force during their interactions. Furthermore, the 'victims' in this study were considered 'children' up to the age of 18. An unspecified portion of the study conducted by Hall et al. (1986) consisted of non-violent sexual activities between adults and sexually mature individuals. These activities were erroneously labelled as sexual assault and sexual aggression.

Okami (1990) argues that researchers who use negative terms indiscriminately are creating and maintaining a biased perception of adult-child sexual relationships within society. Indeed, it is a fundamental starting point within social constructionist theory to acknowledge the power that language has on society. As such, several researchers have explored the influence of negative terms on society's perception of paedophilia. Not surprisingly, these studies often provide evidence of biased perceptions and biased information processing in society. Some of these cases will now be presented.

Rind and Bauserman (1993) conducted a study to determine whether the use of negative terminology could bias perceptions and judgements of adult-child sexual relations. They found that students' impressions of general cases of adult-child sexual activities were significantly affected by negative terminology. They also found that the biasing effects of negative terminology seemed to occur without the awareness of the students. The students considered the terminology employed in the articles they read as appropriate, whether the terminology was neutral or negative. Thus, despite the fact that students perceived no difference in the appropriateness of the terms that were used, the

type of terminology used in the articles affected their evaluations and perceptions.

Another example of the influence of negatively loaded terminology on society's perception of paedophilia is found in the term *sexual abuse*. This term has in many cases become a public overstatement (Okami, 1990), in the sense that it has attained disproportionately negative connotations. The latter was evident in a study by Okami (1990), in which college students rated 'sexual abuse of children' as significantly more serious than either murder or the physical or emotional abuse of a child. Physical abuse was rated low in seriousness. Sexual abuse was portrayed as the most devastating experience a child could endure while physical abuse, which is at least as destructive, has been ignored (Okami, 1990). This might reflect the general cultural tendency of greater acceptance of violent feelings and behaviour than sexual ones. Children are allowed to view graphic media depictions of sadistic murder, torture and mutilation, but they are not permitted to view realistic depictions of even affectionate sexual interactions (Okami, 1990).

Evidence of biased information processing includes research by Lord, Ross and Lepper (1979). These authors showed that individuals with strong attitudes and beliefs about an issue tend to process information contradicting their attitudes and beliefs in a biased fashion. It was found that students, for instance, often held extreme positions regarding certain issues, and consequently strongly criticised contradicting evidence. Attitudes concerning adult-child sexual relations are usually negative. Therefore, it seems likely that people will process non-negative outcome information in a biased manner. This possibility is corroborated by a number of examples in the professional literature (Lord et al., 1979). For example, Sandfort (1984) found that most of the boys who participated in his research reported their sexual experiences with adult partners as positive. Although Finkelhor (1984), Masters, Johnson and Kolodny (1985), and Marazek (1985) sharply criticised Sandfort's research on methodological grounds, Bauserman (1990) argued that their methodological criticisms had been applied selectively to this positive outcome study and not to negative studies.

However, child molester discourse does not rely solely on negatively loaded terminology and the consequences of biased information processing. It is also supported by other assumptions regarding paedophilia. Storr (1964) noted, for instance, that the seduction of children by adults is generally thought harmful and that discussion regarding the actual effects is often made to seem irrelevant. Other examples of how moral-psychological categories have suppressed certain discussions of paedophilia include:

1. Victimologists claim that to study adult-child relations from an empirical rather than an ethical viewpoint is a morally unacceptable form of bias (Finkelhor, 1984).

2. It is believed that any adult-child sexual relationship takes on some of the coercive behavioural characteristics of rape (Herman, 1981).

3. It is assumed that children cannot initiate, or consent to, any sexual acts because they have little or no understanding of their sexuality (Russell, 1986).

4. Reports of non-abusive paedophilic relationships are discarded as distortions of memory (of the victim) caused by denial or repression of the 'negative experience' (Russell, 1986).

The above assumptions, I would argue, obstruct attempts to fully understand paedosexuality and paedophilic relationships. As Kilpatrick (1987) noted, it mirrors an inherent conflict nested in the project of scientific inquiry: on the one hand the inquiry is aimed towards elucidating the principles that govern the phenomenon, but on the other hand the inquiry is subtly aimed towards reinforcing existing social norms contained in discourses such as child molester discourse.

4.4. Victim discourse

The third and final subdiscourse to be explored rests on a belief born from child molester discourse: there must be a victim. The two major assumptions underlying the victim discourse of paedophilia are firstly that the child is unable to give consent (Finkelhor, 1984), and secondly, that the child is necessarily harmed by sexual contact with adults (Russell, 1986). Within this view on paedophilia, youths are never considered partners, initiators or willing participants in sexual contact with adults (Mirkin, 1999). Dominant principles state that youths are always seduced, are unable to give consent, and suffer physical and psychological harm even when they are unaware of it. Subsequently, the younger person is variously labelled a *victim* (Finkelhor, 1984), *molested child*, *sexually exploited child* (Kempe & Kempe, 1984), or *survivor* (Summit, 1989). These labels are frequently employed without reference to the issue of effects on the younger individuals or to their own characterisation of their experiences (Rind & Bauserman, 1993). All future negative symptoms are attributed to childhood sexual experiences, while positive symptoms are attributed to surviving and overcoming the effects of child abuse. Some researchers have explicitly asserted that adolescents or children who perceive themselves as consenting, or who rate their experiences as positive, should nevertheless be defined as victims (Finkelhor, 1984; Maltz, 1989; Russell, 1986).

However, these conclusions are derived from studies that comprise mainly of people in therapy (Mirkin, 1999). Clearly this compromises the validity of these research findings, since these samples are highly biased. It is safe to assume that people who seek therapy suffer some ill effects and when studied, they would be found to experience some distress. Conversely, it is also safe to assume that people who do *not* suffer from psychological harm would be statistically less likely to be included in this type of study.

4.4.1. Consent

According to Feierman (1990), consent in its psychological (as opposed to legal) sense is a concept that has proven to be very problematic to define and circumscribe. It is extremely difficult to determine whether or not consent was given while behaviour is occurring and almost impossible to determine retrospectively, except where force was used. In order to overcome this deficit, reliance has been placed on legal principle and the age of a person has been advanced as a suitable point from which to define consent. In most jurisdictions there is a legally determined age during which children are not considered capable of giving consent. These consent laws, it is argued, decrease the risk of sexual activity without consent. For example, in South Africa, the legal age for heterosexual intercourse is 16, whereas the legal age for homosexual intercourse is 19 years. Section 14 of the Sexual Offences Act, 1957 (South African Law Commission, 1997) states the following:

> Any male person who
> 1. Has or attempts to have unlawful carnal intercourse with a girl under the age of 16 years; or
> 2. Commits or attempts to commit with such a girl, or a boy under the age of 19 years, an immoral or indecent act; or
> 3. Solicits or entices such a boy to the commission of an indecent or immoral act, shall be guilty of an offence.

According to Wellings, Field, Johnson and Wadsworth (1994), there has historically been a tendency in Western societies to prolong the duration of adolescence. However, the gap between sexual and social maturity has never been as wide as it is today. This has also led to a greater divide between the socially and legally acceptable ages for engaging in sexual behaviour. Sexual activity between adolescents has become more acceptable socially, but the age of consent has not changed. Consent laws might therefore be causing the criminalisation of many teenagers who engage in victimless under-age sex (Tatchell, 1995).

Weeks (1985) argues that the ages specified in consent laws might have degrees of absurdity about them, but that they do provide a bottom line in the acceptance of appropriate behaviour. This implies that the lowering of the age of consent would lead to a rise in inappropriate behaviour. Yet this is not always the case. In Spain, Malta and the Netherlands the age of consent for heterosexual intercourse is 12 (Royal Commission into the New South Wales Polices Service, 1997, quoted in Cossins, 2000). According to Tatchell (1995), the introduction of these relatively low ages of consent has not led to any increase in the sexual abuse of young people. A possible conclusion stemming from this would be that consent laws, while reinforcing notions of victimhood, do not really contribute to the prevention of under-age sexual activity among adolescents at least. Consent laws do, however, illustrate the socially constructed nature of sexuality, and paedosexuality.

Apart from the emotional and psychological risks that under-aged sex poses to minors, there are also physiological risks associated with under-aged sex, including pregnancy, cervical dysphasia and sexually transmitted disease. Durbin et al. (1993) found that teenagers who start sexual relationships under the age of 13 are 9 times more likely to report multiple partners than those who wait until they are 15 or 16. Stuart-Smith (1996) suggests that the younger the age of first intercourse, the greater the risks involved. The frontal lobe of the brain, which deals with the control of sexual impulses and abstract reasoning and planning, is not completely myelinated until 14 or 15 years of age. Before this age, the child is still cognitively immature. Therefore, it may be difficult for a person before this age to fully understand the implications of his or her behaviour. These individuals may not be able to fully comprehend the decisions they make. Major changes occur between early and late adolescence, such as the capacity to see things from different perspectives, to reason abstractly and to predict future consequences (Stuart-Smith, 1996), by which time it becomes a less risky endeavour to make decisions.

Even though there are clearly important psychological and emotional dimensions to the issue of under-age sex, there is still relatively little known about the actual effect of early intercourse on subsequent psychological functioning. The complexity and difficulty in defining the concept of consent also obfuscates studying the effects of under-age sex, as the concept under investigation remains unclear (Soble, 1998).

 Foucault (1998) argues that the refusal to accept the possibility that a child may authentically consent to sex with an adult is a major aspect of the paternalism adopted by the law and psychiatry. Children may not have the ability to articulate what they feel or want. When they are unable to

formulate these desires the courts presume to speak for them. Foucault (1998) portrays this as the imposition of overpowering discourses on the subdued discourses of the child.

However, Alcoff (1998) noted that adults who interpret children's behaviour and linguistic practices as consent are imposing their own usage of consent across a linguistic border over which meanings could change drastically. It is therefore dangerous to assume that because some childhood behaviour appear sexual to adults, they must be sexual. An infant or child engaged in genital play (even if orgasm is observed) can in no sense be seen as experiencing the complex set of feelings that accompanies adult or even adolescent masturbation. From this perspective, the discourse of child sexuality will always be distinct in significant ways from the discourse of adult sexuality (Alcoff, 1998).

Schmidt (2002) also asserted that sexual consensus cannot exist between adults and children. Consensus can only be achieved if everyone involved is acting from the same social script. Children do not yet follow the same sexual scripts or recognise the same sexual meanings as adults (Gagnon & Simon, 1973). Therefore, genital manipulation by children, even when it leads to erection and orgasm, will differ significantly from adult masturbation, which is accompanied by erotic fantasies and scripts. Moreover, the adult is fully aware of the sexual connotations of his actions, as he lives in a world of heavily sexualised symbols and language, which the child does not understand (Weeks, 1985).
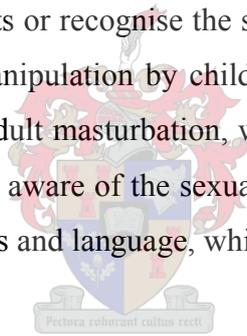
Research findings supporting the difference in sexual scripts of adults and children include a study by Sandfort (1982). He studied 25 boys engaged in man-boy relations. He found that the potentially provocative acts of children are not necessarily consciously intended to be sexual and are only interpreted by the older persons as having a sexual element. Again, this is an example of the differences in the sexual scripts, and the awareness thereof, between adults and children.

Soble (1998) proposes that the ability of children to give meaningful consent to sex depends on what the significance of sex is believed to be – whether sex is more like a natural, daily activity or an act that aims at spiritual connectedness. However, even when adults have established the significance that sex has for them, the child still has to find it. From this proposition the following question emerges: Is a child capable of choosing whether sexual activity is to be a special commitment or an everyday activity when the child still has little insight or self-knowledge on the

effect that sex could have on him or her and future decisions? When a prepubertal child is exposed to sex, the right to decide on the significance of sex may, in a sense, be taken away from him or her.

In acknowledging the great differences between children and adults in terms of power and influence, knowledge and insight, sexual scripts and discourse, dependence and autonomy, it seems that consent to paedophilic relationships will remain problematic (Schmidt, 2002). However, the fact that consent remains a problematic issue should not be used as an excuse to halt or divert research that seeks to improve understanding of paedophilia, as this would reproduce the paternalism and oppression typical of positivism (Foucault, 1998).

Ultimately, the concept of consent implies that sex is a contractual relationship. However, this consensual/contractual model has limited use when applied to sexual engagement. It implies that sex is only an exchange or trade; consisting of a request and an answer. Although this model makes sense theoretically, it seems a formalistic and oversimplified way of referring to sexual contact in practical terms. Many might argue that a sexual relationship is much richer and more complex when viewed as a mutual engagement (Alcoff, 1998). Moreover, whereas consent would require the spoken word "yes"; mutual engagement would rather require absence of the word "no". In a study by Perper (quoted in Harvey & Weber, 2002) on communication and sexuality, a 19-year old man explained how he perceived mutual engagement:

> The idea here is simple. There are steps that one follows which lead up to the actual act. No words are desired or necessary. A positive response to one step allows the next step to be initiated, and this continues until she conveys to me the desire to stop the progression. I find it no problem to know when she would like to stop. If we don't stop, we arrive. (p. 65)

In this study the consent to sexual behaviour within a romantic relationship (paedo-relationship) will be redefined as the presence or absence of a mutual agreement thereto. This also prevents one from becoming intellectually and discursively entangled in the discourse of consent.

4.4.2. The assumption of harm

The second assumption of victim discourse to be explored is that adult-child sexual behaviour is generally thought harmful, even to the point that discussion regarding the actual effects might seem irrelevant (Storr, 1964). Harm might be conceptualised as including physical, emotional and psychological harm. There is strong evidence to suggest that a number of adult-child relationships

are indeed unpleasant or traumatic for the child (Bagley, Wood, & Young, 1994; Bartol, 1995; Finkelhor & Brown, 1987; Kilpatrick, 1987). However, in staying true to the search for better understanding, I would suggest that it is also important to consider those cases where no evidence of lasting harm was present (Okami, 1991; Rind et al., 1998; Sandfort, 1984).

Most research in this field, including studies conducted by victimologists, documents a low incidence of violence (physical harm) or forceful coercion in cases of adult-child sexual behaviour (Okami, 1990). It is crucial to distinguish paedophilia from child rape, especially in the South African context where the incidence of child and 'baby rape' has increased dramatically over the last five years and media coverage has contributed to the grouping together of paedophiles and child rapists. While it is difficult not to remember these harrowing accounts when discussing a concept such as adult-child sexual relations, it has been found that the social and legal consequences of violent sexual acts (such as child rape) differ from cases of adult-child sexual relations where no force or coercion is present (Mohr, 1978; Okami & Goldberg, 1992; Panton, 1978).

Violence and overt coercion are not generally characteristics of paedosexual behaviour and do not play a meaningful part in adult-child relationships (Okami & Goldberg, 1992), although it is often portrayed as such by the media (Levine, 1995). Therefore, a child rapist is a rapist first and foremost and may or may not be a paedophile. A paedophile, however, who refrains from violence or forceful coercion, cannot be termed a rapist. From an empirical point of view, it is therefore incongruous to categorise adult-child sexual behaviour as a violent crime, to study it as such, and to engage in discourse permeated by vocabulary and imagery appropriate to the study of violence. This study focuses exclusively on paedophiles that do not employ physical violence or force.

Extensive research has been conducted on the harm caused to children by sexual contact with adults. Bartol (1995) mentioned that the most harm is caused to a child when:

1. adult-child sexual behaviour occurs over a long period of time;
2. penetration occurs;
3. the adult is known to the child; and
4. aggression forms part of the sexual behaviour.

Paedophilic sexual contact is commonly seen as more serious when penetration or force occurred and when the contact occurred inside the family (Finkelhor & Brown, 1987). Limitations of the above approach to assessing the potential for trauma are that they represent an overly simplistic classification of experiences in terms of degrees of seriousness. As such, these classifications do not

imply anything about the character of the effect (Bartol, 1995), or why these factors increase the 'harm'.

Finkelhor and Brown (1987) identified four traumatic dynamics as an organising framework for studying the effects of sexual abuse. The term *traumagenic dynamics* refers to the phases of trauma the child may experience as a result of child sexual abuse. The first of these dynamics is traumatic sexualisation with behavioural manifestations, such as sexual preoccupations, precocious sexual activity, aggressive sexual behaviour and/or sexual dysfunction. The second is stigmatisation, which could be observed in the child through isolation, criminal involvement, self-mutilation, drug or alcohol abuse or suicidal behaviour. The third dynamic is behavioural manifestations of betrayal: clinging, delinquency, discomfort in intimate relationships, or allowing own children to be victimised. The fourth dynamic, namely powerlessness, might manifest in nightmares, phobias, depression, school/employment problems, somatic complaints or becoming an abuser.

Although Finkelhor and Brown's (1987) framework provides a structure to identify harm while providing characteristics of the effect of harm, there is a growing concern with regards to the validity of this theory. Increased susceptibility to delinquency, drug abuse, criminal behaviour, memory problems, confusion, impulsive and self-injurious behaviour, hysteria, personality disorders, characterological disorders, and even schizophrenia and other chronic psychoses have been attributed to adult heterosexual and homosexual behaviour with young individuals. However, since adult-child sexual activity is a phenomenon that is impossible to study in a purely experimental manner, the research findings cannot go far beyond establishing certain correlations (Feierman, 1990). It is impossible, for instance, to establish causality. These research findings are further confounded by the fact that a long period of time usually elapses between the instance of childhood sexual activity and the reporting and study thereof. This implies that the confounding variables of history and maturation will influence the research findings.

In contradiction to the assumption that adult-child sexual relationships necessarily cause harm, research findings that portray the absence of harm and even positive experiences by children in adult-child relationships will now be presented. Bernard (1979) conducted a study using the biographical method. The test persons were adults who as children had sexual contacts with one or more adults. In Bernard's results the following trends emerged:

1. Children can experience sexual contacts and relationships with adult as positive.
2. Children look for love, affection and security in addition to the sexual aspect.
3. No traumatic influence or fears toward adults were present.

4. Later sexual orientation was not influenced by the initiation.

5. The sexual activity was predominantly masturbatory in nature.

6. In some cases the friendship continued after the sexual contact had come to an end.

7. The attitude of society had a negative effect on the test persons.

Bryant (1982) also noted that children might enjoy a significant or affectionate relationship with the paedophile and that force and coercion may not necessarily be involved. Bernard (1979) and Bryant (1982) both found society's attitude and reaction to be the most likely factor to cause harm to the child involved in an adult-child relationship. This was, however, only found to be true in relationships where physical violence was absent. In another study by Doll, Barholow and Harrison (1992), 1 001 homosexual and bisexual men were surveyed. Of these men, 42% reported a history of sexual relationships with adults as children, and only 39% of those men said they had viewed the experience negatively at the time of contact and again at the time of the interview, while 27% reported that they had viewed the experience positively at the time of contact. The longer the paedophilic relationship lasted, the more it was likely to be remembered positively (in contradiction to the findings of Bartol (1995)). More studies have found that sexual experiences in childhood with older partners are sometimes regarded as positive experiences by the children themselves (Okami, 1991; Sandfort, 1984). Although these studies aroused much controversy and received much criticism (Ondersma et al., 2001), they have shifted the rigid assumption that all sexual contact during childhood necessarily results in psychological or emotional trauma or injury.
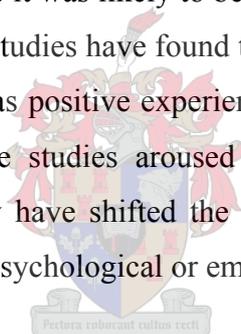
More recent studies include that of Rind et al. (1998). They also examined the belief many lay persons and professionals share: that paedophilic relationships cause intense harm to children, regardless of their gender. Rind et al. (1998) reviewed 59 studies based on college samples. Self-reported reactions to sexual abuse during childhood indicated that the negative effects were neither pervasive nor typically intense, and that men reacted much less negatively than women. A wide range of responses to such experience occurs, ranging from very negative to very positive. This also supports Constantine's (1981) conclusion that child sexual abuse has no inbuilt or inevitable outcome or set of emotional reactions. Furthermore, it was found that if the experiences were perceived as consensual, they were experienced to be more positive.

However, in cases where sexual contact is perceived as a positive experience for the child, trauma may result from subsequent events, such as interaction with law enforcement officials. Other events that have been found to be harmful to the child include overreaction from the parents, lack of

parental support, insensitive police interrogation, legal proceedings and social alienation (Cossins, 2000; Finkelhor, 1987; O'Hagan, 1989).

The child might also experience trauma in connection with anxiety and guilt about what happens to the paedophile and the subsequent impact on the relationship between the child and the paedophile. Various authorities that have examined children previously involved in adult-child relationships have concluded that the emotional, as opposed to the physical, damage done to children is more the result of adult horror than of anything intrinsically dreadful in the sexual contact itself (Bernard, 1979; Cossins, 2000; O'Hagan, 1989; Storr, 1964). As such, the emotional reactions of parents, police officers and other adults might disturb the child even more seriously than the sexual contacts (O'Hagan, 1989).

Professionals who adopt the victimologist approach could also possibly cause harm to minors involved in adult-child sexual relationships. These professionals tend to be unreceptive to positive self-reports from children involved in adult-child sexual behaviour and assume that positive self-reports originate from traumatisation or disgust. Nelson (quoted in Okami, 1990) cites a participant's response in a study she conducted: "My therapist is so opinionated against child molesters that she wouldn't be able to understand if I told her I enjoyed it. I'm sure she'd kill me" (p. 110). Greer (1975) noted in one case that the psychiatrist's denial of a client's positive memory of a sexual relationship with her uncle caused her to fake symptoms. The client also developed extreme guilt for not feeling guilty.

In summary, challenging some of the underlying assumptions of victim discourse makes it possible to entertain what would be viewed by many as taboo: the possibility that harm is perhaps not universal and not uniformly intense. Victim discourse serves to silence these possibilities. Although the existence of positive experiences does not necessarily make adult-child relationships harmless, it does give rise to alternative narratives of positive adult-child relationship experiences. I tend to agree with Schmidt (2002) that trauma may be inherent in sexual activity between adults and children as a result of power and other inequalities and, therefore, remains morally unacceptable, although the activity does not necessarily cause harm in every case. However, the assumptions underlying victim discourse, namely that it inevitably causes harm, and that children cannot consent to sexual activity, might be causing far more harm to children who have experienced adult-child relationships. Indeed, the assumption of harm within victim discourse might have become a self-fulfilling prophecy; if harm does not arise from the sexual contact, it will from the resulting condemnation thereof.

4.5. Conclusion

This chapter has attempted an in-depth analysis of the positivist influence on the understanding and construct of paedophilia. Positivist and moral assumptions were found to drive discourses on paedophilia perpetuating judgement and condemnation of this phenomenon. It has also played a critical role in influencing scientific research to conceal or at least marginalise contradictory evidence. In the words of Levett (2004): "the boundaries of conventional thinking seem to be both impermeable and self-perpetuating. We need to address and review the situation to begin to understand why the research keeps running into cul-de-sacs" (p. 430). The necessity for research on paedophilia from another perspective has therefore been affirmed in this chapter.
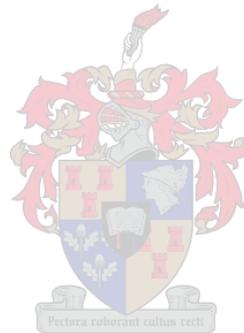
5. METHODOLOGY

5.1. Methodological framework

This study is explorative in nature and aimed at gaining insight into how a paedophile constructs his relationships with children. According to Mays and Pope (1993), the goal of qualitative research is the development of concepts that can aid our understanding of social phenomena with a strong focus on meaning, experience and perception of the participants. This study's meta-philosophical grounding is in social constructionism, which breaks with conventional conceptions of social problems by analysing them as a *social process* of definition, rather than a fixed definition of meaning (Gergen, 1973).

Gergen (1994) identified a few basic assumptions for social constructionism. Firstly, the structures through which we understand ourselves and the world are social artefacts produced through history and culture. Secondly, the lifetime of a certain view of the world is dependent on the social process and not the objective validity of that viewpoint. And thirdly, by re-evaluating existing forms of discourse, we evaluate patterns of cultural life, which again would give rise to other cultural phenomena.

It is therefore possible to view paedophilia, depicted by the positivist paradigm as an immoral taboo, as a socially constructed phenomenon whose meaning has changed and will continue to change over time and place.

Within the paradigm of social constructionism, the approach of the researcher is typically a phenomenological interpretive approach. Phenomenology is concerned with the study of experience from the perspective of the individual (Burr, 1995; Stanley & Wise, 1993). The researcher interprets the phenomenological experience of the individual and consequently the researcher also plays an active role in the research. As such, the researcher becomes a visible part of the research, rather than being an invisible observer (Stanley & Wise, 1993). This approach acknowledges that one can only present an interpretation of a phenomenon, and not the phenomenon itself. Furthermore, this approach implicitly challenges normative assumptions and existing power relations, as the focus remains squarely on the experience world of the individual.

The intention of this study is to describe the male paedophile's experience of his paedo-relationship. In this study, this was done by exploring paedophilia though the lens of close relationships. This framework locates paedosexual relationships within a more value-neutral discourse that is within the experiential field of all adults, and as such, less strange, frightening, deviant or evil.

In line with the theoretical assumptions of this study, I carefully noted my own thoughts and interpretations. This process assisted me in several ways:

1. The process created a heightened awareness in me of my thoughts, thought processes and possible judgements concerning paedophilia.
2. The experience of conducting this entire research project was captured for future use and reference.

5.2. Research process

In order to conduct this study, I found it necessary to place certain limits on the concept of paedophilia. Upon perusal of the literature, it was decided that this study would define a paedophile as an adult who has engaged in sexual fantasy and activity with a person of 13 years or younger. In the attempt to identify men who have experienced paedo-relationships as intimate close relationships, certain additional criteria, once again in line with the literature review, were formulated:

1. No violence may have occurred in the relationship.
2. The relationship should have continued over a period of time.
3. The love object could not be biologically related to the paedophile.
4. Only male individuals would be studied.

Since this is not a quantitative study, no attempt was made to generalise to a population. A systematic, non-probabilistic sampling approach (Mays & Pope, 1995) was used. The purpose, therefore, was not to establish a random or representative sample drawn from a population, but rather to identify specific individuals who possess characteristics of the phenomenon being studied. Specifically, the technique of purposive sampling was used to select a sample of paedophiles.

5.2.1. Participants

In an attempt to access paedophiles that fit the above criteria, I approached the Department of Correctional Services, and was directed to a psychologist at the psychology department of the Western Cape Police.

During a meeting with this psychologist, I was referred to the Child Protection Unit (CPU), and an expert in ethics associated with the Police Service. I met with the Superintendent of the CPU and received a list of convicted 'child molesters' (term used by correctional services). However, the CPU could not reveal which prisons the convicted child molesters had been sent to, and contacting these individuals was therefore impossible. Consequently, I approached the Western Cape Prosecutor of Sexual Offences, but I was not able to obtain the names or location of convicted child molesters as these details were held confidential.

I then approached the head of the Department of Social Services in the Western Cape. I was directed to a renowned social worker, who had been the first in South Africa to design treatment programmes for 'child molesters'. However, it was not possible to work with the men in her therapeutic groups at Kenilworth Clinic, as they were engaged in therapy. Interference would have raised ethical issues and could potentially have hindered the effectiveness of their therapy. The Kenilworth Clinic was at the time the only clinic in the Western Cape that provided treatment for 'child molesters'. I received a disconcerting picture of the search one undergoes to locate participants for a study on child molesters or paedophiles. It was stated that it could take up to two years to receive authorisation to access prisoners as participants.

I was advised to meet with individuals on trial for child sexual abuse, and to approach them independently. This posed several problems. I would need to wait for the opportunity for the next individual to be on trial for child sexual abuse. Being on trial, the defendant might not wish to discuss his case. If the defendant did wish to discuss his case, his current situation might consequently influence him not to speak frankly or truthfully. Ethical considerations deterred me from seeking out and approaching active paedophiles in the community.

Finally, of necessity, I decided to apply at the Department of Correctional Services for authorisation to access prisoners as participants for the study. This process took six months. The name of the identified prison had to be stated in the application form. Authorisation to visit Pollsmoor Prison was granted to me in December 2001.

An interview was scheduled with the Head Keeper to present my requests and action plan. Dates were scheduled during this meeting for me to access records of child offenders at the Medium B Prison. I completed analyses of the records in two days, as there was a limit to the time allocated for accessing confidential records. Eleven potential participants were identified for the research project and meetings were arranged with each of them. Each meeting consisted of:

1. an explanation of the intended research;
2. criteria of potential participants;
3. a match of these criteria with the experiences of the individual;
4. an offer of participation to the individual if he met the criteria; and
5. a request for consent in writing from the participant (see Addendum A).

Only three participants were both eligible and willing to participate. New interview dates and locations were arranged for each participant with assistance of the Head Keeper. The following issues regarding the general location, i.e. Pollsmoor Prison, were considered:

1. The fact that the participants were already convicted of child sexual assault could aid the process of freely expressing their experiences, since they did not need to fear any additional consequences. Before their trial such interviews would be unwise, as the behaviour (termed *child sexual assault* in forensic language) remains against the law, and might suppress honest recounts of their experiences. It was assumed that an interviewee that has already been convicted would be more prone to honesty and openness during the interview.
2. The participants are bound to their location (prison). This made it easier to locate the participant and approach the individual. However, at all times the individual would retain the right not to consent to this process.
3. The location could influence the validity of the data, as some of the participants have engaged in the sexual offender programme. Therefore, they may have experienced some altered beliefs or thoughts since their relations with children. As such, I adopted a heightened sensitivity regarding any contradictions in the data.
4. Interviewees might fear that the content of the interviews reach the Parole Board. This, in turn, could influence the trust of the interviewee in the interviewer. Therefore, the confidentiality of these interviews was regularly highlighted to the participants.

5.2.2. Instruments: qualitative interviews

Qualitative, semi-structured interviews were conducted with each of the three participants. Each interview lasted between two and three hours. Thematic guidelines were created for the interviews (Addendum B). The research questions were formulated with the intention of encouraging

participants to articulate in their own words their psychological experience of their paedophilic relationships: I was interested in how these participants in their particular social contexts construct their experiences of being in a paedophilic relationship. I remained open, however, to new and alternative themes that emerged during the interviews and the agenda was therefore kept flexible. The interviews were recorded on audio tape. The tapes were transcribed verbatim.

5.2.3. Analysis of the data

A qualitative thematic analysis (Benner, 1985) was performed. I approached the data by familiarising myself with the contents and allowing the themes to emerge. This was done by reading the transcribed data numerous times, and repeatedly listening to the audio taped interviews. Emerging themes were identified and subthemes were established. A detailed account of the analysis procedure is provided in section 5.4.4.

5.2.4. Final stages and conclusion

The description of three paedophiles' experience of paedo-relationships and my comments were continually refined and integrated. I then revisited the literature review and amended the focus in accordance with the participants' experiences. Throughout the whole research process care was taken to keep the research process self-reflexive as well as flexible, in keeping with social constructionist theory and methodology.
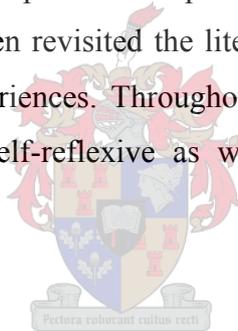
5. 3. Research techniques

Qualitative interviews were used to gather data for this study. Qualitative interviewing refers to an in-depth, semi-structured form of interviewing (Mason, 1996). Semi-structured interviews consist of a loose structure, which entails open-ended questions that define the area to be explored. However, the interviewer or interviewee may diverge and pursue an idea in more detail, or even create a new idea (Britten, 1995).

The five predominant supporting reasons, identified by Britten (1995) and adopted in this study, that underlie the decision to use qualitative interviewing, include:

1. I, the researcher, assumed people's knowledge, views, understandings, interpretations, experiences and interactions to be meaningful properties of the social reality that the research questions were designed to explore. I am only able to gain access to the interpretations and understandings of the phenomenon that are revealed in an interview.

2. I wished to achieve depth and roundness of understanding in the study areas, rather than a broad understanding of surface patterns. It was assumed that in order to achieve data that is comparable in key ways, it might be necessary to ask different questions to different interviewees. The points of comparison depended on the research questions and themes that emerged from the data.

3. As researcher, I was conceptualised as active and reflexive in the process of data generation, rather than neutral in data collection. I continually analysed my role within this process.

4. The data was not feasibly available in any other form.

5. Qualitative interviewing is more likely to generate a fairer and fuller representation of the interviewee's perspectives. As interviewer, I was able to be more responsive in the interview interaction (than in a structured interview). I had more flexibility to answer questions, give information, support and reassurance in order to create safety and comfort for the interviewee.

In deciding how the questions should be asked, the following parameters were defined. The questions had to make sense to the interviewee and be related to the interviewee; be sensitive to the needs and rights of the interviewee, in accordance with my ethical position; encourage the flow of the interview; and ensure appropriate focus on issues and topics relevant to the research questions.
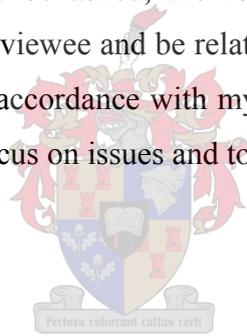
5.4. Analysis

5.4.1. Ensuring rigour in qualitative research

Basic strategies to ensure rigour in the qualitative research included systematic and self-conscious research design, data collection, interpretation and communication. In addition to the above, and following the advice of Mays and Pope (1993), I also 1) created an account of the methods used to obtain as well as analyse the data (this ensures that another trained researcher could analyse the same data following similar procedures) and 2) produced a plausible and coherent explanation of the phenomena under scrutiny.

5.4.2. Enhancing reliability of the analysis

Mason (1996) suggested that the foremost method to ensure retest reliability in qualitative research is to maintain meticulous records of interviews and observations and by documenting the process of analysis in detail. The interviews, recorded on audio tape, were transcribed and each step of the process was documented. Furthermore, I had a trained clinical psychologist who acted as my

supervisor, who independently assessed the transcripts, thereby contributing to the reliability of the analysis.

Computer software available to facilitate the analysis of the content of the interviews was considered. There are ongoing debates about the potential methodological costs and benefits of computer use in qualitative research (Kelle, 1997). Coffey, Holbrook and Atkinson (1996) expressed their concerns regarding the increasing use of specific computer software that could lead researchers to adopt a new attitude to qualitative analysis that count against postmodernist and poststructuralist trends within ethnography. These concerns, as well as the limited accessibility of these computer programmes, played a role in the decision not to use computer software in the analysis of the data for this study. An implicit approach for analysing the data was chosen for this study (see 5.4.4.).

5.4.3. Enhancing validity

According to Mason (1996), the thoroughness with which the researcher examines 'negative' or 'deviant' cases that do not fit with the general hypothesis enhances validity. This phenomenological study did not assume that there could be only one 'right' or objective perspective of the phenomenon (in keeping with its social constructionist position). Rather, it acknowledges different subjective views of the experience and therefore no perspectives were typified as deviant from a general or expected perspective, nor was there even a 'general, expected' perspective.

I also accepted my role as part of the emerging research. My own ideas and thoughts were carefully documented during the research process and formed an integral part of the analysis, as will be presented in the description and discussion sections of this paper.

To minimise researcher bias in the presentation of the results, some theorists suggest that a full transcript of the raw data should be made available to the reader on microfilm or computer disk (Mays & Pope, 1995). However, in this case the raw data is confidential to ensure the protection of the participants, and thus not accessible to the reader. It is my hope that by presenting a step-by-step account of the analysis procedure, it will enable readers and future researchers to engage in a similar endeavour using similar methods. Of course, from a phenomenological perspective it is acknowledged that the reader would not reach exactly the same conclusions as I did.

5.4.4. An account of all procedures in the analysis

An account of all the procedures in the process of analysis was kept in order to ensure rigour and reliability (Mason, 1996) of the research. The procedures were as follows:

1. The interview tapes were transcribed.

2. The transcribed data was edited by eliminating big chunks of text that diverged totally from the research questions, related topics, significant information or phenomena under research.

3. I read the material repeatedly until a robust image of the material had been achieved.

4. The three transcripts of the interviews were kept separate during the following steps to ensure that the new themes that emerged and existing themes that were encouraged by the interview questions remained 'uncontaminated' by other participants' experiences.

5. The data was divided into general topics, according to the leading questions I asked as interviewer.

6. My words were removed from the data, so that only the words of the interviewee remained under each heading of the rough topics.

7. The original tapes were listened to again, to ensure that any audible significance in the interview would not be lost during the process.

8. Under each topic I added my own comments on the data, which included my own thoughts, questions, possible meanings and significance of the data.

9. The general topics were subdivided into smaller themes introduced by subheadings.

10. The smaller themes (subheadings) consisted of concepts and areas that were identified prior to the interviews as related to the research questions, as well as new themes that emerged from the interviews.

11. Each interview was scrutinised to seek out text, relevant to the identified topic, which was moved to the specific topic to which it related.

12. The three interviews were then put side by side to identify common themes and to highlight themes that were significant to the specific participant.

13. My comments were deleted from the text (and were placed in a new draft) to allow only the words of the participants to remain.

14. The data of the three participants were then integrated to form a general description of their experiences.

15. The original data was examined once again, in search for any final significant themes. The new themes were integrated into the existing description to add richness to the analysis.

16. The description was refined to highlight all data significant to the research questions.

17. My comments were woven into the description, and elaborated on, thus forming a narrative description of the three participants' experience with interpretative comments of the researcher.

5.5. Ethical considerations

The participants were informed of the method and objectives of the research in the first 'screening' interview. Willingness to participate in this research was indicated in writing (informed consent). Furthermore, the interviews were conducted in an empathic manner to prevent any psychological harm and to minimise emotional distress of the participants. The identity of each participant was kept and remains confidential.
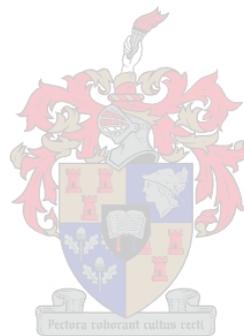
6. THE DISCOURSE OF CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS

6.1. Introduction

In previous chapters I have argued for the need to establish another perspective from which to view paedophilia. Furthermore, it was shown to be a prerequisite towards conducting further explorative research in this field. This chapter will be dedicated to discussing the concept of close relationships, which may prove useful as a framework to cast paedophilia in a different light.

To be involved in a close relationship could be construed as a basic human need: At some point in their lives, most people will experience a need for the closeness of another person, a closeness that opens up a space in which one can be seen, heard and loved (Glasser, 1995; Harvey & Weber, 2002). People look to close relationships and family as primary sources for fulfilment and happiness and general satisfaction with life (Campbell et al., 1976; Freedman, 1978; Myers & Diener, 1995; Seligman, 2002). Freedman (1978) asserted: "There is no simple recipe for producing happiness, but all of the research indicates that for almost everyone one necessary ingredient is some kind of satisfying, intimate relationship" (p. 48).

A *close relationship* may be defined as the space that emerges between two people when certain elements are present. These may include love, intimacy, self-disclosure, sexual activity, commitment, power and vulnerability (Harvey & Weber, 2002). Maybe even more crucial are the feelings that flow forth from a close relationship for both participants, for example feeling acknowledged, loved, accepted, validated and safe. The need for these elements in one's life and the need for the personal fulfilment thereof drive us to engage in intimate relationships.

6.2. Close relationships as a conceptual framework

It can be assumed that a paedophile may have the same universal need and desire for close relationships as any other adult. The paedophile may too have a need for love, intimacy and sexual disclosure. It is from this assumption that the study will explore how a paedophile's need for a close relationship may be similar, or different, to universal ideas of what a close relationship consists of. The paedophile, however, chooses to meet these needs by creating a close relationship with a child. A distinction is made here between the need and the behavioural manifestation of the need. This distinction makes it possible to identify and describe the paedophile's needs, without validating or assenting to the behaviour.

A further rationale for presenting paedophilia within a framework of close relationships is that the moral judgement and condemnation implicit in traditional approaches is circumvented, thereby opening avenues for the development of alternative terms and constructs that could be employed in future research of paedophilia.

In the following section, the concept of close relationships will be discussed by identifying and describing different aspects thereof (McKinney & Sprecher, 1991). To accomplish this, reference will be made to relevant literature. The facets that will be discussed in this section are sexuality, sexual desire, pleasure, intimacy, self-disclosure, love, and power and control. Although these will be analysed separately, I acknowledge that this is problematic on a theoretical level, since these concepts are in fact highly interrelated. I will attempt, throughout, to give voice to divergent views on, and definitions of, the aspects of the close relationship.

6.3. The courtship

Courtship can be seen as an introduction to a close relationship (Grammer, 1989). Two phases of courtship behaviour have been distinguished (Kalma & De Weerth, 1995). Phase one points to the first move of establishing contact, and phase two refers to self-presentation after contact has been made. The importance of courtship behaviour should not be underestimated; it is the starting point from which an intimate relationship is established, one that has the potential to develop into close bonds such as sexual commitments. As such, the function of this behaviour could be seen as optimising the reproductive potential (Kalma & De Weerth, 1995), as well as providing an opportunity to evaluate the prospective partner (Grammer, 1989). Givens (1978) asserted that submissive-affiliative, attentional and childcare-related non-verbal signs govern courtship behaviour. These signs attempt to lure the other individual into an affectionate response. According to Givens (1978), verbal behaviour is essential for the development of courtship. In general it has been observed that there is a ritualised sequence to courtship behaviour, characterised by a series of behaviour that indicate increasing closeness between partners.

6.4. Sexuality

It is generally acknowledged that attempts to define human sexuality have been hamstrung by a lack of conceptual clarity. Vague concepts are used when referring to sexuality, and it is often not clear

precisely what is being discussed (Reiss, 1986). However, it seems that in the midst of conceptual ambiguity, social constructionism may offer a way of reducing some of the uncertainty and confusion that surrounds this concept.

Reiss (1991) believes in a universal, shared meaning of human sexuality: "Human sexuality in all societies consists of cultural scripts shared by a group aimed at producing an erotic response in the participants (arousal) and in turn to produce genital response" (p. 19). According to Reiss (1991), these sexual scripts are derived from the shared, consensual beliefs in a particular society about what constitutes good and bad sexuality. The sexual scripts act as a guide regarding what a society believes is the proper circumstances for experiencing an erotic response. Hartsock (1997) further suggested that sexuality should not be understood as an essence or set of properties defining an individual, nor as a set of drives and needs of an individual. Rather, sexuality should be understood as culturally and historically defined and constructed. As Hartsock (1997) noted, anything could become eroticised.

These theorists argue that sexuality is not a fixed essence of human nature, but rather a flexible set of attitudes that may be shaped by learning, choice and action. They depict sexual behaviour as a complex construct that is defined largely by one's culture, instead of simple instinctual determinism (Reiss & Lee, 1989; Simon & Gagnon, 1977). Weeks (1986) further explains sexuality as a product of social and historical forces by describing sexuality as a "fictional unity that once did not exist, and at some time in the future may not exist again" (p. 15). Weeks' (1986) assertion supports the idea that the meanings we give to sexuality are socially constituted and organised, and sustained by a variety of languages (or discourses) that seek to tell us what sexuality ought to be.

According to McKinney and Sprecher (1991), close relationships have been the most widely known and accepted context within which sexuality and sexual behaviour has manifested. Humans experience the majority of their erotic life in relationships that have varying degrees of closeness or intimacy (McKinney & Sprecher, 1991). When two people are involved sexually, they usually interact frequently, engage in several activities together, and influence each other's behaviour, decisions and goals. Kelley et al. (1983) notes that such a 'close relationship' usually has a high degree of interdependence. A high degree of interdependence between two people could be revealed in four properties of their interconnected activities:

1. Having frequent impact on each other.
2. The degree of impact being strong.

3. The impact involving a diverse range of activities.

4. The interconnected activity continues for a relatively long duration of time.

The result is that the sexual facet is intertwined with several other aspects of the close relationship. Love, intimacy, emotions, communication and power relations are examples of these aspects (McKinney & Sprecher, 1991). McKinney and Sprecher (1991) express the opinion that researchers in the area of sexuality traditionally ignored the relationship and focused instead on individual sexuality. But general factors in relationships (for example love and intimacy) are so intertwined with the construct of sexuality that ignoring these factors produces an impaired understanding of sexuality. It seems that a close relationship not only provides a feasible context for sexuality to manifest, but it also provides the researcher with the opportunity to achieve a more holistic picture of sexuality in its interaction with other relationship aspects. It is exactly this dynamic interaction between sexuality and other aspects of a close relationship that suggests the appropriateness of exploring a particular type of sexuality, such as paedophilia, within the context of a close relationship.

6.5. Sexual desire and pleasure

Sexual behaviour, or sexual expression, has historically and socially been expected to be motivated by sexual desire and pleasure (Levine, 1995; Seidman 1990). There is a great deal of variation between different researchers' conceptions of sexual desire (Regan & Berscheid, 1996). Stewart (1995) argues that sexual desire is simply one of the appetites, like hunger and thirst. He identified sexuality as such by means of the organs involved in the sense of satisfaction, and the pleasures at the core of that satisfaction. It follows that sexual desire could be defined as the desire for contact with another person's body, and for the pleasure of the contact. Therefore, pleasure would be the result of obtaining that sexually desirable phenomenon.

There is an ever-growing body of research, however, that supports a consensus that sexual desire is a subjective, psychological construct, and not purely a behavioural or physiological event (Regan & Berscheid, 1996). Levine (1995) suggested such a multidimensional model of sexual desire, and distinguished three components of sexual desire:

1. The sexual drive forms the biological component mediated by the neuro-endocrine system.
2. The sexual wish refers to the social component reflecting peer and societal expectations.

3. The sexual motive relates to the interpersonal component representing a person's willingness to engage in sex with a particular person.

It is worth mentioning that the sexual wish, or the social component of sexual desire, has changed quite dramatically during the twentieth century. According to Seidman (1990), there has been a sexualisation of love and an eroticisation of sexual activity in Western societies. Sexual desire and activity have become highly valued as a means of cementing heterosexual relationships. Sex as pleasure has become appropriated by the discourse of romance and has thus been raised above previous primitive associations. Sex has acquired a new purpose, and the link between heterosexuality and reproductive goals has become loosened. Instead, individual fulfilment with the aid of the close relationship has become the new purpose of sex. In the same manner we can say that the sexual motive, or the interpersonal component of sexual desire, has been influenced by society. The consequence is an emphasis on sexual skills and creating pleasure (Jackson & Scott, 1997). Sex is seen as playful and life enhancing where once it was thought of as primitive and beastly.

However, within the context of close relationships sexual desire and pleasure alone do not suffice as motivating forces for sexual activity or relationship preservation. Other aspects that are needed in the close relationship to enjoy satisfying and fulfilling relationships include intimacy, self-disclosure and love (McKinney & Sprecher, 1991).
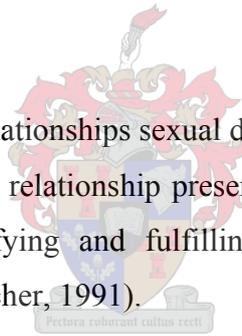
6.6. Intimacy

There has been little consensus in professional literature on the meaning of intimacy in human relationships (Monsour, 1992). Rather than trying to decide on a single definition, this discussion will focus on presenting different perspectives on this concept. Diemer, Mackey and O'Brien (2000) studied a sample of 108 heterosexual and 108 same-gender couples that had been in relationship for for an average of 30 years. The results suggested that low interpersonal conflict, a sense of fairness in the relationship, and expression of affection contributed to a higher sense of psychological intimacy. In their study, intimacy was defined as the sense of being able to be open and honest in the relationship in expressing personal thoughts and feelings regarding the self and the relationship. May (1969) also referred to the open interactive quality of intimacy in a mature sexual relationship. He named this quality *active receiving*. Active receiving also refers to a person permitting him- or herself to be loved while loving the other. This, according to May (1969), indicates a profound

awareness of love for another and for oneself. It might be this profound awareness of love Gordon (1987) referred to when he described intimacy as the experience of an intense feeling between two people as both individuals exclude experiencing the outside environment.

Ogrodnick (1999) explained intimacy in terms of three different elements: authenticity, self-display and heartfelt attachment. Sternberg (1998) also explained intimacy by means of the elements it comprised. He noted that intimacy includes those feelings in a relationship that promote closeness, bonding and connectedness. His research indicates that intimacy includes at least 10 elements:

1. Desiring to promote the welfare of the loved one.
2. Experiencing happiness with the loved one.
3. Holding the loved one in high regard.
4. Being able to count on the loved one in times of need.
5. Having mutual understanding with the loved one.
6. Sharing oneself and one's possessions with the loved one.
7. Receiving emotional support from the loved one.
8. Giving emotional support to the loved one.
9. Communicating intimately with the loved one.
10. Valueing the loved one.

Other characteristics of intimacy identified in his study were emotional expressiveness, unconditional support, shared activities, physical contact and sexual contact (Sternberg, 1998). Finally, personal disclosure, or self-disclosure, has been highlighted as the essence of intimacy and the most prominent element of intimacy by many researchers (Jourard, 1971; Monsour, 1992; Rubin, 1983). Self-disclosure could also be seen as an aspect of close relationships in its own right.

6.7. Self-disclosure

Self-disclosure plays a central role in the development and maintenance of relationships (Collins & Miller, 1994). Good communication, which is sometimes seen as a prerequisite for self-disclosure, has also been identified as important to develop and maintain a rewarding close relationship (Chesney, Blakeney, Cole, & Chan, 1981; Ferroni & Taffee, 1997). One way in which researchers have explored these processes is by studying the links between self-disclosure and liking within intimate relationships. Three significant disclosure-liking relations were found:

1. People who engage in intimate disclosures tend to be liked more than people who disclose at lower levels.

2. People disclose more to those they like.

3. People like others as a result of having disclosed to them (Collins & Miller, 1994).

These results suggest that various disclosure-liking effects could be integrated and viewed as operating together within a dynamic interpersonal system. In congruence with the above, Meleshko and Alden (1993) found that self-protective behaviour (and, consequently, less disclosure) was associated with less liking and more discomfort on the part of the partners. Therefore, self-disclosure enhances intimacy as well as overall liking and comfort within the relationship. Furthermore, self-disclosure was found to contribute to the general level of openness and connection in the relationships (Meleshko & Alden, 1993).

Within close relationships, it is not only verbal disclosure that counts as self-disclosure. Sexual activity in itself may also be seen as a form of self-disclosure. According to Reiss (1991), one basis for the universal importance of sexual activity is indeed self-disclosure. Experiencing intense physical pleasure in the presence of another person reveals parts of oneself that are not generally known to others.
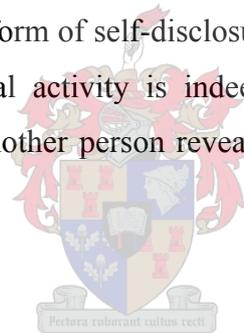
6.8. Love

Love and sexuality are intimately connected in our culture and in our culture's social sciences (Aron & Aron, 1991). Love also seems to be the motivating factor and most desired and fundamental aspect of any close relationship, forming the cement that keeps the relationship together even in times of adversity (Aron & Aron, 1991; Posner, 1992). As love seems to form such an intricate part of the relationship, it seems warranted to pay special attention to this aspect.

What is love? Most researchers sidestep a definition of love and focus on different categories of styles, attitudes or behaviour connected to love or a close relationship. The concept of love may be too polymorphous, complex and subjective to ever be captured in one definition. Therefore, the purpose of this section is to construct a basis for the understanding of love in the context of a close relationship by presenting an overview of different definitions and models of love in social psychological literature.

In *The Symposium of Plato*, Plato first differentiated love from desire (Stewart, 1995). He referred to Eros as sexual love and identified desire as a concept distinct from love. Posner (1992) explains this differentiation by noting that love finds a particular person uniquely attractive and desirable, whereas desire might be more general. Love, more than sexual desire alone, seems to provide stronger cement for a durable, though not necessarily permanent, relationship; one in which the partners will protect each other and their offspring.

Love is also viewed as the desire to share the self, the whole self, with another (Houston, 2000). Love is therefore also in itself a motivation for self-disclosure to take place. There is something implicitly free and selfless about 'the sharing of the self'. The selfless quality is also evident in Scruton's (quoted in Posner, 1992) comments on love. He believed that in love the other is treated not as a means to an end, but that the partner's desires and pleasures are one's own, and the self's desires and pleasures are hopefully also the other's. Moreover, love makes the other person irreplaceable and inevitably contradicts the theory of human selfishness (Seligman, 2002). These selfless concepts of sharing oneself and wanting the best for one's partner also involves the risk of exposing oneself to another. This would entail overriding one's emotional self-protection. Coleman (1984) understood this phenomenon of emotional surrendering as a value inherent in a person, and love, therefore, as an awareness of this value that is allowed to dismantle one's own emotional self-protection from another person. Houston (2000) also viewed love as a freeing and opening of the self. He explained that the initial impetus for love does not lie in desires, but rather in an appreciation of the value in a person, which frees us from our tendencies towards emotional self-protection from them.

Other researchers have designed models of love in an attempt to structure this very complex concept. Berscheid and Walster (1974) proposed a psychological model of love in which love comprises two major entities: companionate love and passionate love. Companionate love has been defined as "the affection and tenderness we feel for those with whom our lives are deeply intertwined" (Hatfield & Rapson, 1993, p. 9) while passionate love has been referred to as "a state of intense longing for union with another" (Hatfield & Rapson, 1993, p. 5). Sternberg (1986) explained love in terms of three components by means of his triangular model. He identified these facets as passion, intimacy and decision (or commitment). Sternberg (1998) views the passion component largely as the expression of desires and needs (such as self-esteem, nurturance, dominance and sexual fulfilment). The intimacy component entails feelings of warmth, closeness

and connectedness in a relationship. The decision/commitment component refers to the decision to love one's partner, as well as the decision to maintain that love.

Lee (1973) conceptualised love in terms of different love styles and proposed that there are six different styles of love. The three primary styles are Eros – romantic passionate love; Ludus – game-playing love; and Storge – friendship love. The following three styles are derived form the primary styles: Mania – possessive, dependent love (a compound of Eros and Ludus); Pragma – pragmatic, logical love (a compound of Storge and Ludus); and Agape – selfless, giving love (a compound of Eros and Storge).

Hazan and Shaver (1987) studied the phenomenon of love from a developmental approach by applying attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969) to close relationships. It was proposed that the patterns of attachment that Bowlby (1969) identified might be mirrored in romantic relationships. In their study, it was found that participants' descriptions of their current relationships, previous relationships and childhood memories of the relationships with their caregiver were all consistent with their primary attachment style.

Love could also be seen as a motivational force. Aron and Aron (1991) emphasised the motivational side of love, with its goal of closeness with a specific other. They proposed that love is the constellation of behaviour, cognitions and emotions associated with a desire to enter into or maintain a close relationship with a specific person. Their self-expansion model (Aron & Aron, 1986) hypothesises that all behaviour is motivated by a desire to increase the self's potential efficacy. Thus passion is desired because it is a moment of limitless potential efficacy, or the connection with a source of such limitless power. The model also holds that the process of expansion is both highly pleasurable and a motivational goal. Love and sexuality are both favoured means of self-expansion for several reasons. Firstly, love and sexuality seem available to almost anyone. Secondly, love and sexuality are often combined in our culture, and are perceived to provide added expansion opportunities through a single pursuit of forming an intimate relationship with another person.

Finally, love could also be viewed as an attempt to become a psychologically whole person. Jungian psychology proposes that all cultures have their own symbols helping their members gain

psychological wholeness (also a fundamental expression of the self-expansion motive). Symbols of sexuality and love are the medium through which women understand their feminine side, and through which both sexes confront their untamed, wilder sides. Thus sexuality and love are the present means of gaining wholeness in our society (Aron & Aron, 1991).

The list of definitions may be virtually endless, and as such I will refrain from attempting to provide a definitive definition of love here. However, it seems imperative to call attention to the limitless potential that love holds for human beings. Love is the one entity that defies the theory of human selfishness and enables a person to make commitments that transcends rational gain (Seligman, 2002). It is a vehicle of connection, nurturance and selfless contribution to others. It is therefore not only a crucial facet in any close relationship, but also essential in understanding and accepting the self and others. The final close relationship aspect to be discussed is power and control.

6.9. Power and control

The clearest support for the relationship between power and sexuality comes from a comparison of male and female sexual rights in cultures around the world. The double standard that affords males greater sexual rights than females can be seen as a reflection of males' greater political and economic power in societies around the world (Weeks, 1986). The greater power of males seems to lead to attempts by them to control the sexuality of women. The relationship of power and sexuality is also evident in other structures of domination and subordination such as class, gender and race (Weeks, 1986). Because power has become an inherent property of sexuality, it is also a prominent and pervasive facet of love and close relationships. Power and control among people who share intimacy, also called 'power exertion' (Szinovacs, 1987) or 'power in action' (French & Raven, 1959), have been defined as the degree to which one intentionally regulates the other's behaviour (Cartwright, 1959).

Stets (1993) conducted a study in this field. He explored control taking among couples and addressed three precipitating factors: the stage of the relationship, perspective taking (taking the view of one's partner) and the relationship conflict. Control taking was more likely to occur when an individual's perspective taking was low and when conflict was high. This implies that people have a tendency to control their partner when they experience a lack of control over their environment. Controlling the other restores a view of oneself as being able and competent, and

compensates for one's own perceived lack of control. Control and power thus also serve as important theoretical constructs in understanding relationships (Stets, 1995).

According to Wilson (1995), control might also be an attribute of love. He suggests that a test of love would be the ability and willingness to welcome the desire for power over the other, even if directed to oneself. This achievement, when it occurs with repressed desires and fantasies, would then be the chief social value of love between equals, because this is what makes justice possible. Wilson (1995) explains this as follow:

> I cannot love X without some measure of power over X, wanting to possess X in some sense, wanting X to depend on me. The basic reason for this is simple: if I love X, then by definition I desire X, delight in some association with X, and want to get as much out of X as possible. So to achieve this I must also want X to be available for me, and to be so controlled or possessed by me that I get what I want out of X. (p. 62)

According to Wilson (1995), power is therefore a constituent of love. Power is present in a relationship to the degree that you desire the complete and utter love and possession of your lover, and knowing that you have the ability to elicit and rely on this. It also implies the feeling that you are in his or her power and possession. This resembles the feeling a child has toward his or her parents. Wilson (1995) further notes that the focus should not be on the kind or amount of power used. We should rather recognise the interactions with X as based on:

1. Bilateral negotiation and mutual understanding (communication, sharing).
2. The result of unilateral judgement and guess work (idea of how best to manage each other).

But why do some relationships of power result in exploitation or abuse, whereas so many others result in compassion? Mills and Clark (1982) note that there are different parameters for various kinds of relationships that impact on how power is distributed within a specific relationship. Relationships that contain power imbalances can be studied from within both professional and intimate settings. Therefore, relational context becomes an important factor. A person may have a power advantage or disadvantage in a relationship with another person depending on the context. Mills and Clark (1982) propose that these types of relationships, in which power imbalances occur, need to be assessed in two ways. Firstly, reflection is needed to discern the presence of various types of power advantage or power disadvantage for each individual. Some variables worth considering in this regard are age, gender, sexual orientation, race, cultural background, role, and

access to information, as well as life circumstance. Secondly, additional assessment is needed to determine risk factors to each party in the relationship with regard to the potential for power abuse. Mills and Clark (1982) assert in this theory that both the person in the powerful position, and the person in the disadvantaged role, are capable of manipulative use of the power in a relationship. They further contend that there may be contextual and relational elements, such as trust, naivety, preoccupying stress or lack of experience that make a person vulnerable to being manipulated, abused or exploited.

6.10. Conclusion

This chapter identified and discussed several aspects of close relationships. As an introduction, courtship was presented. The central aspects of close relationships were identified as sexuality, sexual desire, pleasure, intimacy, self-disclosure, love, and power and control. Although these were presented as individual aspects of close relationships, it is acknowledged that they are in fact highly interrelated, and dynamically interwoven to form the concept of close relationships. In the following section it will be shown how the concept of close relationships can be used to shed new light on the phenomenon of paedophilia.
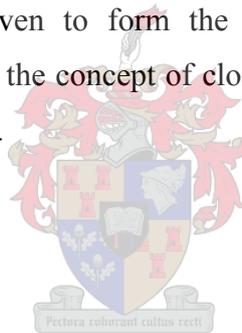
7. NARRATIVE DESCRIPTION OF PAEDO-RELATIONSHIPS

7.1. Introduction

This chapter will present a narrative description of three men's experiences and constructs of paedo-relationships. The participants were interviewed in an attempt to explore their world of close relationships with children. The data from the interviews was positioned in the framework of close relationships and then compared to universal (or normative) ideas and constructs of close relationships. Concepts taken from the theory of close relationships, such as sexuality (including sexual activities, sexual orientation and sexual desire), love, self-disclosure, and control and power, were predominantly used to organise the emerging themes. In addition, in keeping with phenomenological thinking, the data itself was interrogated for further themes that related to close relationships. The emerging themes included courtship, mutual engagement, communication and pleasure, and were incorporated into the description.

The participants all experienced intimate relationships, without physical violence or coercion, with children between 8 and 11 years of age. At the time of interviewing they were all convicted and incarcerated 'child sex offenders'. Two of the participants (both Afrikaans speaking) were married and involved in heterosexual relationships, and the third participant (English speaking) had been involved with adult men and defined himself as homosexual.

As two of the participants were Afrikaans speaking, direct quotations from these two participants have been translated to English for the reader. It has to be accepted that inevitably, the meaning might have been altered through the translation. As such, the original text has also been included in the main part of this study (in italics). Where names appear in the text, pseudonyms were used.

7.2. Courtship behaviour

The main objective of courtship behaviour is to elicit an affectionate response from the love object (Givens, 1978).

Two of the participants established contact with the children by assuming the role of the protector or caring figure during the courtship stage. Safety and protection might be enticing qualities for most children. The demonstration of protection and caring thus formed part of the participants'

courtship behaviour. This relates to the childcare-related non-verbal signs that govern courtship behaviour (Givens, 1978). Both these participants met children at public venues including swimming pools, an ice-skating rink, and school play grounds. One participant who met a girl at a swimming pool stated:

P: The nanny left them there all by themselves – no mother or father, nobody.

This implies that the girl was abandoned. He took care of her, protected her for the day, and bought her "cold drinks and sweets". His account of what happened portrays him in an innocent, almost honourable, light. He stressed the fact that no parents were present, implying possibly tragic negligence. This participant might have projected his own feelings of rejection and alienation during childhood onto this situation. More importantly, however, the caring facet of courtship behaviour was employed here to make himself acceptable to the love object.

The other participant went to school playgrounds to make contact with potential love objects:

P: I watch them where they play, and what time. Everyday I see them play there 10 o' clock; and 11 o'clock they are gone. So, I would approach them, go and sit amongst them, and light a cigarette – I smoked then – and just watch what they do … And when they fight with each other, I would make them think I am almost like a father and say: "Don't do that." Then I would take the one [girl] that got hurt, aside, and say that it is "all right" and "don't worry", and that she should come and sit with me. I was very sly.
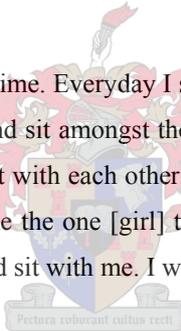
P: Ek hou hulle dop waar hulle speel, watter tyd. Elke dag sien ek maar hulle speel mos elke dag 10 o'clock dan is hulle daar; en 11 o'clock dan is hulle weg. Dan sou ek vir hulle so benader het en ek sou net daar gaan sit by hulle, en my 'n cigarette opgesteek het – die tyd wat ek gerook het – en gekyk het wat maak hulle. En dit is nie altyd wat hulle met mekaar stry nie, dan sou ek nou 'n idee in hulle in plaas dat ek maar daar is amper soos 'n pa, en sê: "moenie die doen nie." Dan sou ek die enetjie wat nou seergekry het of geslaan gewees het na my toe nader bring. En as dit nou 'n meisiekind is sou ek saam met haar praat en sê daai is "all right" en "moenie worry nie kom sit hier by my". En so het ek nou saam met haar gepraat. Ek was baie skelm gewees.

This participant's account displays a sense of ritual: a specific time, and specific sequence of events. Givens (1978) also noted this ritualised sequence to courtship. Again comforting and protecting is used as courtship behaviour. The physical action of comforting might also lead to more sexual contact, such as fondling. This participant was very aware of being opportunistic and refers to himself as sly. He found it relatively easy to blend in with children and to remain unobtrusive. Blending in with the children might have given him a sense of belonging.

In public places the love object is likely to be a stranger. The courtship behaviour may thus be more overt and direct than it would be amongst family and friends. The third participant accounted how he had planned the time, place and manner to make contact with his love object. This planning might have heightened his anticipation and increased the excitement. The preparation ritual could play a significant role in the whole sexual experience. Suspense, planning, secrecy and the fear of being caught all add to the anticipatory excitement and physical arousal characteristic of the courtship phase.

P: And one day, as the children played in the yard, a little devil would tell me: "Try that child out." Then I would tell her: "Lisa, come here." When she comes closer I tell her: "Here's your 2 bob, go and buy sweets for yourself." My two sons would see this and ask: "Daddy where is mine?" Then I tell them: "Nai, I will give you just now, but you must wait until Lisa comes back, then daddy will give you." Their mother sleeps, my wife sleeps and her [Lisa's] mother is at work.

As Lisa comes back I tell my sons: "Right, there is your 2 bob, and 2 bob for you, and now you go and buy yourself some sweets." Then I tell Lisa to come here. Then I kiss her ...

P: En eendag, ... soos die kinders speel hier in die jard ... dan loop daar sommer 'n duiweltjie hier in my kop in: try die kind uit. Dan sê ek vir haar: "Lisa kom hierso." Dan kom sy. Dan sê ek vir haar: "Daar's jou two bob gat koop vir jou lekkers". My twee seuns sien dit en vra: "Daddy waar is myne?" Dan sê ek: "Nai, ek gaan vir julle nou gee, maar julle moet wag dat Lisa eerste winkel toe gaan as Lisa terugkom dan gee daddy vir julle twee." Die ma slaap, my vrou slaap, en die kind se ma is nou in die werk in.

Soos Lisa terugkom ... dan sê ek vir my twee seuns: "Right, daar is 'n two bob vir jou en 'n two bob vir jou, nou gaan koop julle twee weer vir julle lekkers." Nou wat hulle nou weg is nou sê ek vir Lisa: "Kyk ek, mmm kom hierso." Nou soen ek vir haar...

All the participants reported planning contact with their love object in such a way as to keep this 'a secret' from the world. The importance of secrecy required planning, which lead to anticipation and excitement.

It is important to note that what is referred to as courtship behaviour in the current study, is termed grooming (Wyre, 1990) in most victimologist literature. This entails the first stage of planning and attempting to befriend the child. It is said to be a strategic approach to gaining power over the child (Elloitt, Browne, & Kilcoyne, 1995). As a grooming activity (sometimes also referred to as seduction (Howitt, 1995)), this behaviour is perceived to entail manipulation and coercion, as implied by the terms *victim* and *offender*. However, when compared to normative courtship dynamics, which include elements such as planning, manipulation of events and impressions (in order to lay the foundation for more intimate selecting), it becomes less 'criminal'.

7.3. Constructing a close relationship

The participants were asked how they view a normal and an ideal relationship. The core values in a normal, close relationship, as identified by the participants, include protection, caring, special feelings, being understood, loyalty and a sense of enjoyment with another. These are all elements commonly found in the descriptions of close relationships.

When discussing the ideal relationship, the participants' values and needs became apparent. Honesty, sharing, trust, loyalty and mutual understanding appeared to be most important. These values might be significant in their sexual preference for children:

P: What I expect from a woman, is she must be honest with me. She must be straight with me. If she maybe has a problem, she must not hide it from me. She must be able to share it with me.

P: Wat ek verwag van die vrou, ek verwag sy moet eerlik is saam met my. Sy moet opreg is saam met my. Sy moet as sy miskien probleem het, sy moet nie haar problems wegsteek nie. Sy moet dit kan deel saam met my.

P: Just that I can have trust in the person with whom I have a relationship – that I can trust her with everything.

P: Net die feit dat ek vertroue kan het in die persoon met wie ek 'n verhouding het – dat ek haar kan vertrou met alles.

P: A romantic relationship, you must be able to understand each other and enjoy each other. Between a man and wife, I did not have good examples, really … How a man behaves, whar a woman must do right. So I struggle to understand how exactly a real relationship should be.

P: 'n Romantiese verhouding, 'n mens moet mekaar verstaan, mekaar geniet. Tussen 'n man en vrou vir my was daar nie 'n goeie voorbeeld gewees nie so ek sukkel maar regtigwaar om te verstaan wat is 'n egte en hoe 'n verhouding moet wees ek sukkel regtigwaar ... Hoe moet 'n man hom gedra wat moet 'n vrou reg doen.

P: Just to understand me, that is all, just to understand.

P: Net om my te verstaan, dis maar al net om te verstaan.

It appears that the participants found it easier to trust a child than an adult, and easier to believe that children could be honest and loyal. They also reported feeling accepted and understood, which may well be a reflection of a child's ability to readily accept a person for who they are. Such acceptance may create a sense of belonging, something with which all three participants reported struggling with and craving throughout their lives. The participants generally gave the impression that their values of honesty, trust and loyalty would have a better chance of being honoured in a paedo-relationship, than in an adult sexual relationship. The attribution of innocence to the love object was also highly valued by all three participants. They possibly believe that innocence would invariably guarantee more trust and loyalty in a relationship. The innocence of the child may endow the paedo-relationship with a safer and more trustworthy space than would be found in an adult-adult relationship.

However, the need for trust, loyalty and honesty is not something the participants readily reciprocated. As such there is tension between the participants' emotional expectations of relationships and their own behaviour. For example, one participant stated that he would only be open with his young partner if she was open towards him. Even then, he struggled to really be open with her. This seems to be a childlike perspective on a relationship: This is what I want, but I am not able (or willing) to give it in return. Another childlike feature, which might compensate for the above, is a sense of over-indulgence in the participants' construct of the ideal relationship:

P: I will do anything in a relationship with a young boy I will do anything for him – if he wants to go to the moon I will try and arrange it for him. That's my fantasy with a young kid. I'll do anything for him.

The participants may feel they give to their love objects in a material manner that which they struggle to give in the emotional arena.

7.4. Sexuality in close relationships

7.4.1. Sexual activities

In general, sexual activities consisted of kissing, licking, fondling private parts and masturbating. Despite wanting to, all three the participant denied having had intercourse with any of their love objects. Their reasons included that it might traumatise the youngster, it might physically hurt the girls and that it would be 'wrong'. As will be seen later (in section 7.4.4.), the participants found

another source to fulfil their need for sex. In close relationships the ability to adapt (or refrain from) sexual activities to suit your partner may indicate respect, caring and the surrender of personal wants. It entails an act of compromise and selflessness. However, it could also be argued that the motivating factor for such behaviour could be the fear of getting into trouble, hurting the love object or being rejected. Abstaining from sex in the relationships might also serve other functions, for example to keep the love object innocent and desirable.

As the participants were the adults in their paedo-relationship and physically bigger and stronger than their love objects, one can assume that they regulated sexual activities. However, all three participants reported enjoying the idea that their love objects experienced sexual pleasure.

> P: I masturbate while I'm fondling him – then he gets high, I get at the same time – it was the same with the girls.

This participant talked about reaching orgasm at the same time as the boy and girl. He refers to this as something quite accidental, but recurring. He would only reach orgasm when the child did. This is related to the perception that the child could, and did, initiate sexual activity or seduction.

> P: Sometimes I use to sleep naked but whenever the daughter did something wrong the mother blamed the boys. One night I woke up. I had no clothes on – the eldest boy climbed in my bed. I did not open my eyes. Then I felt his hand on me between my legs.
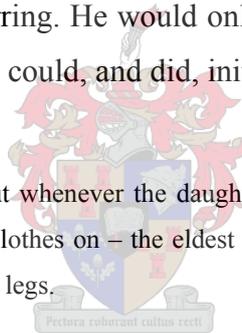
This participant seemed to enjoy (and found it erotic) to view himself in the passive and innocent role. He slept in the nude, maybe hoping and waiting for something to happen. His desire to fulfil his sexual fantasy, of being seduced by the boy, may have compelled him to create situations with a high probability of that happening. To be the passive partner in sexual engagement (or to be seduced) may also be an important aspect in the participant's management of anxiety and guilt. As such, he does not view himself guilty of seducing or manipulating the boy, but rather responsible for creating an opportunity for sexual activity. Another participant reported that young girls approached him on a daily basis for sexual pleasures. Although he declined to have sex with them when they were "too young", he seemed proud that they appeared to be the sexual aggressors in his experience. The participants seemed to feel flattered and has gained a sense of innocence through these experiences.

There was also evidence of unusual sexual behaviour. One participant especially enjoyed licking his love object. As a child he had to lick his father's feet. This might have had a very significant impact

on his construct of the erotic. He did not seem to understand this desire, but seemed to acknowledge it was unusual.

> P: Then I think: If I were with that woman I would lick her from head to toe. I mean, it is a desire in me, I don't know why.

> *P: Dan dink ek as ek nou by daai vrou is dan lek ek haar van toon tot kop. Ek, ek meen dit is 'n desire in my, ek weet nie hoekom nie.*

Inherent in sexual activity is a sense of self-disclosure and consequent vulnerability (Reiss, 1991). During sexual activity, a part of the self is expressed and seen that is not generally revealed to the rest of the world. The participants may have experienced a sense of relief in being able to share their normally hidden paedosexuality. Two of the participants reported feeling understood by their love objects; something they did not experience with other people in their lives. It is suggested that the sexual disclosure they shared with their love objects allowed them to reveal themselves without holding back. Moreover, their perception of being seduced by their love objects may represent the ultimate in acceptance. A very intimate space may be created when the participant feels accepted and loved. Sharing intense sexual pleasure, or observing that experience in the love object, results in intimacy through the act of self-disclosure and acceptance. The intimacy is also amplified, as both persons become vulnerable to the others' seduction.
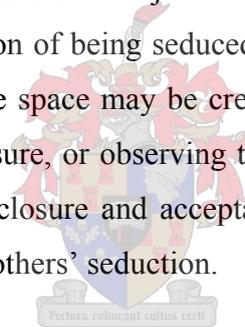
This notion of vulnerability highlights the risk involved in sexual disclosure. The primary risk involves being rejected by the love object. The rejection would not only be directed at the sexual act, but as sexuality is so intertwined with the sense of self and identity (Dollimore, 1991), it would also result in a rejection of that person. As such, the participants may experience total rejection in adult-adult relationships, while experiencing personal and sexual acceptance in adult-child relationships.

7.4.2. Pleasure

The pleasure associated with sexual activity and close relationships has become highly valued during the twentieth century (Seidman, 1990). The participants, however, did not focus solely on the sexual components of the relationship as being responsible for their pleasure. Pleasure was gained through different components of the relationship. Some of these components have been identified as the excitement of secrecy, a feeling of power and observing the pleasure experienced by the love object.

P: For me it kind of felt great. I felt a bit excited, because I knew the child would not tell.

P: Vir my het dit nogal kwaai gevoel. Vir my bietjie opwindend laat voel, want because ek het geweet, die kind sal nie nog sê nie.

The concept of secrecy seemed to have caused heightened sexual arousal for the participant. In other words, the sense of being naughty and secretive may induce sexual hyper-arousal. This idea will be discussed in a following section (8.2.1.). The statement above also proves the sense of control or power to keep the love object silent.

Pleasure was also gained through watching the love object experience pleasure:

P: The pleasure from the child, I would say, she enjoyed it because she would tell me what to do, in what position to lay, what she wanted to do … It think she got pleasure from touching me, and the things she fantasised about.

P: Die plesier van die kind af sou ek sê dat sy het dit geniet omdat sy vir my sou sê wat om te doen, om watter posisie om te lê, en wat sy wil aanvang. Ek dink sy het genot daaruit gekry om aan my te gevat het en dinge wat sy miskien oor gefantaseer het.

The participant believed he gave the girl an opportunity to fulfil her fantasies. He might have projected his own need for fulfilling his fantasies on his love object. However, the idea of her experiencing pleasure in turn provided him pleasure.

7.4.3. Mutual engagement

Alcoff (1998) noted that sexual expression should not be judged in terms of consent – as that would imply that sexual activity is a purely contractual relationship. It should rather be seen as a mutual engagement. Consent implies a verbal agreement, whereas mutual engagement refers to a more implicit understanding of what both persons in the relationship desire.

It emerged from the data that all three the participants experienced a sense of mutual engagement with their young partners during sexual activity. However, the participants termed this sense of mutual engagement as *consent*. As such, their construct of consent differed slightly from universal constructs. They predominantly construed consent as non-verbal agreement. As such, physically engaging in sexual activity would represent giving 'consent'. All of the participants agreed that it was important for the child to consent to the sexual activities in the relationship. The following

statements demonstrate how the participants perceived mutual engagement, which they termed *consent*, from their love objects:

P: In a sexual relationship you got to get consent, you must be willing to do it.

P: Like one time I was lying naked in bed and he popped into the bed and he started, he saw and feel I was naked so automatically if he feels something and he takes off his pajamas and lay next to me: he is saying yes.

P: She was at all times game, at all times.

P: Sy was at all times game, at all times.

P: I never went against a child's will.

P: Ek het nooit teen 'n kind se wil gegaan nie.

P: Then I said: "What did you say?" No she wants to – then she shows me: No, what you showed me.

P: Dan sê ek: "Wat sê jy?" Nee sy wil – dan wys sy vir my: Nei jy het vir my gewys.

As such they constructed attaining consent as making sure that the child was 'game', not going against the love object's will, asking or requesting verbal consent, or the love object initiating the sexual behaviour. The participants thus believed that they had, in these situations, a mutual agreement with their love objects to sexual activity. Further scenarios supporting the belief that their sexual activities were based on mutual agreement were recounted. For example, one participant's love object told him he "loved what was going on"; another's love object was "always game" for sexual activities; and the last participant's love object knowingly "seduced" him by doing a suggestive African dance for him. Over and above the scenarios of mutual agreement mentioned, all three believed that, at times, their love objects initiated the sexual activities. Some of the scenarios follow:

P: Yes, she enjoyed it. I told her once that we should maybe stop a bit, because people could maybe find out about us.

P: Ja, sy het dit geniet. Ek het al vir haar gesê kyk hier die dinge van ons twee moet 'n bietjie ophou want because mense gat begin te miskien uitvinde van ons.

P: Anne once did an African dance she saw on TV. She stands with her legs wide apart moving her lower body. Then I show her with my eyes, *there,* underneath. Then she laughs and throws her lower body again. Then I would think: O, you know what you are busy with.

P: Anne doen eenkeer 'n dans een van die African danse wat sy gesien het op die TV. Dan staan sy wydsbene dan beweeg sy haar onderlyfie so. Nou wys ek haar so met die oë daaronder en sy lag en sy gooi haar onderlyfie, nou dink ek, jy o hier jy weet waarmee jy deurmekaar is.

P: When she takes the baby, she knows I am going to play with the baby, but not *really* with the baby. Now she holds the baby, so that I can play with it, but she presses her breasts against the baby so that I can play with the breasts. There are people around us. We were sly. That's the way we were.

P: Nou as sy die baba vat dan staan sy nou met die baba. Nou sy weet ek gaan speel met die baba, but, sy weet ek gaan nie eintlik speel met die baba nie. Nou hou sy die baba, dan speel ek [met] die baba, but dan druk sy haar borste [teen die baba], because ek wil met die borste speel. Daar's nou mense rondom ons, dit kos skelm wees. Nou so was ek en sy nou weer, verstaan mevrou.

P: Every afternoon 4 o'clock, half past three, she came. Then she wanted to do this, and then I just did it ...

P: En elke middag 4 uur half past three het sy nog gekom en dan wil sy nou so gemaak het en ek het nou maar net dit gedoen ...

From these scenarios it seems as if the participants, at times, viewed themselves as the passives in the sexual activities – as if they were being seduced by their love objects. In the experience of the participants the power relation between adult and child is reversed. In their eyes, the child becomes the sexual aggressor and they become the sexual passives. It seems as if there is a need to feel vulnerable and dominated by the child, and that this reversal of power is experienced as extremely erotic. The child is viewed as the innocent party and being seduced by the innocent may provide the sanctioning needed for the participants to endure, and deal with, their own sexual behaviour.

An intrinsic problem of mutual engagement (and therefore non-verbal indications of consent) is that one's own sexual desire (and attraction) is often projected onto the love object. Non-verbal signs of affection from the love object may be wrongly interpreted as sexual advances (Harvey & Weber, 2002). This proves the idea of mutual engagement to be an unreliable indicator of consent in relationships where an inherent power imbalance is present.

7.4.4. Sexual orientation

The three participants claimed to have a sexual preference for children. As mentioned above, the participants created other ways to fulfil their need for sex, as they refrained from having sex with the children. One participant claimed he 'used' his wife for sex. Another participant mentioned he used adult men for sex (and financial gain). The third mentioned that he had relationships with adult women, purely for the purpose of having intercourse. It seems as if all three participants found a way of fulfilling their need for sex outside of the paedo-relationship. This made it possible to keep their desire for sex from disrupting the relationship with their love object. More importantly, all the participants viewed adult-adult relationhips as somehow less fulfilling than a paedo-relationship. Two participants mentioned that adult-adult relationhips were "just for sex". These statements reduce an adult-adult relationship to a mere sexual transaction, and imply that most of the valuable elements of a loving relationship were lacking.

> *P: To tell you the truth, a relationship with my age group was just sexual. It was just about sex, sex, sex, sex, sex. For me it was just about going to bed, really.*

> P: Om die waarheid te sê 'n verhouding met 'n, met my ouderdomsgroep was maar net seksueel. Die dinge het maar net gegaan om seks seks seks seks seks. Vir my was dit net kooi toe regtigwaar.

This participant stated that his relationship with a young girl meant much more to him than the simple satisfaction of a need. In this way he differentiated between romantic relationships (with young girls) and relationships only for the purpose of having sex (with adult women). He stated that he did not trust adult women, and found loyalty, trust and understanding primarily in a paedo-relationship. He also admitted fantasising about his young love object, even while having sex with his wife, and that he was still currently fantasising about her.

As mentioned, the participants clearly stated that their sexual orientations were toward children. Although it was made clear that the interviews were confidential, two participants became evasive when asked to confirm the exact ages of the children they were attracted to. Irregularities and contradictions appeared in their answers. These contradictions are dicussed later (see 8.4).

> P: Lets put it this way – I was with younger people more than with men. In those years I use to just organise money for myself by going with men and all that. In a way I prefer young boys.

P: OK, speaking now, maybe 13 is too young. Yes I don't think I will be able to do it with that child, let's make it a bit older. A few years ago, they were younger, say 10.

P: *OK soos ek nou sê, nou dan is 13 miskien nog te jonk. Ja ek sal nie met daai kind kan nie. Kom ons maak dit 'n bietjie ouer. Paar jaar gelede, is hulle 'n jonger gewees, ... sê 10.*

The general ages of attraction ranged between 6 and 13. Two of the participants admitted to being attracted to children of 6 to 8 years in newspapers and on television.

P: When I see children on TV, it seems to me there is still a desire to go there, and that is dangerous ... I'm talking about 6, 7 years old, 8, yes it stays around that age group.

P: As ek kinders op die TV sien dan lyk dit vir my daar is nog altyd 'n begeerte om daar uit te kom en dit is gevaarlik. Ek praat van 6, 7 jaar oud 8 ja dit bly net in daai ouderdom.

7.4.5. Sexual desire

Sexual desire is increasingly seen as a subjective, psychological construct in contrast to the historical belief that sexual desire should be seen as a physiological and behavioural event (Regan & Berscheid, 1996). Therefore, focus was not only given to physical elements and visual stimuli that may cause sexual attraction, but also to more implicit elements that might have played a part in sexual desire. Through analysis of the data, two themes emerged regarding sexual desire, namely physical attraction and the eroticisation of innocence.

7.4.5.1. Eroticism and physical attraction

The participants found children erotic in tight fitting clothes, underwear and nightwear. The shape of the sex organs, which would be visible in tight fitting clothes such as swimwear, was also found to be erotic.

P: I think with boys – his body – when he puts a Speedo on – when I walk past him all I see is his front parts. The Speedos for boys are very tight and you can see the shape of everything and they draw much attention.

P: Everything about her was attractive to me.

P: *Alles van haar was aantreklik vir my.*

P: When you buy the Argus, then they have Edgards and Ackermans ads where, to be honest, they sometimes show you women too. Then they also show nighties where you can see the child, but you cannot estimate the age. But as I say, when I see the breasts, so nice and small, then my mind wonders too.

P: As jy die Argus koop dan wys hulle mos miskien nou so die Edgars en Ackermans se klere wat hulle mos nou verkoop, om eerlik te wees, nou wys hulle mos sometimes die vrou ook. Dan hulle wys mos nighties waarin jy kan mos sien … as 'n kind miskien nou … jy kan mos nie daarin 'n ouderdom skat nie … Maar as ek nou kom kry om te sê daai kind sê jy kyk al na borste… is so lekker kleintjies dan trek my mind ook.

Developing breasts, as well as the absence of breasts, were considered erotic by the participants. Not only did it imply a connection with innocence and childhood, it was also found stimulating by the participant with a homosexual orientation. One participant associated breasts with his mother.

P: What I thought about breasts, I thought milk comes out of it. You just drink from it. That is what I learnt from my mother: that breasts are for milk, not for any other purpose.

P: Wat ek aan borste gedink het dink ek aan daar kom melk uit. Jy drink maar net daaraan. Dit is wat ek van my ma afgeleer het, borste is daar vir melk. Dit is nie vir 'n ander doel daar nie.

Furthermore, the idea of his mother might have caused him anxiety, as there were still unresolved issues around her death or disappearance.
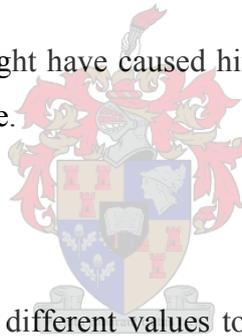
7.4.5.2. Attracted to innocence

It seems as if the participants attached different values to innocence. One common idea was that innocence is erotic and exciting. This supports the suggestion that Western culture has sexualised the child, and that the innocent child has, to some extent, been eroticised (Kincaid, 1993). The participants' construct of innocence entailed the following concepts: virginity, cleanliness, purity, naivety and 'not knowing anything'.

As a virgin, the child is seen as clean and untouched, not yet contaminated by the world:

P: Then I feel, she is still pure child, she has never had sex with a man, in other words she is still a pure virgin!

P: Dan voel ek, die is nog skone kind, sy het nog nooit regtig met 'n man seksuele gehad nie, met ander woorde sy is 'n pure virgin!

The fact that the child may be naïve and new to sexual experiences seemed to excite all the participants:

P: … it makes you feel excited.

P: … dit laat jou opgewonde voel.

P: I see a child as a person, he is still small and don't know what's coming his way …

As the child may be unaware of 'what is coming', the participants took on the role of the 'teacher':

P: Yes, somebody very innocent, very, very innocent, that I could learn things to, new things just from me.

P: Ja, iemand baie onskuldig ... baie baie onskuldig. Wat ek nou die dinge kan wysmaak en sê dit nou net nuut van my af.

It seems as if the child is viewed as a 'blank slate' that the participant may fill with his own knowledge and views. To be the one who teaches the love object 'all there is to know' implies control over the love object. The control creates a sense of safety in the relationship and is congruent with participants' reported difficulties with trust in close relationships. The more control you have, the less you need to trust your loved one. One participant reported that he harboured anger towards adult women. For him the innocent child was not part of the 'evil' race of untruthful women. Innocence for him, especially, may have represented safety in the love object.

It is interesting that, although the participants were attracted to the innocence in their love objects, the children were also not seen as completely innocent. The girls and boys seemed to come across as partially 'innocent', and by implication partially experienced in sexual behaviour. In other words, sexual experience decreased the perceived innocence of a love object. Moreover, the participants could have been particularly attracted to the 'inarticulate' nature of child sexuality.

P: There were a few girls, older than 10 years, they already knew a lot of things about sex. They would pull down their own pants and tell me to come and do the thing with them. There was one who asked me to put my penis into her body. I told her she was too young.

P: ... daar is 'n paar, hoe kan ek sê anderkant 10 jaar oud, wat ook al baie dinge geweet al van seks wat ook al. Hulle broeke self afgetrek het en gesê het [ek moet] kom en die ding doen – daar's al een wat al vir my gevra het om my penis in haar liggaam in te druk. Ek het vir haar gesê nee jy is nog te klein.

The above assertion sketches a less innocent image of the girls. The participant sees himself as 'protector'. This participant may have experienced young girls as innocent in the ways of the heart, enabling him to trust them; being less innocent in sexual matters enabled him to enjoy sexual activities with girls. Another participant viewed children as partially innocent:

P: … I'll say 50-50 on the innocent part, let's get that straight.

Viewing a child as partially innocent but sexually experienced make it possible to receive consent from the child and as well as experience the eroticism of being in a relationship with the innocent love object at the same time.

As Levine (1995) noted, the social component to sexual desire (peer and societal expectations) has changed and loosened during the last century and may have less impact on individual choice of sexual expression. Creating pleasure has become a likely goal in sexual activity (Jackson & Scott, 1997) as well as individual fulfilment (relating to the sexual motive (Levine, 1995)) and the need for close relationships. As such, individual preference of sexual expression has increased, while the influence of social norms on sexual expression has decreased. This could provide some clue as to how the paedophile maintains his sexual desire to be with young love objects, and chooses them as partners, in direct conflict to societal norms and standards.
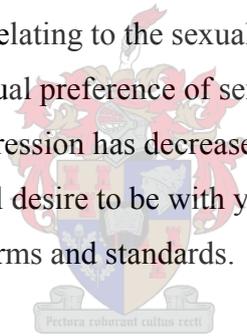
7.5. Love

All three participants demonstrated a philosophical view in their construct of love. It seemed as if the participants experienced love as something special that they struggled to articulate. However, their constructs remained simple and unsophisticated, in contradiction to the complicated nature of the constructs mentioned in academic literature (and discussed in section 6.8.). The following concepts were embedded in their constructs of love: giving, exchange, selflessness, protection and honouring manly duties.

Two of the participants referred to texts from the Bible and their relationship with God to help explain and articulate what love is:

P: Love is a precious thing – you must know how to show love to other people if you want it. Love is not only physical. Love thy neighbours as yourself that's what it really means.

This construct refers to the exchange of love, pointing out that love entails a two-way dynamic. The participant's explanation of love coincides with May's (1969) sense of intimacy in a mature sexual relationship: loving the other while permitting oneself to be loved. The participant ended his explanation with a reference to the Bible. He might be referring to a selfless, giving love, the kind that Lee (1973) referred to as 'Agape'. This view of love is even more notable in the following passage:

P: And now that I am older, since I have the Lord in my life, now I really know what love is. The Word of the Lord came to teach me what it is to love and what love entails: Love is to give what you are able to give.

P: En nou wat ek groot is nou weet ek, kan ek sê, vandat ek die Here in my lewe in het weet ek rêrigwaar wat is liefde. Die Woord van die Here het eintlik vir my kom leer wat dit is om lief te hê en wat behels liefde alles: Liefde is om te gee kan ek sê wat jy in staat is om te gee.

This participant's relationship with God played an integral part in his understanding of love. In this construct the focus is on giving without expecting anything in return. "To give what you are able to give" seems to be a realistic approach to giving. In both of the above constructs there is a theme of giving and sharing, however, the one represents a dynamic exchange, whereas the other one represents a selfless giving. The unconditional giving is also present in the following explanation:

P: [the love object] … would maybe not ask for it, but I would do it for her. I showed love to her, without realising it. I came to learn it here in prison, that what I did was actually love that I showed her. I did not even realise it. I know I love that child, and I still love her.

P: [The love-object] … sou miskien nie vra daarvoor nie of wat nie, dan sal ek dit vir haar doen. Dan het ek weer sonder om te weet bewys liefde aan haar, jy sien. Ek het dit nou kom vind hier in die tronk dit wat ek gedoen het is eintlik liefde wat ek vir daai kind gewys het. Ek het dit nie eers besef nie. Ek weet ek is lief vir daai kind ek is nou nog lief vir haar.

The idea of protecting and providing for the love object is demonstrated in the following construct of love:

P: Love for me is to care for a woman. I must do my manly duties for her … to protect Lisa [the love object] where I can.

P: Liefde vir my is, ek moet omgee vir 'n vrou. Ek moet my manlike pligte moet kan doen vir haar ...om vir Lisa [the love object] te beskerm waar ek kan ...

This participant viewed himself as the protector and provider in a loving relationship and this is how he defined and expressed his love. This relates to Posner's (1992) account of love wherein the male desires to protect the female. The participant explained 'manly responsibilities' as a) his fatherly responsibilities and b) to support his partner in "every little thing". He painted a very (almost excessively) accommodating role that he believed should be played by him in a close relationship. In reality he might struggle to live up to this idealised role, which could in turn cause inner conflict. Although this reflects the specific participant's construct of love, it also provides an account of what this participant's sense of masculinity or manliness may be. This is discussed in section 7.7.

Another participant referred to his children as an example of perfect love:

P: My perfect love is my children […] The love I have for them and they for me.

P: My perfekte liefde is my kinders [...] Die liefde wat ek vir hulle het en hulle vir my het.

The fact that his construct of ideal love relates to the love you give and receive from your children opens up the discourse of child love – a seemingly unconditional love. The participant may have romanticised and sexualised child love. As such, his definition of ideal love made it possible for this participant to experience *ideal love* with a love object: a child.

7.6. Communication and self-disclosure

Communication and self-disclosure have been identified as important factors in developing and maintaining meaningful close relationships (Chesney et al., 1981; Ferroni & Taffee, 1997). All the participants in this study maintained that they valued the communication between them and their love objects. Their constructs of communication in the relationships entailed the sharing of future dreams, disclosing feelings, one-way communication, two-way communication, openness, honesty and physical openness. In return, two of the participants experienced closeness, and felt understood and heard as a result of the communication in the relationships.

One participant shared his future dreams with his love object in the form of one-way communication:

> P: Then I tell her: "Lisa, you are still small." Because I always told her: "You watch, you have to grow, because I want to make you my wife." Then I tell her: "You are my wife, understand."

> *P: Dan sê ek vir haar: "Sien Lisa, jy is nog klein man." Want ek het haar altyd gesê: "Jy watch jy moet groei, jy moet groei want because ek wil jou my vrou maak." Dan sê ek vir haar: "Jy is my vrou verstaan."*

This participant wanted his love object to "grow older" and become his wife. He shared these dreams almost in a childlike manner; telling her how things should be, rather than sharing his dreams with her in a reciprocal fashion. He incorporated his love object into a very traditional romantic ideal, namely his "wife" (although in reality he was already married). The sharing of dreams also enhances intimacy in the relationship (Monsour, 1992). The participant recognised that Lisa said "yes" to everything. It is possible that she might have said yes to anything, as she did not fully comprehend what was asked of her. However, this did not seem to deter the participant. It might have been enough for him to feel that he could disclose in the relationship, without needing his partner to reciprocate.
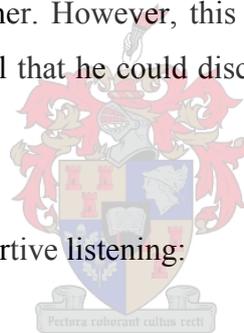
Communication also consisted of supportive listening:

> P: … every time he needed someone to talk to I was there.

It seemed as if this participant took on the role of protector in the relationship, also in terms of communication. He felt more comfortable listening and being the receiver when they communicated. This participant felt that his own method of disclosure was mainly through behaviour. For example, he constructed *openness* as a physical openness in the relationship, which could entail inviting other love objects into the relationship. He further construed openness as being honest about your needs and wants.

For one participant it was very important to disclose his feelings to his love object. According to Monsour (1992), the sharing of personal thoughts and feelings would in itself be a description of intimacy. The participant felt this was reciprocated by his love object. He believed that she could share her feelings with him. They shared two-way communication, and talked about various topics. The participant experienced this as being 'close' to his love object. There was a sense of openness

and closeness for him in the relationship with the girl, which was absent from the relationship he had with his wife. These attributes (openness and closeness) might indicate that the relationship proved to be more valued and whole than his marital relationship.

> P: She could talk about anything with me. If something is not right, she talked to me … I could also talk freely with her … The answers she gave me, was like a little adult. They truely understand what you say. They say just what I need to hear, really. She understood the emotions, the feelings, the situation …

> P: *Sy kan enigiets saam met my praat. As sy iets makeer as iets nie reg is nie, dan sou sy praat saam met my. Ek kon ook lekker vrylik saam met haar gepraat het ... Die antwoorde wat sy vir my [gee] was amper soos die klein mensies hulle verstaan regtig wat 'n mens sê. Want praat hulle iets wat ek nodig het om te hoor sê hulle regtigwaar ... Dan lyk dit of sy verstaan die emosie sy verstaan die gevoel die situasie ...*

This participant did not perceive the age difference as having a big impact on his relationship with his love object. He also reported feeling heard and understood by his love object. It is clear from this that he valued understanding and communication in a relationship more than age *per se*. He also felt less pressure to know so much when he was with her. This allowed him to feel confident and be more open towards her. The fact that this participant felt he could talk *freely* with the child seems to indicate a process of opening and sharing of the self, which he may not have been able to do in other relationships. He further stated that he felt comfortable and relaxed within their relationship, more than with other people, including his wife. He also felt he could speak without censure. The fact that he found communication with an 8-year old more satisfying than with adults could indicate low intellectual and emotional levels of functioning and/or a high level of anxiety in the presence of adults.

7.7. Control and power

In a paedo-relationship there is an inherent imbalance in the power relation. It seems obvious that the adult should have a sense of control or power over the child. However, the participants did not experience this power imbalance as explicitly as might be expected. In close relationships, both the persons in the power advantaged and disadvantaged roles are able to manipulate the other (Mills & Clark, 1982). Although all three the participants experienced a sense of control in their paedo-relationships, it seemed as if control was a secondary need. Participants needed to fulfil another primary need, which was different for the individual participants. These needs included being a caregiver, experiencing safety and increasing confidence.

For one participant the sense of control provided him with an opportunity to play the role of a father figure or caregiver.

> P: In a way I would say it's like controlling his life and my life at the same time. Also, on the other side to it when I see him he needed like a bigger person – a man – because his father is not there all the time so he needed a bigger man to show him the right path.

> P: He [John] was like a son to me – because I'm HIV I could never have children.

The paedo-relationship functioned as a romantic relationship, but also as an opportunity for this participant to be a father figure. This relates to the idea that power may be a component of love (Wilson, 1995). Power as a component of love refers to the desire to have power over the love object and reciprocally know that you are under his or her power. In a child-parent relationship, the parent may feel the desire for possession, while the child knows he or she is under the parent's power (Wilson, 1995). As such, the power component in the child-parent relationship would be more static and one-way, whereas in a romantic adult-adult relationship the desire for power and possession would be more dynamic and reciprocal. The participant expressed a need for romantic relationships with older men at different times in his life, when he needed to feel taken care of. It seems as if the roles of father and lover merged, as did the roles of child and lover. He also seemed to experience conflict between wanting to be a parent and wanting to be a boy. There is a lack of integration in his concept of child and adult, as he needs two different types of close relationships to fulfil the needs of his psyche.

The power imbalance caused the one participant to feel more confident within his relationship. It gave him the permission to speak freely and 'be himself'. It seemed that having power in the relationship did not give him a sense of control over his love object, but rather gave him power to be himself by allowing him to feel confident and safe.

> P: You are in control. You are happy, you can talk, you can talk freely. You don't have to be rude.

> P: *Jy is in beheer. Jy is gelukkig, jy kan praat, jy kan vry praat soos jy wil. Jy hoef nie onbeskof te wees nie.*

This participant also stated that he experienced his love object to be in control of the relationship at times:

P: I think she had the power. She would tell the other two children who were also in the room to go out. Then I had to go and lie on the bed, and she would come and lie on top of me. Then she would tell me that she wants my baby.

P: Ek dink sy het die opperhand gehad. Sy sou miskien sê dat die wat nou die ander twee kindertjies wat nou ook daar in die kamer is dat hulle moes uitgaan. Ek moes nou gaan lê op die bed en sy sal nou bo-op my kom lê, en sy sal nou [sê dat sy] 'n babatjie wil hê.

Although the love object may not have fully comprehended what she was doing, the participant experienced her behaviour as dominating and intentional. As such, he experienced an authentic partner, expressing her own needs and desires.

The power relation in the paedo-relationships seemed to play a role in the participants' need to confirm their masculinity. According to Cossins (2000), the socially constructed masculine ideal entails the image of the tough, dominant, heterosexual hero. Two of the participants reported experiencing intense feelings of manliness when with their love objects:

P: She made me feel like a man. All the things we did, she was still clean man, she was clean.

P: Sy het my laat voel soos 'n man ... al die dingetjies wat ek sovêr gedoen het saam met haar. Sy is nog skoon man, sy's skoon.

This participant reported feeling manly because of the fact that the child was still clean and pure. The purity of the love object in comparison to the participant may enhance the sense of manliness the participant experiences, as he now appears to be tougher and rougher (more manly) than he would appear in comparison to a love object that is less innocent and pure. As such, the feeling of manliness becomes more intense as the love object is further removed from the construct of masculinity. This is congruent with Connell's (quoted in Cossins, 2000) explanation of masculinity, namely that masculinity is defined by the distance in relation to what is rejected by masculinity. Innocence, weakness, purity and lack of power are all concepts that are rejected in the social construct of masculinity.

P: Gee, I don't know, she made me feel like a man. Or like a woman should make a man feel, yesterday, I don't know. She made me feel like a man who feels like a man should feel.

P: Sjoe, ek weet nie, sy het my laat voel soos soos 'n man. Of soos 'n vrou 'n man moet laat voel, yesterday, ek weet rêrig nie. Sy het my laat voel soos 'n man wat voel soos 'n man moet voel.

This participant explains his feeling of manliness as 'how a woman *should* make a man feel'. It seems as if there is a patriarchal perspective of gender and specifically masculinity embedded in his construct of manliness (Cossins, 2000). For example, it is the responsibility of the woman to be in service of the man and, as such, should 'make him feel like a man'.

Both these participants seemed to draw from dominant cultural discourses of masculinity in constructing their own ideas about masculinity. Thus, taking generalised power imbalances to the extreme, the child becomes the disempowered woman. As such, the power imbalance in the relationship based on the love object being an 'innocent' and 'pure' child provided the participants with a greater sense of manhood.

Finally, as stated earlier in this chapter, all three participants connected with the role of a father or caregiver in their paedo-relationships. This may form part of their constructs of manhood. Attributes they associated with being a man in a relationship included being a protector and a provider for the love object. These constructs relate closely to normative social constructs of masculinity (Cossins, 2000), which in turn supports the idea that the paedo-relationships, in fact, increased the participants' sense of masculinity.
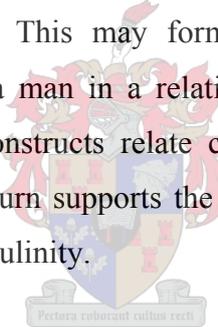
7.8. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the experience of the participants within the framework of close relationships. Significantly, the three participants experienced their paedo-relationships as close relationships. Moreover, their constructs of aspects found in close relationships coincided significantly with universal constructs of these types of relationships. So far, the alternative approach explored in this study seems to bear relevance to the study of paedophilia. The following section will consider a comparison between additional emerging themes and, respectively, theories of normative close relationship constructs and existing theories of paedophilia.

8. DISCUSSION

8.1. Introduction

The discussion will be presented from three different perspectives organised into three sections. The first section will view the additional relationship themes, or metaphors, emerging from the study. To differentiate from the close relationship themes discussed previously (such as sexuality, love, self-disclosure and power), this section will refer to relationship metaphors, and will compare these to normative relationship phenomena. The second part of the discussion will focus, from a psychological viewpoint, on how the participants experienced and coped with psychological tension and emotional conflict in maintaining paedo-relationships in their lives. The third and final section will compare the findings of this study to existing models of thought and theories regarding paedophilia.

From the data it has emerged that the participants' central psychological needs that informed their attraction to children included the need for experiencing trust, a feeling of safety, confirming their gender identity, and receiving love and acceptance. All three participants experienced their paedo-relationships as close relationships. Their constructs of these relationships contained elements such as courtship, love, self-disclosure, sexual desire, pleasure and power – aspects that are often seen as universal in a close relationship. Moreover, the participants' constructs of these relationship elements coincided significantly with universal constructs thereof.

During this discussion it is important to keep in mind that I have made two crucial assumptions. Firstly, universal psychological needs are the driving force that steer all humans towards close relationships (Harvey & Weber, 2002), and secondly, there are an infinite variety of ways in which individuals manifest these needs in behaviour. In this light, a paedophile's need for close relationships falls within what may be termed *normative parameters*, while the manner in which he chooses to fulfil this need becomes 'deviant' by virtue of choosing a child as love object. The emphasis will therefore be placed on the psychological needs of the participants that were fulfilled through their behaviour.

The themes presented below are intertwined and together form the tapestry of the paedo-relationship. As such, it is almost impossible to discuss one theme without also referring to others. Presenting these as separate themes results in a measure of artificiality, and a picture that may

conceivably shift depending on the lens through which it is viewed. Also, the format of the three different sections attempts to provide some order to the discussion of the different themes. However, the themes are not bound to any one particular section and could readily be moved around to provide different perspectives on each theme.

8.2. Relationship metaphors

The 'metaphors' in this section are *secrecy* and the *childlike game*. These operate (and will be discussed) on two levels: a behavioural level as well as a metaphorical level within the relationship.

Both secrecy and game playing have been highlighted as important components of close relationships. In Witkin's (quoted in Harvey & Weber, 2002) analysis of the eight major life cycles in a close relationship, she drew attention to secrecy and 'playing together' as important concepts to increase closeness and intimacy. The sharing of secrets (a major theme in phase 2) enhances closeness and draws the couple together. Phase 6 is referred to as "the second childhood", where the couple rediscovers the emotional intimacy that playing can bring. As such, the script of the game and the metaphor of secrecy also hold value in normative close relationships for enhancing closeness and intimacy.

8.2.1. Secrecy

Secrecy plays a central role in the paedo-relationship. If the secret is disclosed, the relationship will end. Moreover, it would imply betrayal by the love object and serious social and legal implications for the paedophile.

The participants seemed to experience the 'keeping of the secret' as a symbol of mutual consent in the relationship. Their love objects agreed to keep their relationships secret, which reinforced the participants' belief that the agreement was mutual. The secret could be viewed as a contract or bond in the relationship: I ask you to keep the secret, and you choose whether or not you will. There is an implicit contract embedded in the action of keeping the secret. This could be compared to the explicit (and normative) contract of a love relationship: I ask you to be faithful to me, and you choose whether or not you will, often needing to choose again and again. The partner chooses in the same way, whether or not he or she will keep the relationship alive or dismantle it. In the paedo-relationship, the disclosure of the secret would result in a breakdown of trust, as well as ultimately the relationship itself. The secret becomes a symbol of the bond, the agreement that keeps the relationship together, a well as of the faithfulness, trustworthiness and commitment of the partner.

The secret becomes an overt barometer of trust. The paedophile does not have to 'believe' in the trustworthiness of his love object. The secret can therefore be seen as a structure that manages the trustworthiness of the love object. The three participants all struggled with the concept of trust. They valued trust as an essential element of a close relationship, but were unable to trust their love objects. As such, they relied on a structure to maintain and 'enforce' trustworthiness of the love object.

The secret contributed to the excitement and sexual arousal of the participants. It seems that having to meet in secret and 'under cover' led to sexual hyper-arousal for the participants. It created a sense of danger and thus intensified excitement. Although one participant voiced his disappointment in having to "hide his love from the world", the act of meeting in secret, or being 'under cover', seemed to add to the sexual excitement inherent in the contact. This supports Dixon's (2002) perspective regarding sexual discourse, namely that it often contains an element of forbidden pleasures.

In relationship discourse, the secret could also metaphorically be related to an affair. One participant referred to his paedo-relationships as 'affairs'. Here the secret is extended into a secret world for the two lovers. Both persons involved agree to keep the relationship a secret and thus create a secret world where they can be together, and simultaneously be isolated from the social environment. The lovers are freed from judgements and condemnations the world may have on their actions. There is safety, as their world does not overlap with the rest of the lovers' lives. Its closed boundaries prevent contamination by other responsibilities and pressures. The covert nature of the affair is of course in contradiction with the overt portrayal of the normative love relationship that is open for the world to see. There is also a process of othering in the affair: them against the rest of the world. This creates an illusion of power and grandiosity, as it may feel liberating to be in opposition to 'the rest of the world'. As such, this secret world establishes a sense of togetherness, safety and intimacy.

In summary, there seems to be many similarities between the dynamics of the paedo-relationship and the affair as it has been constructed in relationship discourse. They both share elements such as the isolation, excitement and 'us-and-them' thinking, and also function to create safety and intimacy for the members of the relationship.

In a normative sense, an affair can only continue when there is another original or primary close relationship present. All the participants had at certain periods of their lives been involved in other primary adult-adult relationships. Two participants were married and one participant had been involved in homosexual adult relationships. However, these adult-adult relationships were not seen by the participants as the primary or more satisfactory relationship. They were, in fact, seen as smoke screens that enabled them to enjoy close relationships with children.

It is significant that all the participants viewed their paedo-relationship as more fulfilling than their marital or adult-adult relationships. Traditionally, the normative marital relationship would provide safety, stability and intimacy, while the affair would offer excitement and danger. In the paedo-relationship, however, it seems as if all these attributes are already present. The paedophile has the best of both worlds. However, there are many other factors that conflict with and ultimately diminish this seemingly positive dimension to the relationship. These factors will be discussed in section 8.4 below as *psychological tension*.

8.2.2. Relationship scripts: the game

The notion of a game was present on a behavioural level (sexual activity) as well as a metaphorical level within the paedo-relationships.

Two of the participants used the script of a game in their sexual activity with children. They played 'mommy and daddy' with their love objects. This relates to childhood sexual games these two participants played with their peers as children. The participants were respectively 4 and 8 years old when they had their first sexual experiences, in the form of sexual play, with other children. An example from the data follows:

> P: Then I tell them: "You all are the children, you are the mommy, and I'm the daddy." Then I quickly build a house from cardboard, underneath the table – and there we have a house. Then I gather a few pieces of glass and call the kids: "Hey kids, here's some money. Go and do the shopping and don't hurry back, because, mommy and daddy wants to sleep." So I had sex with women from a very young age.
>
> P: No, she was game. Later we made it a permanent thing.
>
> P: *Dan sê ek straight, "Julle almal is die kinders, jy is die ma, ek is die pa." Nou maak ek gou vir ons 'n huisie van sommer 'n klomp cardboard net so daar onder die tafeltjie. Sit nou die cardboard daarom die tafeltjie, right daai is ons twee se huis. Tel ek miskien 'n klomp glase op: "hei kinders hier is geld julle moet nou gaan shopping en julle kom nie gou terug nie because daddy en mommy wil nou gaan slaap." So het ek maar nou vroegtydig af het ek al seksuele omgang gehad saam met vroumense.*
>
> P: *Nai, sy was game ons het later sommer, mmm, dit 'n permanente besigheid [gemaak].*

From a young age this participant identified with the role of being a father, and having a wife to have sex with. Later, in adult life, he used the same script and role play to create time alone with his young love object. He would give his own children money to go to the shops and buy sweets. The only differences were that he now gave his (real) children (real) money, and he was a (real) father.

Embedded in this script is the narrative of marriage and family, the influence of which will be discussed in a following section. However, in using this script in a gamelike fashion, the paedophile regresses to childhood. This concept also fits with the concept of secrecy. The child enjoys and takes pleasure from having a secret. He is 'naughty' or engaging in forbidden activities that excite him.

The gamelike (and childlike) script may have proved the most useful for the participants to follow in the context of paedo-relationships. The normative courtship and couples scripts mainly involve romantic heterosexual gestures and gender-driven communication and intimacy styles (Harvey & Weber, 2002), none of which would be appropriate for the paedo-relationship, as it consists of an adult and a child. The child is (usually) not yet familiar with scripts of romantic relationships and gender identity affirmation. The paedophile and the child connect with each other in the more childlike script of a game; something they are both familiar with.

This gamelike behaviour was especially clear during courtship where the participant had a hidden agenda (secret) as he tried to find a love object. The courtship behaviour became gamelike: involving the role play of being a scout (for example, the participant who watched the children play each day), a protector and a comforter. Also in normative relationships gamelike behaviour may be more explicit in the courtship phase. Gamelike scripts are effective when relating to each other, limiting the risk of conflict and/or overt rejection.

Finally, perceiving sexual activity as a 'game' could reduce anxiety for the participants. In a game it is not real, and no 'real' harm can be done. Moreover, the script acts as a guide to and framework for sexual activity. In a world with many uncertainties and anxieties around sexual expression, it could be comforting to have a script to follow.

8.3. Cognitive disorganisation

All the participants exhibited what might be termed *cognitive disorganisation* in their thought processes. This manifested in jumping from one memory to the next, a sense of confusion, cognitive flightiness and contradictory statements. Possible explanations for this may include uncompleted educational development, limited insight, the lack of a cognitive framework and the process of splitting. Although psychological tension also contributed to and formed part of (because of the myriad of interrelated components) the cognitive disorganisation, it warrants being presented separately in the following section.

8.3.1. Educational, intellectual and emotional development

For all three participants, an unstable upbringing caused them to experience irregular and incomplete primary education. Only one participant received secondary education. Consequently, the skills necessary for articulation and coherent verbal communication may have been lacking.

Participants demonstrated limitations in self-awareness and insight. This may indicate a low Emotional Quotient. It may especially prove challenging to express feelings and experiences of an intimate nature, as present in close relationships, with low emotional intelligence. These factors may have contributed to the simple but flighty manner in which answers were delivered. Moreover, it seemed as if the sense of disorganisation was rooted in the absence of consistent cognitive frameworks for organising their experience, as their narratives contained many contradictions.

8.3.2. Absence of cognitive framework

The participants had no access to a narrative that they could connect with. Instead, they had to position themselves in relation to the scripts appropriate to the incarcerated child molester, the psychopathological paedophile, and normative (or traditional) marriage/relationship and family narratives.

Society creates and provides us with discourses that help us articulate and understand our lives. According to Brooks and Edwards (1997), we narrate our lives to make sense of our relationship with the world. In doing so we select aspects to include in our story and omit others. The aspects we select are placed in relation to other aspects of experiences or knowledge. This forms order, pattern or sense in our past, present and future. Much of what we include and exclude is construed from dominant discourses in the culture. Foucault (1980) explained this selection process as a filtering of our experiences through a known discourse before we communicate them to the world and,

consequently, assign meaning to the phenomenon. The unstoried knowledges we hold might be seen as subjugated by society and the dominant discourse (Foucault, 1980).

Much of what the participants shared during the interviews could be referred to as unstoried knowledges. Although the discourse of close relationships presented the participants with a tool to tell their stories, they were still constricted (and confused) by the absence of a narrative to relate their story to. They all reverted to the inappropriate narratives of marriage and family in an attempt to express their experiences, as will be discussed below. They had no opportunity to acknowledge and integrate their needs and feelings, and may have experienced a process of splitting. Splitting is a sense of disconnection when irreconcilable needs or expectations are simultaneously adhered to (McLean, 1996). The result is a persona that engages with children on the one hand, and another persona that engages with society in an adult manner on the other. The splitting could also have manifested in, and contributed to, the disorganised thoughts and contradictory explanations.

8.3.3. Marriage and family narratives

The narrative of marriage and family has shaped society's thought on sexuality and has limited the acceptable options available (Brooks & Edwards, 1997; Parry & Doan, 1994). In exploring the close relationship elements inherent in paedophilic dynamics, it became apparent that the marriage and family narrative also dominates the paedophile's construct (for lack of access to a more appropriate narrative) of his sexual and relationship identity. A few examples extracted from the data illustrate this point:
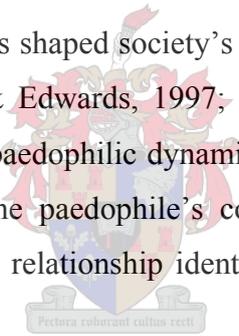
> P: That's why I said – if she only could have been my wife at that age.

> P: Dit is hoekom ek gesê het – as dit nou my vrou gewees het op daai ouderdom.

This participant expressed his longing for a young and innocent partner. He seemed unable to step outside the dominant discourse of marriage and family, while engaging in a close relationship.

> P: Love for me is to care for a woman. I must do my manly duties for her.

> P: Vir my is liefde, ek moet omgee vir 'n vrou. Ek moet my manlike pligte moet kan doen vir haar.

As an adult, his construct of love is based on the discourse of marriage. His conception of love changed, however, when he was asked about 'ideal love'.

> P: My perfect love is my children […] The love I have for them and they for me.

P: My perfekte liefde is my kinders […]Die liefde wat ek vir hulle het en hulle vir my het, mevrou.

This participant related 'ideal love' to the love he had for his biological children. Although this statement was still embedded in family discourse, it is interesting that the concept of 'ideal love' moved him to think of his children. He might have chosen his children above his wife, as they represented the closest thing to his actual love object.

P: Because I always told her: "Watch, you have to grow, because I want to make you my wife."

P: Want ek het haar altyd gesê: "Jy watch jy moet groei, jy moet groei want because ek wil jou my vrou maak."

This participant's preference for young girls is contradictory to his wish for his love object to grow up, yet the construct of husband and wife is the only one available to him in expressing his commitment to her.

As an overtly gay man, the third participant was not trapped in the narrative of marriage between a man and his wife. He did, however, relate to elements of family discourse, and used the concept of parenting in his explanation of his relationship with John, his love object.

P: He [John] was like a son to me – because I'm HIV I could never have children.
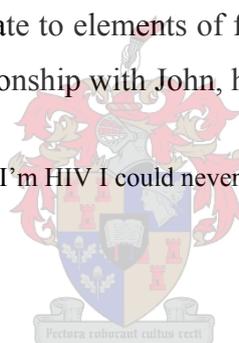
8.4. Psychological tension

As stated above, the participants' narratives contained many contradictions. Many of these 'irregularities' seemed to be the result of tension between ego-syntonic sexual desires and ego-dystonic perceptions of wrongdoing. From a psychodynamic perspective, it could be said that there was a struggle between the participants' internal psychological needs and their super-ego (which represented societal standards and norms). This tension manifested in three main themes, namely confusion, the creation of rules or criteria, and formulation of reasons.

8.4.1. Confusion

The constructs held by the three participants regarding their paedo-relationships were challenged by conviction and incarceration. They managed to keep their constructs of paedo-relationships intact outside prison, even despite their awareness of the social condemnation of paedophilia, but they were directly confronted with condemning constructs once inside prison. For example, the participants were found guilty of sexual assault and exposed to a sexual offenders group as

'treatment'. This may have left them with a sense of confusion regarding their paedo-relationships as well as sexuality. In their attempt to make sense of and integrate these new constructs, certain irregularities were observed. Some of these 'contradictions' follow:

One participant stated he loved Lisa, his love object, and still loved her. He then questioned this love, as he feared that he might have done her harm. He also questioned his respect for children. He argued that he could not have done the things he did if he had respect for them. A few minutes later, however, he explained that he did respect Lisa in his own way and that perhaps it was only his behaviour that was not respectful.

> P: Because, there is respect in a way from my side, but if we talk about the offence, no there is no respect in that.

> P: *Want daar is miskien respek, op 'n way, by my kant af, but ons praat nou van die misdaad – daar is nie respek daarin nie.*

In further discussions, this participant stated that he did not believe that sexual activity with children could lead to any emotional harm. His concern, instead, had always been about potential physical harm. Therefore, it seems unlikely that he would regard his own behaviour as disrespectful. This participant jumped from one perspective to the next, unsuccessfully trying to integrate his own feelings for Lisa with the social judgement experienced.
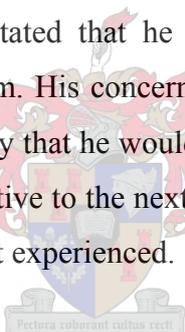
All the participants had impossible future dreams. Two of the participants wanted to marry their love objects when they were old enough. They used to share their dreams of marriage and children with their love objects. Both these participants admitted to having a sexual preference for young girls. When young girls inevitably become adult women, they cease to meet this criterion.

Their dreams of being married and having children may highlight their desire for being accepted by the rest of the world, as a socially appropriate couple. Although this is another example of the confusion marriage and family discourse created for these participants, it could also be an example (in normative relationship discourse) of their sexual desire maturing into love, thereby transcending paedosexuality. Similarly, adults have preferences of attraction, such as appearance, age, personality traits and the value system of their potential partner. However, as soon as the potential partner becomes loved, the expectations and preferences are less important, the love is directed to the person himself or herself.

Confusion was also found in the participants' perception of the love object's ideal age. One participant stated that the ideal age would be 35 years of age. Then he changed the age to 27. The age dropped again, and the participant added another criteria: that she should have had sex with other men before him. As such, he would not be held accountable for anything menacing. His fear of doing something 'wrong' became more extreme, to the point where he stated that it might be wrong to have sex with a 20 year old if she is a virgin. He seemed confused about what is right and wrong. This confusion seems to be predominantly rooted in the conflict between his desires and offender/perpetrator discourse.

More disorganised and self-contradicting thought was found in the participants' sense of sexual identity. One participant stated that it was a "shame" that he had to hide his love for the boy and girl with whom he had had relationships. However, this participant also stated that he had lost all hope in paedo-relationships, as they had landed him in prison too many times. At the time of being interviewed, this participant presented talks about 'child molesting' at schools, warning children about 'child molesters' (the unit of social services in the prison supported him in this endeavour). This behaviour in itself highlighted the loss of hope in paedo-relationships and the realisation that the children might not have valued the relationship as much as he did. He now believed he might have manipulated them in some way. This new belief, which he might have developed during his time in prison, caused this participant to experience guilt. His involvement in warning children about 'child molesters' might have resulted from the guilt he experienced and could be an attempt to still his true desires and act 'responsibly'.

Another participant claimed that his preferred age for a love object would be 12 to 13 years of age. Only later in the interview he admitted to a sexual preference for 6- to 8-year olds. He then added that he should, therefore, not be let out of prison, as he might still be a "danger" to society. Again, his reaction was incongruent with his experience of love for Anne (his love object). This participant had stated earlier in the interview that love meant to act in the best interests of the love object. Therefore he might not authentically believe that he could be a danger to Anne or to society, although he might have learned this through his conviction and participation in sexual offender groups.

8.4.2. Rule creation

In an apparent attempt to deal with confusion and irregularity (in the absence of other guidelines for propriety) the participants created criteria to provide structure and stability. These criteria seem to

function as a barometer to judge and justify their sexual behaviour with children. It appears that these rules were individually derived from social constructs by each of the participants.

One participant claimed he "used to" prefer boys around the ages of 9 to 14. Because this lead to incarceration, he changed his sexual preference to a "legal age" of between 15 and 17. Firstly, it seems unlikely that a person would change sexual preference out of sheer will. Secondly, it would still be illegal to have a 15-year old sexual partner. This statement highlighted the frustration he was experiencing, as well as the lack of knowledge and understanding of what social or legal constructs demanded of him.

Another participant did not perceive his sexual behaviour as 'wrong'. However, he learned that by social and legal standards it was incorrect. This posed a problem: if he did not understand these standards he might cross the social line between right and wrong without knowing it. To prevent this from happening, he created his own set of criteria. These included the following: the girls must have had sex with other men before him, they must have breasts, and he is not allowed to have sex with the girl – only fondling and masturbation is allowed. These criteria, again, highlight the confusion and frustration caused by the tension between his own experience of close relationships and the enforcement of a particular social construct on him.

This participant claimed he was relieved to be caught. He was concerned about what might have happened if the relationship had continued. Having intercourse with his love object would have made him a child rapist. He experienced the notion of being labeled a child rapist as horrific. Conflict arose between the desire to express love and an awareness of becoming known as a child rapist. This caused anxiety and confusion.

8.4.3. Reasons

Two of the three participants believed they had a reason for being attracted to children. From a cognitive-behavioural perspective, these convictions could be termed *rationalisations*. However, to avoid inviting other assumptions (that may accompany this approach) into the discussion, it will not be used here. The data suggests that having a reason, however tenuous, decreases psychological dissonance and may help the participant to understand his own behaviour.

One participant believed that being raped as a child by an adult man, and continuing a relationship with that man, played a significant role in his own sexual development and orientation. He implied

that he had suffered from emotional problems as a result of the rape and relationship. It seemed as if the knowledge of these factors assisted him in justifying his sexual orientation. Although this participant's reasons coincide with the abuser-abused notion in the precondition model of paedophilia (Araji & Finkelhor, 1986), it also fits with the cognitive distortion theory, which states that the paedophile tends to use any means to validate his behaviour (Howitt, 1995) (as discussed in section 3.4.1.1.).

Another participant claimed he was rejected by his girlfriend as a teenager, and as a result became very angry at women. He thought he could get back at her by hurting other women's children. It seems unusual that this participant chose this way of seeking revenge, unless there was some history of sexual attraction to children. He also admitted that his 'revenge' had transformed into sexual preference, which could be explained by the sexual learning theory of paedophilia (Howells, 1981). Because this participant exhibited sexual interest in children, before his girlfriend left him, it seems more likely that he chose this 'method of revenge' to match his true sexual preferences. He furthermore said that he had never "hurt a girl", which was incongruent with his stated aim of revenge. Using this particular reason, or explanation, seemed to make it easier for him to openly discuss his sexual relations with children.

One participant, however, did not offer a specific reason in defence of his sexual orientation. Although he mentioned his anger and hatred towards adult women, he did not use this as a reason for his sexual preference. He seemed confident with high self-esteem, and it may therefore not have been necessary to defend his sexual preference to me, or to the world.

8.5. Theoretical considerations

This part of the discussion compares existing theories of paedophilia to research findings of this study. Several theories will be referred to, including theories of power relations, sexual learning, the precondition model, cognitive distortion theory, as well as Jungian approaches. I assume that all of the theories regarding paedophilia may hold some validity. It is my opinion that it would be counterproductive to search for a universal theory to explain paedophilia, as paedophiles comprise a heterogenous population. I suggest, therefore, that in the current state of research regarding paedophilia it would be more useful to utilise theories as different lenses through which to view this phenomenon, in an attempt to enhance understanding, rather than as tools for explanation.

8.5.1. Theories of power relations

Many theorists contend that there is a power imbalance inherent in paedophilic relationships. Theories on power relations, such as feminist theory, postulate that paedophilia is an extension of a male dominated society which is expressed in sexual abuse of women and children (Cossins, 2000).

However, the participants in this study oscillated between power and subservience, much as one would expect in a normal relationship. Furthermore, in agreement with findings from a study by Ivey and Simpson (1998), the participants experienced a secondary sense of safety and masculinity. This suggests that power in the relationship was not a value in itself, but rather a way to meet psychological needs (such as sense of safety and affirming gender identity).

The paedophile finds himself in a position of power due to his age, physical size, strength, and usually, intellectual capacity. This creates a safe space in which the paedophile feels permitted to be himself. This coincides with similar findings by Ivey and Simpson (1998), in which it is stated that the adult status of the paedophile (in the eyes of the child) provides him with a temporary sense of strength and importance. For the participants, it also became easier to express their thoughts and feelings and to communicate openly within the relationship. It would seem that the overt power imbalance is a precondition for self-disclosure.

The power imbalance seems unstable and dynamic. There is an interaction between the overt power of the paedophile and the covert power that the child has over him (although the child may be unaware of this). This interplay was especially visible in relationship themes such as the secret, sexual activity and naivety/innocence.

The secret is initiated and enforced (overt power) by the paedophile, as he tells the child that he would be in trouble if the secret comes out. However, the child could disclose the secret at any moment, even accidentally (covert power). During sexual activity the paedophile has the advantage of experience (overt power), while the child is the object of the paedophile's desire (covert power). The paedophile has knowledge about the world, relationships and sexual activities (overt power), while the child's naivety and innocence is the essence of eroticism and desire (covert power) for the paedophile.

Cossins (2000) asserted that, in today's culture, men experience a dynamic fusion of power and powerlessness. In an attempt to maintain the continuation of patriarchal power, the construct of a hyper-masculine ideal of toughness and dominance emerged, stereotypically portrayed as a

'heterosexual hero' (Cossins, 2000, p.115). This masculine ideal, however, is in contrast to the realistic physique/appearance of most men (Connell, 1987). As such, this has created a power relation between *men* that might manifest in a sense of alliance, dominance or subordinance. According to Connell (1987), cultural discourses and social practices maintain and reinforce these power relations between types of masculinity and as such between men. An example would be the culturally created masculine dominance of heterosexual men over homosexual men (Connell, 1987). I suggest even more so is the masculine dominance of heterosexual (and homosexual) men over paedophiles.

The way in which sexuality is expressed could therefore enhance, or diminish, the sense of masculinity (Kimmel & Messner, quoted in Cossins, 2000). Men who experience a sense of powerlessness may seek opportunity to have power over less powerful individuals, such as children. Connell (1987) suggested that paedophilia is such a masculinising practice.

The above theory is supported by the participants' experiences of their paedo-relationships. As previously stated, the three participants experienced intense feelings of masculinity in their relationships with children. Two of the participants associated masculinity with the heterosexual male archetype, while the third participant constructed masculinity as the protective father figure. As such, the nature of the adult-child sexual relationship may allow men to reproduce elements of masculine sexuality congruent with the masculine ideal: a masculine cultural environment that is based on relations of power.

The experience of manliness may also be intensified because of the innocence of the love object. The words used by the participants such as "clean", "untouched" and "pure virgin" give an almost romantic impression and may cause them to feel even more masculine as a result.

Finally, the adult-child relationship seems to reinforce the power-powerlessness dynamic. Relationships with children provide individual moments of strength and power, but to be sexually attracted to children *per se* distance paedophiles from the heterosexual masculine stereotype, and thus, universally, have the opposite effect.

Another theory of power may bear relevance to the data. According to Stets (1993), people have a tendency to control their partner when they experience a lack of control over their environment. The

participants experienced physical and/or emotional abuse, as well as trauma and instability during their childhood, and may have experienced a lack of control in their personal lives. The focus changes from how the paedophile exerts his power to specific attempts to counter a sense of powerlessness. It was suggested by Howells (1981) that the paedophile may seek the paedo-relationship in an attempt to overcome his childhood sense of powerlessness. I suggest it is also the sense of powerlessness in adulthood that motivates his behaviour.

Another theme of powerlessness has been suggested by Marshall (quoted in Cossins, 2000). Paedophiles experience a lack of intimacy and the ability to be intimate. Physical intimacy, such as sexual activity and sexual disclosure, often has to fulfil this need and help him to overcome his sense of powerlessness. However, no evidence was found to support the notion that the participants lacked an ability to be intimate. Although the participants struggled with some aspects of emotional intimacy, they referred to constructs of intimacy in their paedo-relationships. They felt heard and understood by their love objects, and experienced a sense of closeness. This could mean that they were all able to create intimacy, other than purely physical intimacy, in their paedo-relationships. Intimacy may also have resulted from the intimate nature of sexual self-disclosure in the paedo-relationship. The paedophile discloses his sexuality only to the child, and has to keep it secret from the rest of the world. In return, the paedophile may feel accepted and loved by the child's emotional responsiveness and acceptance of him. This relates to Ivey and Simpson's (1998) findings, where it is suggested that the child's warm responsiveness is in contrast with the rejection the paedophile might otherwise experience. The choice to be with children fulfils the need for acceptance and validation.

8.5.2. Developmental and precondition theories

Two of the participants mentioned an aversion to and dislike of adult women. One participant in particular displayed immense anger towards women. He said that he "hated" women and expressed a desire to kill all the women who have ever cheated on their loved ones. Another participant had his first "real" sexual experience as a teenager with his girlfriend (the sexual games he played, as a 4-year old, was not regarded as sex). It was an unpleasant experience for him, as he believed this girlfriend tricked him into having sex with her. He then asked her to marry him, but was rejected. Since then he has not been able to trust women. These two participants' experiences support Greenberg's (1990) suggestion that traumatic sexual encounters or relationships early in life may cause the paedophile to relate adult sexual partners to anxiety, distress or, as in this case, anger.

The mentioned negative feelings toward women relate to the 'blockages' Araji and Finkelhor (1986) identified in their precondition model of paedophilia. Blockages could include difficulty relating to females as well as problematic romantic and sexual relations. Two participants experienced a fear of trust in their paedo-relationships. On the one hand, they valued trust as one of the most important elements of a relationship, but struggled to truly trust their love objects. Trust also seemed to be a primary psychological need for both and drove them to engage in close relationships. In the case of an adult-child relationship, the child would not be associated with anxiety (as it would be in the case of an adult). The child could appear to be more accepting and emotionally responsive and the paedophile might feel more confident, therefore presenting a context for him to engage in a close relationship.

Finkelhor (1984) also made reference to the possible arrested psychological development of the paedophile. He considered that the paedophile's emotional incongruence might explain the non-sexual element in his motivation to engage with children. Finkelhor (1984), as well as other researchers (Groth, 1979; Ivey & Simpson, 1998), further asserted that the paedophile experiences himself as a child and has childish emotional needs. The data in this study suggests that the paedophile enjoys being a child, and at times experience himself as a child.

8.5.3. Sexual learning theories

The three participants had their first sexual experience at a prepubescent age. They were, respectively, 4, 7 and 8 years old. Two of the participants had their first sexual experiences with girls younger than themselves, and may have internalised having a child for a sexual partner through sexual learning (Howells, 1981). For both these participants the sexual experiences (as young boys) were merely seen as games. The memory of sexual activities with young girls may still have been present in adulthood. It is possible that the three participants may have internalised the notion that it is acceptable, even positive, to engage in a sexual relationship at a very young age. The participants' own positive experiences of sexual activity at a young age might have been incorporated into the social and interpersonal components of their sexual desire (Levine, 1995). Ivey and Simpson (1998) referred to the intimate childhood sex play as a substitute emotional intimacy, which is then repeated in adulthood. A young love object would therefore become sexually desirable. Yet there must be other variables at play here since, as pointed out earlier, not all boys who have intense childhood sexual experiences later become attracted to children.

The data furthermore suggests that sexual learning could also be habit. Through sexual learning, the intense pleasure of the sexual experience with the innocent love object may have been perpetuated

by a compulsion to have more. This relates to Finkelhor's (1984) reference to the highly reinforcing nature of masturbation, and Ivey and Simpson's (1998) suggestion of the addictive quality of this behaviour.

A habit could also suggest a daily routine, and contribute to normalising the behaviour. The participants seemed to experience this notion of habit in their close relationships. An agreement was made between them and their love objects to see each other regularly. Even though the sense of habit reduces the freedom of choice in the matter, it is also common in normative relationships (where spending time together also becomes a habit within the relationship).

8.5.4. Cognitive distortions

As stated earlier, a marked tension between the participants' own experiences of paedo-relationships and the social construct existed. Out of the three themes identified (confusion, rule creation and reasons), the *formulation of reasons* is best explained by the cognitive distortion theory of paedopihlia. From a cognitive behavioural approach, much of the data supports the theory that cognitive distortions such as minimalisation, justification of behaviour, redefining abuse as consensual, and blame shifting (Howitt, 1995), play a significant role in paedophilic behaviour. However, from a phenomenological approach the notion of cognitive distortion seems to deprive the participant of his own truth. It speaks to the behaviour, but not the psychological needs that are present as well.
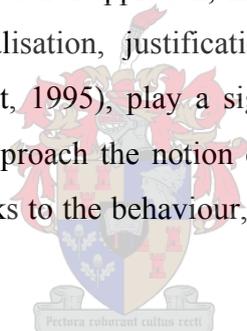
8.5.5. Psychodynamic theory

From a Jungian point of view, paedophilia is believed to stem from an idealised longing for the purity and innocence of childhood (Howitt, 1995). This theory has proven to bear the most relevance to the findings from the current study. Many examples of longing for the innocence of childhood were found in the data. The three participants were attracted to the innocence they saw in their love object; and they themselves had a desire to experience the same innocence within the relationships. The participants regressed to childhood behaviour (innocent behaviour) in their courtship, sexual activities, and in the management of the relationship.

Being with the love object did not only satisfy the intense sexual desire for innocence and naivety, as seen above, it also satisfied the psychological needs for safety, trust, acceptance, closeness (intimacy), love and confirming masculinety. Moreover, the participants might have experienced it as the retrieval of a lost childhood, after experiencing physical and/or emotional abuse as children. To augment this argument, I suggest that the participants might have experienced a sense of

redemption from being engaged with innocence: redeemed from being unacceptable for this world; rescued from not being loved; and empowered to feel adequate.

8.6. Conclusion

The discussion presented findings from the data using three different perspectives: normative relationship discourse, a psychological perspective and a theoretical consideration.

It was found that normative concepts of close relationships can be related to the paedo-relationship. This could aid the paedophile in creating his own (holistic) narrative of his experiences, in order to facilitate acknowledgement and integration for himself. The paedophile endures psychological tension and conflict in the absence of known narratives to relate to (apart from the dominant narratives mentioned above). The lack of opportunity to confirm his identity, and the dualistic context within which the paedophile finds himself, reinforces the process of splitting. As paedophiles comprise a heterogenous population (Howitt, 1995), it serves little purpose to search for one central theory to *explain* paedophilia.

The choice and responsibility to search for the most effective approach and theory when dealing with paedophilia therefore remains that of the researcher or therapist. Through the implicitly condemning assumptions of positivist approaches, we have forgotten that the paedophile deserves the same space and acceptance as any client in their quest to find help and support.

9. CONCLUSION

This study attempted to answer the call of researchers such as Gieles (2001), Kear-Colwell and Boer (2000), Levett (2004), Moser (2001), Rind et al. (2002) and Schmidt (2002) for more research to facilitate a better understanding of paedophilia. It aimed to do so by (a) identifying and analysing some of the problems inherent in current research discourses that are informed largely by underlying positivist assumptions and (b) by providing the psychological dimensions of close relationships as an alternative conceptual framework for constructing paedophilic sexuality.

This study began by outlining and analysing current theories and approaches to paedophilia both in terms of their paradigmatic underpinnings and their specific content. The analysis suggested that, due to their implicit moral and deterministic nature, underlying positivist assumptions might partially be to blame for the apparent impasse in generating theory on paedophilia.

In an attempt to address these issues, the alternative framework of the close relationship was presented. In applying it to the qualitative data gathered from three convicted paedophiles, it emerged that the forming of paedo-relationships is informed and motivated by expectations that their psychological needs for close relationship could be met with a child. There was strong evidence to suggest that paedophiles experience the same universal psychological needs for forming close relationships as anyone else and that, from the paedophile's perspective, these needs are more likely to be met in a relationship with a child, than with an adult.

As pointed out, the participants' experiences of paedo-relationships could be viewed as unstoried knowledges as they evidently experienced an acute lack of legitimate social narrative by which they could express their experience. This then manifests in the attempt to draw on fundamentally incompatible social discourses and resulting confused and often cognitively convoluted personal narratives such as marriage and family or criminality and pathology. It appears that the framework of the close relationship might serve as a tool to assist in the narrating and understanding of these stories.

This study did not attempt to provide etiological explanations or to answer *why* a paedophile prefers a child in close relationships. The question "why?" evokes the need to search for an answer, cause, or an excuse (Jenkins, 1990). Instead, the study is an attempt to ask *how* and *what* it is to be in a close relationship with a child, thereby minimising the need for self-justificatory explanation on the

part of the participants while creating a space in which to explore the question of how a paedophile experiences and creates meaning in his close relationships.

This fundamental position could also be extended to the area of psychotherapeutic intervention with paedophiles. Acknowledging wrongdoing and taking full responsibility have been central to therapeutic interventions for sexual offenders (Jenkins, 1990). However, taking responsibility in an authentic manner is a slow and painful process (Van Greunen, Kotzé, & Kotzé, 2001). As demonstrated in this study, the positivist underpinnings of most current therapeutic interventions for paedophilia contain moral, social, legal and pathological assumptions. These assumptions reinforce splitting (McLean, 1996), psychological conflict and tension, and the psyche-fragmentation noted during treatment. As the paedophile has no other cognitive framework for processing his experience, he cannot feel heard or understood, and his psychological needs remain unmet. This, consequently, may decrease the chance of effective, lasting behavioural change.

The themes and interpretations offered in this study might contribute to supportive therapeutic strategies. I would like to draw attention to the normative nature of the identified themes (such as close relationships, courtship, sexual desire, closeness, love, self-disclosure, power, masculinity, secrecy and relationship scripts). As such, these themes may enable the paedophile to relate to normative ideas and concepts. This could aid his process of creating a personal narrative from his experiences. Key to the issue of normative concepts would be the creation of a platform where the paedophile can approach and acknowledge his psychological needs as well as his ego-systonic and ego-dystonic behaviour. Once acceptance, acknowledgement and integration have occurred, the freedom of choice and change becomes more possible. Constructive strategies may then be developed and employed to create different scripts and mechanisms for meeting his psychological needs.

In summary, the discourse of close relationship and themes provided in this study might contribute to less dualistic and more supportive therapeutic approaches. This will enable the therapist to explore with the paedophile how he experiences his paedo-relationships and to support him in acknowledging possible psychological conflict before, during and after the relationship. Consequently, the therapist and paedophile can work together to integrate the simultaneously arousing and distressing needs and emotions he previously has had to manage with limited cognitive and interpersonal resources. Ultimately, these approaches could contribute to the way in which we communicate with and treat any perceived 'deviant' phenomenon in our society.

Future research could entail incorporating female participants and particpants who have not been involved with the criminal justice system. A limitation of the current study was that all three participants were convicted and incarcerated male child sexual offenders, and were thus unrepresentative of the general population of paedophiles (Cossins, 2000; Howitt, 1995). As a qualitative study, no attempt was made to generalise to a population. However, the participants had all been subjected to therapeutic programmes such as the "sexual offenders group", which could have influenced their authentic perceptions and account of their experiences. In addition, a larger sample could enhance the validity of themes from the data. The emergent need for additional data to test the usefulness of close relationship as a framework allows me to conclude in supprt of Levett's (2004) request for more stories of paedophiles' experiences, as they will give us access to "new ideas … and perhaps new and different links and inferences" (p. 430).
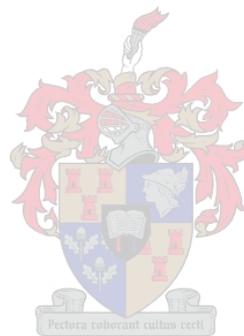
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11. ADDENDUM A: Letter of Consent

I ……………………………………….., hereby give my permission that all information in my file or information given verbally by me may be used for the purposes of this study. I also agree to the recording of the interviews on audio tape. I volunteer as a participant in this research and confirm the following:

- The aim of the research has thoroughly been explained to me.
- I have a sound understanding of the nature and aim of the study.
- Confidentiality and anonymity have been guaranteed.
- I have been given the chance to ask questions.
- All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.
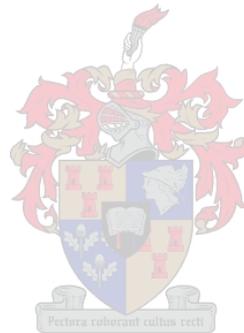
……………………………………   ……………………………..
Signature of Participant   Date

……………………………………   ………………………………
Signature of Researcher   Signature of Supervisor

12. ADDENDUM B: Thematic guidelines for interview

1. History of sexual development

Relationship with father

Relationship with mother

Relationship of parents

Gender role identification

Developmental environment

     Socio-economic status

     Religion

     Family environment

     Sex education

First sexual experience (with whom, how, where, experience)

Close relationship history

2. Adult (current) status

Family (partner, children)

Relationships with children (general)

Awareness of sexual feelings toward children

Encounters and close relationships with children

3. Erotica

Eroticism of adult

Eroticism of children

Anatomy and physical appeal of children

4. Perception of romantic/close relationships

Close relationships (general)

Love

Intimacy

Pleasure

Self-disclosure

Expectations

Sexual activities

Power/control

5. Perception of behaviour

Life circumstances

Desire

Other significant factors

Sexual behaviour in close relationships

Sexual behaviour outside relationships

6. Fantasy/ideals

Relationships

Love

Security

Sexuality

7. Identity

Perception of self

Positive and negative characteristics