

MONSTER CRUSADES:

Constructing Responsibility for the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children

by

Caitlin Janzen

Bachelor of Social Work, Ryerson University, 2006

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

in the

Faculty of Human and Social Development

© Caitlin Janzen, 2009  
University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without the permission of the author.

## **Supervisory Committee**

Monster Crusades:

Constructing Responsibility for the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children

by

Caitlin Janzen  
B.S.W., Ryerson University, 2006

### **Supervisory Committee**

Dr. Susan Strega, School of Social Work  
**Supervisor**

Dr. Donna Jeffery, School of Social Work  
**Departmental Member**

Dr. Steve Garlick, Sociology  
**Outside Member**

## **Abstract**

### **Supervisory Committee**

Dr. Susan Strega, School of Social Work

**Supervisor**

Dr. Donna Jeffery, School of Social Work

**Departmental Member**

Dr. Steve Garlick, Sociology

**Outside Member**

In this thesis, I work from a poststructural feminist framework to examine the pedophile monster as a Western cultural discourse. I argue that in the formation of this discourse, medical and moral discursive strands are conflated to produce the pedophile monster as a subject. I undertake a genealogical exploration to trace the historical emergences of the pedophile monster discourse from the Victorian Era forward. Here I critically deconstruct two contemporary forms of media as case studies to illustrate the current work of the pedophile monster discourse in distributing responsibility for child sexual abuse between subhuman monsters, mothers and the child victims themselves. I argue that, with the exception of their role as patriarchal defender, men are artfully neglected in the construction of commercial child sexual abuse as a social problem.

I then make use of a Foucauldian discourse analysis to study text from online forums and chat rooms used by men to discuss commercial child sexual exploitation. I was specifically interested in the discursive strategies used by the men to construct their subjectivities in relation to that of the pedophile monster. This thesis is an attempt to challenge the dominance of the pedophile monster discourse by implicating men in the problem of commercial sexual exploitation of children beyond the polarised categories of protector and monster. My goal in this thesis is to bring visibility and shift responsibility to men who perpetrate commercial sexual exploitation of children.

## Table of Contents

Supervisory Committee.....	ii
Abstract .....	iii
Table of Contents .....	iv
List of Figures .....	vi
Acknowledgements .....	vii
Chapter One: Introduction.....	1
Laying the Groundwork.....	3
Personal Significance.....	7
Chapter Two: The Age and Innocents.....	13
Kids Today.....	14
Historical Child (?).....	16
Innocence.....	20
Conclusion.....	30
Chapter Three: Methodology.....	32
Postmodernism 101.....	33
Poststructural Feminism (?).....	34
Theoretical Concepts.....	40
The Online Frontier.....	45
Epistemological Fit.....	46
Discourse Analysis.....	46
Walking the Walk.....	50
Research Focus and Design.....	51
What I am Lurking For.....	56
Ethics.....	60
Journal Entry #1 - My Dream.....	65
Interpreting Rigor.....	70
Conclusion.....	73
Chapter Four: Literature Review.....	75
Genealogy.....	75
<i>Herkunft, Entstehung</i> and Everything in Between.....	77
The Monster Emerges Part I: Modern Monsters.....	82
Current diagnosis: Relishing in repulsion.....	82
Case Study #1.....	83
The Monster Emerges Part II: Academic Literature.....	96
Moral Panic Literature.....	96
Social Science Literature.....	97
The Monster Emerges Part III: The Victorian Monster.....	111
"The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon".....	111
Case study #2.....	116

Conclusion.....	123
Chapter Five: Foucault in Cyberspace - The Online Confessional.....	126
Subjectivity(ies).....	129
Technology of the Self for Techies.....	134
Conclusion.....	139
Chapter Six: Data Analysis.....	141
Journal Entry # 2 - The Process.....	144
Homosociality.....	147
Normalisation.....	149
Rationalisation.....	154
Discursive Struggles.....	160
Conditions of Inclusion.....	165
Policing the Boundaries.....	169
Chapter Seven: Discussion and Conclusion.....	176
Discussion.....	176
Evaluation of the Research.....	187
Conclusion.....	191
References.....	194
Appendix.....	230

## List of Figures

*Figure A.*

Book cover: Kincaid, J. R. (1998). *Erotic innocence: The culture of child molesting*.

Durham: Duke University Press.

*Figure B.*

(Barnardo's. (2002), *Stolen childhoods campaign*. Retrieved from,

[http://www.barnardos.org.uk/resources/resources\\_students\\_advertising/students\\_advertising\\_overview.htm](http://www.barnardos.org.uk/resources/resources_students_advertising/students_advertising_overview.htm)).

*Figure C.*

Calvin Klein. (1995). Print advertisement. Retrieved from, [http://www.media-](http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/resources/educational/handouts/ethics/calvin_klein_case_study.cfm)

[awareness.ca/english/resources/educational/handouts/ethics/calvin\\_klein\\_case\\_study.cfm](http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/resources/educational/handouts/ethics/calvin_klein_case_study.cfm)

## Acknowledgments

This thesis is very much indebted to my supervisor, Dr. Susan Strega. In my first attempt at a career in professional dance I was sat down and told that if I could just first a way to “polish my rawness” I could be a great dancer. I would like to thank Susan for embracing my rawness and encouraging me, through her own writing and actions, to redirect it constructively towards my political aims. I would also like to thank her for sharing (and on bad days, exceeding) my passion in my work and for her provocative insights into my analysis. I am also grateful to Susan for allowing me access to the expansive reference library she keeps in her head.

Secondly, I would like to thank both Dr. Donna Jeffery and Dr. Steve Garlick for agreeing to sit on my committee and for their contributions to my thesis. I am also appreciative to Dr. Daniel Scott for his assistance with two of the chapters appearing in this thesis. Thank you for the conversation and the dramatic flair. I would also like to thank the Sara Spencer Foundation for their financial generosity, which was greatly appreciated.

To my mother, Lila Cresswell, who survived my teenage years with grace, thank you for your high expectations, which have always kept me focused and motivated. Your intelligence, strength and integrity are an inspiration. Thank you as well to my sister, Jenneka, whose uncompromising brilliance and cunning wit has necessitated the maintenance of a sharp mind.

Finally I would like to give thanks to Josha Illot for being the glaring exception to all that is wrong with conventional masculinity. Your patience, steadiness and gentle soul have the ability to ground me even in my most tumultuous states and I am very fortunate to have you in my life.

# Chapter One

## Introduction

We are under attack.

At least this is what the countless talk shows, newspaper and magazine exposés and crime dramas would have us believe. Children are having their innocence stripped, ripped and shattered by monsters. The most recent species of monster, the online predator, is responsible for luring middle-class children from their bedroom computers, into their twisted world of sexual depravity. None of this is new information. Anyone who has opened a newspaper or turned on the television is well acquainted with this knowledge. So invested are we in stories of monsters and innocents that even questioning the current understanding of the issue is suspect. As the threat posed by pedophile monsters is ubiquitous, those who challenge the customary stories of good and evil are liable to find themselves regulated to the wrong side of this polarity.

Stringent disciplining on the conditions of speaking about pedophile monsters has kept critical discussions about commercial child sexual exploitation well outside the realm of possibility. In beginning to situate my thinking on our cultural construction of men who commercially sexually exploit children, I engaged in an informal survey of friends, family, fellow students, co-workers, and virtual strangers. When conversation permitted (and this was surprisingly often), I asked for their opinion of men who commercially sexually abused children. Here is a smattering of responses:

“Gross”

“Sick and needing help”

“They’ll do anything, they’re capable of anything”

“Pathetic”

“They lure children and kidnap them”

“I just don’t get how anyone could find a little kid attractive in that way”

“I don’t want to talk about it”.

Yet we do talk about it – relentlessly.

It is *how* we talk about commercial child sexual exploitation and to whom we ascribe culpability that interests me in the context of this thesis.

Enter the pedophile monster.

The pedophile as a sick and morally defunct monster is a welcome target. He distracts us from our own participation in Western cultural practices that normalise commercial consumption of children’s sexuality. He is the Other. The monster exists in a context where parents are experiencing a perceived lack of control over all spheres of their children’s lives. Less technologically savvy than the generation born into web-mediated reality, parents are often nostalgic for the days when children’s privacy was restricted to physical friends known to the family. The boundless span of the cyberworld may induce fear of the unknown, yet the existence of a monster is soothing; after all, monsters are easily recognizable. We would be able to spot a pedophile and protect our children accordingly. The pedophile monster is not the respectable father, doctor, or neighbour. The pedophile is extraordinary in that he is subhuman, not a man at all. However, as I contend in my thesis, this construction forms a barrier to eradicating commercial sexual exploitation of children because it averts our eyes from ‘normal’ men in search of anomaly.

I do not negate the occurrence of children being lured online, nor do I disbelieve incidences of kidnapping at the hands of a stranger. I do not dispute that there are people (virtually all men) who fit the psychiatric criteria for the diagnosis of pedophilia. There are also

those who self-identify as pedophiles and advocate for the decriminalisation of “intergenerational sex”. Still, I wonder, if in talking ceaselessly about these sensational episodes, we have run out of breath to discuss the more common forms of child sexual abuse where categories of child and monster, innocent and implicated, are compounded by our historically-situated knowledge and our limited ability to venture outside of a intricate discourse which informs our notions of truth.

### *Laying the Groundwork*

This section is intended to situate the reader to my work by clarifying some key terms and ideas used within this thesis.

#### *Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children*

I use the terms ‘commercial sexual exploitation of children’, ‘commercial exploitation of children and youth’ and ‘commercial sexual abuse of children’ interchangeably throughout my thesis. Regardless of their verbosity, these terms connote the political application of language to construct the issue being described. As detailed in my literature review, there is a growing impetus within the social sciences and the anti-commercial sexual exploitation of children movement towards the reflective use of language. Phrases such as ‘child prostitution’, ‘child pornography’ (or more problematic, ‘kiddie porn’), and ‘juvenile prostitution’ equate child abuse to adult sex work and suggest responsibility on the part of the minor for their victimisation. As Kingsley and Mark assert, “sexual exploitation is not a lifestyle choice – it’s child abuse” (2000, p.4).

I define commercial child sexual exploitation as the sexual abuse of a minor in exchange for money, drugs or alcohol, food, shelter, or any other material good or service. The material or service used to procure the sexual abuse of a child may be given to a third party instead of the

child. This definition includes the production of images of child sexual abuse for commercial distribution. Commercial child sexual exploitation is distinguishable from child sexual abuse or assault based on the provision of some form of material profit.

### *Who we are*

Throughout my thesis I use the pronoun 'we'. I have done so in recognition of my own implication as part of a culture that engages in processes of normalising the sexualisation of children. This approach acknowledges participation in the construction and maintenance of dominant discourses that work to both conceal the commercial sexual exploitation of children and present child sexual abuse as inevitable. The discursive strategies that allow these functions are discussed throughout my work. Further, locating myself inside my writing allows for the possibility of resistance as opposed to the neutral observation of a reified society. The reader is also enacted in this generalisation, a position that will be uncomfortable for those who have become accustomed to the 'us versus them' treatment of pathologically mad and ungovernably bad pedophile monsters. In this warlike mentality we are the helpless innocent - the bystanders who can do nothing but leave this 'contemporary' problem to the experts (i.e. the psychologists, psychiatrists, law enforcement and other regulators) to solve. Thus, we as a society feel no need or ability to combat commercial sexual exploitation of children because we believe that it has nothing to do with us. The individualistic categorical subjectivity of the pedophile facilitates our detachment and yet, paradoxically, it also provides a lens through which we may explore violent sexualised images of children whilst keeping our virtuousness intact.

### *West/Western*

I have set my research parameters to include only Western culture. This stems from my fascination with how the treatment of commercial child sexual abuse as a social problem in the

West has been to sequester it into the medico-juridical domain. Isolated as an individual psychiatric or moral affliction bore by monsters, commercial child sexual abuse has not been sufficiently addressed as a widespread cultural problem.

By Western culture, I am referring to the discursive practices that impose a story of history as well as establish and maintain social norms, morality and functionality. To borrow from Ruth Frankenberg,

Westernness implies a particular, dominative relationship to power, colonial expansion, a belonging to the center rather than the margin in a global capitalist system, and a privileged relationship to institutions - be they academic or oriented to mass communication – for the production of knowledge (2004, p. 345).

The West functions as a patriarchal system. Weber's (1947) conceptualisation of patriarchy is a hierarchical system ruled by men as the head of the household. By this definition, there is a generational aspect to patriarchy as fathers rule over their younger sons as well as their wives. Walby (1989) disagrees with this generational element stating that "it implies a theory of gender inequality in which this aspect of men's domination over each other is central to men's domination over women" (p. 214). Hartmann defines patriarchy as "a set of social relations between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women" (2004, p. 145). Socialist feminists have long argued that men's control over women's labour and sexuality has given men the power to control women's access to material resources. One way this system of domination is established is through heterosexual marriage where women's undervalued work caring for the domestic sphere allows men to gain income in the public sphere. Despite the number of women working in the public sphere in the twenty-first century, expectations for

women to engage in unpaid labour at home have not diminished (Neysmith & Reitsma-Street, 2005). As the responsibility for child-rearing remains primarily with mothers, and men as heads of households are deemed responsible for women, I would argue that a definition of patriarchy must also include men's domination over children.

Returning to Hartmann's definition, patriarchy has a "material base" (2004, p. 145). This speaks to the strong partnership between capitalism and patriarchy in Western culture. Though one system is not necessarily founded upon the other (Walby, 1989; Young, 1981), capitalism and patriarchy support and reinforce one another through gendered division of labour, inequitable pay and children's total dependence upon adults to meet their needs. Commercial child sexual exploitation is located at the exact juncture of patriarchy and capitalism where men use commerce to control the sexuality of children.

In much of the West, the concept of culture is most often invoked to denote Otherness. In the 'cultural mosaic' of Canada, culture is generally reserved for people belonging to a visible minority group, Indigenous peoples and more generally, any non-English speaking individual. European, white Western culture is considered the default position, the natural condition. According to Iris Marion Young (2004); "cultural imperialism involves the universalization of a dominant group's experience and culture, and its establishment as the norm" (p. 54). Not all people living in a Western society subscribe to Western discourses; however, there are techniques of silencing and excluding those who resist the West's particular *mélange* of beliefs, values and practices that formulate 'truths'. Young (2004) continues, "the culturally dominated undergo a paradoxical oppression, in that they are both marked by stereotypes and at the same time rendered invisible" (p. 55). Throughout my thesis I will deconstruct the processes of claiming truths.

According to Foucault (1977), every established truth is the effect of a discursive battle where strategies and techniques of domination are systemically exercised in order to proclaim one possibility as truth amongst a host of others. Every idea is epistemologically situated within a socio-historical context. Beginning with my next chapter, which explores the category of “The Child”, I explore how seemingly natural concepts are completely enmeshed with Western culture from literature and the arts to politics and jurisprudence. Due to this cultural entanglement, we are constantly circulating discourses steeped in traditions valorised in historical periods past. Such discursive practices have become so dispersed and engrained that they have constituted our collective reality while remaining largely undetectable. We are continuously perpetuating and re-circulating these epistemological traditions with every act of speaking or writing.

This thesis is an attempt at excavating the roots of the discursive elements that make up what I call the pedophile monster discourse. Accordingly, the chapters span periods ranging from medieval Europe, the Enlightenment, Industrial Revolution, Victorian Era and the present. Along this expansive path we have adopted some rather destructive cultural practices. In this thesis, I focus on the sexualisation of children as one such practice. I argue that our culturally sanctioned sexualisation of children has allowed commercial child sexual exploitation to continue through every historical period.

### ***Personal Significance***

The following memory documents my first lucid thought on the topic of child sexualisation:

*I remember being in grade five and enjoying the still novel joy brought about by the glorious freedom to roam the mall with a friend, unaccompanied by parents. While waiting at the big clock in the middle of the mall for my*

*mom, a man approached my friend and me to ask if I had a pen to write down my phone number for him. The man himself does hold a place in my mind. What is most memorable about my experience was my mother's response.*

*As I got into the front seat of the car and proceeded to buckle my seatbelt, I told my mom of the incident. I was not frightened, nor upset by the event - I just found it bizarre. Why would a full-grown man be interested in a kid in that way? My mom replied, "You should have said, 'I'm jail bait'". Confused, I asked what jailbait was. Though I cannot recall what her definition was, I retain the emotional and even somatic response to her words. I remember the feeling that my body had betrayed me in some way. As if it had done something wrong without my assent. It had baited the man. From that jarring realisation on, I knew that I wore this problem.*

Knowing my mother, this comment was not an attempt at shaming but rather an adult witticism (I have no recollection of my mother ever speaking to me as if I were a child). It would probably surprise her to know the lasting impact of the brief interaction. As we will see later in this thesis, my mom was fulfilling the societal requirement of a 'good mother', educating her young daughter on a life ahead of unwanted sexual attention and advances by men. Throughout my thesis, mothers reappear as a crucial element in the discursive production of the pedophile monster and its abuse. Still, at twenty-seven I fail to comprehend how the responsibility for that man's behaviour was divided between my mother and me.

This memory is pertinent because it is a testament to the sexual irresponsibility of men towards children in a very ordinary and familiar situation. My experience speaks to the commonality of the sexualisation of children and how children come to hold agency for perpetration (or hoped perpetration) against them. The phrase ‘jail bait’ is a prime example of how men’s culpability is downplayed. By making it somehow humorous (though I am sure this was not my mother’s intent), ‘jail bait’ gives the head-shaking impression that ‘boys will be boys’. Experiences such as these impassion me to work towards change by drawing attention to the normalisation of child sexualisation in Western culture.

My focus on commercial sexual exploitation is based upon my privilege of having worked with commercially sexually exploited youth and being witness to the daily injustices perpetrated against them not only by male perpetrators, but sensationalist journalists, police officers and the legal system as a whole for failing to protect them. The youth I saw everyday were not always willing or able to fit the restricted category of innocent discussed in the following chapter. Of the individuals I met while doing street outreach, many were thrown away children, most were impoverished, many were racialised and most challenged the rigid categories of gender or those of sexuality. Their bodies hosted a number of complicated subjectivities beyond innocent. Rather than the exclusively middle-class white kids being lured away from their computers as presented in the media, this thesis is for the youth I saw each night ‘hustling’ in sports bars and staying up all night in the cybercafés to ‘arrange dates’ after having raised the five bucks to do so. It is also for the fifteen year old boys sleeping in bathhouses and the teenaged girls exploited in strip clubs. Finally, it is for the transgendered youth bravely enduring freezing winters outside, endless harassment and transphobic violence.

Because it is for these youth, it is in a sense, not about them. Having done the work upon which many academic careers are based, the surveys, the field interviews and the focus groups, it is now time to turn our gaze to the problem. Very simply, there would be no commercial sexual exploitation of children if it were not in demand. This thesis is about men who perpetrate against children by means of commercial sexual exploitation.

I begin my project by clarifying my use of the term ‘children’ in the context of commercial sexual exploitation. I discuss my definition of children in relation to governmental and non-governmental policies such as The *Criminal Code of Canada* and The United Nations *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. Here I highlight arguments put forth by scholars that ‘The Child’ is a universalising social category used for the deliverance of social policy. Realising that these are relatively recent policies, I move on to trace the construction of childhood through Western history. The core of this chapter is the deconstruction and problematisation of our notion of innocence as the essence of childhood and how our fixation on innocence forms a formidable barrier to the eradication of commercial sexual exploitation of children.

Chapter Three will outline the methodological and epistemological foundations for my research. Working within a poststructural feminist framework, I delineate the major philosophical departures from modern thought including structural forms of feminism. In this chapter I present Foucauldian discourse analysis as the methodology I used to analyse men’s online postings. I then describe my research design whereby I collected textual data using the online method of ‘lurking’. This data consisted of postings left by men who used online forums and bulletin boards as communication tools for discussing their participation in commercial child sexual abuse. I then attend to ethical considerations for conducting research in an online context.

I conclude by establishing guidelines for the evaluation of subjective and interpretive poststructural research.

Chapter Four opens with a detailed discussion of Foucauldian genealogy as a method of “deciphering” (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p. 103) social practices. I conduct a genealogical investigation to reveal the emergences of the pedophile monster discourse at various sites throughout Western history. The sites of emergence for the monster discourse are separated into three parts. The first part diagnoses our current condition as obsessed with stories of monsters among us, and the hunt to expose and expunge them. These monster crusades constitute what Foucault called ‘divisive practices’ (1983), which serve to isolate the pedophile monster from normal society. I critically analyse an episode of the crime-drama television program, *Law & Order: Special Victims’ Unit*, entitled, “Dolls” as an example of a divisive monster story.

Part Two of the genealogical exploration reviews a wide array of academic literature ranging from moral panic theory to feminist theories of sexualised violence. I also survey the social work research pertaining to commercially sexually exploited children and youth or more problematically, ‘young prostitutes’. Here I highlight the common themes presented in the literature.

Finally, Part Three focuses upon the Victorian newspaper series, “The Maiden Tribute to Modern Babylon” as a particular site of emergence for the monster discourse. Written by W.T. Stead and appearing in *The Pall Mall Gazette*, “The Maiden Tribute” was a sensationalist, scandalous encounter with London’s underworld. Here we see a clear emergence of the sexual beast in the form of Stead’s virgin-‘deflowering’ Minotaurs. In Part Three, I also deconstruct my second media source, an article appearing in the magazine, *Reader’s Digest* (March, 2006) called “R U in Yr PJs?”.

In Chapters Five and Six, I turn my attention away from the ‘*divisive practices*’ (Foucault, 1983) to concentrate on the *subjectifying* practices of men who use online forums to discuss commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth. In Chapter Five, I apply Foucault’s work on confession as a ‘technology of the self’ (1980) to the online context I am working within. Here I identify the work of/on the self and the role of the reader to transform the poster into a subject and poster’s confession of desire into a discourse. Prior to this, I theorise on the possibilities for a multiple approach to cyber-subjectivities.

In Chapter Six I attend to text contributed by men using online forums devoted to discussions of commercial sex. Selecting posts directly pertaining to commercial child sexual exploitation, I analyse men’s deployment of the various discourses such as science, medicine, history and law, from which the pedophile monster discourse gains authority. I traced the men’s use of discursive strategies and their manoeuvres around discursive rules in the constant effort to police the delicate boundaries separating them from monsterhood. Monsterhood is a relational state. The qualities that define the constructed monster subject - evil, guilt and cunningness - exist only in relation to its opposition. Thus, to truly understand the monster, we must know its corollary - innocence.

## **Chapter Two**

### **The Age and Innocents**

In presentations related to my thesis, I have repeatedly been asked to clarify what I mean by ‘child’. The task of defining children is not as straightforward as it may seem. As with any cultural category, each notion of childhood is rooted in a contextual understanding. The discussion below excavates the skeleton of ‘The Child’ as we now know it.

This chapter begins with the current legal definitions of ‘The Child’. It is my contention that the way in which we understand ‘The Child’ politically negates our ability to see children as a collective of unique individuals. This has been reflected in social policy concerning ‘The Child’ as a minority group separate from adults. I then provide a brief summary of the debate stemming from the work of Philippe Ariès regarding the history of childhood as a social construct.

The crux of this chapter is the problematisation of innocence as the essence of the ideal child. The product of eighteenth-century poets, the Romantic child was idolised as purity, heaven and above all, innocence embodied. Serving as a prototype, this image has followed us through history as a standard for all children. Nowhere has the image of innocence been more vivid than in the context of child sexual abuse. I specifically look at how innocence has been used to orchestrate a response to commercial exploitation of children during the social purity movement of the nineteenth century and today.

I argue that by clinging to innocence, we both oversimplify the problem of commercial child sexual abuse and obscure our own involvement in a culture that has ingrained the sexualisation of children into our daily practices.

### *Kids Today*

There are a number of ways to determine what constitutes a child. One place to start is the United Nations (UN) definition. The UN *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989) states:

For the purposes of the present Convention, a child means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. Retrieved online at <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>).

The age of majority in Canada varies by province and territory. For example, British Columbia, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and the Yukon, Northwest and Nunavut territories set the age of majority at nineteen years of age; while in the rest of Canada the age of majority is eighteen, consistent with the UN *Convention*.

For the purpose of this thesis, I will consider anyone under the age of eighteen to be a child (or more accurately, as I will discuss later, “*The Child*”). My decision is not based upon dedicated adherence to the *Convention* but rather the *Criminal Code of Canada*. To add another element of mystification to ‘The Child’, Canadian legislation offers protection from exploitative sex for ‘young persons’ under the age of eighteen. Sex is considered exploitative when the person is in a position of authority or trust over the young person or where the young person is sexually abused in exchange for money and/or other goods, or for shelter. This brings us to another category; “young person”, which, according to section 153(2) of the *Criminal Code*, “means a person 16 years of age or more but under the age of eighteen years” (R.S.C., 1985, c. C-46). Protection from exploitative sex is an added measure as the age of consent in Canada is now sixteen years of age and (with a distinctively heterosexist flavour) eighteen years for anal sex.

James and James (2004) along with O'Connell Davidson (2005) assert that the term 'The Child' is used to universalise children in social policy. For example, the "best interests of the child" is a basic principle in the UN *Convention* and has been wholeheartedly adopted into Canadian policy. Take for example the *Divorce Act* (R.S.C., 1985). Under section 16(8) custody is awarded based on "the best interests of the child".

James and James (2004) maintain that singulating children under the umbrella of 'The Child' "not only dismisses children's uniqueness but also, by collectivising children in this way, reduces their significance as agents with individual contributions to make" (p. 15). Acting upon the needs of 'The Child' as a collective threatens the delivery of individualised care and services based on what is right for a particular child. Despite this, the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child released a report in 2003 expressing concern that the principle is inconsistently understood and applied within Canada's courts, policies and programs as well as between provinces. The Committee made the recommendation that "the principle be appropriately analyzed and objectively implemented" throughout Canada (United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2003, paragraphs 24 and 25). Canada has in fact, taken measures to standardize the application of "best interests of the child" by moving to a risk assessment and management model of social service delivery. According to *Child Welfare in Canada 2000*, "seven jurisdictions in Canada currently have risk assessment models for child protection" (2002, p.ix. Retrieved from <http://www.hrhc-drhc.gc.ca/socpol/cfs/cfs.shtml>). This is nothing novel. The United Kingdom began this transition two decades ago with the introduction of the *Children Act* 1989. Many writers have realized the problems arising from the attempts to present social work as objective calculation of risk factors (see, for example Dominelli, 1996; Lansdown, 1996; Healy & Meagher, 2004; Tilbury, 2004). Among identified problems is the threat of

‘deprofessionalisation’, whereby child protection workers become little more than technicians, managing risk and checking boxes at the cost of skill development and autonomy. However, *Child Welfare in Canada 2000* reads: “risk assessment models are intended to enhance case management by promoting a consistent, structured approach to decision making, focusing resources on children who are most at risk, and directing interventions to reduce risk factors” (2002, p. viii). This is not to suggest that children should be without recognized rights, rather, it is intended to trouble the unproblematic acceptance of ‘The Child’ as a globally applicable archetype. It is also important to point out that the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* is a relatively recent creation. Prior to 1989 children survived without a formal recognition of their special rights as a group.

### *Historical Child (?)*

There is virtually no discussion on the historical status of childhood without first referencing *Centuries of Childhood* (1962), the foundational work of Philippe Ariès. Although largely contested, Ariès allowed historians to play with the notion of childhood as a construction. Despite arguments on the historical treatment of children, Ariès’ work provided the basis for a contextual understanding of childhood which has been diverse over time. Secondly, as James and James (2004) point out,

Ariès thesis underlines the point that how we see children and the ways in which we behave towards them necessarily shape children’s experiences of being a child and also, therefore, their own responses to and engagement with the adult world (p. 13).

Ariès’ methods are widely criticised as he based his argument that “in medieval society the idea of childhood did not exist” (1962, p.32) upon the lack of representation of children in art. To be

certain, Ariès was not implying that there were no children in medieval times, but that childhood was not distinguished from adulthood as an important or special time. Ariès' position was supported by Lawrence Stone (1977), who confirmed that medieval parents were emotionally cold and most often abusive toward their children. As evidence for this assertion, Stone cited the account books he had used as research materials. According to historians in the Ariès/Stone camp (DeMause, 1974; Shorter, 1975), other signs of children's status as 'little adults' include the lack of children's literature, toys and the utilitarian style of children's clothes.

It is important to elucidate which children these historians were concerned with. Medieval Europe had not yet seen the rapid expansion overseas, which ushered in the colonial period. Therefore, studies of medieval European culture are studies of white culture. The custom of studying white culture as the historical standard has continued in the discipline of traditional history so that all other history is considered alternative. Since Ariès and his colleagues are the most widely referenced sources in children's history, traditionalists have accepted the history of white children as the history of childhood.

Critics maintain that Ariès and Stone were merely "looking in the wrong place" (Goldberg, Riddy & Tyler, 2004, p. 3). As Pollock commented on Stone's research: "You're not going to find expressions of grief in an account book [sic] that would be like looking for sorrow in a checkbook" (Travis, 2002, p. 33). Pollock established herself as an authoritative children's historian after researching hundreds of diaries and letters among other sources, spanning from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, before reaching her conclusion that "the texts reveal no significant change in the quality of parental care given to, or the amount of affection felt for infants for the period 1500-1900" (1983, p.3).

This is not to imply that white Western children lived under the same conditions as they do today. Life was particularly hard for children from the lower classes. Children worked on farms and in the formal economy. Child labour was prevalent in the West up until the Industrial Revolution's reform legislation beginning with the *Factories Act* in 1802. Children were present in workhouses under the *Poor Law Amendment Act* of 1834 as able-bodied men were only provided with relief if they entered a workhouse bringing their wives and children with them. The conditions of the workhouses were exposed in *The Times* newspaper as obscenely cruel. Stories of starvation, beatings, and medical neglect filled the pages of *The Times* between the years of 1837 and 1842 (Roberts, 1963). However, the validity and frequency of the accounts are contested. In his study of the workhouses, Roberts (1963) ascertained "of the 21 stories from *The Times* mentioned above 12 were largely false, 5 were largely correct, and 4 went uninvestigated" (p.102). Regardless of the numbers, one may safely conclude that the conditions of the workhouses were not ideal. Once inside the workhouse, children had little access to the outside world. They were also separated from their parents and attended mandatory school in a separate building (Pallister, 1968).

### *Education*

The education of children was in no way an innovation of the nineteenth century. In Greek antiquity the sons of citizens were educated on laws and mores for the purpose of integrating them successfully into adult social life (Slee, 2002). The workhouse schools were quite different, however, in that education was delivered precisely to the under class. This is not to romanticise the experiences of life in the workhouse, but rather to draw attention to the 'generational space' (James & James, 2004) being occupied by children as a collective through education. As Ariès wrote: "family and school together removed the child from adult society.

The school shut up a childhood which had hitherto been free within an increasingly severe disciplinary system” (1962, p. 413)

I will illustrate in Chapter Four that during the social purity movement of the late Victorian to Edwardian periods, the education system was entrusted with the task of removing children from the homes of ‘unsuitable’ mothers. Acting under the *Industrial School Amendment Act* of 1880, the Manchester School Board required that the “parents of children below the age of ten years deemed to be children of prostitutes, those living in brothels and those living in houses frequented by prostitutes to appear before the magistrate, without due notice being given” (Goodman, 2003, p. 75). The children, who were under the age of thirteen, were removed from their parent’s care and placed in protective custody. Once placed in lodging homes such as those run by The Manchester Ladies’ Association for the Care of Friendless Girls, the girls were instilled with the morality and dignity it was felt they were lacking. Organizations such as these formed the foundation of modern child welfare. Women’s associations worked from a social hygiene agenda to distinguish between the ‘fallen’ and ‘at-risk’ girls based on perceived levels of sexual ‘spoilage’, ‘ruin’, and ‘moral corruption’ (Jackson, 2000). Euphemisms such as these ensured that the consequences of sexual abuse fell squarely on the shoulders of the girls themselves while at the same time presenting them as agentless victims of lost (but not stolen as that would require naming the perpetrator) innocence. Social reformer, Ellice Hopkins, went so far as to liken sexually exploited children to “infant Christs of the Cross without the Crown” (1899, p. 28). The virtue of innocence proved to be a powerful political tool resulting in the enactment of the 1885 *Criminal Law Amendment Act*, which is also examined in Chapter Four alongside W.T. Stead’s “Maiden Tribute to Modern Babylon” instalments in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. The ‘Maiden Tribute’ stories effectively manufactured the discursive category of sexual monster for proliferation into the mainstream discourse.

### *Innocence*

In order to adequately examine the construction of childhood, we must look at its ideal specimen. Kincaid (1998) suggests that the notion of childhood purity stemmed from European poets in the Romantic era and their depiction of children. Take for example Wordsworth's metaphorical account of where babies come from:

But trailing clouds of glory do we come

From God, who is our home:

Heaven lies about us in our infancy!

(Ode: Intimations of immortality from recollections of early childhood, V, l. 65. Reprinted in Quiller-Couch, 1919).

This was a shift from the concept of original sin held by sixteenth and seventeenth-century Calvinists, which regarded the child as inherently evil. By the eighteenth century, children were heralded as being the closest form to nature and God. 'The Child' was endowed with a number of new virtues: Wordsworth and Rousseau saw 'The Child' as the soul of the self (Adatto, 2003). Jenks (1996) holds Rousseau's 1762, *Emile* responsible for the formation of the modern child as it "forged an incontestable link between our understanding of the child and the emotions of the heart" (p. 13). William Blake contributed to the Romantic child by literally singing the praises of the fully dependent and defenceless child (*Songs of Innocence and Experience*, 1991). Jenks (1996) writes to the legacy of 'The Child's' absolute dependence as an established "patterning of acquisition as a 'natural' right policed by an ideology of care, grounded unassailably in the emotions" (p. 14).

A document written by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster and Benjamin Waugh in 1886 affirmed that "a child is not only made in the image of God, but of all His creatures it is the most like to Himself in its early purity, beauty, brightness, and innocence" (p. 687).

Interestingly enough, the proliferation of imagery holding ‘The Child’ as purity and innocence embodied occupied the same period as the obsession with ‘deflowering virgins’ made up the demand side of commercial sexual abuse. However, this was not the beginning of the West’s dangerous love affair with innocence.

In her study of virgin martyr stories, Phillips exposes the fascination with ‘stolen innocence’ as early as the fifteenth century. In Osbern Bokenham’s collections of tales, *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* (1443-1447) we find the virginal thirteen year old Agnes. As punishment for refusing the advances of the prefect’s son, Agnes is stripped naked and thrown in a brothel. However, as Phillips recounts, “no sooner has attention been thus directed to the maiden’s body than the bands which hold her hair fall away and it grows down to her feet to cover her nakedness” (p. 52). Upon entering the brothel, she is protected by an angel who gives her clothing. More miraculously, when the prefect’s son attempts to enter the brothel to rape Agnes, he is struck dead. The brothel theme is repeated in another of Bokenham’s stories. The maiden, Lucy, also finds herself threatened with a brothel. However, when her assailants attempt to drag her there, she is grounded, fixed to the spot. As Phillips writes, “this thwarts the consul Paschasius’s plan to see her raped to death” (2004, p. 52).

Virgin martyrs could easily be written off as erotica for medieval men except for one glaring fact - women commissioned these works. According to Phillips, Bokenham and his contemporaries wrote to audiences comprised of both laywomen and aristocrats; however, the intent was to please their wealthy patrons. This was accomplished by integrating the women by name into the tales. According to Winstead (1997), the writers enjoyed such devoted readership due to their successful “transformation of the saints into model gentils-mirrors of middle-and upper-class readers” (p. 141). Phillips finds that the authors of virgin martyr tales allude to the

most graphic of sexual assaults upon the girls and yet, at the last moment the reader is spared the image, a “tactic whereby the author seems to say ‘Look!’, then ‘Look away” (Phillips, 2004, p. 52). This tactic is shared by the crime drama television series of today.

Kincaid (1998) claims that we, as members of Western culture, relish stories of child molestation. Indeed, explicit portrayals of sexual assault against children seem to be on continuous rotation in television programming. Whether we are watching a moralistic crime drama (*Law & Order: Special Victims Unit; Crime Scene Investigation*) or a panicked educational primetime ‘news’ special, these shows exist in a “contested territory” (O’Brien, 1999). Occupying this territory makes it possible to have acts so unspeakable that we must constantly talk about them. We are moved by the horrific stories of these children and are filled with disgust towards the ‘pedophiles’ that exploit them. Yet we are compelled to watch them in graphic detail and high-definition taking in every moment up until the actual assault, which we are usually spared. Kincaid writes, “Our culture has enthusiastically sexualized the child while denying just as enthusiastically that it was doing any such thing” (1998, p.13).

Phillips’ (2004) analysis relies upon a neologism borrowed from Peter Bailey (1990) in his exploration of Victorian barmaids. Bailey coined the term ‘parasexuality’ playing on the double meaning of the prefix ‘para’ as both ‘beside’ (as in paramedic) and ‘against’ or ‘prevention from’ (as in parachute). Parasexuality denotes

an inoculation in which a little sexuality is encouraged as an antidote to its more subversive properties. Parasexuality then is sexuality that is deployed but contained, carefully channelled rather than fully discharged; in vulgar terms it might be represented as ‘everything but’ (Bailey, 1990, p.148).

In Bailey's work, the term was created to explain the position of barmaids in the new gin-houses of the Victorian era. Standing on display, he argued, the barmaid represented a form of glamour and seductiveness for the male patrons. The physical bar, however, served to separate the barmaid from her surroundings reaffirming that her sexuality was for display only.

Like Phillips, I find Bailey's term to be highly relevant to my own work. Children are sexualised in a number of ways through media such as advertising (Adatto, 2003; Smith, Herman-Giddens & Everette, 2005), journalism and entertainment, however, we do not admit that as a culture, we are highly engaged and invested in the sexualisation of children. The suggestion that we are fascinated with stories of child sexual abuse including and perhaps, in particular, stories of commercial exploitation, is too far outside the margins of acceptability. To use Foucault's language, "procedures of exclusion" (1981, p. 52) such as taboo, prohibit this discourse from being accepted into the mainstream as 'truth'. To prevent ourselves from considering our involvement in the sexualisation of children and perhaps having to change our cultural practices, we channel our behaviours through the concept of innocence. Innocence has become a "secondary, or modified form of sexuality" (Bailey, 1990, p. 148), one that is easily controlled by adults. It is not only children's innocence that we are concerned with protecting but our own as well.

The personification of innocence in children has its own recognisable traits. Purity is always associated with white and skin is no exception. The image of the ideal child is fair, blonde with wide blue eyes. Within these eyes complete vacancy should appear, as 'The Child' is *tabula rasa*, or a blank slate. John Locke (1690) held that infants were not born with the notions of truth or reason; rather, such understanding is acquired through exposure to sensory experience. 'The Child' then, is naturally unenlightened, unliberated, and irrational, standing in

direct opposition to the modern (male) subject. Kincaid (1998) convincingly illustrates that the characteristics so alluring in the ideal child are the very same traits society idolises in women. Comparing photographs of cutesy child stars alongside those of sex symbols, Kincaid points out the shared physical attributes: wide eyes, pouty lips, pigtails, a small chin, and white skin. Kincaid argues that the West continues to sexualise children through innocence. I would add that we are also infantilising women not to mention perpetuating unobtainable images of (exclusively youthful) beauty by featuring child-models in the pages of women's fashion magazines.

*Innocence is trouble(d)*

Clinging to innocence has not been healthy for Western culture nor has it been useful. We continue to live in a society where commercial sexual exploitation of children is a rampant practice. We appear to appreciate this as a social problem, one in need of immediate and serious intervention. As we will see in Chapter Four, commercial child sexual abuse cycles in and out of crisis status with ensuing panic from outraged citizens. Innocence has served as an anchor in all of this. It has been the good in need of protection and yet, the very commodity lusted after. We are caught up in our complicated relationship with innocence; it is something we all want for ourselves and fear children will lose like house keys. The sanctity of childhood innocence was the war cry of purity crusaders in the nineteenth century drawing upon the emotions of 'good Christians' to help save the vulnerable. At the same time, men who paid to 'deflower' virgins were fetishising innocence and vulnerability. In their passionate fight against sexual exploitation, social purists "were perpetuating and developing, the same erotic discourse which positioned the body of the underdeveloped girl child as 'other'" (Jackson, 2000, p.114).

The rhetoric of the anti-commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) movement continues, for the most part, to be based upon “defending innocence” (Kitzinger, 1988, p. 77). Kitzinger illustrates how contemporary campaigns against child sexual abuse have rallied around an ideological child constituted by innocence and passivity. Kitzinger (1988; 2003) also touches upon the fetishisation of innocence. She contends that the images of romanticised childhood used by campaigns against child sexual abuse are titillating for abusers, noting the commodification of innocence in “kiddie porn” (1998, p. 80). However, she does not look beyond perpetrators to extend the widespread fascination with innocence to Western culture as a whole.

O’Connell Davidson (2005) also deconstructs the dominant discourse surrounding children within the anti-CSEC movement. She argues that the movement relies on the identity of ‘child’ as a passive victim, an object of sexuality, yet naturally non-sexual. By this assumption, the fate of ‘The Child’s’ contested subjectivity is dependant solely on child-savers. Iris Marion Young (2003) has called this a “security regime” whereby exploited children are thought to be in need of salvation rather than active subjects deserving of rights. She adds that this reinforces the ideal of absolute dependency on masculine protection. The “security regime” reduces citizenship from participation and inclusion, to mere protection from corporeal threats of violence.

Similarly, Kitzinger (2003) argues that denying "children’s resistance strategies" (p. 174) as valid leaves complete reliance on adults as the only tactic for preventing child sexual abuse. Kitzinger brilliantly points out that it is mothers in particular who suffer from the demands of providing constant protection. Krane and Carlton (2009) examine how social work bears down on mothers with the weight of very material consequences for ‘failing to protect’ their children

from sexual abuse. Krane and Carlton hold that informing theories such as Freudian and family systems, frame mothers as culpable for the sexual abuse of their children. Mothers are constructed as accomplices or facilitators of sexual abuse and, often as the causal figure in the abuse. In child protection practice, both the act of, and the protection from, sexual abuse lies with mothers regardless of their own experiences of domination and abuse at the hands of the perpetrator. In her chapter, Kitzinger (2003) illustrates the extensive measures mothers are expected to take to protect their children. Kitzinger quotes an accused abuser's defence lawyer attempting to persuade the court that the mother should share partial blame as "this woman repeatedly went out to the grocery store leaving this child alone with her father!" (p. 174). Krane and Carlton (2009) explain how middle-class Eurocentric ideals inform systemic 'mother-blaming' in social work practice by constricting women's experiences into the idealised category of virtuous, nurturing motherhood. Mothers are expected to be with their young children 24/7 lest they fall prey to the omnipresent threat of predators just waiting for an unguarded child. As Kitzinger (2003) notes however, the idea that any child could be victimized at any time is "not matched by a similar focus on the abuser-we are not warned that the abuser could come from anywhere... 'it could be anyone's father, husband or son'" (2003, p. 174). I agree with this statement but offer a twist. I actually do believe we are warned that the perpetrator could be lurking anywhere and yet, Kitzinger is correct in stating that they are not presented as familiar men. This is because they are not presented as men at all; they are monsters, a specific breed that is either evil beyond remorse or sick beyond rehabilitation. This is the topic of Chapter Four where I highlight how mothers also assume the responsibility for the creation of pedophile monsters.

The ideological category of Child is not just contested; it is also an extremely high standard for children to live up to. The level of perceived violation for child sexual abuse is contingent on the purity of the child's innocence. This rule was made explicit historically as evidenced by the court ruling of a case involving the "ravishing" of a girl of fifteen:

that the Girle as young and innocent as she seemed, had been notoriously known to be lewd, lascivious, and disorderly, and that they had by plain proofs only laid this design to get a peice of mony from him, these evidences being considered, the Jury brought him in not guilty (Old Bailey proceedings, July 7<sup>th</sup>, 1675. Retrieved from <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org>).

As Brown (2004) writes, "culturally in the West there is discomfort when victims appear to be less than perfect, and this is particularly the case with regard to children" (Brown, 2004, p. 346).

The idealistic category of 'The Child' is exclusive. A child must meet all of the criteria discussed earlier in this chapter to be classified as 'the perfect victim'. This is deeply problematic considering the proportion of sexually exploited children that are not blonde and blue eyed. According to the latest findings in British Columbia, "one-third to one-half of sexually exploited youth identified as Aboriginal" (Saewyc, et al., 2008, p. 6). Cuomo and Hall write that

images of white children who are as innocent and oblivious to race and racism as they are to the fact that they are not the centre of the universe reinscribe notions of whiteness as normal and harmless, and as a source of purity and innocence corrupted when it comes into contact with the nonwhite Other" (1999, p. 10).

Kitzinger notes the absence of racialised children in anti-sexual abuse campaigns, "the black child is only used to represent *black* childhood, or 'The Third World' or 'Foreign'

or ‘Starvation’” (2003, p. 166). The racialised child is overwhelming an indicator of ‘The Global Child Sex Trade’ or ‘Child Trafficking’, often detracting the public’s attention from the sexual exploitation of children within their own community.

Innocence is a relational term. That is, innocence can only be understood through its opposition to guilt. By default children who do not neatly fit into the category of innocent, shoulder the guilt for sexual abuse perpetrated against them by men. To return to the concept of *tabula rasa*, if we are born pure, we are certainly dirtied with age. This has definite implications for sexually exploited youth. Their abuse is increasingly viewed as a matter of choice or ‘lifestyle’ as they grow closer to adulthood. This understanding is reflected in my data (Chapter Six). For men who actively engage in the commercial sexual exploitation of minors, the ethical boundary between right and wrong as well as the subjective boundary between normal man and pedophile monster blur as the age of the victim increases. Put another way, where the confession of ‘sex with’ a prepubescent child is met with contempt from online peers; accounts of ‘sex with’ teens are met with devoted interest and excitement.

Foucault (1980) wrote that youth sexuality is constructed as having “precious and perilous, dangerous and endangered sexual potential” (p. 104). In *The History of Sexuality* (1980), Foucault identified boys’ boarding schools of the eighteenth century as a site where the ‘pedagogization of children's sex’ was executed. Foucault uses the condemnation of onanism or masturbation as a particularly cohesive exemplar of pedagogization. As one of Foucault’s four strategic unities (along with the ‘hysterization of women’s bodies’, ‘socialization of procreative behaviour’ and ‘psychiatrization of perverse forms of pleasure’), the ‘pedagogization of children’s sex’ is the delivery of normative sexuality to children through the teaching of a structured discourse about sex. It is a “specific mechanism of knowledge and power centering

on sex" (1980, p.103). The pedagogization of children's sex continues to be concerned with controlling children's sexuality by protecting them from their own sexual potential.

We are most comfortable with children when we can be assured that they are asexual, free from sexual desire despite the amount of sexualisation inscribed upon their bodies by adults. Children that have been abused through commercial exploitation have, historically been regarded as "tainted by this unnatural 'knowledge of evil' and therefore as corrupting to other children" (Brown, 2004, p. 344). They are certainly Other to the celebrated innocent naïvety of 'The Child'. So confused are we by the ideological paradox of a child with sexual knowledge, that we greatly confuse our response which explains why the Government of Canada uses the language of exploitation and abuse and yet provincially, punishment has been disguised as help in the form of protective custody. Alberta enacted the *Protection of Children Involved in Prostitution Act* (PChIP Act) in February of 1999, which allowed police to apprehend and confine against their will, children under the age of eighteen who were commercially sexually exploited or deemed at risk of sexual exploitation. In July 2000, PChIP was found to be unconstitutional under the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and was struck down. Despite this ruling, Alberta's Court of the Queen's Bench re-enacted the legislation (Robertson, 2003). In October 2007, The Government of Alberta made amendments to the *Act* to convey the official position that the exploited child was considered to be a victim. The changes entailed changing the name of the *Act* to the *Protection of Sexually Exploited Children Act* (PSECA) and extending voluntary services up until the age of twenty-two (*Optional protocol to the convention on the rights of the child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography first report of Canada*, n.d.). The amendments did not result in any changes to the involuntary confinement of child 'victims'.

### *Conclusion*

Overall this chapter has made evident our tradition of constraining children into tight categories. In particular it has problematised the Western construction of ‘The Child’ as a universalised category of thoughtless, agentless and innocent creatures. ‘The Child’ is produced as an object: of study, of policy and of sexualisation. By contrast, the child-subject would require us to consider children as individuals with the capacity to be agents of opinion, influence and change. This would be a detachment from current practices such as ‘protective custody’ or ‘secure care’, which operate on the premise that children need to be protected from themselves.

The notion of protecting innocence as the impetus for action against commercial child sexual abuse was deconstructed in this chapter to expose our vested interests in maintaining our fixation on innocence. I argued that action to eliminate sexual abuse against children is dependant upon the recognition of children as virtuous objects in need of protection. In committing to preserve the sanctity of ‘The Child’ we identify ourselves as innocent spectators of a culture that normalises the sexualisation of children (most notably through media portrayal and consumerism). What is more, acting in the defence of innocence opens the discussion on deserving and undeserving children. It separates true victims from those who are excluded from the category of innocent. The ‘not innocent’ includes ‘wayward girls’ of Chapter Four who are spoiled or damaged as well as racialised children who do not fit the image created by the imagination of romantic poets. Beyond theorizing, my data analysis demonstrates the particular way this is taken up by men online and executed against children deemed ‘not innocent’. This has very material consequences in that it serves perpetrators by placing the blame for commercial sexual abuse with the children themselves thus freeing men from the responsibility of perpetration.

Having established my position on how children are to be understood in the context of my thesis I now turn my gaze away from them. After all, this thesis is about shifting the attention and responsibility to perpetrators of commercial child sexual exploitation.

## **Chapter Three**

### **Methodology**

Prior to selecting a methodology for research, I must set out upon the path to epistemologically locate myself as a researcher. Only from this clarified position may I approach the question of methodology according to the worldview I ascribe to as well as what will best answer my research questions. A congruent methodological framework must also meet the political agenda of my research. This subsequent chapter traces the above process and arrives at a poststructural feminist Foucauldian discourse analysis as the most fitting methodology for my research. In addition to outlining and justifying my methodological choices for research, this chapter serves to clarify some of the more abstract theoretical concepts found in my work.

Feminism, as a theory, has an explicit political commitment to exposing and changing patriarchal power relations. I use a poststructural feminist approach to contextualise my analysis as the topic of commercial child sexual exploitation is saturated in patriarchal domination over women and children. The incorporation of postmodern philosophy has not enjoyed unequivocal acceptance however. This chapter provides an overview of the structural/poststructural feminist debate in order to accent how poststructural epistemology lends itself to feminist theory and to situate my thinking on the constructive application of Foucault's work to a feminist agenda.

Beginning with an overview of the foundational assumptions of a postmodern worldview, the chapter continues on to consider the possibilities of poststructural feminism. I then highlight the elements of a Foucauldian discourse analysis as it pertains to my research. Additionally, I consider some contemporary debates in conducting discourse analysis within the social sciences.

My research utilises Internet technology as a medium for obtaining qualitative data. Prior to employing online methods, Whitty (2004) recommends that researchers consider whether doing research online holds benefits over more practiced approaches. An online method is certainly beneficial to this research as it allows me to access hard-to-reach populations (men who wish to, or engage in, child commercial sexual exploitation) and locations as well as increased candour on a highly stigmatised topic.

In this chapter I describe my online research design and the methods I employed for both data collection and analysis including ethical considerations. Finally, I provide a framework for assessing my research as well as the political aims for my work.

### *Postmodernism 101*

Formulated as a response to positivist traditions passed down from Enlightenment Era thinkers, postmodernity as a movement gained momentum in academia within the social sciences. In this section I highlight the foundational assumptions of a poststructural theoretical framework. In particular, I will focus on its main departures from modernist notions of knowledge, truth, and subjectivity as these concepts are of particular significance to my research.

In contrast to the belief in mysticism and divine will of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, the eighteenth-century Enlightenment established a commitment to science based on a system of classification. This new form of knowledge meant that man could now possess answers and thus truth through his relationship as a subject to a knowable object. No longer did man depend upon a favourable God to reveal signs of His true will. The Enlightenment spawned a free and rational (male) subject, who, through the creation of justice, was entitled to equality.

Influenced by existential writers of the post-World War II period, as well as artists and musicians, postmodern philosophers such as Derrida, Lyotard, and Foucault were instrumental in

formulating a critique of Enlightenment ideology. These scholars rejected the notion of science as a linear path to progress through the discovery of universal truth. Instead, postmodernists argued that truth was socially constructed through language and the processes of meaning making. Foucault expanded upon this by concentrating on discourse. Structuralists such as linguists Saussure and Lacan, as well as Marxist thinker, Althusser, asserted the historic and social specificity of language in addition to its ability to create rather than simply reflect and describe reality. However, it was Foucault who bound *language as discourse to power through knowledge*. He argued that production and presentation of a particular discourse and truth as knowledge was, above all, an exercise of power.

Beyond claims to knowledge of the social world, discourse is used to construct the self. Gunew (1990) differentiates between language and discourse. Discourse, she writes, is “language grasped as utterance, as involving speaking and writing subjects and therefore also, at least potentially, readers and listeners” (p.18). While structuralists focus upon a stable core self and identity as a political strategy, poststructuralists challenge the possibility of a consistent self. Instead, they understand subjecthood to be constituted by discourse. Foucault viewed the self as an effect of discourse. As Parker (1985) writes, “a *subjectivity* is produced in discourse as the self is *subjected* to discourse” (p.64, italics in original). The question of subject is of particular interest to poststructural feminists and will be expanded upon in subsequent sections.

### ***Poststructural Feminism (?)***

Over the last few decades feminist scholars have begun seriously considering the significance of postmodern ideas to their movement. Weedon (1987) describes poststructural feminism as “a mode of knowledge production which uses poststructural theories of language, subjectivity, social processes and institutions to understand existing power relations and to

identify areas and strategies for change” (p. 40). Academics such as Hekman (1990; 1996; 1999) Gunew (1990), Sawicki (1996) and Fraser (1996; 1990), among many others, have also contributed to the theoretical and political project of creating a poststructural feminism. These feminists have recognized the relevance of writers such as Nietzsche, Foucault and Derrida in challenging the assumptions of Enlightenment epistemology.

In fact, there are many “points of overlap between a postmodern stance and positions long held by feminists” (Nicholson, 1990, p.5). In advocating for the displacement of Enlightenment humanism as the only method by which to understand the universal (white, Western, heterosexual) “man” as subject, Hekman (1990) acknowledges that feminism would seem an “intellectual ally of postmodernism” (p.2). She outlines three advantages for establishing postmodern feminism as a viable direction for the future of feminism:

1. As mentioned above, the two worldviews have many similarities
2. Postmodernism offers insight into feminist theoretical controversies such as the existence of a feminine ‘essence’ or ‘nature’
3. Feminism would contribute to postmodern work by adding a much-lacking gender analysis.

Nonetheless, feminist writers or academics have not unanimously embraced a feminist epistemology incorporating postmodernist philosophical features. Indeed, postmodern theory is not made readily transferable to areas of gender struggle simply by injecting feminist politics into the discussion. Here I highlight the major debates in the relationship between feminism and postmodernism thus far.

Hartsock (1996) is deeply critical of postmodernist theoretical approaches to knowledge when she reminds us that postmodernist philosophy is itself a situated knowledge and like

Enlightenment knowledge, it is “Euro-American, masculine, and racially, as well as economically privileged” (p.46). Although she recognizes the radical potential in poststructural ideas, Strega (2005) shares this viewpoint acknowledging that Indigenous ways of knowing and critical race theory preceded the acceptance of post theories; however, their ideas were only legitimized by white, European men such as Foucault and Derrida. As Hartsock asserts, “There is a role for intellectuals in making these knowledges clear, in explaining a group to itself, in articulating taken-for-granted understandings” (1996, p. 48). Weedon (1987) takes a more accepting position when she decides:

If Foucault’s theory of discourse and power can produce in feminist hands an analysis of patriarchal power relations which enables the development of active strategies for change, then it is of little importance whether his own historical analyses fall short of this (p. 13).

While Naples (2003) claims that

Foucault is an unlikely resource for feminist praxis given two features of his work: his neglect of the dynamics of gender in his analysis of power and his displacement of the subject as a central agent for social change (p. 27).

Though his omission of gender analysis is often glaring, Foucault shared epistemological similarities with feminism in other ways. Foucault advocated for local sites of resistance. He was overtly critical of global or mass movements instead calling for “very specific transformations” (1984, p. 46). Gabardi (2001) writes,

Foucault politicized everyday life and advocated appropriate local and microlevel strategies of resistance. Local struggles are the manifestation of

communities of revolt, resistance, and democratic action that crystallize at specific nodal points in power networks (p.135).

Certainly parallels can be drawn between this approach and feminist strategies of critical consciousness-raising or community activism within the anti-violence against women movements (for example, 'Take Back the Night' marches). Foucault also disrupted and questioned discursive practices that construct categories and subjectivities, a project first taken up by radical second wave feminists. And yet, the problem of subject remains the most controversial factor in accepting poststructural feminism as an epistemological framework.

Enlightenment reasoning defined women as objects in opposition to male subjects in the acquisition of knowledge. In *The History of Sexuality*, (1978) Foucault traces this back to Classical Greece, citing that femininity was equated with passivity, an immoral trait. Thus, women could not be ethical subjects. The concept of women as objects was solidified further in Enlightenment through the "hysterization of women's bodies" (Foucault, 1978, p. 104), whereby women's bodies underwent (and continue to undergo) hypersexualisation through medical analysis. The discourse of science created a power/knowledge bind that locked women's bodies in the realm of the object. Women have "troubles" (such as menopause, menstruation, and premenstrual syndrome) and "conditions" (pregnancy, breast cancer) that need to be "solved" at the physical and sexual level. The overwhelming response to these troubles and conditions is to turn to pharmaceutical, corporate drugs. Women exist as knowable objects in medicine rather than knowing and contributing subjects. Feminists such as de Beauvoir (1989), Sawicki (1996), and Kristeva (1986a; 1987) have been long searching for the philosophical key out of the realm of the object.

A common feminist criticism of the poststructural treatment of the subject is the fear that multiple and fractured subjectivities and knowledges will depoliticize feminism and the reclaimed 'feminine experience' (Naples, 2003; Hartsock, 1993; Sachs, 1996; Hekman, 1990). Poststructural scholars (see, for example, Flax, 1993; Gavey, 1989; Gunew, 1990; Hekman, 1999) maintain that while valorizing women's experience is an important and necessary step towards exposing the white patriarchal monopoly on truth claims, honouring an unquestionable feminine experience or subjectivity needs deconstructing. This is because women's experience is often held as universal, white, and transhistorical. Rather than developing a women-centred epistemology that endeavours to parallel the hegemonic male discourse (Weedon, 1987), poststructural feminist approaches should allow for "numerous fluid conversations" (Hekman, 1999, p. 59) regarding women's subjectivities and knowledges. The goal of scholarship from this perspective is to develop historically, culturally, and socially specific theories that are explicitly linked to changing existing gender relations (Gavey, 1989). I will return to the notion of subjectivity in a more attentive manner in Chapter Five.

Closely tied to the problem of subject and essentialism, is the problem of dualism. It has long been argued within the feminist movement that in Enlightenment-founded binaries such as rational/irrational and subject/object, woman is always associated with the later word. Addressing the oppressive patriarchal hierarchy these binaries have created has been a foundational element of the feminist critique. Although, as Hekman (1990) points out, many modern feminists do not necessarily want those dualisms dissipated but rather, reversed. The prospect of reconceptualising the subject as gender neutral has been alluring for feminists. However, the very philosophical structure of the subject is, as Derrida writes, "caught in the logic of phallogocentrism" (1987, p. 193). Even in feminist efforts to produce a gender-neutral

subject, the dualism of subject/object is reinstated. The masculine is once again privileged as man is seen as the natural in gender neutrality. Instead the entire epistemological system must be deconstructed. The same is true of gender reversal in binaries. Postmodern feminists believe that reversal will ultimately fail because it does not “challenge the dichotomies on which that position [unequal binaries] rests” (Hekman, 1990, p. 5).

Hartsock (1993) believes that postmodernism has failed to develop alternatives to Enlightenment difficulties. Instead, she feels, postmodern epistemology has merely replaced “an omnipotent god” with an “omnipotent critic” (p. 46). She concludes that the future epistemological direction for feminists must be to listen to “situated knowledges of the oppressed” (p. 52). She calls for a “need to engage in the historical, political, and theoretical process of constituting ourselves as subjects as well as objects of history, subjects who inhabit multiple, superimposed, and imposed realities” (p. 53).

Hartsock’s argument may have benefited from an explanation of how this proposed understanding differs greatly from a genealogical approach. Hartsock presents her ideas as consistent with feminist standpoint theory and in opposition to postmodern conceptualisations. However, she adopts Foucault’s term, “subjugated knowledges” (1972; 1976; 1980) to explain her position. Further, rather than dispute Hartsock’s process of forming counter-discourses, Foucault would view it as a struggle to constitute subjectivity. By issuing a call to recognize women as academic citizens, Hartsock is resisting the discursive effects of power/knowledge placed upon the bodies of women.

It is my position that a coherent attempt at poststructural feminism is a compelling next step for feminism both theoretically and politically. Over forty years after the instigation of the second wave of (white) women’s liberation, we must move past heavily criticized political

strategies of essential ‘sisterhood’ however indebted we may be to them. DeKoven (2004) explains a poststructural approach to feminism as

the valorization of difference, of limitless, multidirectional flow, of the local-particular, of fragmentation, and of fluid, non-self-present but historically marked and embodied subjectivities themselves, rather than the coherence of master narratives (p.252).

This description offers a vast playground, as opposed to a stringent doctrine, for revitalizing movement in a rapidly moving, technological Third Wave.

### ***Theoretical Concepts***

#### *Discourse*

Foucault is most commonly associated with developing the concept of discourse that is applied in social sciences. As Hook (2001) notes, it is almost unheard of to set out on a discourse analysis without acknowledging and referencing Foucault’s influence. At the risk of cliché, I will follow suit.

Foucault defined discourse as communicational practices (text, spoken, or otherwise communicated) “that systematically form the objects [and subjects] of which they speak” (1972, p. 49). Since this affirmation, many academics have adopted this concept, yet they have done so in diverse ways. As a result, as if twisting in on itself, discourse has become a discourse unto itself. Institutionalised within academia, discourse has been ascribed a common-sensical quality. Interestingly enough, it is almost as if discourse has become a universal truth itself - a grand narrative. It would appear as if Foucault’s philosophical theme of universal mediation (1972) could be applied to *discourse* as a concept. It is as if, magically, the concept of discourse has unfolded to all semi-radical academics in the humanistic disciplines by virtue of its truth.

Based on this shared acceptance of discourse as a relevant idea, examination or critique of its application seems unnecessary if not unwarranted. Hook (2001) acknowledges this sentiment by stating, “the application of Foucault's ‘discourse’ has been largely erroneous” (p. 521). He argues that the majority of discourse analysts overlook the political analytical components and applications of discourse. According to Hook, prominent scholars practicing discourse analysis in the discipline of psychology such as Parker, Wetherell, Burman, Priestley and Potter, treat discourse as a predominantly textual concept. For example, Parker (1985) writes:

I will speak, following Foucault, of ‘discourse’ rather than texts. I see ‘texts’ as delimited areas... of the many wider-ranging discourses in a culture, which constitute an object of interest (p. 56).

Parker’s explanation of discourse is a sort of extension of the textual. While he goes on to describe the relationship between discourse, power, knowledge and subjectivity, he fails to account for the material conditions necessary for the establishment, acceptance and reproduction of a given discourse. Similarly, Burman (1991) acknowledges the diverse approaches to discourse but claims that the differing philosophical frameworks share “a common attention to the significance and structuring effects of language” (p. 326). Again, this confines discourse, if not within the domain of the textual, then certainly the linguistic. Such a confinement treats discourse as an *effect* rather than an *instrument* of power. I argue that it is both.

Missing in these definitions of discourse are the material conditions necessary for the production and circulation of discourse as well as the material repercussions of discursive effects on the embodied subject. Materiality refers to the material conditions that govern knowledge and truth claims, the sites at which truth claims take place and are accepted; the structures that

either generate discourse as knowledge and cement it as knowledge/power, or censor and limit it. Hook (2001) asserts that it is the lack of regard for materiality that depoliticizes discourse analysis methods. Writing an apolitical thesis on the exploitation of children is among my greatest fears. This is another area where poststructural feminism can offer me guidance.

### *Deconstruction*

Derrida is widely credited with building upon Heidegger's concept of *destruction* to form the term deconstruction as it is used in poststructural theory. Derrida himself has avoided attempts to formulate a cohesive definition of deconstruction as a theoretical concept. In 1983 he playfully wrote,

The difficulty of defining and therefore also of translating the word "deconstruction" stems from the fact that all the predicates, all the defining concepts, all the lexical significations, and even the syntactic articulations, which seem at one moment to lend themselves to this definition or to that translation, are also deconstructed or deconstructible (1985, p. 4).

Derrida also maintained that deconstruction is not and cannot be developed into a method for inquiry. He wrote, "deconstruction could not be reduced to some methodological instrumentality or to a set of rules and transposable procedures" (p. 3). This is due to his conceptualisation of deconstruction as an individual event bound in context and involved in a state of constant self-destruction (or deconstruction).

The goal of deconstruction is not to uncover the subjective meaning or message of the author. Instead, the deconstructionist creates a new literary work through interpreting (and misinterpreting) the text (here text refers to both written and audio-visual materials). In this way, deconstruction places the importance on the reader as opposed to the author.

Derrida argued that the author/speaker is never fully present at the time of writing/speech; that it is impossible to determine all the informing thoughts and sources involved in the production of a text. All texts are intertwined with others and thus, are never pure or transparent. This idea contradicts the treatment of texts as rational, linear, and direct mediums. Counter to Enlightenment notions of language as reflecting thought, Derrida argues that language does not and cannot simply mirror the speaker/writer's internal thoughts and emotions.

The commercial sexual exploitation of children, as a topic, has a great many well-developed discourses operating around and within it. As such, it is important to realize that all text relating to sexual exploitation of children is inextricable from other texts that strengthen and complicate the discourses at play.

#### *Strands of discourse analysis*

Although there are various strands of discourse analyses, I will focus only on the approaches I believe are most applicable to my research. The first is a Foucauldian discourse analysis, which sees discourse as a social practice constitutive of reality as well as of subjectivity. In a Foucauldian analysis “the accent is as much on the constructive *whats* that discourse constitutes as it is on the *hows* of discursive technology” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2005, p. 490, emphasis in original). This project of exploring how subjectivities are constructed through discourse is of particular interest to me as one of my goals is to deconstruct the category of ‘pedophile monster’.

Identified as another variant of discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis (CDA) combines linguistics with critical social science. Fairclough (1992; 1993; 1995) is largely credited with developing this approach, which uses primarily mainstream discourses (text and talk) to illustrate social inequities. Lazar (2005) explains, “CDA is known for its overtly

political stance and is concerned with all forms of social inequality and injustice” (p. 2). She continues on to attempt to establish a separate stream of critical discourse analysis with an explicit gendered focus. Feminist critical discourse analysis, she argues, is necessary “to theorize and analyze the particularly insidious and oppressive nature of gender as an omnirelevant category in most social practices” (p. 3). Lazar states that the goal of feminist critical discourse analysis is to critique discourses that “privilege men as a social group and disadvantage, exclude and disempower women as a social group” (p.5). As is evidenced by this quote, critical discourse analysis as a structural approach, maintains the binaries of powerful/powerless in its understanding of oppression. In so doing, the approach essentialises the subjectivity of women and men into set categories.

Further, feminist critical discourse analysis strives to parallel men’s dominant position by searching for academic acceptance through establishing quantitative measures of rigour and validity. This contradiction between a non-essentialist poststructural discourse analysis and a critical structural methodology is irreconcilable within the context of my research. As critical discourse analysis operates from a structural framework, it regards power as a finite commodity to be possessed by some at the cost of others, which is also inconsistent with a poststructural worldview.

Another reason critical discourse analysis is inconsistent with my epistemological position is that it aspires to be recognized by positivist academic traditionalists as a valid form of social science research. To achieve this end, Fairclough (1992) argues, requires that discursive analysts strengthen the approach through formalized structure. The call for discourse analysis to align itself methodologically with positivist social science research by adopting an empirical structural system is inconsistent with my theoretical values. I accept the challenges of a double-

bind that positions me as a woman researcher calling men to responsibility for the sexual exploitation of children while using a delegitimised epistemological and methodological approach. I cannot even pretend to play by the rules of an old boy's club, nor do I wish to.

### ***The Online Frontier***

A postmodern theoretical position offers an interesting perspective for research conducted within an online setting. Much research on this topic is organized as a comparison between online and offline or on-ground (Maczewski, 1999) practices (see, for example, Lawson, 2004; Yurchisin et al., 2005; Waskul, 2003). In an effort to adopt a poststructural theoretical framework I am inclined to reject the dualist structure of this discussion. Over the last decade the Internet has rapidly become ingrained in the daily life of many (if not most) people living in developed countries. Although access to the Internet is an economic privilege, even basic public education now requires online components. Considering the tremendous role the World Wide Web currently plays in communication, business, recreation and education, this online/offline divide is artificial. It is becoming increasingly impossible to separate online and offline worlds, as Western cultural functionality requires the enmeshment of person and computer. Further, as discussed previously, dichotomous reasoning privileges the first term in a binary through its relation to the latter term. So too, the offline/online binary in the social sciences privileges the first dialectic by viewing it as closer to the 'true', 'honest' or 'actual' self than the online 'false', 'different' or 'hidden' self. In fact, as Lawson (2004) writes, "there is considerable evidence that within a research setting, people also disclose more about themselves online... and much of that disclosure is more candid" (p.25).

### *Epistemological Fit*

Poststructural feminism is the most consistent epistemological choice for conducting my research as I am committed to disrupting and displacing masculine privilege. In particular, I am interested in deconstructing discursive practices that allow men the power to consume children sexually as part of an oppressive capitalist societal structure. As Black and Coward (1981) write,

Our aim is not to validate the new meanings of women but to confront men with their maleness. This is not just about masculine behaviour, but also about discursive practices. It is about making men take responsibility for being men (p. 85).

Gavey (1989) presents discourse analysis as one methodology befitting a poststructural theoretical framework. Indeed, identifying discursive practices that serve to uphold current situations set in gendered power relations may crystallize abstract concepts such as operations of power and constructions of subjectivity.

For example, by focusing on judgements in Canadian sexual assault trials, Coates et al. (1994) analysed how the language used drew upon established discourses in operation. They found that the language used in the trials examined "springs from - but also contributes to - establishing a false dichotomy between stereotypical stranger rape and consensual sexual contact" (p. 189). Their study exposed the ways in which the language used to construct events in such trials upholds an oppressive patriarchal power differential within the Canadian justice system.

### *Discourse Analysis*

Wood and Kroger (2000) write, "discourse analysis differs metatheoretically from other forms of qualitative analysis in its view of experience as fundamentally constituted in discourse"

(p. 28). Consistent with a poststructural epistemology, discourse analysts believe that speech and writing continuously create the social world and its action (Fairclough, 1992; Howarth, 2000).

Another major area of diversion from other methodologies is discourse analysts' resistance to categories. Rather than classifying data, "a discourse analyst would also attempt to take [each unit] apart to see how it is structured and organized" (Wood & Kroger, 2000, p. 28). In fact, discourse analysis questions categorisation as it restricts the variability of participants. The aim of discourse analysis is not the generalisation of a given theory or phenomenon but to expose relationships and operations of power through the discourses that constitute a given text. To paraphrase Wood and Kroger, instead of creating or applying systems of categorisation, a researcher using discourse analysis would identify how participants construct and use categories in conversation. According to Parker (2004) "discourse analysis *deliberately* systematises different ways of talking so we can understand them better" (p. 252, italics in original).

Also congruent with poststructuralism, discourse analysis subscribes to the notion of multiple truths (Parker, 1999; Howarth, 2000). As meaning is always subjective and incomplete, the methodology holds that a single correct answer cannot be extrapolated from data. Every interpretation may be a misinterpretation for someone occupying different subject positions.

### *Interpretative Politics*

Burman (1991) argues that discourse analysis is not in and of itself political. Instead she places the political relevance of the methodology with its particular application. A major problem in Burman's critique is her understanding of discourse analysis. By her description discourse analysis "is used to comment on social processes which participate in the maintenance of structures of oppression... and to explore nuances and effects of such ideologically loaded and

multiply determined terms” (p. 329). In Burman’s defence, the examples she identifies are involved in such exercises. For example, Wetherell and Potter (1992) employ discourse analysis to identify the effects and functions of racist discourses. In their study, “A Feminist Discourse Analysis of Sex ‘Work’”, Weatherall and Priestley (2001) conclude, “One of the aims of this study was to examine whether the discourses used to account for sex work supported or contested the gendered status quo” (p. 337). As Hook notes, Weatherall and Priestley focus on the actions of discourse, “they do not properly detail the underlying forms/conditions/criteria of reasonable knowledge on the basis of which truthful statements can be made” (2001, p. 525). I would add that Wetherell and Potter do not fully realize the constitutive power of discourse to create oppressive structures or ideologies. They analyse the discourses that sustain or challenge “dominant understandings” (2001, p. 338) rather than trace and expose the discursive rules that *produce* these understandings. Consequently, their study does not disrupt any discourse because it does not attack it at the power/knowledge nexus. By contrast, Weedon (1987) offers a deeper basis for analysis:

Poststructuralist feminist analysis is involved in the discursive battle for the meaning of texts...It is a battle in which the legitimation of particular readings and the exclusion of others represent quite specific patriarchal, class and race interests, helping to constitute our common-sense assumptions as reading and speaking subjects (p. 163).

Here Weedon is explicitly political in her method as she recognizes the constitutive power of discourse to restrict not only our notions of available possible choices, but material conditions as well. Further, Weedon presents analysis as a form of resistance rather than a methodology like any other. One criticism remains however; Foucault warned in *The Order of Discourse*

(1981) that discourse analysis should be about “relations of power, not relations of meaning” (p. 114). Weedon could move her approach in this direction by paying significant attention to the question of authorship: who is allowed to speak by which exercises of power? Hence, this is a question I will be asking when analysing my collected data.

Understanding how established discursive regulations limit our perceived range of possibilities or construction of reality is a crucial element of a discourse analysis. The dominant discourse operates by restricting our notion of what is possible or appropriate (O’Brien, 1999; Foote & Frank, 1999), therefore, any response or intervention to a social issue takes place within the confines of such constructions. In *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), Foucault forges a theoretical connection between discursive formations and rules. He writes that this relationship

implies that one can define the general set of rules that govern the status of these statements, the way in which they are institutionalized, received, used, re-used, the mode according to which they become objects of appropriation, instruments for desire or interest, elements for a strategy (p. 129).

Exploring these rules and what is made impossible or left unnamed as a result of such discursive regulation is as important for analyzing discourse as examining the statements actually made within the text or utterance. As Hook (2001) claims, focusing on what can be found within the text is insufficient as other readings are always possible. Instead analysts must move beyond textual readings to substantiate the interpretation of power operations signified within the text with material references.

### *Walking the Walk*

With regards to my research, using a poststructural feminist approach entails exposing and deconstructing discourses rooted in patriarchy that sustain the irresponsibility and protection of men in the commercial sexual abuse of children. More than this, it requires that I move outside the text, paying attention to what is not and what cannot be said. It is important to understand the mechanisms of discourse because as Foucault (1978) writes, “Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it” (p.101). Through understanding the functions and strategies of dominant discourses, we may resist their claims to truth and create possibilities for alternative truths to be known. This is particularly important in the context of child sexual exploitation as dominant discourses in operation have most often centred upon and blamed children for injustices against them.

As the political application of this research is to contribute to the reduction of the commercial sexual exploitation of children, I focused particularly on the regulatory processes that delimit our range of possibilities in approaching and attacking sexual exploitation of children. Or to use a Foucauldian lexicon, I explored the order of discourse (1981): the “conceptual terrain in which knowledge is formed and produced” (Hook, 2001, p. 522). This terrain is governed by a set of rules and practices that are established as a part of the discourses surrounding child sexual exploitation (such as criminology and psychiatry). Consequently, these discursive regulations are solidified as a part of the knowledge on child sexual exploitation and on 'cyber predators' or 'pedophile monsters' as discursive effects.

Understanding the power processes by which these discursive limits to truth were/are established allows for different possibilities for intervention beyond pathology. It is my

contention throughout this thesis that these possibilities for constructing the problem of child sexual exploitation implicate us, citizens of Western culture, in the sexualisation of children. It is my hope that becoming aware of our occupation of this uncomfortable position will move us beyond consumption and into action.

### ***Research Focus and Design***

My research initiative has two main goals:

1. *To uncover the processes by which the category of pedophile monster has been created and is sustained.* Using a Foucauldian genealogical approach to the literature, I explore the cultural creation of the pedophile monster through discourses and the purposes served by this construct. The second analytical task, according to Foucault in *The Order of Discourse* (1981), is that of a critical analysis. A critical analysis interrogates the institutional role of discursive regulation such as exclusion (Young, 1981). Realizing the exercises of power that prohibit certain discourses to be spoken whilst producing and reproducing others, reveals “not a plenitude of meaning, but a scarcity” (Young, 1981, p. 49). Thus, the way in which it is acceptable to speak of ‘young prostitutes’ as a social problem or mentally ill ‘pedophiles’ as a pathological condition is brought into the light. In recognizing which discourses are allowed, legitimised, and valorised, I can begin to see which discourses are excluded and by which processes.
2. *To witness, through the words of would-be monsters, their own subjectifying practices and the strategies employed to navigate the rules of the pedophile monster discourse.* It is my hope that comparing the discursive construct of ‘pedophile monster’ to online forum patrons’ own modes of subjectification may breathe fresh insight into efforts to eradicate the commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth. This prospect is discussed further when I turn my attention to

methods for analysis. This goal also serves to shift research focus to the perpetrators of this form of sexual abuse: the demand side of commercial sexual exploitation of children.

### *Research design*

The data for my research consists of two sets. I wanted to examine how the discourses and subjectivities of men who use online means of child sexual exploitation contrast or complement the category of pedophile monster created in the literature and media. It was, therefore, necessary to establish a frame of reference by doing a deconstructive reading of some publications directed at a mainstream audience (the ‘with us’ side). To obtain a variation in motivations and perspectives in popular culture, I selected an article from a conventional, mainstream magazine and an episode of a television crime-drama series.

The second set of data was text collected from postings in online forums and bulletin board systems for men to share information and reviews regarding all aspects of commercial sex. Although many of the forums had a strict ‘zero tolerance’ policy for any discussion of commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth, violations of this policy abounded.

To obtain textual data, I ‘lurked’ in these web forums reading posts and watching conversations take place between men. According to Whitty (2004), “a lurker is a participant in a chat room or a subscriber to a discussion group, listserv or mailing list who passively observes” (p. 209). Online lurking is an extremely contentious subject in the field on online social science research. Where Whitty compares lurking to “peering in online bedroom windows” (2004, p. 209), Herring (1996) likens it to covert tape-recording which is considered ethically acceptable in public settings. For his part, Denzin (1999) wished for the ‘cybertalk’ he analysed to remain uninterrupted, as he was interested in understanding how utterances intersected with one another in an online newsgroup. In his analysis “questions of meaning are referred back to the actual

course of interaction, where it can be shown how a given utterance is acted on and hence given meaning” (p. 110). As such, Denzin treated the text as public property, writing, “I never identified myself to the group, nor did I obtain permission to quote from postings” (p. 123). Insofar as Berry (2004) is concerned, this is considered “‘harvesting’ (i.e. appropriating people’s online communication for purposes other than that intended by the group), such behaviour is generally frowned upon” (p. 327). The verdict on lurking as an ethical method in online research depends upon one’s argument as to whether the cyberspace occupied is considered as public or private. The academic jury is still out on this topic, as is taken up in my subsequent section on ethics.

My technique for locating online forums to obtain textual data from was as follows: I Googled online forums and chat sites, then used the internal search engines to find relevant discussions; I followed links posted on various forums and visited relevant forums suggested on websites offering free adult content (pornography); I also clicked on links posted on these adult websites. At no time did I download or click on links that I suspected contained a pornographic image. Jenkins (2001) conducted research on websites and forums pertaining to images of child sexual abuse (‘child pornography’). His ethical stance prohibited him from publishing information that would allow for the identification of the sites he studied. Jenkins accordingly omitted all uniform resource locators (URLs) and website titles from his book to ensure the information did not get misappropriated. He writes:

supplying the URL of just one authentic site would potentially create a network effect that would bring the observer into the whole subculture. It would be wrong to publish material that could assist a person seeking such images or that could

lead a person to discover within himself an interest in this kind of sexual activity  
(p. 23).

I agree with Jenkins's position and as a result, the search terms, sites and forums I used are not present within my thesis.

As with any methodological model, discourse analysis has its own set of concepts and accompanying terminology. This section highlights the components of discourse analysis that hold the most significance for my study.

### *Intertext*

Although I established the incompatibility of a structured critical discourse analysis previously, I do appreciate the manner in which Fairclough (1992; 1995) takes up Kristeva's (1986b) interpretation of intertextuality. Briefly stated, Fairclough (1992) views intertextual analysis as a subset of textual analysis (along with linguistic analysis). Intertextual analysis points to the importance of texts on society and history by drawing attention to the resources made available to the producers of discourse. In this way, an intertextual analysis explores the reasons why producers of text select particular discursive strategies from "repertoires of genres and discourses available within orders of discourse" (Fairclough, 1992: 213). Fairclough explains that the intertext, as a process of text production and interpretation forms a bridge between the analysis of *context* in which a discourse is socially and historically situated, and the analysis of the *text* itself. He concludes that incorporating an intertextual analysis as a component of discourse analysis results in a better developed and more firmly grounded interpretation of the text. An intertextual analysis lent itself to my research in helping me to understand what the particular text at hand drew upon to position itself as valid.

### *Coherence*

While intertext links context and text, coherence by contrast links text to the subjectivity of the reader. Coherence refers to the capacity of the reader/listener to understand a text. According to Gough and Talbot (1996) the act of constructing coherence requires “the constitution of subjectivity” (p.214). In other words, who does one need to be in order to process and understand the cues presented within a certain text? Thus, Gough and Talbot maintain that attending to processes of coherence is crucial in understanding how discourse constructs identity.

Coherence takes place on both surface and underlying levels. The surface level encompasses elements such as grammar and the actual words used explicitly in a text. Underlying elements are those that require the reader/listener to draw on resources found outside the individual text. Gough and Talbot (1996) refer to these resources as ‘world knowledge’. However, the concept is more commonly known as “extra-discursive” (Foucault, 1981). To fully comprehend the message behind articles such as Morgan’s “R U in Yr PJs?” (*Reader’s Digest*, 2006), I require the understanding that sex with children is both morally and legally wrong. Beyond this, I must comply with the idea that those who violate these mores are more than criminals; they are monsters. As I have learned, failing to comply with this world-knowledge puts me at risk of being labelled deviant myself. Foucault wrote in *The Order of Discourse* (1981), that processes of prohibition exclude the speaking subject. Taboo utterances may result in the speaking subject being regulated to the domain of the madman in the discursive divide between madness and reason. In questioning the pedophile monster status of men who sexually exploit children, I have been misunderstood as a sympathiser with the pedophile rights movement. By asserting that it is typical men, rather than identifiable beasts who are involved in sexually exploiting children and youth, I have been told by men in classrooms and conversations

that I am wrong in the binary of true/false thereby excluded in “the will to truth” (Foucault, 1981, p. 55) and instead regulated to the margins of rationality under the labels ‘hysterical feminist’ or ‘man-hater’. This is often reinforced by men’s affirmation that pedophiles are perverts. Pairing this with violent threats of bodily harm to such perverts may further publicize moral repugnance and thereby maintaining men’s innocence.

The construction of coherence is a necessity on this taboo topic. In “the crusade against Internet pedophiles” (Morgan, 2006 p. 3), the construction of coherence ensures one’s place on the right side of a ‘with us or against us’ mentality. In attending to the texts elicited from men’s online chat rooms, I paid close attention to the places that require coherence and what this entails of/for my own subjectivity as the reader. Some questions I asked myself were:

- What is the oppositional discourse (Gough & Talbot, 1996) to the discourse being presented?
- What political and historical context is necessary for this discourse to be voiced and valorised as ‘true’?

### ***What I Am Lurking For***

#### *Mainstream media*

Creating a deconstructive reading “involves the attempt to take apart and expose the underlying meanings, biases, and preconceptions that structure the way a text conceptualizes its relation to what it describes” (Denzin, 2004, p. 234). The first step towards this attempt is to decentre the author of the text. I decentred the journalist who wrote the article, the character in the crime-drama who speaks a discourse, or even the writer of the episode. By decentring the writing/speaking subject, I can attend to the discourse as an event rather than an opinion of an author. As Hook (2001) concisely delineates, “instead of asking about what is revealed by

authors in their texts, Foucault suggests we ask instead about *what subject-positions are made possible within such texts* (p. 527, italics in original). In providing a disruptive reading (and viewing) of the text, I paid close attention to the use of binaries in the creation of characters. This helped me to understand where the various characters were meant to be situated in the crusade against pedophile monsters.

Fairclough (1996) speaks to what he calls the ‘technologization of discourse’. Derived from Foucault’s notion of bio-power, technologization refers to the use of discourse as a force of social control that “seeks to render programmes operable, the networks that connect the aspirations of authorities with the activities of individuals and groups” (p.72). Mainstream media is a powerful site for the circulation of discourses. From nineteenth-century England’s Lord Beaverbrook, to Rupert Murdoch and Conrad Black, and the recently deceased Edward “Ted” Rogers, a few socially and politically elite men have traditionally controlled popular media. This allows for ‘information’ to be presented to the public in accordance to the mandate of the powerful. Thus, media is a powerful agent for enrolling individuals as they make up ‘the public’ into a particular. The crusade against online pedophile monsters is one such program.

van Dijk (1996) approaches the mass media as a “pattern of access” (p. 86). To analyse it as such, he suggests locating what he calls the ‘dimensions of access’. These include the setting in which a discursive event takes place. For my analysis, this requires historically, politically, and culturally situating the texts under examination. Who is controlling or exercising power through the presentation of a certain discourse? What are the material privileges that make it possible for certain individuals to control the text under investigation? Also of interest to me, is understanding the intended audience of the texts, or as van Dijk suggests, “audience control” (p.88). This taps into the construction of coherence once again as I ask:

- what extra-discursive information does the audience need to draw upon for this text to make sense and have the impact the discourse desires?
- What implications does this have on the audience's subjectivities?
- What assumptions are made about the audience?

Finally, I wanted to deconstruct the characters created by the texts (whether fictitious or real):

- What was the intended response to these characters?
- What did I have to draw upon to arrive at my conclusions regarding the subjectivities of these characters?
- How were these subjectivities gendered?
- What implications did the character's gender have to their ability to speak the discourse in operation with validity and authority?

### *Online forums*

My method of analysis for this data is based upon my reading of Foucault's work in *The Order of Discourse* (1981). After providing a genealogical analysis of the 'pedophile monster' as a discursive effect, I have realized the negative impact that the restriction of discursive choices has on our cultural ability to construct the dimensions of child exploitation. Utterances pertaining to or constructing child sexual exploitation or men who sexual abuse children are effectively relegated to the domains of science and law, making it "virtually impossible to think outside of them" (Young, 1981, p. 48). As I delineated, this has seriously impacted efforts to attack the sexualisation of children and thus, sexual exploitation and the possibilities for re-constructing the problem as a cultural issue have been excluded and delimited. What I am speaking to here is Foucault's "principle of reversal" (1981, p. 67) whereby it is exposed that what was previously

conceived as a multitude of discursive choices, is in actuality a scarcity of disciplined discourses; “a system of rarefaction” (p.67).

The second methodological principle, that of “discontinuity” (p.67), insists that the analyst treat discourse not as a continuous system but rather, a series of independent events throughout history. So that in realising that there are very few discourses currently in operation about men who sexually exploit children, I am not coming to the conclusion that there is “a great unsaid” (Foucault, 1981, p. 67) beneath, just waiting to be spoken. That is, I am not depending on the deconstruction of dominant discourses to reveal the key to ending child sexual exploitation forever. Instead, I am stressing that the ways in which we construct the subjectivities of men who use online means to discuss commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth are just historically and culturally specific events. This means that there is a possibility of other discursive events down the road.

The practical way in which I approached this in my analysis was to look into the text for contradictions or breaks in the employment of a discourse as these provide opportunities for new ways of speaking/writing. Hyden and McCarthy (1994) use a creative strategy for exhausting contradictions or lapses in the discourse. When confronted with such an opportunity in their interviews with men who were violent towards women and girls, the researchers strived towards incoherence thus “placing the account at its extremes and within a larger and more extreme context, new meaning was brought into the action” (p. 557). By pushing contradictions found in the text to their extremes, I can begin to trace where the particular discourse in use ruptures in constructing an idea.

The “principle of exteriority” (Foucault, 1981, p. 67) pertains to the extra-discursive, or the knowledge a reader or listener must draw upon from outside of the information offered in the

text in order to construct coherence. While analyzing the text collected in online forums I looked for places that required extra-discursive referencing. Adams, Towns and Gavey (1995) highlight the use of rhetoric as a signifier that the audience is required to look outside the text. One example of a rhetorical device I looked for in my analysis was the use of metaphor. Adams, Towns and Gavey write, “metaphor exploits imaginative connections which are shared within a culture and which link the familiar with the unfamiliar” (1995, p. 395).

Another rhetorical device I looked for in the text is the use of disclaimers. Disclaimers are communicational tactics that serve to move responsibility away from the speaker/writer regardless of his admission of involvement or guilt (Hewitt & Stokes, 1975; Hyden & McCarthy, 1994; Coates et al., 1994). While attending to texts collected online I was cognisant of the use of disclaiming language to minimise the men’s influence on his behaviours or the repercussions of his actions such as the replacement of pronouns such as “I” with “we”.

Finally, Foucault’s “principle of specificity” (1981, p. 67) requires that I not over-generalise my analysis of one discursive event to others. Also, that I not place emphasis on the textual at the cost of materiality. To ensure that I understood language and discourse as a constitutive force (especially as it pertains to subjectivity), yet I did not forget to cast my gaze to the material resources that control the circulation and acceptance of a particular discourse, I asked myself the following question:

- Has the writer somehow associated himself with truth through discourses wielding material power such as those tied to law, science, or history?

### *Ethics*

The use of online methods to gain deeper understanding of the discourses surrounding and supporting men in the commercial sexual exploitation of children exacerbates ethical

uncertainties. Not only am I approaching a morally ‘touchy’ subject with its own ethical considerations, I am approaching it virtually, free from physical boundaries and pre-established guidelines for ethical research practices. Regardless of this, I see this formula for inquiry as absolutely crucial because it uses the very method of information collection and sharing that the participants themselves use whilst partaking in the social phenomenon under study.

In reviewing an ever-expanding body of literature pertaining to online research, the following ethical dilemmas are approached repeatedly: options for online research methods; negotiation of the boundaries between public and private in cyberspace; ownership of words; and obtaining informed consent.

#### *Legal harm versus duty to report*

A substantive ethical issue in my research is rooted in the delegation of my topic of interest as a demoralised criminal offence. While I align myself politically with survivors of child and youth sexual exploitation, I also had an ethical obligation to protect the study’s participants from harm. This includes risk of arrest or search (Neuman & Kreuger, 2005). The ethical principle of protecting participants from harm has limitations in which case the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* advises that researchers balance harms with benefits. In this case, I would have to assume the position of weighing the potential harm to child victims of abuse against the value of protecting participants from legal investigation. This involves the question of whether to abandon the study in order to investigate one man, or to continue with research, publish widely, and advocate for the eradication of commercial sexual exploitation of children.

Lowman and Palys (2000) suggest designing criminally contentious research “in anticipation of a Wigmore Defence” (p.11). The Wigmore test is a set of established criteria that

privileges communication within a relationship bound by an understanding of confidentiality against a legal subpoena. One criterion of interest is that an “element of confidentiality must be essential to the full and satisfactory maintenance of the relationship between parties” (p.11). Lowman and Palys (2005) highlight sensitive topic material as a justifiable reason for necessity of complete confidentiality. They add the importance of confidentiality to the study should also be taken into account when invoking a Wigmore Defence. My research meets the above-mentioned criteria, as it is highly doubtful that men would choose to participate if anonymity or at least confidentiality were not guaranteed.

For explicit clarification on legalities, I consulted British Columbia’s legislation. *The Child, Family, and Community Service Act* (revised 2002) frames the ‘duty to report’ child abuse under Section 13 and 14. The Ministry of Child and Family Development holds under section 14(1): “a person who has reason to believe that a child needs protection under section 13 must promptly report the matter to a director or a person designated by a director” ([http://www.qp.gov.bc.ca/statreg/stat/C/96046\\_01.htm#section14](http://www.qp.gov.bc.ca/statreg/stat/C/96046_01.htm#section14)). According to section 13, protection is needed

- (b) if the child has been, or is likely to be, sexually abused or exploited by the child's parent [or];
  - (c) if the child has been, or is likely to be, physically harmed, sexually abused or sexually exploited by another person and if the child's parent is unwilling or unable to protect the child
- ([http://www.qp.gov.bc.ca/statreg/stat/C/96046\\_01.htm#section13](http://www.qp.gov.bc.ca/statreg/stat/C/96046_01.htm#section13)).

But what of information gathered under approval and privilege of the Tri-Policy Council? Who am I ethically bound to protect, the men that I am researching or the child? The Ministry of Child and Family Development maintains that

subsection [14] (1) applies even if the information on which the belief is based

(a) is privileged, except as a result of a solicitor-client relationship, or

(b) is confidential and its disclosure is prohibited under another Act

([http://www.qp.gov.bc.ca/statreg/stat/C/96046\\_01.htm#section14](http://www.qp.gov.bc.ca/statreg/stat/C/96046_01.htm#section14)).

Should I follow the Tri-Council's advice to weigh the costs and benefits of reporting illegal activity, the Child, Family, and Community Service Act is strict that "(3) A person who contravenes subsection (1) commits an offence"

([http://www.qp.gov.bc.ca/statreg/stat/C/96046\\_01.htm#section14](http://www.qp.gov.bc.ca/statreg/stat/C/96046_01.htm#section14)).

To balance my ethical obligations I followed the mantra 'less is more'. I ensured that I had no knowledge of any specific and identifiable individual (victim or perpetrator) nor did I have knowledge of any specific or identifiable incident. If I suspected that online conversation might lead to such specificity I immediately terminated my online status and exited the forum prior to obtaining enough information to require a report.

### *Online methods*

At the inception of this thesis idea, I opted to conduct online interviews with men I contacted in online forums devoted to sexualizing children, using computer-mediated-communication. However, as I began to seriously consider the implications of such research my method of data collection shifted. The glaring benefit to conducting interviews with men is my assurance of eliciting data to meet the needs of my research. By using semi-structured interviews, as I had previously decided upon, I could steer conversation in the direction needed

to gain insight into the subjectivities of men who meet online to share information regarding sexual child exploitation. However, I began to ponder how ‘raw’ this material would actually be. In other words, would I be encouraging the use of a particular discourse rather than paying witness to a discourse already in operation and its effects?

A second consideration in the use of computer-mediated-communication (CMC) is its minimal relay time. Bulletin board systems (BBS) often allow for edits prior to posting, do not need to be instant replies (as in a conversation), and are commonly categorized as threads under subject headings. By contrast, CMC software such as MSN Messenger are close to instantaneous and give the illusion of private conversation. This could have serious ethical repercussions if, for example, a participant gave identifying features such as name, place of employment, or other affiliations. The issue would be compounded if specificities were shared holding me accountable to report the need for child protection or legal investigation.

While considering my decision, I began to visualize myself, physically alone, spending hours online, chatting to men who were actively engaging in child exploitation or at least musing over the prospect of it. My final decision to ‘lurk’ online came as a result of a dream (see journal entry #3), which followed a prolonged period of time spent in deep reflection over the repercussions of possible data collection methods. I was not operating under the false pretence that I would be emotionally detached depending on my approach. Yet I felt a necessary virtual distance was respected observing, rather than partaking in conversation.

Interestingly, my dream fed directly into what I am exploring as inadequate within the context of this thesis; the construction of pedophile monster. Undoubtedly this is indicative of just how deeply penetrating the discursive effect of pedophile monster is.

*Journal Entry #1- My Dream*

*In my dream, I was working in an open-custody facility for sexual offenders (as I once had). There were no cells, no bars. We were to be getting a new intake that day at the house (facility). A co-worker had spoken to me about no one "having the guts" to work with the new intake. Everyone around me quit their jobs. I stayed on. The new intake was notorious Canadian serial killer, Clifford Olsen (though it looked nothing like the real Clifford Olsen). My dream self was completely terrified, and yet I made and ate dinner, watched television and even it seemed, worked the night shift with Clifford Olsen. I ran around the house while he tried to attack me. I didn't quit my job. I am not a quitter. My pride wouldn't let me.*

*Pleading guilty to sexually assaulting and murdering 11 youth in the same month and year of my birth, Clifford Olsen served as a powerful lesson in the early years of my life. My mother used him as a reference for not going with strangers regardless of the promise of candy, puppies or teddy bears.*

I cannot control my dreams and this one had a very particular resonance. Yes, I *want* to create courageous, groundbreaking research, but I *need* to come out the other end of the process healthy.

*Lurking by any other name...*

Bakardjieva and Feenberg (2001) separate online approaches into four classifications.

They are:

- 1) Naturalistic research: the researcher wants to disturb the “natural order” of the research object as little as possible, ideally, not at all.
- 2) Participatory research: the researcher wants subjects to consciously reflect on the research questions and contribute to the research.
- 3) Consensual/“Understanding” research: the researcher’s aim is to reconstruct the subject’s own view of the world.
- 4) Critical research: the researcher puts subjects’ performance to a test/judgment under certain principles (of equity, fairness, ideological distortion, etc.) (p. 237).

Despite the problematic use of language in these definitions, I would locate my research between naturalistic and critical research methods. There appears to be popular agreement amongst researchers that ‘lurking’ does indeed fall under an observational approach to research (Denzin, 1999; Mann & Stewart, 2000; Bakardjieva & Feenberg, 2001; Whitty, 2004; Whiteman, 2007). In her review of the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*, Whiteman (2007) considers the guidelines for this technique, which state, “naturalistic observation that does not allow for the identification of the subjects, and that if not staged, should normally be regarded as of minimal risk” (Tri-Council Policy Statement, n.d., Article 2.3). “In other words”, she adds, “observation in a public place where individuals will not be

identified or recorded in ways that could identify them still requires ethical approval but does not necessarily require consent from each person that is observed in that public place” (p.3). Hence, the ethical question of lurking is largely dependent on the determination of cyberspaces as public or private.

### *Navigating virtual boundaries*

From the viewpoint of social science researchers using online methods, approaching virtual ethical dilemmas such as the need for informed consent, and the determination over ownership of words appear to be contingent upon the context of the cyberspace. The boundary between public and private is blurred on the Internet. While online information is largely publicly accessible and is archived for future reference, the use of pseudonyms and the privacy of the site in which the Internet is accessed (bedroom or office) contribute to the illusion of privacy. Some writers feel that ethical obligation should rely on the *assumption* of privacy - no matter how misinformed this may be (Whitty, 2004; Waskul & Douglass, 1996). Ferri (2000) poses the question: “who is the intended audience of an electronic communication - and does it include you as a researcher?” (p. 46). Others differentiate between private and public spaces online based on specific criteria (Whiteman, 2007; Roberts, Smith & Pollack, 2004; Allen, 1996). For Allen (1996), judgment on private versus public was linked to accessibility. She argued if anyone could access a forum, it should be considered public. Private cyberspaces, by contrast, are those, which require a password or adjacent rooms, which are made public only at the discretion of the creator. Mann and Steward (2000) believe that posted messages on Usenet and other forms of bulletin boards are “public acts, deliberately intended for public consumption” (p. 46). I would tend to agree with this argument.

An exception to this preoccupation with public and private comes from Bakardjieva and Feenberg (2001) who argue that privacy is not actually the ethical sticking point. Instead they contend that alienation should be the main ethical concern because, “while practically everybody is allowed and often welcome to join online communities (which undermines the claim to privacy), most participants would agree that members and visitors are not authorized to use, or ‘harvest,’ or sell the product of the group communication” (p. 233). But as Kitchin asks, “who owns a message on a bulletin board? The system operator? The poster?” (1998, p. 107).

### *Informed consent?*

As I have decided, along with Allen (1996), that material posted in sites that do not require passwords to access is to be considered public, I did not feel the need to obtain informed consent from those participating in a forum where I was lurking. As mentioned previously, this is consistent with the *Tri-Council Policy Statement* concerning naturalistic observation. Bakardjieva and Feenberg (2001) are not ethically appeased with this however. They maintain, “if we had performed this kind of “naturalistic” observation on unsuspecting subjects, we would have been little better than spies” (p. 234). I had therefore considered the option of choosing an ethical ‘middle ground’, whereby I would consult the administrator or host of a web domain or forum prior to lurking to obtain informed consent from him. Whitty (2004) believes this process “is analogous to contacting an organization prior to targeting individuals within that organization” (p. 213). The moderator could then decide whether to make this information public, for example posting a bulletin on the site, or keep it to himself. Herring (1996; 1999) helped me to contextualise writers’ calls for respect (Berry, 2004) and adherence to a “non-alienation principle” (Bakardjieva & Feenberg, 2001) while conducting online research. Herring realizes that “[proposed ethical] guidelines assume that one is working with less powerful

groups, and that one wishes to actively benefit those groups. But what if the researched group is doing harm to others? In such circumstances, the position of the researcher may well be critical rather than supportive” (1996, p.162). This is not an unwarranted assumption on the behalf of ethicists considering the historic trend of social science researchers towards what Fine (1994) has termed, “studying down”. The phenomenon of “studying down”, refers to conducting research with participants who occupy a lower status in the social hierarchy with less opportunities to exercise power. This places marginalised individuals under further scrutiny. As Sprague (2005) writes,

without a parallel concentration of research focusing on the problematic character of elites and the social institutions bolstering their privilege, the focus on what’s wrong with disadvantaged people creates a picture in which those on the downside of hierarchies have, *and thus are*, problems (p. 11, italics in original).

‘Studying up’ as a political commitment means that I feel little responsibility towards the empowerment of the population I am researching. This is not to say I do not consider myself bound by the same code of ethics that protects the participants from harm, which includes their confidentiality (or anonymity in this case). ‘Studying up’ is a strategy towards holding perpetrators of child commercial sexual exploitation accountable for their actions rather than continuing the academic trend of overlooking the demand aspect of child sexual exploitation.

While I would certainly consider the piece of work I am producing as critical with a social justice agenda, it is not intended to benefit the population that I am researching. Herring (1996) illuminates this point by referencing Adams, Towns, and Gavey (1995) in their study of male discourses of dominance and entitlement. Herring continues, “although they indicate that

they listened politely to the subjects, they deemed it necessary, at the end of each interview, to explicitly question attitudes that supported violence against women, lest the interview process itself be seen to encourage further violent behavior” (p. 162). Herring advocates for respecting the right of individuals to online privacy by ensuring confidentiality, “while preserving the academic freedom to criticize” (p. 154). Berry (2004) reaffirms this belief stating, “it seems clear within most linguistic and critical research the balance between the maintenance of privacy and that of critical freedom should be maintained” (p. 328).

The conclusion arrived at by Mann and Stewart (2000) is typical of most online ethicists: “Clearly, the ethical conventions surrounding the use of material from online public sites need to undergo further refinement before they can be considered satisfactory” (p.53). Some researchers contend that the application of pre-existing guidelines, such as the *Tri-Council Policy Statement*, is insufficient to meet the needs and implications of online research. As Berry finds, “ethical research boards should avoid mandating monolithic ethical guidelines in online research, especially unreflexively advocating ethics drawn from human subjects research” (2004, p. 330). The difficulty for Whiteman (2007) arose in her attempt to compare the medium of online sites with the media outlined by the Tri-Council. She concludes, “if assent and consent guidelines are exactly followed, and everyone who participates in a study to the extent that you have some personal information about them has to sign consent or assent forms, then large populations of the Internet will become off limits to research” (p. 8).

### ***Interpreting Rigor***

What constitutes ‘good’ research from an epistemological location where quests for ‘truth’ are dismantled? From a political stance where right and wrong, fact and fiction, are regarded as dichotomous instruments established to secure the male subject as ‘knower’? How

to maintain rigor while employing methods for which no ethical standards or ‘best practices’ have been solidified? Finally, how does one measure validity whilst adhering to a methodology where every reading and interpretation is a possible misreading and misinterpretation?

Richardson addresses the problem of applying conventional quantitative standards to interpretative methodologies in asserting, “we do not triangulate; we crystallize. We realize that there are far more than three sides from which to approach the world” (2000, p.934). Instead of uncovering an objective truth about men who sexually exploit children as a social phenomenon, I am striving to expose the ways in which discursive regulations have restricted the possible ways of speaking about child sexual exploitation and the men who are interested in sexually abusing children. However, my extrapolations must be clear and plausible to myself and to readers of my research. To achieve this, I must ensure that the research process, and especially my analysis, is transparent. Most importantly, there must be congruency between my theoretical basis and my analysis.

In their article on the construction of professionalism within the field of midwifery, Nixon and Power (2007), work towards establishing an alternative framework to measure rigor in a discursive analysis. They outline two camps of thought within discourse analysis. The first, which they call the “replication perspective” (p. 73), holds that reliability and credibility are useful concepts but that they need to be reconceptualised to fit qualitative research (see Fairclough, 1992 as an example). Analysts in the second camp, called the “parallel perspective” (p. 74), believe that rigor as it is conventionally defined, is an insufficient measure for constructivist and/or poststructuralist research. Instead, researchers operating from the parallel perspective need to establish their own measures of historically and culturally specific rigor. It is

under this suggestion that I propose my own measures of validity and rigor to determine whether I have done ‘good research’.

### *1. Reflexivity*

In her 1998 chapter, Michelle Fine suggests that by “*working the hyphen*...researchers probe how we are in relation with the contexts we study and with our informants, understanding that we are all multiple in those relations” (p. 135, italics in original). Much of *working the hyphen* is concerned with including research participants in the co-construction of knowledge. This is a critical task for empowerment-based or participatory action research. However, as I mentioned previously, as a woman researching the texts produced by men who are inflicting harm on others I am ‘studying up’. Rather than sharing knowledge creation then, I exercise reflexivity in questioning my complicity in cultural practices that perpetuate or tolerate the harm done to children. To borrow a line of questioning from Adrienne Chambon, I wonder:

How can we step back from those practices and forms of knowledge that we experience as most natural, that we have been socialized into, and to which we actively contribute as scholars, educators, practitioners, policy makers? (1999, p. 54).

### *2. Creativity*

In deconstructing a textual reading, it is important to me that I have provoked thought and infused creative insight into my approach to researching child sexual exploitation and perpetrators of this form of violence. I endeavored to make my work original and interesting to read. Most importantly, I strove to disrupt the texts that I attended to. A suitable question I ask to ensure these goals have been met is: have I made the familiar strange (Hekman, 1999; Chambon, 1999; Strega, 2005)? That is, have I taken the comfortable story of us, innocent

citizens versus them, pedophile monsters and disrupted it to the point of discomfort, to the point of a collective dis-ease?

### *3. Political Applicability*

Postmodern approaches to discourse analysis have been charged with running the risk of presenting as apolitical (Hook, 2001; Burman, 1991; Parker, 1985). This poses a particular threat when adopting a Foucauldian analysis, which is relatively abstract and complex. It was my intention from the start to contribute to the anti-commercial sexual exploitation of children movement by producing a highly critical piece of research that focused on the demand, rather than the supply aspect of child exploitation. To meet this goal, I plan to give my completed work to *Beyond Borders*, a Canadian-based organisation that provides critical public education and advocates against child sexual exploitation. My hope is that they may use pertinent pieces of my thesis as a contribution in their efforts.

### ***Conclusion***

My research intends to destabilise the dominant discourses in operation in the context of commercial sexual child exploitation through a poststructural feminist and Foucauldian theoretical framework. By deconstructing existing categories of innocent children and public juxtaposed with pedophile monsters, I strove to broaden the discussion on who is implicated in and by sexual child exploitation in developed Western countries. Disrupting the texts presented to us as part of popular culture is one way in which I troubled the lack of discourses available to construct child sexual exploitation and men who perpetrate this form of sexual abuse.

I then looked to textual data collected from men in online forums devoted to commercial sex and containing discussion of sexual exploitation of children and youth. Here I analysed the linguistic strategies employed such as rhetorical devices. In addition to this I looked to the work

of the pedophile monster discourse in enforcing discursive rules. Finally, I traced the men's techniques of negotiating subjectivity within the limits established by the discourse.

By doing online research I contributed to the growing body of work utilizing the Internet as a means for data collection. As I have illustrated, the use of discourse analysis as a methodology is extremely consistent with both my epistemological location as well as the intended site for research. Prior to delving into the contemporary cyberworld, however, I want to look at the historical context of the pedophile monster discourse as the focus of my study.

The following chapter provides a genealogical examination into the construction of the pedophile monster as a discursive effect. By studying the emergences of monster-naming as a 'meticulous ritual of power' (Foucault, 1977) throughout history, I begin to untangle the discursive threads that have created the present monster who is both pathological and immoral.

## Chapter Four Literature Review

### *Genealogy*

My literature review takes the form of a genealogical inquiry. Employing this approach requires piecing together “particular practices and statements” to trace “how they came to be what they are and not other” (Chambon, 1999, p. 55). These ‘conditions of existence’, as Foucault (1972) called them, are crucial in determining the processes by which authority was appropriated to render certain discourses in operation as truths. It also helps us to understand the societal processes by which competing claims to truth are either honoured or dismissed. Searching for inconsistencies or schisms in truth claims allows for new possibilities. Foucault (1976) lectured that genealogy is melded with subjugated knowledges, as it is an attempt to pay witness to struggles countering the institutions of science and law. He argued that genealogy is a means of emancipating these historically oppressed ways of knowing.

Taking a genealogical approach may allow some insight into the current discourses in operation that sequester commercial exploitation of children into domains of medico-juridical or incorrigible malevolence; both individualised spheres. Bound as it is to these realms, there have been no major gains in eradicating the sexual exploitation of children. A genealogical approach denaturalises dominant discourses through identifying when they were not so. I see the need to uncover contexts when discussion of sexual exploitation of children was not quarantined within legal and scientific institutions so that we, as a culture, may begin to examine other possibilities for addressing this form of sexual abuse.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the main concepts in Foucault’s approach to genealogy. Following Foucault, I then begin my analytical journey with a diagnosis of the

current condition. That is, I document where we are now in the pedophile monster discourse through exposing and critically analyzing our cultural fascination with stories of child sexual abuse in general and commercial sexual exploitation in particular. I then attend to the contemporary academic literature and its response to monster-speak. Here I touch upon the construction of child and youth commercial sexual exploitation as a problem; however, it is not the focus of my literature review. Instead I place the current literature into broad categories based upon the authors' approaches.

In a non-linear fashion, I then concentrate on "The Maiden Tribute to Modern Babylon". Written by W.T. Stead, 'The Maiden Tribute' was a series of newspaper instalments appearing in the *Pall Mall Gazette* beginning in July 1885. I argue that 'The Maiden Tribute' serves as a historical site of emergence for the pedophile monster discourse, closely tied to the discourse in operation today.

Through my exploration, it becomes clear that there are at least two strains of discourse which culturally construct the pedophile: that which holds the perpetrator of sexual abuse of children and youth as a pathologically sick individual (mad); and that which sees the perpetrator as a morally deficient, subhuman beast (bad). The former stream, as we shall see, stems from the Enlightenment paradigm shift and the ensuing medicalisation of sexuality by psychiatrists such as Krafft-Ebing who sought to carve out a central space for the sciences in the legal arena using the development of sexology as one tactic. The latter has given rise to the monster discourse, which has clearly been a fixture of the West's construction of commercial sexual exploitation since Victorian times. The two streams are increasingly melting together to form a cohesive 'truth' about perpetrators of child sexual abuse as non-human, pathologically sick Others; a 'truth' that captures our Western imagination and leads us to believe in the inevitability of child

sexual abuse.

### *Herkunft, Entstehung and Everything in Between*

I have come to the (guided) realisation that my early attempts to undertake a genealogical inquiry have resulted less in a critical understanding of social practices than a conventional timeline of child sexual abuse. This led me to re-examine Foucault's work and consult further with academic interpretation and explanation of Foucault's approach to genealogy. The subsequent section is a summary of my process of understanding and the synthesis of the abstract components of a genealogical method of analysis with my own area of focus.

Dreyfus and Rabinow (1983) document the shift in Foucault's methodology from his earlier archaeology, in which he described, "in theoretical terms the rules governing discursive practices" (p. 102), to that of genealogy. The genealogical method is one of "diagnosing and grasping the significance of social practices from within them" (p. 103). This shift allowed Foucault to infuse his work on discourse with power. Or as he wrote, it enabled the study of "effects of power proper on the enunciative play" (Foucault, 1980, p. 105). By *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*, Foucault had moved beyond viewing the two methodologies as complementary by placing a definitive emphasis on genealogy.

Foucault built upon the work of Nietzsche in his theorizing on genealogy. In his essay, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History", written in 1971, Foucault devotes considerable attention to distinguishing the German terms *Herkunft* and *Ursprung*. Both terms may be loosely translated to 'origins'. However, while *Herkunft* pertains to background or descent, *Ursprung* relates to the source or beginning of a given person or thing. This seemingly nuanced terminology is, in fact, crucial in separating genealogical analysis from traditional history. The study of *Ursprung* is the study of truth. It seeks to peel away the sediment to reveal the true essence of the subject or

object of study. By this, the historian holds the view that “the object of knowledge pre-exists knowledge” (Mahon, 1992, p. 113). The search for the source is therefore a quest for knowledge, a pursuit that Foucault would never endorse. The genealogist realizes the search is in vain as there is “not a timeless and essential secret, but the secret that they [things] have no essence or that their essence was fabricated in a piecemeal fashion from alien forms” (Foucault, 1977, p. 142). In fact, Foucault held that the most deeply hidden questions are in actuality, the most superficial. This accounts for the painstakingly detailed documentation of the minutiae or the surface practices in Foucault’s work.

So it is the study of *Herkunft*, or descent, that the genealogist turns her attention to, “the ancient affiliation to a group, sustained by the bonds of blood, tradition, or social class. An analysis of *Herkunft* often involves a consideration of race or social type” (p. 143). This may be taken as somewhat metaphorical in that the analysis need not be so literally tied to bloodlines. Instead, Foucault is speaking to the attention given to intersecting and compounding traits, the untangling of threads which had at once appeared to be a consistent, homogeneously formed mass. To do so, Foucault studied the minutiae, the surface practices, as the source for answers to his questions.

Although Foucault had strong words for the egos of historians, he did not discount the role of history altogether. Instead he holds that the “genealogist needs history to dispel the chimeras of the origin, somewhat in the manner of the pious philosopher who needs a doctor to exorcise the shadow of his soul” (1977, p. 144). And so it is that the best way for me to understand what a genealogy is and does, is by realizing what it is not. Chambon (1999) distinguishes a genealogical approach from a historical one in stating that “a foundational history typically starts from the past and demonstrates the progressive evolution of a field, stressing its

accomplishments, genealogy starts with a question about the present and works its way in the opposite direction.” (p. 54). Foucault eloquently called this the “history of the present” (1979, p. 31). He discussed genealogy as an effective history in contrast to traditional history. Below is my interpretive summary of his main arguments.

Effective history honours the discontinuous and the divisive rather than the logical and progressive. Hence, the work of the genealogist is “to identify the accidents, the minute deviations - or conversely, the complete reversals - the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations” (Foucault, 1977, p. 146). The genealogist is wary of continuity in descent as it is suspect. Effective history looks not for smooth and reasonable transitions but instead “deals with events in terms of their most unique characteristics” (p. 154). For Foucault, events are not the signing of declarations or even wars, and yet, an event is always a battle in some sense. These battles are strategies of domination and they repeat themselves throughout time. It is a further task of the genealogist to account for *Entstehung*, or the emergence of (non)spaces where forces carry out “meticulous procedures that impose rights and obligations” (p.150). This is an area where Dreyfus and Rabinow (1983) observe a branching off from Nietzsche’s genealogy.

Nietzsche saw moral regulation and institutions in the actions of particular individuals, whereas Foucault viewed such domination as effects, which “are attributed not to ‘appropriation’, but to dispositions, manoeuvres, tactics, techniques, functionings; that one should decipher in it a network of relations” (Foucault, 1977, p. 26). This is consistent with Foucault’s notion of power as an ever-pulsating network rather than the structuralist conception of power as a finite commodity owned by some at the expense of others.

Where traditional history deals with extremes such as the greatest wars, the major paradigm shifts, and most influential monarchs, a genealogist may define their own areas of

significance. In this way, the genealogist studies not at an objective distance, but at a close proximity to their interest and thus, subject position. As a feminist researcher, this aspect is of particular interest because it means that I may carve out a space for my own interests and political agenda as a woman. The political task of this genealogy as I see it is to inject gender into a discourse that traditionally involved only monsters and innocents. The pedophile monster is subhuman and as such, it is uncivilized and ungendered. This is a misconstrued account of the history of Western civilization in which men continually engage in the commercial sexual exploitation of children. This is quite a contrast from traditional history where women, including their politics, were erased and later inserted into documents and consciousness, a product of women's intense struggles for a reflective herstory. What is more, the freedom to define one's own importance enhances the likelihood that research is both reflexive and subjective.

Subjectivity is a hallmark of effective history. History is only effective once it establishes that knowledge is nothing more than a matter of perspective. Traditional historians have assumed the role of guide in the tour through "progress" and "civilization". They see knowledge as the mastery of facts, which act as the combination to unlock the secrets of a truth. Foucault finds this treatment of knowledge dangerous, "where religion once demanded the sacrifice of bodies, knowledge now calls for experimentation on ourselves, calls us to the sacrifice of the subject of knowledge" (1977, p. 163). By refusing this sacrificial call, genealogy is intrinsically and only a contextual understanding.

In sum, a Foucauldian genealogy entails the critical analysis of social practices through looking for 'meticulous rituals of power' throughout time. A genealogy is the unpicking of threads that make up a uniform packaged 'truth' or system of knowledge. The genealogist exposes that accepted 'truths' are not naturally occurring or pre-existent of discourse. Instead,

using effective history, the genealogist draws attention to the historical battle sites at which, domination was exercised to claim and valorize a ‘truth’ to the exclusion of other discursive possibilities. More specifically, the genealogist locates *Entstehung* or signs of emergence of a “meticulous ritual of power” (Foucault, 1977, p. 185). For example, in *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault looked at the social practice of surveillance with Bentham’s proposed Panopticon as one site where this ritual of power was explicit. In *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault isolated the confession as a ‘meticulous ritual’ and analysed its political technologisation on the body through the development of the discourse of sex. In my work, I isolate the public’s incitement to crusade against pedophile monsters as a ‘meticulous ritual of power’ and work to understand in later chapters, the effects of this ritual on self and subjectivity. My genealogy searches out the emergences of monster-naming through history.

After establishing and isolating the ‘meticulous ritual of power’, I work to identify the sites where events of emergence take place: “the entry of a masked ‘other’” (Foucault, 1977, p. 154). As I explore later in this chapter, one such site in the nineteenth century was W.T. Stead’s installments of “The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon” featured in a London newspaper called *The Pall Mall Gazette*. The ‘Maiden Tribute’ served as a site of emergence for child sexual exploitation to be transformed into a discourse that constitutes subjects and objects as it continues to develop presently.

The genealogical process “explicitly and self-reflectively begins with a diagnosis of the current situation” (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p. 119). I will therefore begin my analysis with the present context in which we find ourselves both disgusted and fascinated by pedophile monsters.

## **The Monster Emerges Part I: Modern Monsters**

### *Current Diagnosis: Relishing in Repulsion*

The Victorian treatment of sexuality is an area of heavy concentration for scholars across disciplines. The Victorian condition is so intriguing in part because of its identified hypocrisy. On the one hand the Victorian bourgeois enacted an unprecedented program of repression on all things sexual. On the other, the very “incitement to discourse” identified by Foucault in *The History of Sexuality* (1980). According to Foucault, discourses pertaining to sex multiplied on the part of

an institutional incitement to speak about it, and to do so more and more; a determination on the part of agencies of power to hear it spoken about, and to cause *it* to speak through explicit articulation and endlessly accumulated detail (p. 18).

The multiplication of discourses manifested in popular publications of the time where readers were simultaneously horrified and titillated by the graphic and clandestine content such as the exploits of ‘Walter’, the libertine narrator of the published diary, *My Secret Life*<sup>1</sup>, England’s most infamous guide to the dark world of sexual perversion.

As Foucault (1978) exposes, we have inherited this confused uneasiness with all things sexual. I would argue that our hypocritical and contradictory positions on sexuality-especially children’s sexuality-is becoming a defining factor in Western culture. Perhaps it would be useful for me to illustrate the dangerous consequences of this fascination by telling the story of a particularly devastating case in which I had a front row seat.

---

<sup>1</sup> Although *My Secret Life* was anonymously penned, it is thought to be written by Sir Henry Spencer Ashbee. The works described explicitly in first-person narrative, a great many acts that would be considered sexually deviant.

*Case study #1*

The body of a little girl, around five years old, was found in a garbage dump. Although the poor child's face was cut virtually in half by waste processing, a computer-generated program reconstructed the face of a little Black girl with braids. This girl became known as "Cherish Doe" rather than the customary 'Jane Doe' because as one police officer said, "a cute little girl with braids deserves better, don't you think?" and of course we all did. Apart from this computer generated picture, we did not have many other details to go by, except as the coroner revealed "a few details that will break your heart" such as that "Cherish" enjoyed skipping rope as evidenced by her scuffed shoes and that her teeth showed signs of thumb sucking. "Cherish" was the very picture of childhood innocence and naivety, shattered in the most horrific of ways.

At the vigil held in "Cherish's" honour, a drug-addicted woman came forward to police wrongly fearing "Cherish" was her own daughter whom she was missing. This mother, Violet, left her daughter with an elderly neighbour (a cold-hearted woman) whilst she was away at a drug rehabilitation program to treat her prescription drug use. The neighbour then turned Violet's daughter over to a social worker (also a cold-hearted woman).

Incredibly, but all too commonly, as we are told by the news, this social worker neglected and failed the girl. She did not complete a home visit at the foster placement in over six weeks, despite writing in her file that she had been there on the Tuesday prior - a bold-faced lie. When her lie was discovered she immediately rattled off her innocence blaming unmanageable caseloads and insurmountable paperwork as lazy social workers are wont to do.

In this social worker's negligence a pedophile posing as an apprehending child welfare worker had kidnapped Violet's daughter. Although unbelievable, this had happened once before, to "Cherish" when she was taken from her heroin addict mother's home prior to being "raped and murdered". It was determined that this pedophile, Terry Jessup, targeted the children at their common community centre where he was also a volunteer. It was at this time that the volunteer coordinator told us about his doll collection.

When police searched the man's cave-like hovel they found a Polaroid of "Cherish" dressed up like a doll. The psychiatrist working with the police department was not fazed by this doll obsession. After all, "dolls are idealized representations of men and women. They're pure, perfect, and sexless. Terry Jessup was like a child who uses dolls to act out his fantasies". When Jessup was arrested we discovered that his mother was alternately physically violent and seductive towards him and that she left him the doll collection. Apparently she was mentally unstable having manic episodes engaging in sex with dozens of men and then on spending sprees buying only dolls. The association between his mother's psychologically damaging behaviours and Jessup's pedophilia was clear when he declared during interrogation, "bad mothers shouldn't be able to bring children into the world". This statement explained why a junkie's child was murdered and a prescription drug addict's girl was kidnapped. Luckily the man was caught; in seeing his police interview, however, he was so mentally ill that he could hardly be held accountable in a criminal court.

*Critical analysis*

This disturbing story was in actuality, a thorough plot-summary of an episode of *Law & Order: Special Victims Unit*. I chose this episode out of at least five that dealt with what the writers considered pedophilia. *Special Victims Unit* episodes are thematically based on sexualised violence. This episode is a particularly poignant exemplar of the discursive treatment of mothers in relation to the pedophile monster. The show expertly speaks interrelated discourses with such power and yet passes itself off as harmless entertainment. This is precisely the reason this episode calls for a critical analysis. Although it may appear as a detour from the larger task at hand, the genealogy, Foucault wrote “the critical and the genealogical descriptions must alternate, and complement each other, each supporting the other by turns” (1981, p. 73). Certainly my data analysis serves as a form of critical analysis however, critical analysis is not limited to my discourse analysis alone. Rather, it is an ongoing process with many fields of enquiry, many “discursive events” (p. 69).

*Law & Order: Special Victims Unit* demands that we, the viewers, choose a side. Are you for the protection of innocence or its alternative - anarchy and evil? We caught a glimpse of what evil anarchy looks like: lazy, unaccountable social workers losing children and junkie mothers neglecting their innocent children. Of course, underworld monsters prosper in this environment. This is laid out for us by one drug-using mother’s speech in a Narcotics Anonymous meeting. She appeals to the group: “Because I got high, I couldn’t take care of my baby and some monster kidnapped her.” It is not that simple. The show assumes that all decent citizens loathe junkie mothers, but it is not only the irresponsible mothers of victims that must shoulder the blame. To really understand the pedophile monster discourse as it is packaged and presented here we need to have knowledge of a second supplementary discourse; the ‘cycle of abuse’ discourse.

As I mentioned in my episode summary, it was uncovered that the pedophile character, Terry Jessup, was a victim of abuse perpetrated by his mother. She physically hit him in addition to incestuously “seducing” him. According to the detective, this is “the perfect way to raise a serial killer”. We, as the audience are now privy to the knowledge that monsters are created by their mothers. This is ingrained in our knowledge base because we are presented with the information in drastic ways. For example, take the case of Marc Lépine, who murdered fourteen women and wounded ten more in "the Montreal Massacre" on December 6<sup>th</sup>, 1989. He shot these women in an act against feminism. Lépine’s mother wore the blame for the massacre (Meyers, 1996). As a working professional who had divorced her abusive husband, it was speculated that she was, in fact, the feminist her son was raging against.

Mother-blaming is presented as commonsensical in the scripted dialogue between the psychologist and the detective. That it is believable to and accepted by the viewing public is a testament to the proliferation of Freudian psychodynamic discourses. The impact of ‘bad mothers’ is cemented by Jessup’s statement during interrogation, “bad mothers shouldn’t be able to bring children into the world.”

All three mothers are sexually degraded throughout the episode. The mother of the murdered child, a heroin user, was described by an informant as a “skanky bitch”, and a thief. That she was a sex worker was also alluded to, thereby justifying her stigmatisation in the mainstream public’s eyes. The mother of the kidnapped child, Violet, was actively climbing the social ladder of acceptability as evidenced by her entering a drug rehabilitation program. Her situation was helped by the fact that she misused prescription drugs rather than ‘harder’ drugs such as heroin. Based on the above, Violet was deemed marginally worthy of police assistance. However, the interviewing detective’s partner called the amount of attention offered to this

mother into question. He is reminded, as are we viewers, that “junkies lie all the time”. The extra mile is reluctantly accepted as the partner admits, “I guess she is kinda cute”. With those few words Violet is no longer a heartbroken mother fighting to save her child’s life, she is a sexually attractive and therefore, manipulative object.

There is another guilty female party allowing and, thus, condoning the monster’s actions. The child welfare social worker shirked her responsibility as a caregiver and a guardian. Actually, the lazy and lying social worker was downright bitchy until a tough male cop put her in her place with the aggressively delivered warning: “this little girl was raped, murdered, and tossed in a dumpster - don’t get in my way lady!”. This calls us to draw upon our extra-discursive knowledge of the child welfare system as defunct and corrupt.

The centre of the case, the key holder to the realm of hidden knowledge, is the consulting psychiatrist. Entrusted with the grave role of truth-sayer in such a critical case, it is of the utmost importance that the psychiatrist be credible and rational. Masculinity is, therefore, a requisite especially in relation to the ignominious representation of femininity, particularly motherhood, presented in the episode. Having knowledge about this ‘sick’ pedophile places the psychiatrist on the side of the innocent. More than innocent actually, along with the detectives the psychiatrist is the hero in this story. They are protecting innocent children from both monsters and mothers.

The psychiatrist is the authorized speaker of the medical thread sewing together the pedophile monster discourse. Here we can “measure the effect of a discourse with scientific claims... on that set of practices and prescriptive discourses constituted by the penal system” (Foucault, 1981, p. 71). The power of medicine is confirmed by the viewer’s trust in his knowledge despite the fact that the on-screen psychiatrist is an actor reciting his script provided to him by Hollywood writers. The psychiatrist holds the centralised position of decision-maker.

He determines how to proceed with law enforcement duties including the appropriate approach for interrogation. He even establishes Jessup's motive prior to ever meeting him. This is of no consequence; science is objective regardless. We can conclude, through this episode, that pedophiles are not only bad; they are predominantly mad. This supposition can be traced to *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886) in which, Richard von Krafft-Ebing proposed the divide between disease or 'perversion', and vice or 'perversity' (mad versus bad).

### *Mad Monsters*

Ultimately, Krafft-Ebing held that some sexual deviants suffered pathological degeneration rather than moral deficiencies alone. Angelides (2005) documents that Krafft-Ebing further distinguished between 'non-psychopathological' and 'psychopathological' cases of pedophilia. The first category contained those with "moral weakness or psychical impotence (such as fear of adult females or indifference about male virility)" (Angelides, 2005, p. 274). Psychopathological cases by contrast, were those acquired through head trauma, alcoholism or syphilis for example. Of course, it would require the assessment of an expert psychiatrist, specializing in this new 'sexology' (of which Krafft-Ebing is considered a forefather) to determine whether one was bad or actually mad.

The divide between the two was indicative of an epistemological shift in the West, which strained the established legal system. As Angelides notes,

historical, political and discursive paradigms for understanding and regulating deviant behaviour were transforming. This was a time when religious and legal models had to contest with an emergent and powerful scientific or medical model...it was almost as though in this new paradigm the concept of perversity stood in for those older tropes of legal and religious meaning such as sin and

immorality, whereas perversion represented the newer and supposedly impartial scientific and medical terminologies (2005, p. 275).

Foucault's work in *Discipline and Punish* (1979) was to examine how psychiatry secured itself within the judicial system so that scientific expertise was central. Drawing upon Foucault, Teixeira (2004) explains in his thesis that nineteenth century psychiatrists attached themselves to criminal law to broaden their scope past those institutionalized in asylums. He writes,

changes in the governance of populations provided the rationale which gave an impetus for psychiatrists and those studying criminals and the insane to advance the cause of medicine by articulating it to the emerging practices in the area of social engineering or population management (2005, p. 27).

*Law & Order: Special Victims Unit* does not only produce discourses by speaking them again. It is much more complicated than that. Media creations such as *Law & Order* may be understood as an internal function of discourse. Such "internal procedures" (Foucault, 1981, p. 56) are built into established discourses so that "discourses themselves exercise their own control...as if this time another dimension of discourse had to be mastered: that of events and chance" (p.56). The technique of control *Law & Order* exercises is called 'commentary' (Foucault, 1981). It is a 'secondary text' (in this case a visual and audio text) that commentates upon the 'primary text'. A 'primary text' is a key narrative of a given culture. As it pertains to the 'pedophile monster' discourse, primary texts are the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM)* and the *Criminal Code of Canada*. Primary and secondary texts work collaboratively in their roles. While a primary text such as the *DSM*, creates new discourses, such as mental disorders including paraphilia, under which pedophilia is categorised,

the commentary's only role, whatever the techniques used, is to say at last what was silently articulated 'beyond', in the text...the commentary must say for the first time what had, nonetheless, already been said, and must tirelessly repeat what had, however, never been said (Foucault, 1981, pp. 57-58).

A commentary, therefore, eternally re-establishes the dominance of the primary.

*Law & Order*, as a secondary text is actually a product of the discourse itself, it is built into it, created with the purpose of uttering the discourse again in a new, easily digestible format for the Western public. Although it masks itself as a form of entertainment, *Law & Order* is actively (re)stating and re-establishing the power of the psych sciences; it is helping people everywhere blame mothers for social ills, most prominently through popular psychology's 'cycle of abuse' discourse; and it is legitimising the permanence of an underclass of drug users.

Yet the producers of the secondary text are only half of the equation (if that). At some point we must ask why it is that this show has been on the air for nine years, has won a Golden Globe award and continues to boast a strong viewership. This point is substantiated by the fact that as I write this very page in a breakfast joint, the women at the table next to me are talking about their obsession with various crime-dramas. One woman told her dining companion "Robin Williams was on last night. He was such a psycho - it was great!" To which her friend replied, "Those shows just get me so mad, they really get me going". Our compulsion to immerse ourselves in intolerable subject matter is a contradiction to our culturally established morals. Evidently, the ratings for shows about sexualised brutality are so high that an entire drama series on this topic has been embraced. Often the victims and survivors of such violence are children and teenaged characters. Beyond recognizing that this genre of entertainment enjoys high

exposure on television, we, as a culture must start to question why. Why are we so enthralled with explicit depictions of sexualised violence? Why do we denounce child sexual abuse as the vilest of crimes whilst watching the most realistic re-creation of the very thing we all wish to eliminate?

Normalisation of child sexual abuse, including exploitation, builds discursive power; perpetuating it covertly, making it appear commonsensical and everyday, desensitizing us to sexual abuse imagery. Sex sells, even if it is a coercive, violent attack against a child.

*New and improved monsters*

I am in agreement with the position taken by Cameron and Frazer (1987), that forms of entertainment such as the one illustrated above are voyeuristic ventures into violence. In their book, *The Lust to Kill: A Feminist Investigation of Sexual Murder*, Cameron and Frazer identify the formula for this genre of entertainment within the context of homicide detective magazines. They write, “not only must it [violent entertainment] cater to the murder buff’s taste, it must also provide some defence or justification of them. Hence the magazine’s peculiar mix of salacious details and moralistic rant” (p. 48).

Certainly we can notice an uncanny likeness in contemporary forms of crime drama. Cameron and Frazer argue that sensationalist portrayals of sexualised violence, in the many forms available, have created a culture of what the authors call, ‘murder buffs’. Their definition of a murder buff is one who

has made it his business to inform himself minutely on all aspects of murder (statistical, procedural, forensic, etc.) - and he prizes the unusual or interesting case, as well as the familiar (which serves to reassure him that he is indeed an expert) (1987, p. 48).

Likewise, I would argue, the enhanced format of crime drama that has most recently embraced sexualised violence against children, including forms of commercial sexual abuse, has created a culture of chesterfield psychiatrists. These at-home experts collect horrifying stories of child abuse and repeat the bundle of discourses in various conversations pertaining to the crisis of ‘online predators’ or ‘pedophiles’ I am acutely aware of this trend because every time I answer the question “what is your thesis on?” I am met with a bombardment of anecdotes, references to television shows, facts on perpetrators, and personal theories on pedophilia.

Jenkins (1998) documents the relationship between fascinations with murder and child sexual abuse. In discussing the current emergence of moral panic surrounding pedophilia he demonstrates how American terror mongering operates in a circular pattern. The sex psychopaths and serial predators from 1935-1954, he explains, have simply been repackaged as ‘pedophile rings’ or ‘child pornography rings’. The predators from yesteryear that Jenkins sets his focus upon were notorious serial killers such as Albert Fish (arrested in 1934) whose last victim was twelve-year-old Grace Budd. It was this case, according to Jenkins, that solidified the bond between perverts and violence in the contemporary conscious. This linkage was strengthened by a series of similar cases in close succession. Jenkins suggests that the genre of pervert panic eventually petered off only to resurface in the 1990s.

Sonenschein’s (1998) work disputes this chronology slightly. Sonenschein regards the mid-1970s as the beginning of pedophile-related moral panic and therefore, his period of investigation with emphasis on the 1980s. *Pedophiles on Parade* (1998) expounds pedophile-mania through a thorough survey of novels, films, television, newspaper and magazines covering the issue of child-adult “sexual relationships” (p.1). I stumbled across Sonenschein’s book reviewed in a journal alongside Jenkin’s (1998) *Moral Panics* (Bauserman, 2003). Extremely

interested after this favourable review, I ordered the book via the Interlibrary Loan service from another university. In reading the book I was amazed at just how critical Sonenschein's position was in response to the cultural construction of pedophiles. Curious about his practice of self-publishing I conducted some research on David Sonenschein. After following a time-consuming trail through references, websites, and anarchist magazines, I ascertained that Sonenschein (a pseudonym) is an active member in pedophile organisations often veiling his position behind anti-establishment arguments and his intended affinity to radical queer politics. Sonenschein has been the focus of police investigations and has had material seized.

The thrust of Sonenschein's work is on dismantling the contemporary construction of the pedophile as a character illustrated in mediums such as crime-fiction novels, films and made-for-television movies including what he calls "1980s teen hooker films" (1998, p. 28). Sonenschein disputes every aspect of this creation from the physical appearance (namely overweight and greasy) to the characteristic motives for offending against children. He takes particular issue with the common connection between pedophilia and organized crime.

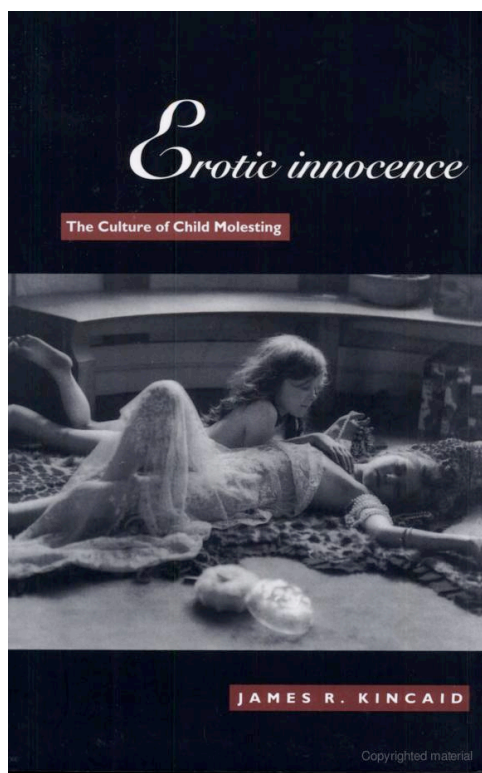
Of course Sonenschein has a vested interest in denouncing the cultural construction of pedophiles. The former Kinsey Institute sex researcher has himself molested pre-adolescent girls (Davies, 1995). Sonenschein's personal history is not presented in the self-published book, however, a quick scan of his work appearing in the magazine *Anarchy: a Journal of Desire Armed* clarifies his political agenda as does his pamphlet *How to Have Sex with Kids*, which he published in 1981. His pamphlet suggested tips for aspiring child abusers to establish contact; "friends are a good source. Once you get to know a kid you can meet their friends". It also covered what can be described as 'logistics' of abuse: "make sure you go from vagina to anus, not anus to vagina" (cited in Tate, 1990, reprinted in Davies, 1995, p. 117).

‘The Sonenschein Mess’ as I have come to call it, was extremely eye opening and alarming for me. It troubled the boundaries between critical analysis and radical extremity. What is more, it once again exposed my own sub-conscious processing. After experiencing a worldview shift as a result of being duped by articulacy, I was forced to explore my feelings of having been tricked by a ‘wolf in sheep’s clothing’. Of course this metaphor is founded on the binary of evil/innocent, the very binary I have spent this thesis denouncing. It seems that deconstruction of the pedophile monster discourse is easier said than done (to stick to colloquialisms).

Kincaid (1998) largely discredits the monster panic. He takes the firm position that we Westerners have created a crisis to titillate and entertain ourselves from a safe distance as a ‘culture of child molesting’. At first glance my argument may appear to be similar to Kincaid’s, however, his discussion leads down an altogether different road carried by sociological moral panic theory, which considers the equilibrium between the level of public alarm and the actual measured danger (discussed in further detail below). Kincaid gauges the likelihood of guilt and the degree of attention given to well-known child abuse cases. He identifies “an understanding of the history of this dilemma [the sexualisation of childhood innocence] and a shift in our focus” beyond villains and innocents (1998, p. 25) as the task of his work. In *Erotic innocence: The culture of child molesting*, Kincaid covers the McMartin preschool trials (1983-1990); Mary Baxter, the object of a California high school teacher-student sex scandal; and the Roman Catholic clergy scandal of the early 1990s. Kincaid also speaks to celebrity scandals including Roseanne Barr and Woody Allen. His focus on sensational anecdotes often detracts from his goal of shifting Western culture’s salacious fixation on stories of child sexual abuse. At times the book even adds to the intrigue rather than problematises it; consider the cover (Figure A).

Perhaps meant as an ironic pictorial commentary on his arguments, the book cover goes too far. Instead it conveys hypocrisy.

For my part, I do not dispute the occurrence or the prevalence of child sexual abuse (in my case commercial). I do not feel it relevant to my research for a number of reasons. Firstly, the clandestine nature of commercial sexual exploitation of minors inhibits the methods of collecting accurate data on the number of children experiencing such abuse at any given time in any given place. Secondly, in my view, one child is enough to warrant an exploration into the cultural practices that allow such violence. Finally, I am not interested in studying the particulars of a panic phenomenon in and of itself. Rather, I am concerned with specific instances only insofar as they constitute a site of emergence for the pedophile monster to enter the popular discourse. Part Two of this chapter offers further differentiation between moral panic theory and a Foucauldian genealogy.



*Figure A.*

## **The Monster Emerges Part II: Academic Literature**

### *Moral Panic Literature*

Jenkins (1998; 2001) and Kincaid (1998) study the phenomenon of moral panics. Their work is extremely interesting and engaging, gives a workable timeline, references a significant body of literature, film and events while presenting a critical analysis and offers much in the way of sociological understandings of cultural behaviour. Nevertheless, moral panics as a complete area of focus are somewhat limited for my project. This is because the study of moral panics, as popularised by sociologist, Stanley Cohen (1972), holds that exaggeration is a process by which social agents such as the media, transform a given phenomenon into a moral panic using tools such as symbolism (which the term ‘monster’ falls under) and misleading headlines or statistics. Sociologists examining moral panics determine whether there is or was sufficient reason for high alarm. In other words, what is the actual threat vis-à-vis the public’s reaction? I am less concerned with the proportion of outcry to problem. I have experiences, which substantiate my subjective personal and political conclusion that without a doubt, sex is purchased from those under eighteen every day across Canada and across other countries. The exact numbers of children are of little significance for the purposes of this particular thesis as it is not the victims of abuse, but the perpetrators and the construction of the problem that I am interested in.

Moral panic sociologists cogitate on what or who instigated the widespread panic and the sensationalist language used to ‘manufacture’ (Cohen & Young, 1981) the story. By contrast, a Foucauldian analysis of a discourse may make use of genealogy to examine the emergences of a particular discourse but not the origin. In addition, a moral panic approach explores the significance of that panic (which is usually brief in time span) to a cultural sense of morality and how, in the response to frenzy, social control agencies increase their power by strengthening

policing, enacting new legislation or lengthening criminal sentencing (Cohen, 1972; 2002).

Angelides (2003) also takes issue with moral panic theory. He finds that “nothing in the theory of moral panic enables us to understand the relationship between social, material and discursive change and the psychology of affect, or emotion” (p. 83). Angelides feels moral panic more describes than explains public anxiety or panic.

The investigation of language differs greatly from the analysis of a discourse and while Kincaid cites Foucault, he uses the terms ‘discourse’ and ‘story’ almost interchangeably. While those studying moral panics look at exercises of power in response to the phenomenon under investigation, discourse analysts are interested in the discourse itself as an instrument of power. Analysts operating within a poststructural worldview are concerned with nothing more than this as there is nothing more outside the massive entanglement of discourse and power.

### *Social Science Literature*

One effect of monster-speak as identified by Kincaid (1998) and Jenkins (1998) is that it entices the public to vigilantism. Much like the image of townspeople with pitchforks, singling out threatening Others, this form of citizen action over-simplifies the problem and misconstrues the solution as the enactment of ground-level public will. An example provided by Ornebring (2006) is the British newspaper, *News of the World's* “naming and shaming” campaign from 2000. The “naming and shaming” or “anti-paedophile” campaign was initiated by the paper in response to the perceived inadequacy of social service and police responses to the problem of child sexual offenders. It was particularly a response to the sexual assault and murder of Sarah Payne, by a man who had served a shortened jail sentence after being convicted in the abduction and sexual assault of another young girl. Ornebring (2006) contends, along with many rival publications including *The Guardian* (July 24, 2000) and *The Daily Express* (July 25, 2000), that

the controversial campaign was more an effort to increase sales of the failing newspaper than to bring about social change. Nonetheless, *News of the World* along with other publications called for a publicly accessible sex offender registry and stiffer sentencing for those who were convicted of sexual offences against children. *News of the World (NotW)* also “embarked on a campaign to create a so-called ‘Sarah’s Law’, a law by which it would become mandatory to inform people living in an area of any sexual offenders already living in or moving to that area” (Ornebring, 2006, p. 857).

In fact, the “naming and shaming” campaign played out to disastrous effects whereby a number of incidents of vigilantism, including mobs forming on housing estates in Southampton and Portsmouth, were directly attributable to people acting on the information published by the NotW. At least two innocent people were attacked by vigilantes for bearing either a superficial resemblance or the same name as one of the named-and-shamed offenders (Ornebring, 2006, p. 857).

This was not the first attack of its kind by a vigilante group. A man in Manchester suffered serious injuries after being mistaken as a child sex offender and was subsequently beaten (Kitzinger, 1999; Cowburn & Dominelli, 2001).

Cowburn and Dominelli (2001) formulate a compelling argument against vigilantism. Not only does it operate on the individualist merit of isolating and exporting danger from one’s own community to another but

vigilantism usually involves men and draws on the predator/protector dichotomy within hegemonic masculinity. But, in the process of enacting the protector role to capture the predatory sex offender, the men involved

as vigilantes become predators themselves, an unhelpful blurring of the boundaries which makes the division of men into these two categories somewhat meaningless except in the context of a 'moral panic' when it reinforces the legitimacy of hegemonic masculinity and the public sphere as dangerous (2001, p. 409).

Cowburn and Dominelli contend that sensationalist coverage of child sexual abuse in general creates a distraction from the larger threat of males who are well known to their victims. They write:

we do not think it suffices to concentrate public discourses about sex offenders primarily on 'stranger-danger'. Too many women and children have been and are being abused within the allegedly safe boundaries of their homes by men they know and trust (2001, p. 400).

Cowburn and Dominelli's work is an anomaly within the body of literature pertaining to commercial sexual abuse of children and youth in that it concentrates on perpetrators of sexual violence. The overwhelming majority of academic literature differs in that the dominant focus is on the children and youth as the site of both the problem and the intervention. Within this body of literature are studies of alleged deviance of victimised children and youth including addiction, sexually transmitted infections, violence, and criminal activity (Hagan & McCarthy, 1992; Sullivan, 1989).

The literature is a product of its cultural context. The Western approach to morality and justice operates on dichotomies such as victim/perpetrator and innocent/guilty. Such binary thinking requires a "perfect victim" who is "willing, and able, immediately to give police detailed intelligence that is accurate enough to lead to her assailants being arrested" (Waugh,

2006, p. 22). Only through locating this trusting and obedient victim can we find its opposite category - the offender. Poststructuralists have long realized the failures of this philosophical approach, however, one would hope our action in adequately addressing commercial child sexual exploitation is not contingent upon a mass paradigm shift. The basis of my thesis is that men who buy sex from children and youth should hold the responsibility for their abuse. This does not upset the binary of victim/perpetrator; however, it problematises the qualities ascribed to those in each category, namely the monster versus the innocent (white) child.

Within the contemporary literature on commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth there is also a great deal of work that focuses upon the determinants of young people becoming commercially sexually exploited, commonly referred to as 'risk-factors' (Bagley & Young, 1986; Greene & Ennett, 1999; Cusick, 2002; Kidd & Krall, 2002; McCarthy & Hagan, 1992), or for Melrose (2004), "'push' and 'pull' factors between individual and environmental factors" (p. 22). This theme includes qualitative studies of lived experience and encompasses quantitative research of generalised factors common among 'child prostitutes'. In Canada, the most prominent of these studies is the report put forth in 1984 by the Committee on Sexual Offences against Children and Youth (the Badgley Committee). Appointed by the Minister of Justice and the Attorney General, the Committee utilised both quantitative and qualitative methods to account for the demographics and behaviours, or 'social background' of 'juvenile prostitutes'. The Badgley Report is not without critics however. Brock and Kinsman (1986), Brock (1998), and Carter (1985/86) take an explicitly feminist stance to reflect upon the report. Their critiques hold that the Badgley Committee failed to recognize the patriarchal power relations that gendered, sexualised violence is steeped in. Brock and Kinsman write:

there is a clear disparity in statistical findings for female and male prostitutes, and we realize that it is almost always males who sexually exploit young people, no attempt is made to account for these socially organized gender differences in any way (1986, p. 120).

Also under this general theme in the literature are studies of ‘deviance’ among sexually exploited children and youth such as addiction, sexually transmitted infections, violence, and criminal activity (Hagan & McCarthy, 1992; Sullivan, 1989).

Much of the literature in the area of child sexual abuse contemplates intervention strategies. These can be broken down into two broad categories: those that focus on the child or youth, and those that focus on the perpetrator as the site of intervention. Within each of these groups are calls to policy-makers for various legislative or funding initiatives.

#### *The child as the solution*

The work under this approach deals with how to adequately meet the needs of sexually exploited young people. Writers such as Herrmann (1987), Barnitz (2001), Cusick (2002), Bolen (2003), and Melrose (2004) represent the social work literature. These authors recognize social workers as the front line and often first contact for many commercially sexually exploited children and youth. As such, they argue, practitioners must be advised of sexual exploitation as an issue and be sufficiently prepared to meet the unique and complex needs of such clients. Melrose (2004) warns that practitioners should anticipate extended periods of rapport building, as this population of youth are distrustful of adults. While this seems realistic with any relationship building with youth, it also reads as a generalisation based on preconceived notions.

The first step to service provision for many writers is recognizing the warning signs of commercial sexual exploitation in a particular young person. Knight (2002) provides a sort of

checklist for emergency room nurses as they represent a response site for sexually exploited youth. Signs on the list include:

- Reluctance for the man to leave the child
- Reliable sources stating that they have seen the child in areas known for prostitution
- Request for contraception or having a sexually transmitted infection
- Reports of going missing or running away
- Clothes associated with prostitution
- Carrying large sums of money
- Drug or alcohol misuse
- Accompaniment of a boyfriend 5 years her senior

The foremost problem with these indicators is the number of assumptions required to pass any of the judgments. For example, in my experience doing outreach work with sexually exploited youth on the stroll, “clothes associated with prostitution” (p. 29), is anything from the stereotypical miniskirt and stilettos to a hooded sweatshirt, puffy jacket and jeans. Further, drug and alcohol ‘misuse’ is a common experience of youth from a wide range of trajectories. The likelihood that these assumptions would be based on class, race and gender is particularly dangerous. Consultation and communication with the child in question did not make Knight’s list of recommended best practices. Nonetheless, the cross-disciplinary transfer of knowledge about commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth is unequivocally positive. In fact, calls for multi-disciplinary collaborations abound in the literature. It is the method of service delivery that differs.

Melrose (2004) holds that on account of exceptionally low self-esteem, youth commercial sexual exploitation should be “mainstreamed” (p. 24), “by incorporating these issues into the educational curriculum, through youth service provision” (p.24). Shaw and Butler (1998) argue for a holistic social work response addressing the needs of sexually exploited youth alongside those experiencing what they feel are common problems for youth such as homelessness and

drug use. By contrast MacIver (1992) advocates for specificity so that commercially sexually exploited youth may feel more comfortable and able to communicate openly.

Bittle (2002) speaks to the Canadian approach to intervention. He critiques provincial approaches of secure care in Alberta under the *Protection of Children Involved in Prostitution Act* (now *The Protecting Children from Sexual Exploitation Act*), and the movement to adopt secure care in British Columbia (Secure Care Act, 2000) and Ontario. Bittle effectively argues that such legislation places responsibility for ‘youth prostitution’ with children and youth while male (hetero)sexuality goes unchecked. At the same time, the conditions that lead to prostitution - such as male sexual socialization, intra-familial violence, the colonization of aboriginal peoples and youth poverty - go unchallenged (p. 343).

Bittle finds that secure care approaches epitomize the Canadian government’s neo-liberal shift to marketisation of social services. This shift is marked by individualisation of the problem of commercial sexual exploitation, while care is out-sourced to funded civil agencies that must adhere to the financial and philosophical convictions of the state. Further, according to Bittle (2002), the discourse of child victimisation must be revisited as it is tied to child saving or “help at any cost” (p. 327). He holds that

with respect to prostitution, the introduction of the victimization discourse and secure care has not ended the criminalization of youth involved in the sex trade; it has simply repackaged the concept of punishment under the guise of protection (p. 342).

He feels that youth should be granted more control and agency over their own lives as well as policy-making. This argument is justifiable in the specific context of secure care approaches to

service delivery. Indeed many authors and organisations advocate for youth-centred strategies for intervention and meaningful youth-participation (Brown, 2006; ECPAT International, 2005; Barnitz, 2001; Cusick, 2002). However, extending the concept of child and youth agency in ‘sex trade’ involvement quickly becomes politically treacherous as illustrated by Brock’s (1998) quote; “a focus on sexual abuse, based on distinctions between adults and youths, does not address the possibility that youths (particularly female) may become prostitutes for the same reasons as adults do” (p. 133). Lowe and Pearce (2006) also question the conceptual move to frame child and youth as victims of abuse. They ask:

does this label undermine the young person’s own sense of agency and self determination when making decisions about the, albeit limited, choices available to them? Is it possible for some young people to decide that they want to swap sex for money or favours as a means of surviving poverty and adverse conditions? (p. 290).

While it is true that many youth experience profound poverty and lack of opportunity as do many women (especially Indigenous women in Canada), it is also true that decriminalising adult sex work is crucial for tackling structural oppression and deep social stigma against sex workers. However, both of these arguments leave the demand side of commercial child sexual exploitation unscathed.

Critical authors and organisations have drawn attention to the effects of equating adult-specific terms with child sexual exploitation (Barrett, 1998; ECPAT International, 2007). Goddard et al. write, “as ‘child prostitution’ inherits the adult prostitution discourse, it moves along the continuum and away from the concepts of child sexual abuse and victimisation. The child is constructed as an accomplice to his or her own sexual abuse” (2005, p.287). Grant

(2005) is firm that the concept of trade is an ‘oxymoron’ in the context of exploitation. Hence, the terms ‘sex trade’, ‘sex industry’, or ‘sex work’ are incorrect as no free or informed choice is involved on the part of commercially sexually exploited young people. Grant notes that the *Declaration and Agenda for Action*, a product of the 1996 First World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children held in Stockholm, determined that ‘child prostitute’ was not appropriate or acceptable as it connotes an offence on the part of the child.

Melrose (2004) recognizes that “the terminology we employ is a vital component to how the issue is constructed, understood and responded to in practice” (p. 20). She goes on to present “young people involved in sexual exploitation” and “young people abused through prostitution” (p. 19) as the common acceptable terms in use. I find fault with both; in the former, the word *involved* conveys responsibility and an active role on the child’s part. The young person appears to be an accomplice. In the latter term, the word *prostitution* is problematic for the same reasons.

#### *The perpetrator as the solution*

There is a limited, but important body of literature emerging in the area of child sexual abuse in general. This work concentrates on perpetrators of abuse as the primary site of intervention. Bolen (2003) challenges the effectiveness of prevention programs aimed at potential victims of sexual abuse. She holds that they do not account for the diversity of abuse tactics, nor do they address the power differential between abuser and child. Most importantly to Bolen, the successes of victim prevention programs have not been determined. Instead, she suggests that prevention should be targeted at potential offenders. According to Bolen (2003), prevention has traditionally been aimed at children because such programming was developed in reactionary and politically charged contexts. She convincingly answers the question of establishing a target population for directing offender prevention:

The child sexual abuse prevention literature provides one method for determining this question. I argue that if somewhere between 10 percent and 20 percent of all males are at risk of abusing a child, either purposefully or situationally (based on the percentage of children abused), there is sufficient reason to target all males (p.178).

What would offender prevention programs consist of? Finkelhor's (1990) framework for prevention provides an awakening clue. He holds that "in a society that encourages predatory male sexuality, that sexualises all intimacy, and that fosters male irresponsibility towards children, it will be hard to prevent sexual abuse" (p. 389).

Speaking specifically to the area of commerce, Julia O'Connell Davidson is adamant that efforts to stop child and youth sexual exploitation cannot be realized until motives of the 'sex exploiter' are understood beyond assumptions of pedophilia. As I echo her position, O'Connell Davidson's work merits citation at length. In a paper delivered at the Second World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) in 2001, O'Connell Davidson holds that the

preoccupation with 'paedophilia' is inconsistent with an understanding of CSEC based upon the United Nations' definition of a child as a person under the age of 18, and the emphasis on law and law enforcement obscures the complexity of the questions, issues and challenges presented by the demand-side of CSEC. This paper starts from the premise that the problem of CSEC includes, but extends far beyond, that of 'paedophilia' (2001, p. 4).

O'Connell Davidson asserts that the anti-CSEC movement has sidestepped controversy by promoting the image of the small, helpless child to the exclusion of older youth. This image, she continues, sustains the construction of the problem as that of corrupted innocence and draws on

the universality of ‘The Child’ as a passive object; a construction that gained momentum in the Victorian Era (Brown, 2004; Brown & Barrett, 2000; Goodman, 2003; Jackson, 2000; Kincaid, 1992; 1998). In sum, O’Connell Davidson opposes both dominant approaches to commercial child sexual abuse. She holds that the use of imagery such as small children and toys versus shadowy figures misconstrues the problem and in my own opinion, advertises by appealing to the very image it claims to be fighting against; beautiful, innocent children sexualised in pictures (see Figure B).

She also rejects the assumption that all ‘sex exploiters’ are pedophiles finding it to “grossly over simplify the phenomenon of child sexual exploitation” (2001, p. 8). As an example of this position’s oversight, she offers situational and/or circumstantial abuse whereby men not necessarily seeking a minor take advantage when they find minors working alongside adults in truck stops or on the stroll.

Instead O’Connell Davidson places the problem with masculinity. She believes that many men are morally indifferent to this form of sexual abuse, because it is not viewed as abuse at all. O’Connell Davidson concludes that education on commercial child sexual exploitation should be instigated in fields harbouring a culture of heightened masculinity such as armed forces (including peacekeeping missions), truck drivers and corporate businessmen.



*Figure B*

*Figure B.*

This image was part of Barnardo's "Stolen Childhood" campaign from 2002. Barnardo's is a high profile children's charity based in the United Kingdom. Barnardo's has notoriously made use of shocking imagery to evoke public discussion. Here the advertisement draws upon our extra discursive knowledge that children are naturally innocent and that this innocence fails with age (hence the children's digitally altered heads, which appear withered and greyed). Further, we must cohere that innocence is a tangible thing that can be stolen if not adequately defended.

*Psycientific cyberphiles*

I have omitted a specific academic discipline up to this point, one that prides itself on its knowledge of sexual perpetrators as mad monsters. Academics within the field of the psych sciences have stayed relatively true to the foundation established by Krafft-Ebing (1893). A recent area of literature development is the examination of online perpetrators. Much of this work stems from psychological deviance studies (Quayle & Taylor, 2001; Quayle, Vaughan & Taylor, 2005; Durkin & Bryant, 1999), psychiatry (Malesky & Ennis, 2004) and criminology (Seto, 2008; Sheldon & Howitt, 2007). The majority of this research uncritically accepts that all men who sexualise children are by definition, pedophiles and focuses predominantly on the cognitive processes associated with engaging with online ‘child pornography’. Following Finkelhor (1984), research focusing upon offenders presents distorted thinking as the paramount causal factor in sexual abuse against children. This has continued into present online contexts. The exact nature of cognitive distortions, however, is ambiguous. Ward and Siegert (2002) hold that cognitive distortions held by pedophiles facilitate sexual offending. By contrast, Gannon and Polaschek (2005) understand cognitive distortions as justifications for behaviour post-offence. Such inconsistencies have lead Sheldon and Howitt (2007) to question the scientific community’s application of the notion and ultimately to conclude, “arguably, the concept of cognitive distortion has achieved a centrality exceeding its demonstrated importance” (p. 470). Nevertheless, they devote an entire chapter to the concept in their book on online sexual offenders (Sheldon & Howitt, 2007).

Isolating cognitive distortions as the main causal factor of child sexual abuse is insufficient. Considering the idealisation and commodification of sexualised childhood innocence in mainstream media, we cannot so easily blame an individual’s faulty thinking for

child sexual abuse. I believe there is a dangerous manufacturing of mixed-messages in the West. Thinking of children in a sexual way is morally wrong, illegal even, yet, hour-long television programs devoted to stories of child sexual abuse are top-rated programs and we prefer our sexiest pop stars virginal (à la early Britney Spears). Rather than developing cognitive restructuring techniques, the approach to battling commercial child sexual exploitation is large-scale. Yes, perpetrators of commercial sexual abuse must be held responsible through the stricter enforcement of pre-established laws, but we also need to evaluate our two-faced cultural practices that contribute to the sexualisation of children.

### **The Monster Emerges Part III: The Victorian Monster**

#### *“The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon”*

One historical site of emergence for the monster discourse bears a particularly uncanny resemblance to the form permeating culture today. First appearing on July 4th, 1885, “The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon” offers a striking example of the promotion of the sexual monster discourse as it pertains to child sexual exploitation. Victorian Canada had its own sensational stories about the proliferation of commercial child sexual exploitation. The ‘crisis’ of “white slavery” was a discourse seeped in racism and colonialism, which was promoted by social purists including Presbyterian minister, John Shearer. The racialised culprits responsible for enlisting innocent white girls into “white slavery” were most often Italian or “Chinamen” (Valverde, 2008). The panic over ‘white slavery’ though widespread was found to be largely fictitious, ultimately resulting in no more than a few arrests (McLaren, 1986, Valverde, 2008). Although it is British, “The Maiden Tribute to Modern Babylon”, offers a clearer example of the degenerated, non-raced and degenerate monster than the Canadian coverage of the ‘white slave trade’, which had its own complex racist and imperialist motives (for literature on Canadian “white slavery”, see McLaren, 1986; Brock, 1999; Doezema, 2000; Valverde, 2008; Hallgrimsdottir et al, 2008). As it is a strong exemplar of the emergence of the monster discourse, I highlight ‘The Maiden Tribute’ as an object of analysis in my genealogy.

“The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon” was a set of instalments featured in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, a daily London newspaper. Authored by W.T. Stead, “The Maiden Tribute” was among the first pieces of ‘New Journalism’, which introduced the human-interest story to a mixed-class audience. The movement to ‘New Journalism’ is well-studied (Ornebring, 2006; Walkowitz, 1992; Wiener, 1988; Brown, 1985) as an effort to personalise and sensationalise

journalism and to elicit an emotional response from the expanded readership. A critical analysis of the 'Maiden Tribute' comes from feminist historian, Judith Walkowitz (1992). Of Stead's journalistic blend of genres Walkowitz writes,

To construct his narrative, Stead drew on older cultural forms - particularly melodrama and the literature of urban exploration-but grafted on newer forms - late Victorian pornography and fantasy, the Gothic fairytale...Through this melange, he produced an unstable text and a contradictory, obsessive discourse around sexuality that remained a legacy for the modern era (p. 85).

Stead used allusion to Greek mythology to lend a grandiose literary feel to his writing (Walkowitz, 1992). The very title of the series is derived directly from a myth found in *Heroides* that is attributed to Ovid. According to this myth, Athens sent out a tribute of seven young men and seven maidens to Crete every nine years. The ship's unfortunate passengers were then tossed into the Labyrinth of Daedaleus to roam, trying every door in vain only to eventually be devoured by the frightful Minotaur. The tribute was sent as payment to satisfy this horrific monster - the offspring of King Mino's wife, Pasiphaë and the Cretan Bull<sup>2</sup>. Writing for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Stead cast aristocratic men as Minotaurs preying on young girls who emitted sobs of terror nightly rather than every nine years. Not surprisingly, Stead cast himself as Theseus, the hero of the myth who was responsible for the slaying of the Minotaur.

Stead selected the Minotaur myth in place of many other maiden myths available.

Walkowitz (1992) impressively processes his choice. Firstly, she proposes, the Minotaur myth

---

<sup>2</sup> The Cretan Bull was sent by Poseidon as an intended sacrifice. Failing to sacrifice the beautiful beast, Mino suffered punishment when his wife then fell in romantic love with the white bull at Poseidon's will.

translates well to the notion of sexual danger in an urban setting as the Cretan Labyrinth was as large as a town with countless doors and corners much akin to London's streets and alleyways at the time of his writing. The casting of the Minotaur is also befitting as he supposedly committed sexual acts of violence upon his sacrifices. Stead focused heavily on violence depicting aristocratic tastes for sadism in their commercial abuse of young girls. "Flogging, both of men and women, goes on regularly in ordinary rooms, but the cry of the bleeding subject never attracts attention from the outside world" (Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon, 1885, July 6, *PMG*, p. 4). Walkowitz (1992) also points out that the Minotaur was a product of female sexual depravity. This is apt considering "The Maiden Tribute" strongly highlighted money-hungry, morally deficient mothers who sold their daughters into sexual slavery. The July 7<sup>th</sup>, 1885 episode features a subheading entitled "The Responsibility of Mothers", in which Stead scolds mothers, particularly Protestant mothers, for not educating their daughters on the subject of sex and 'seduction'. As a result, "even more than the scandalous state of the law, the culpable refusal of mothers to explain to their daughters the realities and the dangers of their existence contributes to fill the brothels of London", writes Stead (The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon, 1885, July 7, *PMG*, p.2). Worse still were the mothers described by Stead's account, to "consent to their seduction for the sake of the price paid by their seducer" (Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon, 1885, July 6, *PMG*, p. 4). In the instalment "Child of Thirteen Bought for £5", Stead claimed to have witnessed a mother sell her daughter, whom Stead gave the pseudonym "Lily", to a brothel owner. Stead describes the mother: "the woman was poor, dissolute, and indifferent to everything but drink" (Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon, 1885, July 6, *PMG*, p. 5).

*Bad Monsters*

Sensationalist headlines such as “Strapping Girls Down” conveyed the message that the problem of young girls coerced into ‘white slavery’ was astonishingly prevalent. The paying consumers of this abuse were, according to Stead, exclusively the ultra-rich. Aristocratic monsters such as the “London Minotaur” occupied their time in the spotlight. Dramatic statements such as “the maw of the London Minotaur is insatiable, and none that go into the secret recesses of his lair return again” (Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon, 1885, July 6, *PMG*, p. 12) are evidence of Stead’s gothic stylistic lineage. Cameron and Frazer (1987) contend that casting the ‘sex beast’ in the role of hero is a marker of gothic literature. As they illustrate, it is not a great leap to discuss the perpetrator of sexual violence as a hero. Often portrayed as the principle lone character, the sexual monster has been the star of many a novel or newspaper article. Today, this hero has matured onto the silver screen. One needs only to peruse the shelves at any video rental store for convincing: major motion pictures featuring Johnny Depp as Jack the Ripper (2001), as well as one named *Karla* (2006) after Karla Homolka. There are also productions entitled *Dahmer* (2002) and *Ted Bundy* (2002). The latter is reviewed online “5 stars BRUTAL!!! This is the best serial killer movie out there! This movie is graphic. It shows the death, rape, and torture. The acting is excellent. Highly recommended [sic] to fans of serial killers” (retrieved July 25<sup>th</sup>, 2008 from <http://www.cduniverse.com/productinfo.asp?pid=6866552&style=movie>). Dulled by rich saturation, our savage palates have become more discerning. We are now too lazy to imagine horrific scenes; preferring instead to invite the detailed flashing images into our living rooms.

Cameron and Frazer (1987) present two types of sexually violent heroes. The first is the sex fiend/beast/monster; a subhuman version of evil. The appropriate societal response to this creature is moral condemnation. The second type is the rebel or libertine - an existential outsider

often portrayed with a flavour of twisted brilliance. Jack the Ripper is commonly depicted in this light. The public has responded to this hero with fascination and dark delight, watching remake after remake of movies about him and reading countless books. In both forms, the predator as hero is a man trapped in the state of nature uncivilized. The hero influence on the discourse of sexual monsters creates a clear separation from civil society. It therefore provides a safeguard from suspicion for white, middle class men who present as ‘normal’, morally decent citizens. In fact, this was one undercurrent in the ‘Maiden Tribute’ series.

The nineteenth century saw a shift in masculine ideals from Libertarian predatory sexual explorers to Evangelical purists and hard-working family providers. As Jackson notes in the following quote, Stead’s monster provided ammunition for the lower and middle classes in the battle to claim moral superiority over the rich.

The *Pall Mall Gazette*’s aristocratic ‘monster’ despoiling the daughters of the poor, appealed to both long-established middle-class notions of moral superiority over a decadent and corrupt aristocracy and to working-class notions of ‘respectability’ in the face of exploitation by the ruling classes (2000, p.112).

The image of the child sexual abuser, in the nineteenth century took the form of rich aristocrats because of their opposition to masculine ideals of hard-working and decent men. The social ill of children in brothels was attached to a certain socioeconomic group of men rather than men in general. Formally separating sexual abuse from everyman lessened the threat to dominant patriarchy as the notion of husbands and fathers as the protectors of their families. Walkowitz (1980) illustrates how male sexual reproach also flowed down the social ladder. She writes:

sexual respectability became a hallmark of the labor aristocrat, anxious to distance himself from the ‘bestiality’ of the casual laboring poor...social purity, which

called on men to protect and control their women, served as the ideological corollary of the family wage, morally legitimating the prerogatives of patriarchy inside and outside the family (p. 130).

The discursive need for villains has only intensified since the 1980's when feminists effectively blew the lid off the secret of child sexual abuse (Rush, 1980; Gordon, 1988). The affirmation was made that "the men come from every social class, and from all kinds of families and cultures; they are brothers, uncles, babysitters, friends, strangers, grandfathers, stepfathers and fathers" (McLeod & Saraga, 1988, pp. 16-17). Radical feminists began to speak and write of the knowledge built into too many women's experiences throughout time: protection was often needed *from* the patriarch. This threatened to rupture the façade of necessary patriarchal control over women and children. It is not surprising then that the role of male heroes in the battle against pedophiles is now a built-in feature of the monster discourse. Despite the work of nineteenth-century women's organisations, W.T. Stead was championed in the efforts to eliminate the commercial sexual abuse of girls. Today we have Paul Gillespie, a masculine family man. At this point I will take a brief departure from the "Maiden Tribute" to highlight the subject positions reserved for men in the contemporary crusade against pedophile monsters. I will do so by critically deconstructing the *Reader's Digest* article, "R U in Yr PJs?" by Julia Morgan (2006). I chose this article for its clear illustration of the discursive contrast between the strongly gendered detectives as protectors and heroes, and the child sexual abuser as a degendered monster.

### ***Case Study #2***

"R U in Yr PJs?" (Morgan, 2006) follows Canadian police detective, Paul Gillespie who, at the time was the head of the Toronto Police Department's Child Exploitation Unit. What

is most interesting to me about this article, apart from its appallingly graphic voyeurism, is the construction of Gillespie as a character in juxtaposition with the pedophile monster. He is established as a male protagonist archetype early in the story.

The article opens with Gillespie, run down but persevering. This is a dominant theme through the story's narrative arc. We are told that the detective arrives at police headquarters at "5am on a Sunday" and that other than him, "the building was deserted" (Morgan, 2006, p. 131). Already this sets Gillespie apart. He works hard for the taxpayer's money, coming in when his idle co-workers are still in bed. What Gillespie stumbles upon is a trauma-inducing set of online images of child sexual abuse, which are described in full graphic detail for our reading. The imagery is surprising in its context; hardly befitting of its location nestled in between the quips and quotes of the "Laughter, the Best Medicine" and "Life's Like That" columns (just two of the many reasons I would never pick up a Reader's Digest outside of a doctor's office). It was these images that first set Detective Sergeant Paul Gillespie upon his online monster crusades.

As a willing hero, Gillespie is relentless in his pursuits, even enlisting the help of Microsoft mogul, Bill Gates in his fight to conquer online 'child pornography', a story which is "now almost legendary" (p. 135). It is only appropriate after all, that a protagonist would have legends.

As the head of the Child Exploitation Unit, Gillespie is backed by an elite team. Morgan (2006) introduces the reader to five specialists. The roles of the four men are given aggressive and exciting job descriptions such as "busting-up" crime, "masquerading as a hard-core paedophile", and expert "background photo analysis" (p. 132). The one woman we met in the article, Lori Haggett, is described as a "veteran of the force and also a grandmother" (p.132). Both "veteran" and "grandmother" are associated with older age and tell us that she is loyal and

defined by her familial role. Further, Lori's role is to interview children. This draws upon the reader's coherence that men are aggressors and women, as nurturers, are good with children – especially sweet old grandmothers. Reference is made to John Menard's family as well, however, the assertion that he is, “at 28, a new father” (once again distinguishing him from Lori), is sandwiched between the identifiers “super-secret undercover guy” and “whip-smart” (p. 132).

Morgan (2006) uses fatherhood in a very particular way throughout the article. In the episode of *Law & Order* we learned of the fall out caused by three “bad mothers”. Motherhood itself became suspect and yet there were no fathers to speak of. By contrast, in “R U in Yr PJs?” fatherhood is an enduring quality of the detectives. It serves to balance out their machismo images making them more palatable to the audience. For example, Morgan explains that Gillespie was assigned to the Child Exploitation Unit after leaving street patrol “so he would have time to take care of his young son, who had been diagnosed with cancer” (2006, p. 132). This solidifies Gillespie as a noble man because in using our world-knowledge we inherently understand that it is the mother who is expected to stay home with an ailing child. This makes Gillespie exceptional. His family life is highlighted again towards the end of article. His wife, (who is not given a name and therefore defined only through her association to Paul) and his “several kids” are his “coping strategies to deal with the daily assault his job takes on his emotional wellbeing (p. 139). Returning to van Dijk's notion of “audience control” (1996, p. 88), the importance of family is worth mentioning considering the readership. *Reader's Digest* caters primarily to married heterosexual couples with children (*Reader's Digest* Association, 2008). Drawing attention to shared values helps to humanise the detectives who seem at times quite Hollywood. Take the following portrayal of Detective Scott Purches for example: “the burley officer with close-cropped red hair has his gun in his holster, and his handcuffs glint from his

belt as if he were about to make an arrest” (p. 137). While the police officer’s relationships to family are emphasised, the pedophile monster is as far removed from a family as facts allow. The “most evil paedophile the FBI had ever encountered” (p.131) was described as a “male relative” to one of his victims – not an uncle, stepfather, grandfather or father. Not even a man. Organisms of all kinds are considered male, from plants and animals to phytoplankton and now monsters. Familial titles, however, are distinctly human.

The social anxiety surrounding pedophilia leaves no ‘grey area’ between the categories of men and monsters. The predator/protector dichotomy (Cowburn & Dominelli, 2001, p. 409) documented in “R U in Yr PJs?” illustrates that Walkowitz’s (1992) contention that the role of Victorian men was to protect women and children from sexual danger, still holds true today for contemporary men. Morgan’s closing paragraph is evidentiary of this.

But a year to the day after the rescue, Gillespie received a card in the mail. It was from the mother of the three-month-old victim of the North Carolina abuser. "Thankful," it said. "That word can't begin to describe." That helped, Gillespie says, choking up a little. "Maybe she's going to be a brilliant scientist," he reflects, thinking about the young girl who was photographed in a cage. "Maybe she's going to be a statesman. Maybe I'll be reading about her someday – the person who made a difference in the world (2006, “R U in Yr PJs?” p. 140).

Paul Gillespie is portrayed as the archetypical hero, a leader in the modern day monster crusades. As a white, middle class family man, Gillespie’s subjectivity in this article is uncontested. Even in the face of controversy regarding the protection of victim confidentiality, his communication with the media or the allocation of Canadian funds to fight international crime, Gillespie shines. He emphatically responds, “whether it’s my child or somebody else’s child, it’s our child”

(Morgan, 2006, p. 137). For his part, W.T. Stead was not so lucky. I now return to “The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon” to discuss the aftermath of the furore caused by Stead’s journalism.

*Consequences of the “Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon”*

The social consequences resulting from the *Maiden Tribute* were drastic. The newspaper scandal effectively shifted the Victorian public’s discourse regarding sexuality to that of immediate danger. Walkowitz (1992) holds Stead’s *Maiden Tribute* responsible for “a massive political initiative against non-marital, non-reproductive sexuality” (p. 83). Indeed Stead drew support from the social purity movement (he was a friend of Josephine Butler’s and connected to the burgeoning Salvation Army) in his crusade for enactment of the *Criminal Law Amendment Act* (1885), which had previously languished prior to its second reading. *The Criminal Law Amendment Act* of 1885 raised the age of consent for girls from thirteen to sixteen. The *Act* also made the procurement of girls for prostitution by use of intimidation, drugs or fraud a criminal offence; made punishable households which permitted under-age sex on premise; and made the abduction of a girl under eighteen for ‘purposes of carnal knowledge’ an offence (Wiener, 2004; Walkowitz, 1992). Stead so incited the public to such action through his stories in *The Pall Mall Gazette* (*PMG*) that the *Act* that at one time had simply faded away for lack of political interest, now garnered a demonstration in Hyde Park an estimated 250,000 strong. The demonstration was a discursive battle site. In the beginning of this chapter, I described such sites as points at which domination is exercised. During the demonstration, social purists used theatrical displays such as “wagonloads of young virgins dressed in white, flying the banner ‘Innocents will they be slaughtered’” (Walkowitz, 1992, p. 109). This display once again linked purity to whiteness. Writing in the Canadian context, Valverde asserts, “the clean souls and bodies prized by social purists were not only symbolically but literally white” (2008, p. 104). The demonstration held in

Hyde Park incited the crowd in their successful demand for a law that regulated the public's collective sexuality. The *Act* carried consequences outside of protecting young girls from sexual exploitation. For example, *Criminal Law Amendment Act* also criminalised all contact deemed sexual between men both in public and private. This effectively constrained the existence of "homosexual men in Britain, seeking to live their lives under the provisions of one enormously pervasive and invasive piece of legislation" (Hennegan, 2002, p. 881). It was this *Act* under which Oscar Wilde was sentenced to death.

In an ironic turning of the table, Stead himself was prosecuted on charges of abduction and indecent assault after Elizabeth Armstrong recognized her daughter, Eliza, as the character of 'Lily' in Stead's "Child of Thirteen Bought for £5". Although a paying man spared Eliza from sexual assault, she was subjected to the entire process of introduction into the Victorian market of sexual exploitation. Assuming the role of one of his Minotaurs, Stead paid for a procuress, Rebecca Jarrett, to take Eliza Armstrong to endure a genital examination by a midwife who certified her as a virgin. Eliza was also drugged and taken to a brothel where she was led to believe she would be sexually assaulted.

After Stead published the story of Lily (Eliza), Elizabeth Armstrong, in defence of her family's name, went public in search for her 'abducted' daughter. Once heralded as a hero, Stead was now vilified and surprisingly subjected to his own stern punitive stance in a very public manner; "most authors of political fictions did not expect to be pursued by their own characters into the law courts and confronted with opposing versions of the story" (Walkowitz, 1992, p. 106).

Stead was eventually sentenced to three months imprisonment. Originally sentenced to the dismal Coldbath Fields Prison, Stead's privilege and notoriety allowed him to obtain a

transfer to the stately Holloway Prison. Far from distressed, in "My First Imprisonment" (1886) Stead wrote, "I have ever been the spoiled child of fortune, but never had I a happier lot than the two months I spent in happy Holloway". Stead died as a passenger on the Titanic in 1912.

The *Criminal Law Amendment Act* also empowered the court system to remove girls from their legal guardians if they condoned her 'seduction'. This last measure had significant implications for the roots of modern child protection. Walkowitz points out "despite the public outcry against corrupt aristocrats and international traffickers, the new bill was mainly enforced against the working-class women" who were seen as negligent in protecting their daughters from moral corruption (1980, p. 128). The harshest judgement was reserved for those women who were involved in prostitution or lived in areas associated with prostitution.

As documented by Joyce Goodman (2003), the responsibility to remove children living in brothels in Manchester was initially granted to the Manchester School Board under the Industrial Schools Amendment Act of 1880. Goodman writes,

these laws aimed to 'protect' young girls by regulating sexuality but like other laws that followed, they constituted increasing incursions into the homes and lives of working-class women and girls (2003, p. 77).

The instigator behind these early removals, Ellice Hopkins, went on to implement chapters of the Ladies' Associations for the Care of Friendless Girls throughout England. Concerned with the moral purity of girls, women reformers sought to protect girls through secure custody. Brown (2004) points out that the line between control and protection is blurry at best. She writes, "it was a restricted notion of protection that was utilised, one that emphasised protecting children from their own impulses and protecting society from the threat abused children posed" (Brown, 2004, p. 347). Commercially sexually exploited children and youth were seen as

menacing because they were trapped between images of childhood innocence and “brazen-faced harlot” (Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon, 1885, July 8, *PMG*, p. 5). The fear of children with “knowledge of evil” (Brown & Barrett, 2002) is reminiscent of the contemporary arguments discussed earlier in the chapter pertaining to the Canadian approach of protective punishment for youth who have experienced sexual exploitation (Bittle, 2002). Children and youth who do not fit neatly into the Western construct of innocence established in the Victorian era (white, pure, vacant and asexual) are suspiciously bewildering; where do we place them on the spectrum of victimhood when they cease to embody the perfect victim?

### ***Conclusion***

The qualities of the “Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon” as a site of emergence for the pedophile monster are tied to the characteristics and mechanisms of the current materialisation of the discourse. In both occurrences the monster is depicted as appearing as a result of the recent and acute decline of the period’s society. The perception of a newly sinking morality combined with the quickly changing 'ways of the world' constructs social problems as modern phenomena. In this way, the commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth is always treated as a new crisis in the media and in much of the academic literature within the social sciences. This treatment of the problem has hindered the development of perpetrator prevention strategies such as the above-mentioned proposal by Bolen (2003). Further, the state of emergency attributed to 'lost innocence', 'fallen girls', and now 'lost childhood' has failed to produce empowering long-term service approaches for survivors of commercial sexual exploitation or intervention strategies for those still being exploited.

Initially, I had been interested in how discourses surrounding child sexuality had been sequestered into the medico-judicial realm. However, through my critical analysis of historical

and current pieces of media, I have identified two discursive streams for constructing the pedophile monster. The mad monster is the pathological pedophile treated through psychiatry, whereas the bad monster is simply morally corrupt; there is no treatment for the beast. The pedophile monster discourse has developed throughout time so that it has become increasingly difficult to isolate mad from bad as they meld together to substantiate one another. For example, in the case study of *Law & Order: Special Victims' Unit*, the portrayal of a reclusive child sexual abuser was strengthened by our ability to draw upon extra-discursive knowledge of psychodynamic theory and developmental fixation. The language of *fixation* and *regression* are long established in our cultural lexicon. According to Prentky and Burgess (2000) “the terms are widely used, sometimes with passing consideration for ‘criteria’, but more often in a casual or informal way. One could reasonably conclude that, at this point, these two terms have become part of the clinical lore” (p.42). The plot in *Law & Order* is all the more Freudian for the offender’s fixation is on his mother. Similarly in the *Reader’s Digest* article, “R U in Yr PJs?”, the term “evil pedophiles” is an exact hyphenation of the bad and mad discursive strands.

As the discourse of morally repugnant beasts benefits from the legitimacy of science, science replenishes its legitimacy by presenting itself as the only answer in ridding society of the monsters so high on the popular agenda. After all, the pedophile is nothing if not tremendously popular. As revealed in this chapter, since “The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon” there have been resurgences of the pedophile monster. His place in the public discourse rotates out when other forms of sex beasts (such as the rapist or psychotic sex murderer) occupy the public’s attention.

In this chapter I highlighted some sites of emergence for the pedophile monster discourse. I also began to consider some of the work this particular discourse has done in our patriarchal

culture throughout history. As identified throughout the chapter, these contributions are perhaps most visible at times when the doctrine of masculinity falters. The flip side of this coin is exploring how the pedophile monster discourse has prevented, or at the very least, hindered progress towards ending commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth since the *Pall Mall Gazette* publicly pronounced it a social problem in the West almost 125 years ago.

## **Chapter Five**

### **Foucault in Cyberspace: The Online Confessional**

“What are we now?” Foucault began his descent into the heart of his lecture held at Berkley (1983) with this question. It is because of this question that any project that seeks to trouble contemporary human behaviour from a Foucauldian perspective must at some point confront the human subject. During the same lecture, Foucault identified Kant’s text, “What is Enlightenment” (written in 1784) as the first work that concerned itself with the question of “the nature, the meaning, the historical and philosophical signification of the very moment when the philosopher writes and, which, he is himself a part” (April 12, 1983. Recording accessed online at [http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/mrc/search\\_vod?avr=1&keyword=Foucault](http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/mrc/search_vod?avr=1&keyword=Foucault)).

Foucault holds that the incorporation of the philosopher’s own actuality into his or her musings and the recognition of the task of this philosophising in relation to one’s actuality is the definitive aspect of Western philosophy since Enlightenment. In his lecture, Foucault calls this the “formal ontology of truth” or the “critical analysis of knowledge” (ibid.). While I am no philosopher, I recognize the importance in this statement. Simply put, contextual analysis must account for the context and subjective knowledge must question the role of the subject.

According to his essay, “The Subject and Power” (1983), Foucault’s goal was not to study power. The question of power arose when Foucault attempted to situate the subject and found that humans are “placed in power relations that are very complex” (p. 209). Foucault’s enduring objective was, in fact, “to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects.” (p. 208). He did so through the study of three ‘objectifying’ modes “which transform human beings into subjects” (p. 208).

The first objectifying mode is that of ‘divisive practices’ which, separate the subject from others through exclusion, or divides the subject inside him or her self. In *Madness and Civilization* (1973) Foucault focused upon the divisive practice of separating the mad from the sane. Similarly, in *Discipline and Punish* (1979), he highlighted the separation and isolation of criminals from ‘good citizens’ and the binary upon which this exercise of exclusion depends. Gordon (1999) summarizes: “the power of normalization determines the "acceptable" limits of behavior by demarcating the normal and "respectable” (p. 399). Through divisive practices, individuals may be separated from the masses and effectively Othered. Rabinow (1984) points out that “in this process of social objectification and categorization, human beings are given both a social and a personal identity” (p. 8).

My thesis is largely concerned with identifying the divisive practices that seek out and isolate pedophile monsters from the rest of society. In particular, the genealogical analysis found in Chapter Four isolates emergences of the pedophile monster discourse beginning with the contemporary form and tracing back as far as the Victorian era. In each emergence throughout history divisive practices are found to single out individuals as monsters. In my analysis I argued that such practices work to alleviate ‘decent’ or ‘respectable’ men from suspicious gazes when determining responsibility for commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth.

The second objectifying mode is initiated by “the modes of inquiry which try to give themselves the status of science” (Foucault, 1983, p. 208). For the sake of simplicity I will adopt Rabinow’s (1984) term, “scientific classification” (p.8). Examples of objectification of the subject through scientific classification include the treatment of the speaking subject in the study of linguistics or the subject as living in natural biology. Although this form of

objectification is related to the first (divisive practices), Foucault identifies it as separate. For example within the context of my thesis, scientific classification would entail that a man receive psychiatric assessment in the form of standardised tests or objective analysis of his disclosures. The man would then be labelled a ‘pedophile’ and as such, he would be objectified through the divisive practice of imprisonment and perhaps ongoing medical treatment.

The third objectifying mode seeks to study how the human subjectifies him or her self by utilizing ‘technologies of the self’. *The History of Sexuality* (1980) is concerned with this mode. Foucault traces the confession as a ‘technology of the self’ through a genealogical analysis of Western sexuality. Foucault holds that the perpetual act of confessing has come to define human relationships to each other and to ourselves (our self). The confessional ‘technology of the self’ insists that we are constantly engaged in a process of self-inspection and self-governance. Subjects are, therefore, tangled in power relations. Foucault is quite clear that we cannot isolate the subject from power. In fact, for Foucault, the subject is a discursive effect of power. Even one’s body is inscribed with institutional operations of power. In “Power/Knowledge” (1980) Foucault writes, “the individual with his identity and characteristics is the product of a relation of power exercised over bodies, multiplicities, movements, desires, forces” (Foucault, 1980, p. 74).

The current chapter focuses upon Foucault’s mode of “subjectification” (Foucault, 1983, p. 208), as a framework of analysis to understand the processes by which men who meet online to discuss the commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth are transformed into subjects under the pedophile monster discourse. The application of Foucault’s ideas is complicated by the online context in which my research takes place. Therefore, the chapter is punctuated with

discussions attending to the question of subjectivity in a disembodied online context and how to understand disciplinary power in a context that is, by its very nature, decentralised.

### *Subjectivity(ies)*

As stated elsewhere in this thesis, the treatment of the subject is an ongoing disputation between structuralist and poststructuralist scholars. Prior to immersing into a highly specific discussion on how to conceive of subjective practices in an online context, I will outline the key arguments mounted by postmodernists against the Enlightenment conceptualisation of the subject.

Reason and liberty are cornerstones of Enlightenment philosophy. For Kant and his contemporaries, the subject is free and is the ruler of his will. As such, all (white) men were entitled to equality under the newly valorised notion of justice. The enforcement of justice was idealised as civil obedience rather than sovereign domination. By this, the rational subject would logically adhere to rules that were in accordance to the nature of man. Hence the term ‘rational law’ or Hobbes’ theory of ‘natural law’, which built upon Aristotle’s idea of an obvious or naturally occurring law that was universally relevant.

The theory of natural law is based upon the assumption that there is in fact, an essence of man which pre-exists his cultural context and that this essence is universal or consistent among all subjects. Indeed Enlightenment thinkers held that the nature of the subject was knowable through science because the subject himself was knowing.

I have been writing in the masculine form not out of ignorance but intention. The problem of subject remains one of the most controversial factors in the acceptance of a poststructural epistemological framework for feminist scholars. To return to the preliminary

discussion of subjectivity in Chapter Two, Enlightenment reasoning defined women as objects of knowledge, medicine and procreation, in opposition to reasonable male subjects.

For French philosophers such as Derrida, Lyotard and Foucault, the atrocities of the Second World War exposed in blinding light, the disillusion of a just and rational society based on human rights. The only possibility for change was through the rejection of Enlightenment ideology. Gone was the optimistic search for an obtainable truth and the assumption that society was on a linear path of progress. Instead, postmodernists argued that truth was socially constructed through language and the processes of meaning making, hence, the assiduous treatment of discourse. Beyond claims to knowledge in the social world, discourse is used to construct the self. While structuralists focus upon a stable core self and identity as a political strategy, poststructuralists challenge the possibility of a consistent self. Instead, they understand subjectivity to be constituted by discourse. This is the crux of the modernist/postmodernist debate on the subject. Foucault viewed the subject as an effect of discourse. Foucault urged us to "call back into question the absolute character and founding role of the subject" (1984, p. 118). Instead of a knowing subject who is thought to pre-exist society, Foucault was concerned with analyzing and historicizing the subject as a variable, contextual and non-linear discursive function. This erases the possibility of the Enlightenment concept of human nature; a move that has led critics to accuse Foucault's approach of being subjectless. In fact, Foucault's major works are primarily concerned with the production of *particular kinds* of subjects: the mad, the criminal, and the sexual pervert (McHoul & Grace, 1993). Understanding that subjectivity is produced and embodied as discursive effects, Foucault is rejecting the only *essential subject*.

For feminist scholar, Jane Flax, neither the rational dualist Cartesian subject, nor the structural critique of the postmodern subject as decentred, disorganized, and lacking agency

offers an acceptable conceptualisation of subjectivity. Flax (1993) sees potential in the idea of multiple, rather than fragmented subjectivity. Her notion of subjectivity “would be fluid rather than solid, contextual rather than universal, and process oriented rather than topographical” (p. 93). As an answer to the image of the postmodern condition as disconnected and discontinuous, Flax holds that balance lies in the organisation of one’s multiple subjectivities.

A multiple approach to subjectivity opens up possibilities for understanding the process of self-making in an online context.

Despite my claim that the online self is not in opposition to the corporeal form, the process of creating selfhood online is not the same. As Waskul, (2003) writes, “chat environments deny physical presence, nothing can be directly observed - everything must be communicated; all elements of selfhood must be presented to others; one must literally write one’s self into existence” (p. 42). Because of this, cyber subjectivities have a different temporal quality than physically situated subjectivities. The process of sharing characteristics is non-linear in a physical sense as the priority of characteristics may shift in an online context. For example, the disclosure of one’s race may be of less initial importance to an online book forum than one’s impression of the main character’s motives. I am by no means under the utopian assumption that one’s racialised experience is erased online. Indeed the interpretation of the book’s character will still be contextual to the subject’s view of the social world. Online, however, the sharing of such identity markers is now a choice rather than a given.

### *Disembodied subjects*

While Flax (1993) embraces multiplicity, she recognizes that the body restricts the range of subjectivities available to an individual. The body is marked. Other people interpret one’s physicality instantaneously based on societal norms and values. The body is gendered, and it is

judged based on ability, race, cultural beauty standards, age, and so on. In turn these judgements inform the creation of one's subjectivity.

According to Foucault, power is articulated on the body. The imprints that institutions make on the body form what he called the 'embodied self'; "the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives" (Foucault, 1980, p. 39). In Crossley's (2006) interpretation, embodiment involves "an internalization of external 'panoptic' mechanisms." (p. 22). We, as Western subjects, receive institutional disciplinary training in every aspect of our lives to insure that we gain self-mastery and awareness over our selves. Eventually we assume the role of disciplinarian, governing and policing ourselves from within.

The necessity of a corporeal host is challenged in cyberspace. Short of posted pictures, there are no bodies and even still, there are no guarantees that the picture is actually of the poster. Members of the online community do not base judgement on one another based on physical appearance. This is not to say looks simply do not matter online. In the absence of a physical body, a symbolic body takes precedent. In their study of cybersex participants, Waskul and Douglass (2000) found that users textually present themselves in accordance with the sexual fantasy they are enacting. The symbolic attributes of the participant may change from scene to scene. Although seemingly, this allows for freedom from the confines of culturally prescribed beauty, Waskul and Douglass found the opposite. "The fluidity of both body and self - presentation does not free participants from the shackles of the beauty myth but only allows them to redefine themselves in accordance with that myth" (2000, p. 390).

Individuals who interact online are in a continuous process of (re)constructing their subjectivities in the context of discourses available on the Internet. One physical body is able to

present many different and perhaps, contradictory subjectivities: a notion of importance in deconstructing the pedophile monster. Monsters are easily identifiable, however, men with monsters within may not be. It is entirely possible by this assumption, that one man's body hosts 'the professional' subject, 'the father', and 'the online predator'. Because anonymity on the Internet offers protection for stigmatized interests to emerge, it is a highly relevant site to study the processes by which individuals become subjects through discourse.

Adopting Foucault's notions of embodiment and panopticism provides insight into how disciplinary practices have been established in a once unregulated cyberspace. As aforementioned, institutional power is inscribed on the embodied subject forcing him to self-monitor and govern himself in fear of ubiquitous surveillance. The advent of mainstream Internet provided temporary respite from the possibility of perpetual external inspection. For some men, the ability to be just an IP address or number overtakes the physicality and accountability of a subject or person. Prospective impunity was too enticing for even the learned self-policing and self-mastery; anonymity was too tempting for the reflexive self. Ever so briefly freed from external eyes, the longstanding hope of a rational and obedient subject was lost. From here the importance of rapidly perpetuating the online predator discourse becomes clear. When faced with a loss of control over the population, it became necessary for moral agents to proclaim that online surveillance was unrelenting, the attack on 'cyberpedophiles' was immediate, and that the public's online activities were being recorded at all times. 'Pedophile ring crackdowns' entered the public lexicon following high profile seizures of downloaded child pornography. Mehta and Darier (2001) write that the "power effects of these cases are felt by other users who may change their behavior and/or find ways of resisting being caught" (p. 110).

The inconceivable possibilities of the net have fed the creation of an online panopticon, the fear of a centralised power in a context that is by its very nature, decentralised. What keeps this panopticon going is the terror that one's online subjectivities may one day be linked to their physical host. Upon this discovery, the man may be transformed in to a monster. With this transformation, punishment would be enforced upon the body and the soul in a prison.

The above circumstance conveys the re-internalisation of external forms of discipline. The subject modifies or hides his behaviour in accordance to institutional surveillance and the threat of divisive force, separating him as an individual from the mainstream based on his identity as a pedophile monster. While external exercises of power are authoritative, Foucault contended that we, as subjects, are acted upon most effectively by powers that are internal to our own sense of self. In *The History of Sexuality* (1980), Foucault provided a genealogy of the confession as a meticulous ritual of power and in the next section I will look at this work in more detail.

### ***Technology of the Self for Techies***

Beginning with ancient Greece with a focus on the Hellenistic Stoic movement, Foucault argued that the care of one's self was once among the highest of ethical merits. This care was not only physical (*gymnasia*) but entailed understanding and preparation of the self through meditation and the interpretation of dreams. The wellbeing of the self was, therefore, a holistic project. The mind and body were not conceived of as separate entities as with the Cartesian dualist subject. In his lecture, 'The Culture of the Self' (1983) Foucault conveyed the importance of writing to the constitution of the self. He debunked the assumption held by many that life writing was a discovery linked to the Reformation. In fact, writing the self has a long tradition in the West. In the Greco-Roman tradition, this involved keeping notebooks on the self

(called *hypomnemata*) that held topics for future meditation; meetings with one's master; daily schedules; and the content of one's dreams. Letter writing was also important to one's relationship with his self and others. Through writing "the self becomes a field of observation" (Foucault, 1983, sound recording retrieved from [http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/mrc/search\\_vod?avr=1&keyword=foucault](http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/mrc/search_vod?avr=1&keyword=foucault)).

Foucault documents the shift of the ancient Grecian care of the self to the renouncing of one's self in the Christian ethic. Besley (2005) notes the binary of self-mastery versus self-denial in Foucault's analysis between Greek and Christian aesthetics. In the Christian 'culture of the self, Foucault recognizes the rise of the confession as a new 'technology of the self'. In his description,

Technologies of the self...permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality (Foucault, 1988, p. 18).

Once an annual duty, the Catholic call to confess became a ritualised renunciation of one's self. The Stoic ethic of self-care was diminished; in its place, the inspection of one's thoughts, emotions, dreams and desires. In a religious context the self was constantly under investigation for falters in one's devotion to God. With the help of a listening priest, the confessing individual engaged in the cathartic bleeding of sins in hope of salvation. Since the thirteenth century, the techniques of confessing have changed. Following the Reformation, puritans kept a confessional diary of sins. In Webster's (1996) textual reading of the documents he finds,

these diarists attempt, in casting their accounts at the end of the day, to abstract themselves from their own experience, and adopt an objective position to assess their spiritual state. Here, the written form is critical: the diary makes possible a dialogue between two present selves, subject and object (p. 50).

Antiquity notebooks collected "the already-said" (Foucault, 1983, p. 247) in an effort to constitute oneself through one experiences. Puritan diaries, by contrast, held the spiritual trials and temptations of the former self, the sinner, in the writer's effort to recreate the self post-sin. Regardless of technique, the most important theme of confession was one's sexuality. In *The History of Sexuality* (1980), Foucault argued that the Christian West's movement towards confession signified a formal imperative to "transform your desire, your every desire, into discourse" (p.21).

Through his genealogy, Foucault traced confessional techniques from a religious context "to other domains, first pedagogy, then to prisons and other institutions of confinement and later, in the nineteenth century, to medicine" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p. 176). The confession was adopted by the 'pseudosciences', namely psychiatry, to pathologise sex. In its reincarnation as a medical examination, the confession requires the expertise of a knowing professional to listen, verify, record and interpret its contents. It is the 'psycientific' interpretation of the confession that subjectifies the individual. He has lost the capacity to know the truth about his own sexuality and self, however, through the act of confessing, he has transformed himself into a subject. Nonetheless, the truth about her subjectivity can only be unlocked by an expert.

Foucault wrote:

The confession has spread its effects far and wide. It plays a part in justice, medicine, education, family relationships and love relationships, in the most

ordinary affairs of everyday life, and in the most solemn rites... Western man has become a confessing animal (1980, p. 174).

The confession is no longer an identifiable ritual confined to a certain time or place. Instead it has morphed into an insidious compulsion of self-regulation and inspection. According to Rose (1999), subjectification is no longer reserved for experts in schools, hospitals, and like institutions. Indeed, “the expertise of subjectivity has been built in to the very fabric of existence” (p. 264). Following Foucault, many authors have documented the ever-expanding confessional enterprise from daytime talk shows, to the public declarations of presidential ‘sexual relations’ and tell-all autobiographies (Kincaid, 1998; Rose, 1999; Gill, 2001; Besley, 2005). I would argue, however, that the above examples are of a different breed because they are missing the interactional element of the confessional technology. The contents of one’s darkest closet may be on display for the reader to interpret but there is little connection to the confessant. In their thorough reading of Foucault’s work, Dreyfus and Rabinow (1983) assert that the subject’s role was “to acknowledge, and thus establish for himself, the truth of this expert interpretation” (p. 180). The confession is after all, a practice whereby “a human being turns him-or herself into a subject” (Foucault, 1983, p. 208).

It is my contention that beyond the church and the clinic, we are in the midst of a shift to a new confessional locale: the computer screen. Ironically, ‘technology of the self’ is quite literally, technologically advancing. The purpose of an online forum is to chat or post comments to generate discussion on a topic. Given the anonymity of the context, it is not surprising that chat rooms or discussion forums of a sexual nature are abundant. People use online forums to explore sexuality; however, they also use them to confess their desires to a reader who will analyse, prompt, perhaps console, and ultimately diagnose their online subjectivity. Online,

however, the process is continuous as user after user logs on to respond to this confession. In web-mediated times where 'truth' is available in multitude within milliseconds, the number of verifications received is higher and there are more interpretations for the subject to choose from. Thus, one can expect to come closer to the truth about their self much faster than in formal therapy. Of course, every forum cannot possibly be filled with eager Freuds waiting to share their professional expertise. Rose (1999) holds that popular culture has been so saturated with 'psycientific' discourses that it has become part of our "everyday existence" (p. 264). Pop-psychiatry he continues, often takes the form of mutual help, "where the 'sheep' themselves gather together to care for one another's 'souls'" (p. 265). Take for example a website enticing you to join the "online confessional" where members post the most intimate experiences in explicit detail. The homepage invites:

Have a secret burning you up? Did something you're not proud of?  
 Want to confess, but can't share your secret with friends & family?  
 You're not alone. Join thousands of others and confess your secret here anonymously. It's fast, free, fun, and anonymous-- plus you'll feel better, and get to see how people react to your confession. While you're here, make sure to read the confessions and secrets left by others, and vote on whether they should tell their secrets or not!

When one young member "confessed" that her father had raped her the night prior and she was seriously contemplating suicide, two hundred and sixty-six others posted their counsel. While many implored the subject to "get help", many others posted responses in the same vein as the following, "I am here to talk to and be your friend. Hang on. Write to me if you need a friend. I know it hard with the abuse. I am so sorry". Perhaps, the proliferation of pathologising and counselling discourses, through television, radio shows, advice columns, and self-help books,

combined with the vast availability of ‘knowledge’ online is nullifying the West’s widespread need for the clinician. What is more, Rose argues that paradoxically, as the extension of ‘psy’ ethical discourses and practice takes place, there is an extension of morally permissible conduct. “Quasi-psychological ethics” (p. 264) is bound by only two limits: non-consensual acts (Rose identifies pedophilia as the epitome) and acts of excess. Rose’s theory is evident on a forum established for the exchange of information on the global sex trade where discussion of “underage prostitution” is prohibited but stories containing “tanned teen” and “teen glam” bodies abound.

On forums such as the one above, the confession takes on a further role. The confession is eroticised. Not only is the erotic confessed; the confession takes the form of erotic. Readers explore vicariously through the sacrificed subject’s experiences, yet they are able to castigate the subject at the same time. The dynamic is a personalised form of what I described earlier in this thesis as the work of the pedophile monster as a public figure. That is, as contributors to a sexualised worship of childhood innocence, the crusade against pedophiles allows us a voyeuristic angle into stories of child sexual abuse while protecting us from admitting our interest in the sexualised stories.

### *Conclusion*

In this chapter I have taken up the poststructural concept of subjectivity to once again call into question the idea of a pedophile monster. As an essential subject, the pedophile monster is constructed as a discursive tool, which is used to hold responsibility for the sexual abuse of children, especially commercial sexual abuse.

My genealogical enquiry in Chapter Four highlighted particular sites throughout history where subjects have been objectified by the divisive practice (Foucault, 1983) of singling out sex

monsters to blame for commercial child sexual abuse. This chapter focused on the confession as a subjectifying practice (Foucault, 1983). “Foucault sees the confession, and especially the confession about one’s sexuality, as a central component in the expanding technologies for the discipline and control of bodies, population, and society itself” (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p. 174). I argued that the expansion of this ‘technology of the self’ has infiltrated cyberspace where the interactional process of interpreting one’s confession is multiplied and eternalised. The following chapter will analyse the data collected from online forums pertaining to commercial child sexual abuse in an effort to understand how users discursively construct their subjectivity in relation to the essential ‘pedophile monster’.

## **Chapter Six**

### **Data Analysis**

I struggled for what seems like forever before sitting down to write this chapter. More than severe and overwhelming procrastination, as I had originally resigned myself to, there were actually valid explanations for my hesitation-much of it lay in my methodology.

The first and most straightforward difficulty is that analyzing discourse is an onerous task. It involves taking apart every line, questioning every reference, and building - link by link - the chains that connect discourses to one another and to social practices and institutions. Each posting was read once, analysed and saved, revisited, reanalysed and saved again. I broke each posting apart into each statement and interrogated every aspect. In each posting I accounted for the use of discursive strategies. I questioned the order of words and made explicit the coherence required to read and understand the statement. I then moved beyond linguistics analysis to explore how individual statements connected to other statements, drew upon or borrowed from other discourses and finally how power was wielded through associations with institutions.

Though authors instructing on discourse analysis as a methodology (Gavey, 1989; Burman, 1991; Burman & Parker, 1993; Parker, 1999; Carabine, 2001; Taylor, 2001) warn of the intricacies and work involved in analyzing text, it appears to me that one cannot fully appreciate this advice until fully immersed in the analysis.

Feminist writers demand that the researcher be engaged and close rather than detached and objective in her research (Jaggar, 1989; Gill, 1995; Fine, 1998; Hekman, 1999). However, this call is not followed with a caution of the fallout experienced while engaging in personally meaningful research. I was fully invested in my data collection process. Herein lies the second obstacle in writing up my analysis.

I sat at my computer to research every time I had the time and privacy, which was most often in the evenings. I compulsively read posting after posting, eventually becoming desensitized to how my female body, like every female body, was dismantled by these men to a virtual sum of parts operating only to provide pleasure to them. I followed links that took me to images of child sexual abuse. My visceral reactions to these never ceased, however, I quickly stopped following links. When I finally felt that I was finished collecting data, using Edley's (2001) suggestion that the stage is complete when you have the feeling that you have seen or heard everything before, I set out to analyse. Despite feeling propelled with the momentum of competence after having completed data collection, my progress screeched to a halt. I was completely unable to revisit my data for weeks and when I did finally read it, I had no insight into why I had originally thought it relevant. It was as if my brain had encoded my own knowledge and I did not have the key.

I was septic with toxic material. After time, space and professional help I was able to reflect upon my research. I had wholeheartedly accepted the challenge put forth by feminist scholars to be present in my work however, I had not honoured my boundaries and emotional ability to process noxious information. Rather than folding under the challenge, I relied once again on feminism. I reflected upon my political commitment to my research. I asked myself why I felt this was an important approach to take in the first place. In short, I concluded that the time of doing what is comfortable to the exclusion of what is transformative has come to a close. In our efforts to combat commercial child sexual exploitation, we have spoken all around the issue at length focusing on protecting and saving children and youth 'at-risk'. We must now bear witness to the aspects of commercial child sexual abuse that have been artfully removed

from the discussion, the pieces that do not neatly fit into the savoury package of monsters and innocents. I found the key.

### *Journal Entry # 9-The process*

*I insert my USB drive into its slot. I click 'Save As', type in today's date and sigh. How has my life become saving stories of child abuse? Weird.*

*I eject the drive and begin the process of closing, of erasing evidence.*

*I erase my browsing history, my history of passwords. I erase my cookies, those little gifts given to my computer so that next time I open a shady webpage the stories will come even quicker, even less time to mentally prepare. Not that I use/need it anymore. I then roll over the little vacuum icon on my desktop. I select 'Deep Cleaning'. Deep enough to suck up my cyber hair and toenails, signs that I was there doing this.*

*I wonder if the men online engage in the same daily ritual of sucking up the evidence, of burning the strings that attach their bodies to their stories; the data chains between our online identities and physical beings. This is something different from cleaning up after ourselves-it is cleaning up our Selves. OUR Selves. So there you have it, I have now officially placed myself in a category with the men and their stories. I am officially a creep; online at the same time as them, sitting up all night (why do I do this at night?), reading the same posts, gathering the same information but for very different reasons. Remember that: you are there for a very different reason.*

*Time for my compulsive shower. My ritual of making it alright.  
After cleaning my cyberself I clean my physical body prior to emerging  
into 'real life'. I physically cannot get into bed without a shower. Into  
cyberspace and down the drain.*

The final reason this chapter was difficult for me to write was organisational. Unlike other research methods that look for themes, a poststructural discourse analysis does not search out unifying qualities. This does not pose a problem for analysis in particular; the challenge was in writing up the analysis. I found it hard to formulate a structured discussion without organizing around commonalities found in the data. At these times I reminded myself to focus on the *work* of the discourse.

Having previously undertaken a genealogical analysis of the emergences of the pedophile monster discourse throughout history, this chapter takes on what Foucault called the critical analysis. He wrote in the “Order of Discourse” (1981) “the critical and genealogical descriptions must alternate and complement each other, each supporting the other by turns” (p. 73). Hence, my critical media analysis of a television program and magazine article appearing alongside the genealogical exploration of the nineteenth-century, *Pall Mall Gazette*. This chapter provides a richer critical analysis, as opposed to the previous critiques of current media. The function of the critiques of *Law & Order: Special Victims Unit* and *Reader’s Digest* was to provide an overview of the current context in which the pedophile monster discourse is situated and how it manifests in the mainstream consciousness. This chapter “applies to the systems that envelop discourse, and tries to identify and grasp these principles of sanctioning, exclusion, and scarcity of discourse” (Foucault, 1981, p. 73).

The *work* of the discourse then, refers to the “procedures of exclusion” (Foucault, 1981, p.52). I have already exposed some of these procedures in my analysis of contemporary media examples, *Reader’s Digest* and *Law & Order: Special Victims’ Unit*. There I spoke to the “internal procedures of rarefaction” (Rose, 1981, p. 49), which ensure discourses continually proliferate throughout society. Specifically, I highlighted *Law & Order* as a ‘secondary text’ and

a tool of ‘commentary’ on the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM)*. In supporting the primary text of a discourse, the risk of other discourses being validated is contained, thereby creating a ‘scarcity’ of discursive possibilities and, hence, truths. In my methodology chapter, I spoke to the external procedure of exclusion, prohibition. I discussed how the speaking subject is limited and even disciplined for challenging the established discourse. Such opposition is rejected as taboo and the offending subject will most likely find themselves on the inauspicious side of the madness/reason binary. In the present chapter I revisit these procedures; however, I would like to emphasize the rules of the discourse. That is, how speaking subjects work within the systems and roles set out for them in the discourse they are operating under. Here we can begin to understand the use of discursive strategies and rhetorical devices as management of discursive rules. This is a particularly intriguing context as the men as speaking subjects in this data set are dangling precariously on the edge of monstrosity. As such, their deployment of these management strategies is a crucial determinant in their individual subjectivities and collective identity.

One area of work in which discourse is always engaged is the construction of subjectivity. This chapter examines the tools and discursive moves available for men to ‘subjectify’ (Foucault, 1983) themselves in online forums.

### ***Homosociality***

In my visits to online forums dedicated to the degradation of women and girls I was an outsider. My embodied female self was out of place in the domain of disembodied men. The forums were homosocial environments, cyberspaces where men practiced and performed masculinity amongst themselves. Flood (2008) writes, “homosociality refers to social bonds between persons of the same sex and, more broadly, to same-sex focused social relations” (p.

341). Male homosocial relationships produce masculine social hierarchies founded on “markers of manhood” (Kimmel, 1994, p. 129) such as occupational success, wealth and sexual conquest. Hierarchies based on sexual prowess were evident in online forums where new members asked the advice of the established posters. This was formalised in member profiles, which identified the men as “junior members”, “members” or “senior members”. The men worked their way up the social hierarchy by submitting posts, sharing explicit stories or better yet, pictures of their sexual experiences. One member posted pictures of himself sexually exploiting a girl he claimed was seventeen to an appreciative audience. In his work with young heterosexual men, Flood (2008) found that men often engaged in sexual activity with women with an intended male audience in mind. That is, men would have sex for the story they would later tell to their male friends. The man who took pictures of the seventeen-year-old girl did so to share with the online “collective male gaze” (Flood, p. 348). Dave had a problem with the pictures calling the photographer a “pathetic loser or a man”. Consequently the photographer removed the pictures. This challenge on behalf of the girl was seen as a great betrayal of the community. As Ballz responded:

Pls find another forum...this is not a right place for you... If you have to criticize people who share the info... pls find yourself another website... [I]Nother words... F@#% Off... Honestly speaking...no one is complaining except for you...such a baby....pls keep your dumb comment to yourself & buy a kite & FLY...I am sure the rest of the members here agree with me on this....

Again this is consistent with Flood’s (2008) work where he identified the “primacy of men’s relations with other men” (p. 344). In questioning the ethics of the boys’ club, Dave violated the principle of homosocial bonding where men’s allegiance is to each other in their collective

dominance over women and children. Flood (2008) maintains, “solidarity between men informs men’s sexual violence against women” (p. 342).

### *Normalisation*

Normalising technologies “operate by establishing a common definition of goals and procedures, which take the form of manifestos and, even more forceful, agreed-upon examples of how a well-ordered domain of human activity should be organized” (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p. 198). On this accord, normalisation defines acceptability and its limits. That which falls outside the boundaries of acceptability is considered deviant and, since the establishment of psychological science, pathological. Beyond structures and institutions, such as the justice system or science, which seemingly operate *upon* society from the outside, “normalizing society has turned out to be a powerful and insidious form of domination” (ibid.). This form of control depends upon the proliferation of valorized discourses to establish and maintain normalcy. As discussed in the previous chapter, like all individuals, men who use online forums host multiple contextual subjectivities. They are not simply monsters functioning in a parallel universe, therefore, these men are *subjected to* the same forces of normalisation and the same boundaries of acceptability, though they may not always choose to obey them. Simply put, the men who use online forums to discuss opportunities and experiences pertaining to the sexual exploitation of children and youth are not oblivious to cultural limits of acceptability. Evidence of this statement becomes increasingly clear throughout my analysis of their postings.

As taken up elsewhere in my thesis, the burden of sexual exploitation of children and youth lies mostly with monsters, ‘negligent mothers’, and often the child. Yet, when looking at the media including television, books, newspaper and magazine exposés, it is clear there is a fascination with stories of child sexual abuse. Advertisements capitalize on the double benefit of

our draw to children and the controversy and ensuing coverage. Take for example the Calvin Klein ads of the 1980's featuring a fifteen-year old Brooke Shields, which are often cited in discussions of children and advertising (see for example, Adatto, 2003; Smith, Herman-Giddens & Everette, 2005). Calvin Klein continued to garner attention for his brand in the 1990's using pubescent models in campaigns that were accused of looking like 'child porn' shoots. The televised versions of this campaign featured a young girl who "is told that she's pretty and not to be nervous, as she begins to unbutton her clothes" (<http://www.media-awareness.ca>).



*Figure C.*

I argue that the responsibility for sexualising children lies with Western culture as a whole. We continue to consume images and stories of 'sexy' kids. Consequently, the sexualisation of children has been normalised. The modes by which it has been normalised are complicated, however. We perceive the stories and images as morally wrong, yet the material is shown so often it has become acceptable and commonplace to see sexual depictions of children. As elucidated in Chapter Two, I do not hold that children are asexual creatures, however, the particular brand of sexuality inscribed upon children's bodies is explicitly an adult creation based on adult desires and references.

One reference that surfaced repeatedly online was the high school cheerleader fantasy.

As HeavyHitter<sup>3</sup> posted:

I had the pleasure of spending an hour with the most gorgeous, and very young White gal at one of my fav. a&mp [Asian apartment massage parlour] last weekend. Just imagine you're banging the hottest cheerleader in highschool.lol!<sup>4</sup>

This posting takes for granted that the men reading will appreciate the opportunity to ‘bang the hottest cheerleader’. The poster is not misguided to believe this; the ‘cheerleader fantasy’ is so deeply engrained in our culture that I had to concentrate to avoid being complicit with his statement on sexy cheerleaders. The reader draws upon information in the media, including, but by no means limited to, pornography to establish the coherence of high school students as sex symbols. Teen cheerleaders are the objects of desire in movies, such as the five-time Oscar winning movie, *American Beauty*. Although *American Beauty* comments on the moral taboo of a middle-aged father lusting after a teenaged girl, the movie features extended scenes of the teenaged character stripping seductively during her cheerleading routine, and laying naked in a bath of roses before the man. Before it questions the desire, *American Beauty* reinforces and displays it for a mainstream audience. Similarly, there are many references to schoolgirls in online forums. One member, Big Cruiser, was obviously happy with his experience as evidenced by ‘damn’ written all in caps with four exclamation points:

Just like bangin a little high school girl. DAMNN!!!!

Terry shared:

---

<sup>3</sup> All handles have been changed to prevent any identification. I have not used quotation marks around the pseudonymous handles to avoid redundancy.

<sup>4</sup> All postings appear in their original form, spelling, grammar and language have not been altered. In the case where clarification is needed to make sense of the segment (for example abbreviations, or commonly used terms), explanations are bracketed.

a little story...i was on colorado and what looks like a 16 year old high school girl with a cute outfit asked me for a ride home. Shes cute and had nice curves but just a little too young for me...Anyone else see her around...

It is hard to isolate this as an ‘online predator’ phenomenon when ‘schoolgirl uniform’ is synonymous with sex costume in Western society. For concrete evidence of this, one need only attend Halloween festivities at a nightclub to find a large proportion of the women scantily clad in schoolgirl costumes. Sexy schoolgirls are so normalised that women are choosing this image to sexualise themselves.

The use of “...” as punctuation is telling in Terry’s post. When Terry claims the girl was “just a little too young” for him he uses “...” as an ellipsis – a sign that he has omitted some information. By contrast, when he asks if others “see her around”, he concludes with “...” as suspension points, an indication that this conversation is ‘To Be Continued...’ In so doing he invites information about her from other men online. He is, therefore, seeking permission to continue the discussion about this “too young” girl through others.

### *Youth Worship*

Youth is worshiped in the West as the epitome of beauty. Women (and some men) take great measures and pay great prices to “fight the look of aging” (to use Oil of Olay’s words), in many cases going under the knife. Women and men idolize youth. Model, Gemma Ward, was already a top-earning model, gracing the cover of Vogue magazine at sixteen, despite the median age of Vogue readers being 35.1 and the readership being 88.1% female (Condé Nast Publications, 2009). Equating youth and beauty is so commonplace in Western culture that it is not even questioned. The beauty industry has created an entire language to market the

appearance of youth. The words fresh, dewy, glowing, supple, luminous and healthy are repeated in advertising for lotions and potions. Men in the online forums I visited are also dedicated to youth worship. They too deploy rhetoric to connect youth, beauty and sexual attractiveness, although the men's use of words are intended for the explicit sexualisation of youth. The use of rhetorical devices requires the reader to look beyond the given text to successfully receive the full extent of the message. As Adams, Towns and Gavey (1995) explain, "The formal aspects of language provide the required meanings and structure, but it is the use of available rhetorical devices that increases the likelihood that the communication will have impact and persuasiveness" (p. 391).

XTC: Among the seasoned pros here were two fifteen year-old girls who were asking 100dg for half an hour for the two of them. They were young and fresh looking

Hotboy: The youngest one is second one, very fresh (She was 17yr, but looks like a 15yr or 16yr gal)!

Here we must draw upon our knowledge that freshness metaphorically represents youth to fully comprehend the descriptions of the sexually exploited girls. XTC compares fifteen year-olds to adult sex workers who, by contrast are worn or wilted. In his post, Hotboy is describing a series of pictures he posted. His bracketed comments show that the younger the girl looks, the fresher she seems. Constructing the sexually exploited girls in this way likens them to food, which emphasizes the consumptive nature of girls and women. It is as if women have a best before date attached to them. "Canuck" echoes this in another way:

On Ontario E., the girls can go from young (teens) to very old (you don't want to know).

Youth worship makes it completely feasible that one would be more appalled by a mature, consenting sex worker than by an underage girl.

We have created a strange trap in Western culture where categories of temptress children such as the Lolita and cheerleader exist in mainstream entertainment, yet we heavily shun acting upon desire for them. This is not to advocate for freedom to act on these desires, nor is it to abolish any responsibility on the part of child sexual abusers and exploiters. My position is actually much simpler than this: I would suggest we should really question our motivations for perpetuating, through our consumer behaviour and viewership, the image of sexy teenagers to an adult audience.

### ***Rationalisation***

I believe a note on ‘rationalisation’ is in order prior to beginning exploration of this discursive strategy. The term ‘rationalization’ has established significance in the fields of sociology and philosophy. According to Weber (1958), society is modernised through the process of rationalisation. Weber proposed that the rise of capitalism has oppressed and dehumanised the West by valuing efficiency and calculation above emotionally (affectual), ethically (value), instrumentally or traditionally based forms of social action. The process of rationalisation was expanded upon most notably by Habermas (1984), but also by Foucault (1983, 1980). The Weberian theory of rationalisation is far beyond the scope of this thesis, as evidenced by this admittedly shallow explanation. It suffices to say that I do not draw my usage of the term from this lineage.

In my review of the literature I pointed to the concentration on cognitive distortions within the scientific disciplines as a model to explain child sexual abuse, especially online forms. The authors I highlighted in my review held that child sexual abusers used cognitive distortions

to minimise and rationalise their actions. Instead of attempting to understand the causal factors in men's choice to offend, I draw the discussion back to the discourse.

The question I want to explore through my data here is: what is built into the pedophile monster discourse that creates discursive opportunities for rationalisation of sexually exploitative behaviours? Although this may appear to be dangerously close to an individualistic lens such as that used in cognitive theory, it is not about the men's motivations at all. My unit of study remains the discourse, how does it work to explain what would otherwise be a contradiction. The most convincing strategies of rationalisation draw power from legitimatised discourses through connecting ties. Men operating within the pedophile discourse borrow [from institutions such as law and science (namely psychiatry and biology)]. Many statements arose from culturally established discourses as they form the historical foundation of the pedophile monster discourse. One such discourse is the Western tradition of childhood innocence.

#### *Not innocent*

The above-mentioned normalisation of youth worship combined with the strict category of innocence outlined in Chapter Two is a tightly bound package, which allows for a strong system of rationalisation. As I argued elsewhere, the pedophile monster discourse has set up the binary of sinisterly guilty monsters and innocent children. For the discourse to operate these two interdependent categories must exist. If men who engage in commercial sexual abuse of children and youth do not identify as monsters, they subsequently do not see the youth they exploit as innocent. This is manifested online in two strategic moves.

The first tactic is an attack on the virtue of female youth. Take for example the following exchange in a thread titled, "Why do some guys like very young girls just out of puberty?" When a sixteen year-old girl voices her experience of living under the power of this question, as

opposed to luxuriously pondering it from a distance, she is quickly and quite viciously demeaned.

Margie wrote: all these old men want me even if I say [I am] 16...so gross!!!... yea it really is gross i mean there is this guy who is like 28 and he always tries his best to get with me telling me things like he want me to live with him he will take care of me and stupid s\* \* \* and i tell him hell no everytime and he always say you just dont no what you missing and i always say well whatever im missing im just missing it then lo.

Jake Hemlock wrote: well I don't know but it could be that young girls dress like prostitutes and show everything with nothing left to the imagination. There is a couple of things lacking with these young girls: sexual maturity, self respect, and most importantly CLASS. If you don't want older cats preying on you then you should probably not act as if you are some sex kitten when you are just an immature child who happens to be over developed. Just because you have a body of a woman doesn't make you one so stop complaining that older men hit on you when you try to act like a sexually mature woman.

Deerbuck wrote: Me myself am in a pickle because i started out liking younger girls with a failed relationship at 19 with a 13 year old girl. She couldnt keep her legs closed and went all stupid like some of

them can. They cant handle a relationship but she can f\* \*k 3 guys casually.

Others in the forum supported Jake Hemlock's position. His posting was rated "excellent comments". The girl's concern is delegitimised and she shoulders the blame for long-held masculine beliefs of 'asking for it' based on clothing or the development of her body.

Deerbuck uses the rhetorical device synecdoche to substitute a whole person (his ex-'girlfriend', the "13 year old girl") with parts of her (her legs). Adams, Towns and Gavey (1995) explain that "with synecdoche the link assumes the reader or listener is familiar with the relevant category and the conditions of membership for that category" (p. 397). The reader needs to know that "her legs" are synonymous with her vagina and that to open them is to "f\*\*k 3 guys casually". The synecdochal statement takes advantage of these connections to strengthen the objectification of the girl by describing her as promiscuous body parts. What is more, the statement elicits a visual image for the reader reinforcing the effective interpretation of the message which is, the "13 year old girl" was doing the "f\*\*k[ing]".

The second discursive move, which expels sexually exploited youth from the category of innocent, is the shifting of blame onto the youth themselves. This is taken to the extreme on a site where men share information, reviews, and travel-diary entries on their commercial sex 'conquests'. Here men construct the youth they exploit as eager and willing participants, often framing the youth as acting out of desire rather than desperation or lack of control.

Commercially sexually exploited youth are commonly described as villains and thieves as in the example provided by Pierre below:

I fell prey to one teenage girl, wheatish complexion, with big boobs. I went to her and asked her how much to which she showed 1 finger (100.00) and started walking towards a lodge. At the door of the lodge

another woman also turned up and she told me 300.00 for a fuck. I told her that the girl asked me 100.00 to which she explained 100.00 for a fuck and 200.00 for hotel. She insisted for advance [...] She took me a less crowded area and put her hand in my top pocket to shirt pulled out all the money and shouted "You jerk, you want to fuck her" and I innocently told "Yes, she is very horny for me" and then she tried to put her hand in my pocket containing wallet and I pushed her. Some people watching this told me to run and told that this woman is a cheat and entices men using this young sexy girl. I ran but on the next day I could not find the woman again. I feel very bad as I gave money and also could not fuck the busty, young girl. I still masturbate imagining the young whore giving me a fuck. I am told that all young girls waiting at the railway stations are cheats.

In what Carol Smart refers to as the “discursive trick of renaming” (1999, p. 404), the child victim has gone from innocent to predator. This is heightened by the metaphor “fell prey”. The relational binary of guilty/innocent upon which the pedophile monster discourse functions, has been completely reversed. The man views himself and was viewed by bystanders as the victim in this experience.

This reversal is facilitated by the historical context in which child sexual exploitation is rooted in the West. As established in my genealogical analysis, ‘wayward girls’ (Abrams & Curran, 2000) and those with “knowledge of evil” (Brown, 2004) have always troubled us and there is no room for ambiguity in the innocent/guilty dichotomy. Like the girls in posts by Jake Hemlock and Deerbuck, the girl’s body parts have worked against her, spoken for her louder than she could. The subway girl’s “big boobs” tell us, the reader, that she is “horny”. Even after

attempting to rob him, Pierre is still focused on the girls' youth and his lost opportunity. The use of reiteration helps to relay the value of her youth. Reiterations of the word 'young' are positioned next to a signifier of sexualisation:

-this woman is a cheat and entices men using this *young sexy* girl.

-I feel very bad as I gave money and also could not fuck the *busty, young* girl.

-I still masturbate imaging the *young whore* giving me a fuck.

Joining 'young' to explicitly sexual words denies the girls any claim to innocence.

There exists a contradiction in the men's use of the discourse. Here the men have made use of the discursive strategies of rationalisation to place the youth they sexually exploit outside of the category of innocence/innocents, subsequently moving themselves out of the relational monster category. Yet, as we saw in both the exploration of childhood and the genealogical investigation, an effect of the pedophile monster discourse is the fetishisation of innocence (a contradiction in itself). As a result, sexually exploited children and youth are forced into a contested zone by the discourse. They are desired for their ties to innocence, yet denied the virtues of the category.

Evidence of the fetishisation of innocence appears online in the relentless repetition of the adjective 'cute' to describe sexually exploited youth. The definition of 'cute' in the Merriam-Webster Dictionary is "attractive or pretty especially in a childish, youthful, or delicate way". Therefore, using the word 'cute' is a direct correlation to childishness, which, is a direct correlation to innocence.

"Her face is so cute".

"she was the cutest and least aggressive"

"Another girl I picked up was real cute looking"

“Little girls are so cute and pure its that what wants us to control them”

‘Cute’ was used in every forum I visited existing alongside the construction of underage girls as “scam artists”. As Buckaroo posts:

Generally speaking if the girl works in a reputable bar then there is no issue if they are underage. The guys who get taken by the scam normally pick up freelancers, in which case it doesn't matter what age. If not underage sex then it will be rape, either way pay the money quick

Buckaroo views accusations of commercial sexual exploitation of children and rape as nothing more than “scams”, blackmail against men. Such contradictory constructions of sexually exploited children and youth are managed in accordance to the rules of the discourse.

### *Discursive Struggles*

Wetherell and Potter (1992) view the speaking/writing subject as “caught in a dilemma of stake or interest” (p. 97) when attempting to hold two seemingly contradictory views simultaneously. In their analysis of the ‘language of racism’, such a dilemma occurs “in the attempt to manage a highly racist and obnoxious account without being heard as racist and thus disqualified” (p. 97). I too am interested in how challenges in subject positions are managed, however, not at the individual level. Instead I view contradictory positions as effects of a discourse, which has strategies for dilemma management built into its functions. Wetherell and Potter are psychologists, hence, the focus on individual processes. They argue that treating discourse as an object unto itself runs the risk of becoming exceedingly abstract and, therefore, inconsequential to social processes. I would argue, however, that too heavy a focus on the micro, individualistic uses of discourse wrongfully implies that the subject simply chooses a

position out of a series of equally powerful options. That is, it fails to account for the systemic power of discourse to structure societal processes.

Smart offers a viable alternative to splintering the micro from the macro level of analysis. In her work on the “discursive construction of the ‘child victim’ of sexual abuse” (1999, p. 391), Smart argues that ‘discursive struggles’ between different and often contradictory frames are part of the process of constructing meaning. She writes, “the discursive struggle over the meaning of childhood and the meaning of harm is still ongoing. This discursive struggle - with its very material consequences - moves onto new terrains, but is not yet resolved” (1999, p. 407). Perhaps these online forums are not what Smart had in mind; however, I would argue that the struggle perseveres in the online terrain.

I now turn my attention to how men engage in the discursive struggles surrounding the construction of pedophile monster behaviours within the area of contradiction regarding innocence. For the monster discourse to retain its structural integrity under such pressure, it must appear to flex throughout the struggles, giving the illusion of multiple possibilities. The discourse is also buttressed by other, more powerful discourses, which, better equips the pedophile monster discourse to make truth-claims. Here I will attempt to trace how the men navigate through the discourse as it slithers, seemingly seamlessly through various strategic moves.

### *Capitalist custom(ers)*

The men in online forums employed various techniques to manage the problem of how to understand innocence in the context of commercial sexual exploitation. One such technique was to treat innocence, or more accurately, perceived lack of experience based on youth, as a product. A Weberian notion of rationalisation is befitting in this context as we begin to see how the

modern capitalist value structure has stripped away at humanity. The commercial aspect of this form of child sexual abuse facilitates the commodification of innocence effectively. Consider Jim's review:

Listening to her talking was a turn on in itself. She talked about how she had gone shopping during the day and had picked up all these bargains. She was basically just a very natural teenager, with not a hint of harshness. It always amazes me how you can find them in New Zealand[...]I've had better fucks, but this was quite special, since the girl was so young and unaffected.

For Jim the lack of physical 'payoff' is minimised when compared to the value of exploiting the fetishised "unaffected", "natural teenager". Here we have a clear construction of what innocence entails. The girl fits neatly into the stereotypical teenage girl as simple and trivial, concerned with shopping for bargains which for Jim, as for many, is a "turn on in itself". Her youthful inexperience is described as gentle as opposed to the "harshness" of sex workers.

A cost-to-value ratio is presented very objectively below by Bossman.

I never pay more than \$30 to \$40 bucks to spend the night with an attractive young female. (I've found that a lot of street hookers are under 18. 16 and 17 is common. With street girls, I shoot for \$20. A blow job can be \$15. Double your price for bar chicks. We're talking thin teenage chic[k]s, nice skin, big tits.

Bossman differs from Jim in that he outlines the market value for youth in a completely unemotive and detached way. This is an expression of the dehumanizing function of capitalism.

The girls are once again broken down into body parts, "nice skin, big tits" are offered at a

bargain much like cuts of meat. In the marketplace there are different price points for the consumer to choose from. Bossman sees things no differently here. Bird (1996) identifies “emotional detachment” (p. 122) as a meaning of masculinity propagated by male homosociality. She writes, “to express feelings is to reveal vulnerabilities and weaknesses; to withhold such expressions is to maintain control (1996, p. 122). With the power of capital, Bossman has the ultimate control. As I mentioned in the introduction, a foundation of Western culture is the mutually reinforcing relationship of patriarchy and capitalism (along with colonialism). Bossman has constructed himself as the consumer choosing between levels of quality in youth. Also, in his post the reader is made aware of the established hierarchy in which indoor sex workers (or in this case, sexually exploited youth) are ‘worth more’ than those outside on the street. Using this discursive frame, sexually abusing youth in the commercial sphere is actually just getting more for one’s money.

In the market economy, if the ‘needs’ of the consumer are not met in one place, he is free to exercise his consumer power elsewhere. As Taximan writes:

Old women simply do nothing for me, that is why I am prepared to sit on a plane for 12 hours, I can get old women here in the UK.

As Taximan makes clear, in the era of globalisation, the material consequences of generalising the market discourse to commercial sexual exploitation of children is devastating on developing nations. Unfortunately, the discussion of global commercial sexual exploitation is well beyond the scope of this thesis. However, the capitalist framework constructs men as merely taking advantage of the goods offered to them in the marketplace. For Cowboy, commercial child sexual abuse is a matter of consumptive taste

It might be the guys thang to shag a small, shallow pusi before it meets the entire market and gets stretched, impregnated and filled [w]5ith STD's

From this post, the reader gathers that the market value of a girl as a commodity decreases steadily with age and sexual experience or more accurately, ‘usage’, much like a car loses value once it leaves the lot.

Although the content of this post is appalling, Cowboy uses the slag terms ‘shag’ and ‘thang’ to give a lighthearted feel amongst ‘the boys’, Cowboy’s intended audience. He also uses an ambiguous reference speaking of ‘the guy’s thang’. Substituting a first-person statement for a generalised reference allows Cowboy to speak the language of a monster without owning it. Synecdoche is used once again as a rhetorical device. This time ‘pusi’ takes the place of a whole person. A vagina is described in illustrative language as a receptacle for men’s penises (“stretched”), sperm (“impregnated” versus ‘gets pregnant’ or ‘has a child’), and disease (“filled 5ith [sic] STD’s”).

Finally, a well-established niche in the market is the young virgin. Once known by its euphemism ‘deflowering’, the commercial sexual abuse of virgins is now framed more violently.

As Mike instructs:

for cherry girls bust a cherry and the demand could be for \$1000.  
this isn't always true but sometimes they want the cherry price even  
when nothing was agreed beforehand.

Instead of taking flowers men now ‘bust cherries’. An example of onomatopoeia, the word ‘bust’ implies violent force. This phrase requires a high level of coherence to understand and yet, I understood on a surface level without even having to gather cues from surrounding context.

This speaks to my own subjectivity as outlined in my methodology chapter, using the work of Gough and Talbot (1996). I am not a member of the intended male audience yet I am aware of the cherry as a metaphor for a hymen. I readily cohered with the text, yet I have no idea where I first heard reference to ‘cherry busting’. What I do know, however, is that growing up as a girl, I was educated on the value and importance of the feminine virginity exclusively through discursive cues. I knew that it was something that one could ‘lose’ or ‘give away’ and the conditions under which this occurred were to be meticulously planned out and romantically meaningful. I must also note that I am not aware of any parallel term to ‘cherry busting’ referring to the virginity of males.

To draw the discussion back to the economic discourse, the product in Mike’s posting is not the ‘cherry girl’ herself, but rather the highly valued trophy of her virginity. Mike warns that an ambiguous ‘they’ may ask for “the cherry price” even if the exploiter was not in the market for a virgin. This is presented in much the same manner as an up-sell. Up selling is a marketing strategy whereby the vendor attempts to sell an existing customer a more expensive product.

The strong connection between paying to ‘bust cherries’ and the Victorian ‘defloration’ market threatens to pull the present discursive practices into the same monster territory occupied by Minotaurs in ‘The Maiden Tribute to Modern Babylon’.

### ***Conditions of Inclusion***

The rare instances where men used the online forums to question one another on why they find children and youth sexually attractive provided ample insight into the discursive techniques used to speak with authority. Certain statements are excluded for failing to follow the rules of the discourse. As Foucault pointed out, “we know quite well that we do not have the right to say everything, that we cannot speak of just anything in any circumstances whatever, and

that not everyone has the right to speak of anything whatever” (1981, p. 52). Cool Guy was relegated to the margins based on this reactive posting on a thread pertaining to the media’s treatment of pedophilia:

if I saw and knew someone was gonna molest a child..... I would follow him and drag him into a alley and beat him within an inch of his life; let him recover a bit and do it all over again. Please let me find you..... And for those that are reading this and it implies to you... Yes I talk the talk and walk the walk..... Wanna walk with me..... Please..... walk with me....Sick fuck.

While threats of violence against pedophiles are not uncommon, Cool Guy’s utterance is conveyed as belligerent. He uses arbitrary punctuation (.....), unclear metaphors, and his intended audience is unclear as he switches between generalised references and first-person addresses. In short, Cool Guy’s text does not build coherence. Also, despite expressing strong sentiment, Cool Guy’s post is not authoritative. This is because it does not reference legitimised discourses or powerful structures such as law or science apart from a brief and common pathologisation (“sick fuck”).

Statements that borrow power from established discourses fare much better in their attempts at truth-claims. For example, Mr. Man’s response to the above post draws the discussion back from the very edge of reason.

Beating up a pedo black and blue might make you feel alot better about yourself and no doubt you could expect lots of admiration from alot of people. But then you would be doing alot of time too and it would not stop them re-offending unless you killed him. To me, to break the cycle can only be castration, and that is true for rapists too.

Definitely for repeated offenders and if the first case is serious then for them to. I see some states in the USA are experimenting with chemical castration...its really sad that things are getting this way.

Mr. Man makes use of the scientific discourse outlined in Chapter Five complete with reference to the ‘cyclical nature’ of abuse. Mr. Man advocates for a harsh punishment as he reiterates the incorrigibility of mad monsters. In his post, Marcus draws upon traditional historical discourses to add an authoritative impression to his position:

During centuries past marriage between girls of 10, 11, 13 was the norm, the test being that they had reached puberty - the norms of 16/18 as the age of majority is a relatively recent thing (late 19th century).

In contrast to Cool Guy, Marcus’s post is easily interpreted as rational (and rationale) despite being resistant to the pedophile monster discourse. Marcus also appears to be quite educated based on his writing style. This affords him more authority to speak as he holds material benefits in society. These are “the determining conditions of application, the imposition of roles on speaking subjects, and the restrictions of access” referred to by Young (1981, p. 49).

Marcus goes on to write:

Men are 'programmed' to be attracted to younger girls - they are potentially healthier and more able to produce children.

Marcus uses the established power of science (in particular biology) to make his truth-claims. Deploying an argument that could best be described as social Darwinism, Marcus removes responsibility from men, as they are hardwired to sexually desire children.

Sexual abuse of a minor becomes merely ‘survival of the fittest’. Biology and ‘programming’ has been a common explanation for men’s sexual behaviours. Hollway,

(1984, 1989) and Weatherall and Priestley (2001) have labelled this the ‘male sex drive’ discourse. In this heteronormative discourse, men’s desires are framed as uncontrollable and insatiable ‘needs’. The role of women is to submit to the ‘needs’ of the men. This was taken up in a very dangerous way online:

Tomi: think about it this way if it weren't for these girls think how many more young girls would actually be getting proper raped in real world...and how many more men would be going insane and committing crimes and murder etc....

Tomi’s contradictory post can be driven to the extremes to trace where both the male sex drive and pedophile monster discourses break down. The first contradiction, as uncovered in my genealogical analysis, is that the pedophile monster discourse frames monsters as either mad or bad. According to Tomi’s use of the male sex drive discourse, however, “men would be going insane and committing crimes and murder” without commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth. In other words, men who sexually abuse children are mad and bad, yet without commercial sexual exploitation men would go mad and be bad.

The second contradiction is that without commercial sexual exploitation of children, men would commit crimes. However, in virtually every country in the world commercial sexual exploitation of children is, in fact a crime. Tomi is able to make use of a discursive trick to manage this contradiction; he defaults back to the idea of lost innocence. Commercially sexually abused girls are presented here as sacrificial to girls living in the “real world”. Because they are ‘damaged goods’ sexually exploitation no longer constitutes as “proper” rape.

Finally, Tomi’s divide between the “real world” and the world of commercial sex (as he does not speak only about children on the site) signifies a discursive acknowledgement of

multiple subjectivities. He does not see his behaviours in one context as representative of his reality in another. This is a luxury that he is awarded for membership into masculine dominance. Unfortunately due to patriarchal capitalist oppression, the sacrificial girls are most likely not able to form such a barrier between daily life and sexual abuse.

### *Policing the Boundaries*

The men in the online forums I visited were acutely aware of their precarious footing just outside the monster category. To keep themselves from tumbling into monstrosity, the men were in a constant state of constructing self. This entails a relentless policing of the boundaries between normative sexual desire and non-normative, between man and monster. Policing the boundaries requires the development of modes of regulation bringing subjects into conformity. Medical and legal discourses effectively police the boundaries between acceptable and deviant. The ultimate expression of normalising power is self-regulation.

Men in online forums took on the role of policing boundaries to ensure their claim to normalcy was not jeopardised. When the violation of boundaries is threatened, the offending subject is disciplined. In a thread about the stigma felt by the men when walking with a “very young girl”, Daredevil commented:

Makes me think that geezers who put too much emphasis on the youth of their partners are fantasizing about girls much younger than 20. To a guy in his 50s, what the hell difference can it really make if the girl is 18 or 28, unless he has an unhealthy obsession with young girls?

Some forum members received this question as a direct threat. Taximan replied:

I think that is a sweeping generalisation and slightly unfair. I tend to get on better with girls in their late twenties but I have dabbled

with 18-19 year olds, by your reckoning that makes me a potential child molester

Taximan takes this as an assault against his subject position. He sandwiches in the disclaimer, “I tend to get on better with girls in their late twenties” to ensure he still has one figurative foot on the safe side of the boundary. This statement also conveys a sort of reciprocity with “girls”, a mutual relationship beyond sex. This provides a safe distance between purely sexual beasts and himself who could be perceived as a fellow ‘looking for companionship’.

Men in one forum were very aware of how their behaviours were perceived by the public and constructed by the media. One man wrote a letter to the newspaper that published an article that conflated sex tourism and pedophilia:

Kermit: I remember a couple of years ago there was a double page article in the Daily Mail which was wildly over the top about 'child prostitution' in the Nana area of Bangkok. I sent quite a strongly worded letter to the newspaper (which of course was not printed) and also contributed the same online. The point I made was that by deliberately blurring the distinction between 'sex tourism' and paedophilia these journalists were actually aiding the true abusers by diverting attention away from the real sickos.

Kermit is aware of the silencing he experienced for posing resistance to the pedophile monster discourse. His letter, being “strongly worded”, was “of course was not printed”. While Kermit took efforts to distinguish himself from “the real sickos”, as a “sex tourist” his position and hence, subjectivity, was still too far outside the margins of acceptability to be validated. As Foucault wrote:

it is always possible that one might speak the truth in the space of a wild exteriority, but one is 'in the true' only by obeying the rules of a discursive 'policing' which one has to reactivate in each of one's discourses (1981, p. 61).

Forum members resisted the pedophile monster discourse by calling the mainstream media to task for perpetuating sensationalised images of 'child prostitution'.

Showing pictures of innocent kids and implying that they are prostitutes is about as sick as it gets. It's an easy lie to sell though, the ignorant masses out there are only too willing to lap up all this sleaze and scandal. I sometimes think that people want it to be true.

**In the posting below the rules are not obeyed. The concern, for the children is actually a front for the real fear of being named as monsters. Rambo writes:**

The other day for the whole day Sky news re-ran film of Pattaya bars and the little kids who go around selling chewing gum. They also blanked out the faces of the customers sitting at the bars. They left a definite contrived image that these Guys were there to have sex with these little kids selling stuff around the bars. Now ask yourself this...what happens if you, me, [**handles of other members**], or anybody on this forum was one of these guys sitting drinking innocently at these bars being filmed. They might have blanked a part of their faces but they would be RECOGNISED by their Family and friends back Home. They could lose their jobs because they are being tagged as a pedo. They could be hounded out of their house, beaten up or Murdered because of wrong reporting".

Rambo articulates the material conditions attached to the pedophile monster label. Here we see how the discourse, gathering truth-claims from its various constituting discourses and their respective disciplines, uses the body as the site to establish a power/knowledge nexus. Feeling the threat of discipline from the outside, Rambo uses direct first person referencing to convey a sense of immediacy and personalisation. The first-person style also gives the impression of camaraderie amongst the forum members in the discursive fight to save their collective identity from the ritual of monster naming.

In order to engage in this discursive battle for normative subjectivity the men establish both a collective identity and an enemy. In Rambo's post we can see the beginning of 'us' versus 'them' framing for his audience. The 'us' category is constructed as good and decent men "sitting drinking innocently" with a job, "Family and friends back Home". The 'them' category by contrast is dangerous. 'They', like a pack of blood-lusting dogs, would 'hound' a decent man "out of their house" to be "beaten up or Murdered because of wrong reporting".

Rambo evades the burden of responsibility claiming that any of the members could be labelled as pedophiles and, not their actions as sex tourists, or the acts of exploitation they perpetrated against youth (as evidenced in prior posts) but the "wrong reporting" would be to blame for their banishment into the monster category. Not surprisingly, the first identified enemies of the 'innocent and decent' men are feminists. As YoungOne laments:

*Just like feminists. Any slight thing will set them off.*

YoungOne's comment coheres effectively with the online audience because it is based on two accepted 'facts'. The first, arising from the psychoanalytic discourse, is that women are prone to hysterics and will 'lash out' at anything or anyone. The second fact is that all political women are 'Feminazis'. According to this 'fact', Feminazis act solely upon their irrational hatred of

men. This explains why most Feminazis are presumed lesbian. Constructing women as aggressors helps to degender child sexual abuse. In much the same way feminist discourse and research pertaining to violence against women is co-opted to prove that women also abuse their male partners, men online pick apart recent police initiatives to question lone men in child-centred spaces such as playgrounds and schools. Tony asks the group,

.....I wonder does this go for women walking alone in the park, they will also be questioned???, women are known to abuct children as same as a man would.

There is no research to back Tony's assertion; however, the damage inflicted upon feminist research in the anti-violence movement allows this to be accepted as feasible.

#### *Others othering*

A further measure of policing the boundaries involves positioning the forum 'us' category in opposition to monsters. Duke suggests claiming a group identity through reflective language.

Ok, we call ourselves mongers (short for whore mongers) on here, but that is a bit coarse for me and public consumption. So what should we call ourselves? At the end of the day we need to separate ourselves from them.

The 'us' and 'them' frame is invoked again. In this application the 'them' category consists of the *real* monsters. Duke's proposition greatly over simplifies the process of challenging stereotypes and breaking through restrictive categories. Identity politics is conflated with team building exercises with the casual question "so what should we call ourselves?".

John realised the inadequacy of this tactic. He writes:

we can call ourselves anything but the gutter press will always lump us in with child molesters like glitter!

John accepts that due to his deviant sexual behaviours, he is not permitted to speak against the pedophile monster discourse. By policing the boundaries between “child molesters” and his own group, John commits a small act of resistance. John calls upon the audience’s extra discursive knowledge in choosing British ‘glam rock’ icon Gary Glitter as an identifiable figurehead for the monster ‘them’ group. This choice builds coherence of John’s Othering message by depending upon Gary Glitter’s non-heteronormative public persona, which included gender-bending costumes. This connection is particularly strong as any ties between monsterhood and queer identity strengthen the power of the pedophile monster discourse to produce subjectifying effects on an individual. Male homosexuality has been historically and erroneously linked with pedophilia (Teixiera, 2004). John is able to draw upon this culturally constructed knowledge to solidify the boundary between ‘us’ and ‘them’.

Therapeutic and medical interventions are modes of restriction consistent with policing the boundaries between normal and deviant (Foote & Frank, 2001). The use of pathologising discourse ensures subjective safety from monsters. To return to the words of Mr. Man:

To me, to break the cycle can only be castration, and that is true for rapists too. Definitely for repeated offenders and if the first case is serious then for them to. I see some states in the USA are experimenting with chemical castration.

Mr. Man engages the ‘cycles of abuse’ discourse to build cohesion of the incurable condition of the monster. He takes a zero tolerance stance against child sexual abuse here. It should be noted, however, that Mr. Man did not challenge any of his online peers when they posted confessions of commercially sexually exploitive abuse. Nor did he challenge the sexualisation of

children and youth in the forum. Mr. Man's post is evidence that the strongest strategy in averting the subjectivity of a monster is to master the rules and struggles of the pedophile monster discourse and further, to speak it loudly.

## Chapter Seven

### Discussion and Conclusion

#### *Discussion*

The pedophile monster discourse has provided a highly descriptive character sketch. Above all the monster is predatory. According to the character profile, the monster has an exclusive lust for young children. It will lure, abduct and ultimately murder a child, and it will repeat this sequence relentlessly as all pedophiles are incorrigible. The problem with this picture is that it is so severe, so deviant, that only a minute few fit the description. In essence then, there are no monsters to speak of, therefore, there is no answer for how to address commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth, as there is no one to direct intervention towards. Still the monster has served an important function in how we construct commercial sexual exploitation of children and child sexual abuse as a whole. Firstly, it has degendered the problem by effectively dehumanising the perpetrator. Secondly, as I stated earlier, the monster has provided a frame through which, we, as a culture can watch, read, or listen to stories of child sexual abuse for purposes of 'infotainment' (entertainment which is thinly veiled as informative or educational). The monster frame has provided us with enough distance to allow us to insatiably consume stories of child sexual abuse through a guise of action against child abuse. I argue that we are doing exactly the opposite; mainstreaming child sexual abuse. As Foucault illustrated in *The History of Sexuality* (1980), the restraint and control imposed upon discourses of sexuality has not stopped us from speaking about sex. Instead there are conditions placed upon how we speak of sexuality. The pedophile monster is the condition; it is *how* we speak about commercial child sexual abuse and is one of the very few intersections between discourses of childhood and discourses of sexuality.

In my analysis of an episode of *Law & Order: Special Victims Unit*, I posed the question of why are we so engrossed with re-creations and stories of child sexual abuse considering we regard it as among the most abominable of offences. It is my contention that the media attention given to child sexual abuse, including commercial exploitation, may be intended to notify the public of the social problem and to reiterate the wrongness of sexual abuse. Perhaps some sources are even meant as motivators to do something, but what? All this information is just stories if it is not critically debriefed or unpacked to offer new insight into how to confront this social problem. Stories that simply comment on the pedophile monster discourse are of no use except to reinforce the existing situation by strengthening the monster discourse and all of its supporting discourses as well.

Elsewhere I have argued that addressing commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth cannot be achieved by remaining at the level of particular individuals. However, if there is an individualistic strategy anywhere within the eradication of commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth, it is here at the point of consumption. We can each use our economic buying power to veto brands and companies that use the sexualisation of children to sell their products. We can turn off non-critical, non-political stories of child abuse that use the emotionally charged topic to get ratings but show no commitment to social change.

*Commercial sexual exploitation of children is abuse*

There is a disconnection between our concept of sexual abuse and our construction of commercial sexual exploitation. This conceptual gap is maintained by our use of language around and about commercial child sexual exploitation. As I explained in my review of the contemporary academic literature, use of the terms ‘juvenile prostitute’, ‘child prostitution’, or ‘youth in the sex trade’ are problematic as they conflate adult sex work and commercial sexual

abuse of minors, thereby placing some level of agency with the children themselves and indicating a choice to 'engage in' commercial exploitation. Goddard, De Bortoli, Saunders and Tucci (2005) problematise the use of language surrounding exploitation as 'prostitution' or 'labour' in their discursive analysis of media, non-governmental and governmental reports. They succinctly argue:

as 'child prostitution' inherits the adult prostitution discourse, it moves along the continuum away from the concepts of child sexual abuse and victimization. The child is constructed as an accomplice to his or her own sexual abuse, the effect of which is a redefinition of the offence and the offender" (Goddard et al., 2005, p. 287).

In Canada, minors cannot legally consent to accept money for 'sexual services'; therefore, we should not be using the same term applied in adult relations, which likens abuse to consensual sex. ECPAT states:

it is adults who create 'child prostitution' through their demand for children as sexual objects, their misuse of power, and their desire for profit, and as such children are victims of abuse (p.5).

Just as Goddard et al. (2005) oppose the term prostitution to describe commercial sexual abuse of children, they reject the labels 'john' and 'customer' to refer to those who sexually exploit children. These titles used in adult sex work, convey a marketplace exchange of commodities. The writers argue that in the context of minors, the words 'offender', 'perpetrator' or 'rapist' should be employed to accurately convey the behaviour of these men.

The language used to construct commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth is crucial because it is directly connected to men's strategies of normalising abuse against children.

The men who authored text in the online forums I visited effectively distanced their behaviours from abuse by equating adult sex work with the exploitation of minors. In so doing it becomes discursively possible for children to seduce men or be portrayed as willing sex partners. The exchange of capital facilitates the assumption that exploited children and youth have some agency in their abuse. The quote below is from an article in *The Globe and Mail*, notice who is doing the “offering” and “charging”

One prostitution ring saw more than 15 girls aged 12 to 16 from several Edmonton middle and high schools offering their bodies to older men who gambled in a townhouse; another involved 15-year-old high-school girls charging college guys \$20 for oral sex in Kelowna, B.C. In Surrey, B.C., pimps recruited 12-year-olds at their local mall (Bielski, 2009, retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/story/RTGAM.20090423.lsexweb24/BNStory/lifeFamily/home>).

Our culturally created incongruence between childhood innocence and sexuality has allowed men to construct the children and youth they abuse as ‘not innocent’ using the techniques deconstructed in my analysis. The online men made use of our Western, historically-rooted notion of sexually abused children as spoiled or damaged potential. Taken to the extreme, commercially sexually exploited children were so separated from childhood innocence that they were seen as a prevention strategy against the “proper rape” of innocent girls.

There is no room for linguistic ambivalence if we hope to eradicate commercial child sexual exploitation. Every word is a choice, a political strategy. Every utterance is a constitutive unit in our reality of sexual exploitation as a social problem. We must examine who is ascribed agency, who is the focus of each statement and conversely, who is afforded anonymity and

invisibility. As Goddard et al. conclude, “language should not be allowed to transform serious sexual assault into a commercial transaction, or a form of employment, nor allow the criminal behaviour of adults to be disguised” (2005, p. 288).

*Vectors, agency and responsibility*

As highlighted in my review of the literature, social work is concerned with determining best practices with sexually exploited children and youth. It is important to note the omission of the demand aspect of commercial sexual exploitation in the social work literature. Due to the careful oversight of male perpetrators, interventions are “restricted to a narrow range of possibilities” (Chambon, 1999, p. 62) all of which focus exclusively on victims and survivors. Such one-sided attention implies that commercial sexual abuse is inevitable, however, the clean up should be as efficient as possible. The inescapability of commercial child sexual exploitation feeds back into the pedophile monster discourse, which holds that dealing with monsters, whether morally bad or pathologically mad, is a futile and hopeless endeavour.

Social services prefer to direct intervention to those who are least able to instigate change in their situation. As outlined above, many social workers favour spending their efforts on the young people already directly impacted by commercial child sexual abuse over working with male perpetrators. However, practitioners must address the role of adults to protect children as a vulnerable population. To meet this end, social work has turned its attention to mothers as vectors of child sexual abuse.

As evidenced in my analysis of *Law & Order: Special Victims' Unit*, mothers are believable culprits for the perpetuation of sexual abuse. Not only are mothers held responsible for the production of pedophile monsters through dysfunctional parenting practices, it is mothers who are to blame when their children are sexually abused by monsters. I used the work of Krane

and Carleton (2009) to demonstrate how this manifests in child protection work. When not seen as co-opting in the abuse through their role in a dysfunctional family system, mothers are guilty of failing to protect their children from harm. Finkelhor (1979) attempts a definitive ‘theory of sexual victimization’ in which he identifies “girls without natural mothers are particularly vulnerable to sexual victimization, as are the daughters of poorly educated, ill and alcoholic mothers” (p. 148). Commenting on this statement, Itzin remarks,

there is some considerable irony that ‘alcoholic mothers’ are identified as a predisposing factor in child sexual abuse, given what is known about the connections between men’s abuse of alcohol, and their physical and sexual violence and abuse of women and children (2000, p. 436).

As evidenced in my genealogical analysis, systemic mother-blaming is rooted in the practices of nineteenth-century moral reformers who apprehended children (mostly girls) living in ‘disreputable’ (poor) areas for fear that they would suffer from the contagion of moral corruption.

The culpability of mothers resounds beyond social services to permeate social commentary. My analysis of W.T. Stead’s (1885) “Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon” revealed mother-blaming in Victorian popular culture. Stead accused upper and middle class Protestant mothers of neglecting to educate their daughters to the “dangers of their existence” (July 7, 1885, *Pall Mall Gazette*, p.2). Here the girls themselves are seen as the vectors of commercial sexual exploitation as if the sexual desire for children was attributable to the very ‘existence’ of children or even more curiously, the ‘existence’ of children is to blame for their sexual abuse. Stead went on to accuse poor mothers of selling their daughters to brothel owners to fund their alcoholism. This sentiment is not simply a relic of Victorian sensibility but is

perpetually renewed to fit contemporary contexts. For example, Jenny Kitzinger (2008) held a series of focus groups in her research on the popular images held of child sexual abuser. She found that “negative judgements about mothers of sexually abused children... were almost ritually exchanged in many of the session[s]” (p. 153). Kitzinger concludes by stressing the strong ‘social currency’ not only in narratives told by the media, but by the stories we tell each other as well. An example in my research comes from an online posting by Perv Hatr, in which he wrote,

moms of young girls should be more careful 'cause i think it's their mistake...they are not careful enough and they let their children in crazy hands”

Here, at the extremes, the most problematic implications of thrusting the responsibility for men’s sexual offending against children upon the shoulders of mothers become clear. The custom of mother-blaming is so well-established and deeply engrained in our collective reasoning that a man belonging to an online community where stories of the commercial sexual exploitation of minors abound, can draw upon the culturally sanctioned culpability of mothers to explain sexual abuse.

Perpetrators are seen as the vectors of child sexual abuse in the medico-judicial sphere whereby offenders are both disciplined and assessed for a psychosexual disorder (of which pedophilia is one). The medico-judicial realm is the one area in the pedophile monster discourse where it is safe to explore in detail, the motivations and possible treatment for perpetrators. It is also the site of conflation of the mad and bad monsters, both analysed and punished. This process is fully dependant on pathologising and thus individualising child sexual abuse, including commercial sexual exploitation, thereby making the abuse about personal illness and not about historically-situated notions of masculinity, which allow for men to consume women

and children as sexual objects. We are still discussing monsters – not men. What is more, the justice system only reaches as far as the mandated population, that is, the few that have been caught and convicted for their actions.

The common deployment of ‘pedophile’ forms a unique barrier to addressing cultural practices of child sexualisation. It serves to distance us from the issue of commercial sexual abuse of children by rendering it apolitical by means of a medical discourse. In their *Commentary on Terminology and Definitions*, ECPAT (2007) states:

Public perceptions of those labeled paedophiles as a marginal group of people who seek sex with children may, in fact, deflect attention from the increasing sexualisation of children, especially girls, in various cultures, as well as the prevalence of sexual abuse and exploitation among the general population (<http://www.ecpat.net/eng/CSEC/definitions/index.asp>).

Homogenising all men who sexually abuse children, commercially or not, as pedophile monsters who are either terminally, and inconceivably, morally deficient or psychologically incurable, has led to societal avowal that pedophile monsters are indifferent to legal regulation and governance. The sexual compulsion of monsters is thought to be beyond all control. I do not argue that this may very well be the case for some child sex offenders; yet, my online research contradicts the generalisation to all perpetrators of commercial child sexual abuse.

In the forums I visited (one in particular), I found that education and information sharing regarding legal regulations made up a considerable component of the posts pertaining to minors. Links to newspaper articles about court verdicts and sentencing of prosecuted child sex offenders, especially commercial sexual abusers, were common. Information about ‘stings’ or ‘busts’ of popular bars and massage parlours where exploited youth were found was also an

online trend. The men posting were concerned about the age of consent, law enforcement practices and sentencing in each country. For example, Fiend used the forum to seek clarification on legal particulars

I don't know if it was a sting or the cop's were just bugging her. But then I remembered that she only looked about 16 so maybe she was underage and the cop sent her flying. They may have taken a fellow monger [short for whore monger] away that tried to pick her up. My question is: If you asked her for an ID and saw she was underage and told her to forget it, how could you be in trouble? I just don't think a person would get in anymore trouble unless you had sex, right?

There is no difference in regards to solisatation (SP?), (can't find the spell check), regarding age, is there?

Other posts presented the information in the form of a cost-benefit ratio analysis. “Is it really worth it?” was a repeated query in threads about the commercial sexual exploitation of minor.

This content would suggest that men are not simply blasé about the law, but either strategic or ambivalent. Such ambivalence appears to be directly influenced by the perceived consequence of their actions. Simply put, the higher the risk of getting caught, the more likely men are to reconsider their decision to offend against children and youth as evidenced by the discussion online. Hooker-Lover attempted to influence other forum members:

If you need an incentive for avoiding sex with girls under the age of 18 years old you can do some research on the Internet as to the prison sentences given out for sex with under age girl's in different countries (it is often 3 to 10 year's).

It is to be expected that ambivalence will persevere in Canada regardless of section 212(4) of the *Criminal Code of Canada*, which states:

Every person who, in any place, obtains for consideration, or communicates with anyone for the purpose of obtaining for consideration, the sexual services of a person who is under the age of eighteen years is guilty of an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years and to a minimum punishment of imprisonment for a term of six months (R.S.C., 1999, C-46).

The perceived threat of conviction is not present in Canada judging by the most recent Adult Criminal Court Survey (ACCS). In the 2006-2007 reference period (the last reported), Canada-wide there were only nine convictions under section 212(4) (*Optional protocol to the convention on the rights of the child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography first report of Canada*, n.d.). Based on forum discussions, I posit that with consistent policing, enforcement, and strict prosecution under pre-existing age of consent and anti-child sexual exploitation laws (commonly referred to as ‘child prostitution laws’), perpetration would greatly decrease.

### *Unmasking monsters*

As highlighted in my analysis, the majority of postings in the forums I visited did not demonstrate extreme societal periphery. Instead, I argued, the men drew upon pre-established cultural discourses and practices which sexualise children and particularly youth. Discourses already in operation in mainstream Western culture worked to allow the rationalisation of contradictions in the men’s discursively constructed ‘not-monster’ subjectivities. From their postings, I gathered that the majority of men in the online forums I studied do not compulsively or exclusively seek out children. What is more, references to prepubescent children were

extremely rare and when they did appear, other members vehemently chastised the poster. I point this out because Criterion A in the *DSM-IV* diagnosis for pedophilia specifies “recurrent, intense sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviours involving sexual activity with a pre-pubescent child or children (generally age 13 years or younger)” (American Psychiatric Association, 1994, p. 528). Thus, the online discussions did not reveal the men who admitted to engaging or hoping to engage in commercial child sexual abuse to be pedophiles. Instead, the men who commercially sexually exploited minors did so circumstantially. In other words, when presented with the opportunity, and given the circumstance that many children are available for commercial exploitation the men did and will continue to commit sexual abuse against children. One question remains, however; if the online postings did not come from pedophile monsters, then who did they come from?

Research has been conducted in the effort to establish some quantifiable statistics to determine the rate of proclivity among men. In his study of college males, Malamuth (1981) found that fifteen percent agreed to some likelihood that they would engage in sexual activity with a child if they could be assured they would not be caught or punished. Bagley, Wood and Young (1994) found that one percent of men admitted to sexual abuse of some nature with a child under age thirteen while they were eighteen or older and five percent claimed to have interest in sexual activity with a child of that age. Briere and Runtz (1989) studied university men to find that twenty one percent felt sexual attraction to children; nine percent reported fantasies of having sex with children; five percent of these men masturbated to their fantasies; seven percent reported some likelihood of actually sexually abusing a child. According to Bolen (2003), “these studies offer compelling evidence that a significant percentage of men may have some proclivity towards purposeful sexual abuse of a child” (p. 178).

O'Connell Davidson (2005) concisely sums up the argument in stating,

although it is important to address the existence of, and harm caused by, those who consistently seek out young children for sex, and to consider how paedophilic desires articulate with the commercial sex trade...questions about the demand side of CSEC certainly do not begin or end with paedophiles (p.106).

Clearly we need to start looking at who is responsible for the commercial sexual exploitation of children differently; it is not only monsters but even scarier, it is 'normal', everyday men who contribute to a culture that sexualises children, fetishises innocence and idolises/idealises youth.

### *Evaluation of the Research*

In my methodology chapter I included a set of criteria by which my work should be measured as 'good research'. At this juncture it seems apt to attend to these standards. Prior to this however, I will identify limitations in my study and considerations for future research.

#### *Lurkers can't be choosers... and other considerations*

My research design was observational in that I did not interact with the forum members in any way. The decision to lurk was based upon my own boundaries of engaging with the unknown. Prior to entering the cyberfield, I was largely unaware of the content awaiting me in online forums and chat rooms. Having limited experience with interactive chat rooms, I was also unaware of the formats, software and, therefore, risks associated with having an overt online presence. Hence, I was apprehensive about the consequences of engaging in discussion with forum members to my emotional health and my computer's health.

Using lurking as a method for data collection prevented me from controlling the content or direction of the online discussion. As I could only analyse what was present, some aspects of

commercial child sexual exploitation were omitted. For example, through my professional experience as an outreach worker in Toronto, I am acutely aware of the high proportion of male and transgendered youth being sexually exploited. Unfortunately, despite my searching, this was not represented in the forums I visited. Homophobia prevails beyond the keyboard and it is my contention that on most of the forums I visited, where there was a distinctly misogynistic flavour of masculinity, there was no tolerance or perceived tolerance for men to express any sexual interest outside of heterosexuality. Further, homosexuality has incorrectly been equated with pedophilia (for an excellent discussion of this see, Teixeira, 2004, unpublished master's thesis). Representation of same sex commercial child sexual abuse may threaten the delicate boundaries dividing the online men from pedophile monsters. This is not to imply that discussion of homosexual child sexual exploitation does not occur on the Internet, only that I did not come across it on the forums I visited.

I do not believe that my inability to manipulate the content prevented me from accomplishing my stated research goals. Returning to these goals, I stated that I hoped to “witness, through the words of would-be monsters, their own subjectifying practices and the strategies employed to navigate the rules of the pedophile monster discourse”. Witnessing the men's discursive strategies did not require me to elicit responses to interview questions but rather to deconstruct what was intrinsically operating in their communication. Surprisingly, the men using online forums were already comparing and distinguishing between their constructed subjectivities and the societal construction of pedophile monsters. Based on the amount of online discussion and energy devoted to policing the boundaries between the subject categories, I believe that partaking in online discussions and interactive chat in a transparent manner would be

met with both interest and rich discussion from forum participants and is, therefore, an area for future research.

Stipulations in my ethics review prevented me from accessing websites requiring a password or a fee for entry. Due to this restriction, it is probable that my sample consisted of less clandestine content and ‘tamer’ posters. While this is not representative of all men who use online resources to discuss commercial child sexual abuse, it was an ethical necessity for studying *any* men using web-based communication. What is more, it undoubtedly prevented me from seeing many more images of child sexual abuse beyond what was posted in open access sites.

Finally, content pertaining to global commercial child sexual exploitation abounds in the sampled forums. I set my research perimeters around content involving both men and children in Western countries. There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, as delineated in my introduction, I was interested only in Western cultural practices. Secondly, commercial sexual exploitation of children in the global context is a tremendously vast issue, indissoluble from the forces of globalisation, racism, cultural imperialism, colonialism world poverty and the global economy, to name a few. Very simply, I could not address global child sexual exploitation with the concentration it deserves within the confines of this master’s thesis.

### *Self-evaluation*

The first criterion I established to measure valid and rigorous research was that it demonstrates reflexivity in deconstructing my own complicity in a culture that perpetuates child sexualisation. To this end I have used the pronoun “we” as an explicit effort to include myself in a culture that normalises and perpetuates harm towards children. Where appropriate, I have added anecdotal daily interactions and observations to share my process of understanding and

unpacking cultural assumptions and popular ‘knowledge’ about pedophile monsters. I have also included two entries from my research journal so that I may share my experience of engagement with this project.

The second criterion I set was that my research be creative in that it has the aptitude to breathe new thought into stale polarisations of innocent and evil, men and monsters. I attempted to disrupt the ease with which discourses belonging to science, medicine, justice and history are melded together in the form of the pedophile monster and delivered to us as a cohesive package. In order to do so, I have attempted to attack the monster from various angles including popular media, both historic and current, academic literature, and by analysing online postings from men who use the Internet as a resource for discussing the commercial sexual abuse of children.

Research focusing on male perpetrators of child sexual abuse, particularly commercial exploitation, is greatly under represented in the academic literature. By ‘studying up’, I fixated on those who have relied on their social dominance to enjoy the privilege of privacy. Thus far, perpetrators have successfully averted accountability for commercial child sexual exploitation as a social problem and responsibility for their harm to children. We have allowed this to happen by identifying the children themselves, mothers and mythical monsters as vectors for child sexual abuse. We have essentially looked everywhere but men to explain child sexual abuse. In this thesis, I have tried to refocus the lens squarely on men.

Finally, I strove to produce work that countered the anxieties expressed by writers (see, for example, Hook, 2001; Burman, 1991; Parker, 1985) that without ample care, poststructural research threatens to be apolitical. As stated in my methodology chapter, my work will be readily available to organisations actively struggling to raise awareness about commercial child sexual exploitation and working towards its eradication. I believe that my writing is infused with

my own feminist politics and is a testament to my political aim to shift accountability to male perpetrators through visibility. This required me to overcome the fear of being regulated to a peripheral position and accordingly silenced for being too radical. Being labelled as 'radical' carries significant weight for women as it is equated with irrationality. I have come to the realisation that such discipline, and the apprehension it invoked in me, is in fact, the immune system of the pedophile monster. Discursive rules, including who has the power to speak and who is excluded, are features built into the discourse, ensuring its continued survival and strengthening its claim to truth. It is time for new rules.

### *Conclusion*

As creators and constituents of Western culture, we have a dangerously conflicted relationship to children. Holding steadfastly to Romantic ideals of children as creatures of virtue, we demand that children are non-sexual and naïve. This insistence upon and obsession with innocence has provided the ideal conditions for the pedophile monster discourse to flourish.

The pedophile monster discourse is surrounded and reinforced by legitimated discourses. Connections to medicine and law serve to present the discourse as a commonsense truth about the reality of commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth as a social problem. The pedophile monster subject is an effect of these mad and bad discursive strands. The repugnant and reprehensible monster subject is always understood as an individual problem. As such, the monster exists outside of 'normal' society. Such treatment has degendered commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth so that in speaking about pedophile monsters we avoid troubling masculinity, leaving the patriarchal system of domination intact.

The monster also provides a lens through which we innocent bystanders can watch stories of child sexual abuse. From television series to newspapers, magazines and books, we eagerly

collect stories of child sexual abuse using the monster as a shield to protect our virtuousness though our voyeuristic behaviours further sexualise children. I chose two mediums for critical analysis. The first was an episode of *Law & Order: Special Victims Unit* entitled, “Dolls” (2002). The second selection was an article appearing in *Reader’s Digest*, called “R U in Yr PJs?” (Morgan, 2006). These media sources as well as the Victorian newspaper series, “The Maiden Tribute to Modern Babylon”, were deconstructed as discursive events through which I highlighted the cultural allocation of responsibility for child sexual abuse between mothers and monsters. In reviewing the academic literature, we saw that the victims of commercial child sexual abuse were also given agency in their victimisation.

I then turned my attention away from the first two “modes of objectification” (Foucault, 1983, p. 208), those divisive practices and medical classifications, whereby individuals are made into subjects. Instead I looked at the subjectifying practices, specifically the online confession as a ‘technology of the self’ (Foucault, 1980) and the men’s use of the pedophile monster discourse to construct their own subjectivities in Internet discussion forums and chat rooms. Here the discursive struggles to navigate and police the boundary lines separating man from monster pointed to contradictions in the pedophile monster discourse, especially insofar as the monster subject is constructed. Men who disclosed their perpetration of commercial child sexual exploitation were able to draw upon powerful Western discourses to transfer responsibility for their abuse to children, mothers and of course, monsters, thereby evading both the pedophile monster label and accountability for their actions.

The quest for monsters has proved to be elusive and futile. We are trapped in the historical pattern of recognising commercial child sexual abuse as a sudden crisis. We react accordingly with emergency state responses for victims, and panicked hunts for monsters. Time

and time again the monster slips away before we can truly defeat it only to re-emerge later. Consequently, we never adequately address commercial sexual exploitation of children at the profound cultural level it requires for eradication. The pedophile monster discourse is an orchestrated effort to avoid the uncomfortable realisation that monsters are, and always have been, merely men.

## References

- Abrams, L. S., & Curran, L. (2000). Wayward girls and virtuous women: Social workers and female juvenile delinquency in the progressive era. *Affilia: Journal of Women & Social Work, 15*(1), 49-64.
- Adams, P. J., Towns, A., & Gavey, N. (1995). Dominance and entitlement: The rhetoric men use to discuss their violence towards women. *Discourse & Society, 6*(3), 387-406.
- Adatto, K. (2003). Selling out childhood. *The Hedgehog Review, (Summer)*, 24-40.
- Alexy, E. M., Burgess, A. W., & Baker, T. (2005). Internet offenders: Traders, travelers, and combination trader-travelers. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 20*(7), 804-812.
- Allen, C. L. (1996). What's wrong with the "golden rule"? Conundrums of conducting ethical research in cyberspace. *The Information Society, 12*, 175-187.
- American Psychiatric Association. (1994). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders* (4th ed.). Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association.
- American Psychiatric Association. (2007). *Psychiatry online*. Retrieved Sept 21, 2007, from <http://www.psychiatryonline.com>

- Angelides, S. (2003). Historicizing affect, psychoanalyzing history: Pedophilia and the discourse of child sexuality. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 46(1/2), 79-109.
- Angelides, S. (2005). The emergence of the paedophile in the late twentieth century. *Australian Historical Studies*, 126, 272-295.
- Ariès, P. (1962). In Baldick R. (Ed.), *Centuries of childhood: A social history of family life*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Bagley, C. & Young, L. (1986). Juvenile prostitution and child sexual abuse: a controlled study. *Canadian Journal of Community Public Health*, 6(1), 5.
- Bagley, C., Wood, M., & Young, L. (1994). Victim to abuser: Mental health and behavioral sequels of child sexual abuse in a community survey of young adult males. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 18, 683-697.
- Bailey, P. (1990). Parosexuality and glamour: The Victorian barmaid as cultural prototype. *Gender & History*, 2(2), 148-172.
- Bakardjieva, M., & Feenberg, A. (2001). Involving the virtual subject. *Ethics and Information Technology*, 2(4), 233-240.
- Barnitz, L. (2001). Effectively responding to the commercial sexual exploitation of children: A comprehensive approach to prevention, protection, and reintegration services. *Child Welfare*, 80(5), 597-610.

- Bauserman, R. (2003). Child pornography online: Myth, fact, and social control. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 40(2), 219-222.
- Bielski, Z. (2009, April 23). Teen girls are swapping sex for... just about anything. *The Globe & Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/story/RTGAM.20090423.lsexweb24/BNStory/lifeFamily/home>
- Berry, D. M. (2004). Internet research: Privacy, ethics, and alienation: An open source approach. *Internet Research*, 14(4), 323-332.
- Besley, A. C. (2005). Self-denial or self-mastery? Foucault's genealogy of the confessional self. *British Journal of Guidance and Counseling*, 33(3), 365-382.
- Bird, S. (1996). Welcome to the men's club: Homosociality and the maintenance of hegemonic masculinity. *Gender & Society*, 10(2), 120-132.
- Bittle, S. (2002). *Youth involvement in prostitution: A literature review and annotated bibliography* (No. i-102). Canada: Department of Justice Canada: Research and Statistics Division.
- Bittle, S. (2006). *Youth involvement in prostitution: A literature review and annotated bibliography*. Ottawa: Government of Canada.

- Black, M., & Coward, R. (1981). Linguistic social and sexual relations: A review of Dale Spender's man-made language. *Screen Education*, 39, 69-85.
- Blake, W. (1935). *Songs of innocence and experience*. New Rochelle [N.Y.]: Peter Pauper Press.
- Bolen, R. M. (2003). Child sexual abuse: Prevention or promotion? *Social Work*, 48(2), 174-185.
- Brady, M. R., Rattner, L., Rodgers, S. R., Shapiro, L., & Swain, T. (Producers), & Jacobson, D. (Director). (2002). *Dahmer*. [Motion Picture] Blockbuster Films.
- Briere, J. & Runtz, M. (1989). University males' sexual interest in children: Predicting potential indices of "pedophilia" in a nonforensic sample. *Child Abuse & Neglect* 13, 65-75.
- Brock, D. (1999). *Making work, making trouble: Prostitution as a social problem*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Brock, D. R., & Kinsman, G. (1986). Patriarchal relations ignored: An analysis and critique of the Badgley report on sexual offenses against children and youths. In J. Lowman, M. A. Jackson, T. S. Palys & S. Gavigan (Eds.), *Regulating sex: An anthology of commentaries on the findings and recommendations of the Badgley and Fraser reports* (pp. 107-125). Burnaby, B.C.: School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University.
- Brown, A. (2004). Mythologies and panics: Twentieth century constructions of child prostitution. *Children & Society*, 18, 344-354.

- Brown, A., & Barrett, D. (2002). *Knowledge of evil: Child prostitution and child sexual abuse in twentieth-century England*. Devon: Willan Publishing.
- Brown, K. (2006). Participation and young people involved in prostitution. *Child Abuse Review*, 15, 294-312.
- Brownmiller, S. (1975). *Against our will: Men, women, and rape*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Bucholz, R., & Key, N. (2004). *Early modern England 1485-1714: A narrative history*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Bullock, A. M. (2004). *Child testimony and the legal definition of childhood in eighteenth-century London*. Unpublished Master of Arts, Miami University.
- Burman, E. (1991). What discourse is not. *Philosophical Psychology*, 4(3), 326-342.
- Burman, E., & Parker, I. (Eds.). (1993). *Discourse analytic research: Repertoires and readings of text in action*. London: Routledge.
- Cameron, D., & Frazer, E. (1987). *The lust to kill: A feminist investigation of sexual murder*. Cambridge: Polity in association with Basil Blackwell.
- Campbell, J. E., & Carlson, M. (2002). Panopticon.com: Online surveillance and the commodification of privacy. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 46(4), 586-606.

- Carabine, J. (2001). Unmarried motherhood 1830-1990: A genealogical analysis. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor & S. J. Yates (Eds.), *Discourse as data: A guide for analysis* (pp. 267-310). London: Sage.
- Carroll, L. (1979). In Cohen M. N., Green R. L. (Eds.), *The letters of Lewis Carroll*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Carter, B. (1985/86). The Badgley report from a feminist perspective. *Resources for Feminist Research*, 13(4), 42-44.
- CD Universe. (2008). *Ted Bundy DVD*. Retrieved July 25, 2008, from [http://www.cduniverse.com/productinfo.asp?pid=6866552&style=movie&BAB=D&frm=lk\\_68195](http://www.cduniverse.com/productinfo.asp?pid=6866552&style=movie&BAB=D&frm=lk_68195)
- Chambon, A. (1999). Foucault's approach: Making the familiar visible. In A. Chambon, A. Irving, and L. Epstein (Ed.), *Reading Foucault for social work* (pp. 51-81). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Child, Family and Community Service Act*, R.S.B.C. 13, c. 46. (1996). Victoria, B.C.: Queen's Printer. Retrieved from [http://www.qp.gov.bc.ca/statreg/stat/C/96046\\_01.htm](http://www.qp.gov.bc.ca/statreg/stat/C/96046_01.htm)
- Coates, L., Beavin Bavelas, J., & Gibson, J. (1994). Anomalous language in sexual assault trial judgments. *Discourse & Society*, 5(2), 189-206.

Cohen, B., Jinks, D., Ball, A., & Wlodkowski, S. (Producers), & Mendes, S. (Director). (1999).

*American beauty*. [Motion Picture] Los Angeles: DreamWorks.

Cohen, S. (1972). *Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the mods and rockers*. London:

MacGibbon & Kee.

Cohen, S. & Young, J. (Eds.). (1981). *The manufacture of news: Social problems, deviance and*

*the mass media* (1st ed.), London: Constable.

Cohen, S. (2002). *Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the mods and rockers* (3rd ed.).

London: Routledge.

Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youths. (1984). In Badgley R. F. (Ed.),

*Sexual offences against children: Report of the committee on sexual offences against children and youths*. Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada.

Condé Nast Publications. (2009). *Condé Nast media kit. Vogue: Circulation/ Demographics*.

Retrieved 03/09, 2009, from <http://www.condenastmediakit.com/vog/circulation.cfm>

Cooper, S. W., Estes, R. J., Giardino, A. P., Kellogg, N. D., & Vieth, V. I. (Eds.). (2005).

*Medical, legal & social science aspects of child sexual exploitation: A comprehensive review of pornography, prostitution, and Internet crimes* (1st ed.). St. Louis: G.W. Medical Pub.

Criminal Code, R.S.C. Sexual offences, public morals and disorderly conduct U.S.C. s.150 (1985). Retrieved from <http://laws.justice.gc.ca>

Crossley, N. (2006). Chapter 2: The networked body and the question of reflexivity. In D. Waskul, & P. Vannini (Eds.), *body/embodiment: Symbolic interaction and the sociology of the body* (pp. 21-34). Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing.

Cuomo, C. J. & Hall, K. Q. (1999). Introduction: Reflections on whiteness. In C. J. Cuomo & H. Q. Hall (Eds.), *Whiteness: Feminist Philosophical Reflections*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield.

Cusick, L. (2002). Youth prostitution: A literature review. *Child Abuse Review*, 11(4), 230-251.

Day, K., & Keys, T. (2008). Starving in cyberspace: A discourse analysis of pro-eating-disorder websites. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 17(1), 1-15.

Davies, M.L. (1995). *Childhood sexual abuse and the construction of identity: Healing Sylvia*. London: Taylor & Francis.

de Beauvoir, S. (1989). *The second sex*. New York: Vintage Books.

DeKoven, M. (2004). *Utopia limited: The sixties and the emergence of the postmodern*. London: Duke University Press.

DeMause, L. (1974). *The history of childhood*. New York: Psychohistory Press.

- Denzin, N. (1999). Cybertalk and the method of instances. In S. Jones (Ed.), *Doing Internet research* (pp. 107-126). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Denzin, N. (2004). Postmodernism and deconstructionism. In W. K. Carroll (Ed.), *Critical strategies for social research* (pp. 233-240). Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- Derrida, J. (1976). *Of grammatology* (1st American ed.). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Derrida, J. (1981). *Positions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Derrida, J. (1987). *The post card: From Socrates to Freud and beyond* [Carte postale. English]. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dominelli, L. (1996). Deprofessionalising social work: Anti-oppressive practice, competences and postmodernism. *British Journal of Social Work*, 26(2), 153-175.
- Dreyfus, H. L., & Rabinow, P. (Eds.). (1982). *Michel Foucault: Beyond structuralism and hermeneutics* (2nd ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Durkin, K. F., & Bryant, C. D. (1999). Propagandizing pederasty: A thematic analysis of the on-line exculpatory accounts of unrepentant pedophiles. *Deviant Behavior*, 20(2), 103-127.
- ECPAT International. (2005). *A commentary on terminology and definitions*. Retrieved April 1, 2007, from <http://www.ecpat.net/eng/CSEC/definitions/index.asp>

Edley, N. (2001). Analysing masculinity: Interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas and subject positions. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor & S. J. Yates (Eds.), *Discourse as data: A guide for analysis* (pp. 189-228). London: Sage.

Ennew, J. (1986). *The sexual exploitation of children*. Cambridge: Polity.

Fairclough, N. (1992). Discourse and text: Linguistic and intertextual analysis within discourse analysis. *Discourse and Society*, 3(2), 193-217.

Ferri, B. (2000). The hidden cost of difference: Women with learning disabilities. *Learning Disabilities: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 10(1)

Fine, M. (1998). Working the hyphens: Reinventing self and others in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The landscape of qualitative research: Theories and issues*. (1st ed.), (pp. 130-155). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Finkelhor, D. (1979). *Sexually victimized children*. New York: Free Press.

Finkelhor, D. (1984). *Child sexual abuse. New theory and research*. New York: Free Press.

Finkelhor, D. (1990). New ideas for sexual abuse prevention. In R. K. Oates (Ed.), *Understanding and managing child sexual abuse* (pp. 385-396). Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders.

Flax, J. (1993). *Disputed subjects: Essays on psychoanalysis, politics, and philosophy*. New York: Routledge.

- Flicker, S., Haans, D., & Skinner, H. (2004). Ethical dilemmas in research on online communities. *Qualitative Health Research, 14*(1), 124-134.
- Flood, M. (2008). Men, sex, and homosociality: How bonds between men shape their sexual relations with women. *Men and Masculinities, 10*(3), 339-359.
- Flowers, R. B. (2001). *Runaway kids and teenage prostitution: America's lost, abandoned, and sexually exploited children*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- Foote, C. E., & Frank, A. W. (1999). Foucault and therapy: The disciplining of grief. In A. Chambon, A. Irving & L. Epstein (Eds.), *Reading Foucault for social work* (pp. 157-187). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Foucault, M. (1972). *The archaeology of knowledge and the discourse on language* (A.M. Sheridan Smith Trans.). New York: Harper.
- Foucault, M. (1973). *Madness and civilization: A history of insanity in the age of reason*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Foucault, M. (1977). Nietzsche, genealogy, history. In D. F. Bouchard (Ed.), *Language, counter-memory, practice: Selected essays and interviews* (pp. 139-164). Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Foucault, M. (1979). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison* (A. Sheridan Trans.). New York: Random House.

- Foucault, M. (1980). *L'impossible prison : Recherches sur le système pénitentiaire au XIX siècle réunies par Michèle Perrot*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *The history of sexuality. Volume I: An introduction* (R. Hurley Trans.). New York: Vintage.
- Foucault, M. (1980). Lecture one: January 7, 1976. In C. Gordon (Ed.), *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977* (pp. 78-108). New York: Pantheon.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings*. New York: Pantheon Press.
- Foucault, M. (1980). Truth and power. Translation of an interview with Alessandro Fontana and Pasquale Pasquino which appeared in *microfisica del potere*. In C. Gordon (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977* (pp. 109-133). New York: Pantheon.
- Foucault, M. (1981). The order of discourse. In R. Young (Ed.), *Untying the text: A post-structural anthology* (pp. 48-78). Boston: Routledge.
- Foucault, M. (1984). What is an author? In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *The Foucault reader* (1st ed.), (pp. 101-120). New York: Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M. (1984). What is enlightenment? In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *The Foucault reader* (1st ed.), (pp. 32-50). New York: Pantheon Books.

- Foucault, M. (1988). *Politics, philosophy, culture: Interviews and other writings, 1977-1984* [Selections. 1988. English] (L. D. Kritzman Trans.). New York: Routledge.
- Foucault, M. (April 12, 1983). *The culture of the self: Introduction and program, part I*. [Sound recording]. California: Berkeley Language Centre. Retrieved from [http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/mrc/search\\_vod?avr=1&keyword=foucault](http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/mrc/search_vod?avr=1&keyword=foucault)
- Foucault, M. (April 12, 1983). *The culture of the self: Introduction and program, part II and discussion*. [Sound recording]. California: Berkeley Language Centre. Retrieved from [http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/mrc/search\\_vod?avr=1&keyword=foucault](http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/mrc/search_vod?avr=1&keyword=foucault)
- Foucault, M. (April 12, 1983). *The culture of the self: Introduction and program, part III and discussion*. [Sound recording]. California: Berkeley Language Centre. Retrieved from [http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/mrc/search\\_vod?avr=1&keyword=foucault](http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/mrc/search_vod?avr=1&keyword=foucault)
- Frankenberg, R. (2004). White women, race matters: The social construction of whiteness. In L. Heldke & P. O'Conner (Eds.), *Oppression, Privilege, & Resistance: Theoretical perspectives on racism, sexism, and heterosexism*. (pp. 333-348). McGraw-Hill: New York.
- Gabardi, W. (2001). *Negotiating postmodernism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Gannon, T., & Polaschek, D. (2005). Do child molesters deliberately fake good on cognitive distortion questionnaires? An information processing-based investigation. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 17(2), 183-200.

- Garrison, D. H. (2000). *Sexual culture in Ancient Greece*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Gavey, N. (1989). Feminist poststructuralism and discourse analysis: Contributions to feminist psychology. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 13, 459-475.
- Gilbert, T. (2001). Reflective practice and clinical supervision: Meticulous rituals of the confessional. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 36(2), 199-205.
- Gill, R. (1995). Feminist poststructuralism and discourse analysis: Contributions to feminist psychology. In S. Wilkinson, & C. Kitzinger (Eds.), *Feminism and discourse*. London: Sage.
- Goddard, C., De Bortoli, L., Saunders, B. J., & Tucci, J. (2005). The rapist's camouflage: Child prostitution. *Child Abuse Review*, 14(4), 275-291.
- Goldberg P. J. P., Riddy F. (Eds.). (2004). *Youth in the Middle Ages*. Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.
- Goodman, J. (2003). Sex and the city: Educational initiatives for “Dangerous” and “Endangered” girls in late Victorian and early Edwardian Manchester. *Paedagogica Historica*, 39(1/2), 75-88.
- Gordon, L. (1988). The politics of child sexual abuse: Notes from American history. *Feminist Review*, 28, 56-64.
- Gordon, N. (1999). Foucault's subject: An ontological reading. *Polity*, 31(3), 395-414.

- Gorham, D. (1978). The "maiden tribute of modern Babylon" re-examined: Child prostitution and the idea of childhood in late-Victorian England. *Victorian Studies*, 21(3), 353-379.
- Gough, V., & Talbot, M. (1996). 'Guilt over games boys play': Coherence as a focus for examining the constitution of heterosexual subjectivity on a problem page. In C. Calda R.C., & M. Coulthard (Eds.), *Texts and practices: Readings in critical discourse analysis* (pp. 214-230). London: Routledge.
- Government of Canada (n.d.). *Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography First Report of Canada*. Retrieved May 8, 2009 from, <http://www.pch.gc.ca/pgm/pdp-hrp/docs/2009-01/index-eng.cfm>
- Greene, J. & Ennett, S. (1999). Prevalence and correlates of survival sex among runaway and homeless youth. *American Journal of Public Health*, 89(9), 1406-1409.
- Grant, N. (2005). Chapter 8, Experiential youth perspectives: Canada. In S. W. Cooper, R. J. Estes, A. P. Giardino, N. D. Kellogg & V. I. Vieth (Eds.), *Medical, legal, & social science aspects of child sexual exploitation: A comprehensive review of pornography, prostitution, and Internet crimes* (pp. 179-190). St. Louis: G.W. Medical Publishing.
- Gunew, S. (1990). *Feminist knowledge: Critique and construct*. London: Routledge.
- Habermas, J. (1984). *The theory of communicative action*. (T. McCarthy Trans.). Boston: Beacon Press.

- Hartmann, H. (2004). Towards a definition of patriarchy. In L. Heldke & P. O'Conner (Eds.), *Oppression, Privilege, & Resistance: Theoretical perspectives on racism, sexism, and heterosexism*. (pp. 143-147). McGraw-Hill: New York.
- Hartsok, N. C. M. (1996). Postmodernism and political change: Issues for feminist theory. In S.J. Hekman (Ed.), *Feminist interpretations of Michel Foucault* (pp. 39-55). Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Healy, K., & Meagher, G. (2004). The reprofessionalization of social work: Collaborative approaches for achieving professional recognition. *British Journal of Social Work*, 34(2), 243-260.
- Hekman, S. J. (Ed.). (1996). *Feminist interpretations of Michel Foucault*. Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Hekman, S. J. (1999). *The future of differences: Truth and method in feminist theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hekman, S. J. (1990). *Gender and knowledge: Elements of a postmodern feminism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hennegan, A. (2002). Hea[r]th and home: Wilde domestic space. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society*, 27(3), 881-891.

- Herring, S. (1996). Linguistic and critical analysis of computer-mediated communication: Some ethical and scholarly considerations. *The Information Society, 12*(1), 153-168.
- Herring, S. (1999). The rhetorical dynamics of gender harassment on-line. *The Information Society, 15*(1), 151-167.
- Herrmann, K. J. (1987). Children sexually exploited for profit: A plea for a new social work priority. *Social Work, (November-December 1987)*, 523-526.
- Hewitt, J. P., & Stokes, R. (1975). Disclaimers. *American Sociological Review, 40*, 1-11.
- Hoffman, B. (2008). The science and politics of reducing child victimization. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice, 24*(2), 103-113.
- Holloway, W. (1983). Heterosexual sex: Power and desire for the other. In S. Cartledge and J. Ryan (Ed.), *Sex and love: New thoughts on an old construction* (pp. 124-140). London: Women's Press.
- Hollway, W. (1984). Gender differences and the production of subjectivity. In J. Henriques, W. Hollway, C. Brown, C. Venn & V. Walkerdine (Eds.), *Changing the subject: Psychology, social regulation and subjectivity*. (pp. 227-263). London: Methuen.
- Hollway, W. (1989). *Subjectivity and method in psychology: Gender, meaning and science*. London: Sage.

- Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (2005). Interpretive practice and social action. In N. Denzin, & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research. The SAGE handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.), (pp. 1210). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Home Office. (1957). *Report of the committee on homosexual offenses and prostitution*. Cmd. 247. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
- Hook, D. (2001). Discourse, knowledge, materiality, history: Foucault and discourse analysis. *Theory & Psychology, 11*(4), 521-547.
- Hopkins, E. (1899). *The power of womanhood; or mothers and sons: A book for parents, and those in loco parentis*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.
- Howarth, D. (2000). *Discourse*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Howitt, D., & Sheldon, K. (2007). The role of cognitive distortions in paedophilic offending: Internet and contact offenders compared. *Psychology, Crime and Law, 13*(5), 469-486.
- Hughes, A., Hayes, T., Hamsher, J., Robinson, A., & Hammel, T. M. (Producers), & Hughes, A. and Hughes, A. (Directors). (2001). *From hell*. [Motion Picture] Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corporation.
- Hyden, M., & McCarthy, I. C. (1994). Woman battering and father-daughter incest disclosure: Discourses of denial and acknowledgment *Discourse & Society, 5*(4), 543-565.
- Itzin, C. (Ed.). (2000). *Home truths about child sexual abuse: Influencing policy and practice-A reader*. Routledge: London.

- Jackson, L. A. (2000). *Child sexual abuse in Victorian England*. London: Routledge.
- Jaggar, A. (1989). Love and knowledge: Emotion in feminist epistemology. In A. Jaggar, & S. R. Bordo (Eds.), *Gender/Body/Knowledge: Feminist reconstructions of being and knowing* (pp. 145-168). New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- James, A., & James, A. L. (2004). *Constructing childhood: Theory, policy, and social practice*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jansson, M., & Benoit, C. (2002). *Some benefits and challenges in conducting community-academic research on youth involved in the sex trade. Making the Connection: Sexually Exploited Youth, the Challenges and Opportunities*, Victoria, B.C.
- Jeffreys, S. (1985). *The spinster and her enemies: Feminism and sexuality 1880-1930*. London: Pandora.
- Jenkins, P. (1998). *Moral panic: Changing concepts of the child molester in modern America*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Jenkins, P. (2001). *Beyond tolerance: Child pornography on the Internet*. New York: New York University Press.
- Jenks, C. (1996). The postmodern child. In J. Brannen & M. O'Brien (Eds.), *Children in families: Research and policy* (pp. 13-25). London: Falmer Press.

- Kant, I. (1959). *Foundations of the metaphysics of morals and, what is enlightenment?* [Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten] (L. White Beck Trans.). New York: Macmillan Publishing.
- Kidd, S. A. & Kral, M.J. (2002). Suicide and prostitution among street youth: a qualitative analysis. *Adolescence*, 37, 411-430.
- Kimmel, M. S. (1994). Masculinity as homophobia: Fear, shame, and silence in the construction of gender identity. In H. Brod & M. Kaufman (Eds.) *Theorizing masculinities* (pp. 119-41). London: Sage.
- Kincaid, J. R. (1992). *Child-loving: The erotic child and Victorian culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Kincaid, J. R. (1998). *Erotic innocence: The culture of child molesting*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Kingsley, C., & Mark, M. (2000). Sacred lives: Canadian Aboriginal children and youth speak out about sexual exploitation. Toronto: Save the Children Canada.
- Kitchin, H. A. (2007). *Research ethics and the Internet: Negotiating Canada's Tri-Council Policy Statement*. Halifax: Fernwood.
- Kitchin, R. (1998). *Cyberspace: The world in the wires*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Kitzinger, C. (1987). *The social construction of lesbianism*. London: Sage.

Kitzinger, J. (1988). Defending innocence: Ideologies of childhood *Feminist Review*, 28, 77-87.

Kitzinger, J. (2003). Who are you kidding? Children, power, and the struggle against sexual abuse. In A. James, & A. Prout (Eds.), *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: New directions in the sociological study of childhood* (2nd ed., pp. 165-189). London; New York: Falmer Press.

Kitzinger, J. (2008). Images of abusers: Stranger-Danger, the media, and the social currency of everyday knowledge. In K. Throsby & F. Alexander (Eds.), *Gender and interpersonal violence: Language, action and representation* (pp. 139-156). Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan.

Knight, S. (2002). Children abused through prostitution. *Emergency Nurse*, 10(4), 27-31.

Krafft-Ebing, R. v. (1893). *Psychopathia sexualis: Mit besonderer berucksichtigung der contraren sexuellempfindung. eine klinisch-forensische studie* (8. verb. und theilweise verm.. Aufl ed.). Stuttgart: F. Enke.

Krane, J., & Carlton, R. (2009). Oppressing mothers: Protection practices in situations of child sexual abuse. In S. Strega & J. Carrière (Eds.), *Walking this path together: Anti-racist and anti-oppressive practice in child welfare* (pp. 187-203). Halifax: Ferwood Publishing.

Kristeva, J. (1986). *The Kristeva reader* (T. Moi Trans.). New York: Columbia University Press.

Kristeva, J. (1986). Word, dialogue and novel. In T. Moi (Ed.), *The Kristeva reader* (pp. 34-61).

Oxford: Blackwell.

Kristeva, J. (1987). In Goldhammer A. (Ed.), *In the beginning was love: Psychoanalysis and faith* [Au commencement était l'amour. English]. New York: Columbia University Press.

Kvale, S. (1995). The social construction of validity. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 1(1), 19-40.

Kvale, S. (2003). The church, the factory and the market: Scenarios for psychology in a postmodern age. *Theory & Psychology*, 13(5), 579-603.

Lancaster, E., & Lumb, J. (1999). *Child and Family Social Work*, 4, 119-129.

Lansdown, G. (1996). Implementation of the UN convention on the rights of the child in the UK.

In M. John (Ed.), *Children in our charge: The child's right to resources* (pp. 57-72).

London: Jessica Kingsley.

Lawson, D. (2004). Blurring the boundaries: Ethical considerations for online research using synchronous CMC forums. In E. Buchanan (Ed.), *Readings in virtual research ethics: Issues and controversies* (pp. 80). Pennsylvania: Idea Group Inc.

Lazar, M. M. (2005). *Feminist critical discourse analysis: Gender, power, and ideology in discourse*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Locke, J. (1690). *An essay concerning humane [sic] understanding in four books*. London: Tho.

Basset.

- Lowe, K., & Pearce, J. (2006). Young people and sexual exploitation. *Child Abuse Review, 15*, 289-293.
- Lowman, J., Jackson, M. A., Palys, T. S., & Gavigan, S. (Eds.). (1986). *Regulating sex: An anthology of commentaries on the findings and recommendations of the Badgley and Fraser reports*. Burnaby, B.C: School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University.
- Luddy, M. (2007). *Prostitution and Irish society, 1800-1940*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lyotard, J. F. (1984). *The postmodern condition: A report on knowledge*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- MacIver, N. (1992). Developing a service for prostitutes in Glasgow. In J. Bury, V. Morrison & S. McLachlan (Eds.), *Working with women and AIDS: Medical, social, and counselling issues* (pp. 85-99). London: Routledge.
- Maczewski, M. (1999). *Interplay of online and onground realities: Internet research on youth experiences online*. Unpublished Master of Arts, University of Victoria,
- Mahon, M. (1992). *Foucault's Nietzschean genealogy: Truth, power, and the subject*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Malesky, L. A., & Ennis, L. (2004). Supportive distortions: An analysis of posts on a pedophile Internet message board. *Journal of Addiction & Offender Counseling, 24*, 92-100.

- Malamuth, N. M. (1981). Rape proclivity among males. *Journal of Social Issues*, 3 (4),138-57
- Mann, C., & Stewart, F. (2000). *Internet communication and qualitative research: A handbook for researching online*. London: Sage.
- Manning, H. E. (The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster), & Waugh, B. (1886). The child of the English savage. *The Contemporary Review*, XLIX, 687-700.
- Martin, D. (Director). (2002). Dolls. In D. Wolf (Producer), *Law & order: Special victims unit*. [Television series episode]. New York: Wolf Films and Universal Media.
- Mautner, G. (2005). Time to get wired: Using web-based corpora in critical discourse analysis. *Discourse and Society*, 16(6), 809-828.
- McCarthy, B., & Hagan, J. (1992). Mean streets: The theoretical significance of situational delinquency among homeless youths. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 98(3), 597-627.
- McHoul, A. W., & Grace, W. (1997). *A Foucault primer: Discourse, power and the subject*. New York: New York University Press.
- McLaren, J. P. S. (1986). Chasing the social evil: Moral fervour and the evolution of Canada's prostitution laws, 1867-1917. *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, 1(1), 125-166.
- McLeod, M., & Saraga, E. (1988). Challenging the orthodoxy: Towards a feminist theory and practice. *Feminist Review*, 28, 16-55.

- Media Awareness Network. (2009). *Student handout, Calvin Klein: A case study*. Retrieved 03/9, 2009, from [http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/resources/educational/handouts/ethics/calvin\\_klein\\_case\\_study.cfm](http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/resources/educational/handouts/ethics/calvin_klein_case_study.cfm)
- Mehta, M. D., & Darier, E. Virtual control and disciplining on the Internet: Electronic governmentality in the new wired world. *Information Society, 14*(2), 107-116.
- Melrose, M. (2004). Young people abused through prostitution: Some observations for practice. *Practice: Social Work in Action, 16*(1), 17-29.
- Merrick, J. (2001). The arrest of a sodomite, 1723. *Gay & Lesbian Review Worldwide, 8*(5), 29-30.
- Meyers, M. (1996). *News Coverage of Violence against Women: Engendering Blame*. Thousand Oaks: Sage
- Milloy, M. (2002, Girls, interrupted. *Essence, 160*-165.
- Mills, S. (1997). *Discourse*. London: Routledge.
- Morgan, J. (2006, March), r u in yr pjs? *Reader's Digest, 168*, 131-132, 134-140.
- Naples, N. A. (Ed.). (2003). *Feminism and method: Ethnography, discourse analysis, and activist research*. New York: Routledge.

- Neuman, W. L., & Kreuger, L. W. (2005). *Social work research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (2nd ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Neysmith, S. M. & Reitsma-Street, M. (2005). "Provisioning": Conceptualizing the work of women for the 21<sup>st</sup> century social policy. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 28. 381-391.
- Nicholson, L. J. (Ed.). (1990). *Feminism/postmodernism*. New York: Routledge.
- Nixon, A., & Power, C. (2007). Towards a framework for establishing rigour in a discourse analysis of midwifery professionalisation. *Nursing Inquiry*, 14(1), 71-79.
- O'Brien, C. (1999). Contested territory: Sexualities and social work. In A. Chambon, A. Irving, and L. Epstein (Ed.), *Reading Foucault for social work* (pp. 131-155). New York: Columbia University Press.
- O'Connell Davidson. (2005). *Children in the global sex trade*. Cambridge: Polity.
- O'Connell Davidson, J. (2001). *The sex exploiter. Theme paper for the second world congress against the commercial sexual exploitation of children*. ECPAT International.
- Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. (1989). *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. Retrieved October 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2008, from <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>.

- Ornebring, H. (2006). The Maiden Tribute and the naming of monsters: Two case studies of tabloid journalism as alternative public sphere. *Journalism Studies*, 7(6), 851-868.
- Pallister, R. (1968). Workhouse education in county Durham: 1834-1870. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 16(3), 279-291.
- Parker, I. (1985). Discourse and power. In K. Gergen, & K. Davis (Eds.), *The social construction of the person* (pp. 56-69). New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Parker, I. (1999). Introduction: Varieties of discourse and analysis. In I. Parker, & The Bolton Discourse Network (Eds.), *Critical textwork: An introduction to varieties of discourse and analysis*. (pp. 1-12). Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Parker, I. (2004). Discovering discourses, tackling texts. In W. K. Carroll (Ed.), *Critical strategies for social research* (pp. 252-263). Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- Phillips, K. M. (2004). Desiring virgins: Maidens, martyrs and femininity in late medieval England. In P. J. P. Goldberg, & F. Riddy (Eds.), *Youth in the Middle Ages* (pp. 45-59). Suffolk: York Medieval Press.
- Pollock, L. A. (1983). *Forgotten children: Parent-child relations from 1500 to 1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Prentky, R. A., & Burgess, A. W. (2000). *Forensic management of sexual offenders*. New York: Springer.

- Quayle, E., & Taylor, M. (2001). Child seduction and self-representation on the Internet. *CyberPsychology & Behavior*, 4(5), 597-608.
- Quayle, E., & Taylor, M. (2002). Child pornography and the Internet: Perpetuating a cycle of abuse. *Deviant Behavior*, 23(4), 331-361.
- Quayle, E., Vaughan, M., & Taylor, M. (2006). Sex offenders, Internet child abuse images and emotional avoidance: The importance of values. *Aggression & Violent Behavior*, 11(1), 1-11.
- Quiller-Couch, A. T. (Ed.). (1919). *The Oxford book of English verse, 1250–1900, chosen & edited by A. T. Quiller-Couch*. Clarendon: Oxford.
- Radford, J. & Russell, D. E.H.(Eds.),(1992). *Femicide: The politics of woman killing*. New York: Twayne.
- Reader's Digest Association. (2008). *Reader's Digest Media Kit 2008*. Retrieved from <http://www.readersdigest.ca/advertising/images/Media%kit%2008%20Eng.pdf>
- Richardson, L. (2000). New writing practices in qualitative research. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 17, 5-20.
- Roberts, D. (1963). How cruel was the Victorian poor law? *The Historical Journal*, 6(1), 97-107.
- Roberts, L., Smith, L., & Pollack, C. (2004). Chapter IX, Conducting ethical research online: Respect for individual identities and the ownership of words. In E. A. Buchanan (Ed.),

- Readings in virtual research ethics: Issues and controversies* (p. 156-173). Hershey: Information Science Publishing.
- Roberts, N. (1992). *Whores in history: Prostitution in Western society*. London: Harper Collins.
- Robertson, J.R. (2003). *Prostitution* (No. 82-2E). Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada. Retrieved from <http://dsp-psd.tpsgc.gc.ca/in-ai-e.html>
- Rose, N. (1999). *Governing the soul: The shaping of the private self* (2nd ed.). London: Free Association Books.
- Rouse, R. (1994). Chapter 4: Power/Knowledge. In G. Gutting (Ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Foucault* (pp. 92-114). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ruggiero, G. (1985). *The boundaries of Eros: Sex crime and sexuality in Renaissance Venice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rush, F. (1980). *The best kept secret: Sexual abuse of children*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Saewyc, E. M., MacKay, L. M., Anderson, J., & Drozda, C. (2008). *It's not what you think: Sexually exploited youth in British Columbia*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.
- Sawicki, J. (1996). Feminism, Foucault, and "subjects" of power and freedom. In S. J. Hekman (Ed.), *Feminist interpretations of Michel Foucault* (pp. 160-178). Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

- Secretariat to the Federal/Provincial/ Territorial Working Group on Child and Family Services Information. (2000). *Child welfare in Canada 2000: The role of Provincial and Territorial authorities in the provision of child protection services*. Retrieved from <http://www.hrdc-drhc.gc.ca/socpol/cfs/cfs.shtml>
- Sellers, M. (Producer), & Bender, J. (Director). (2006). *Karla*. [Motion Picture] Quantum Entertainment.
- Seto, M.C. (2008). *Pedophilia and sexual offending against children: Theory, assessment, and intervention*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Shaw, I., & Butler, I. (1998). Understanding young people and prostitution: A foundation for practice? *British Journal of Social Work*, 28, 177-196.
- Sheldon, K., & Howitt, D. (2007). *Sex offenders and the Internet*. West Sussex, England: John Wiley & Sons.
- Sher, J. (2007). *One child at a time: The global fight to rescue the victims of web porn*. Toronto: Random House Canada.
- Shoemaker, B., Hitchcock, T. (Eds.). (2008). *The Old Bailey proceedings online* [website]. Sheffield: HRI Online Publications. Retrieved March 13, 2008, from <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org>
- Shorter, E. (1975). *The making of the modern family*. New York: Basic Books.

- Simpson, A. E. (1986). The 'blackmail myth' and the prosecution of rape and its attempt in 18th century London: The creation of a legal tradition. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 77(1), 101-150.
- Slee, P. T. (2002). *Child, adolescent and family development* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smart, C. C. (1999). A history of ambivalence and conflict in the discursive construction of the 'child victim' of sexual abuse. *Social & Legal Studies*, 8, 391-409.
- Smith, L. (1993). 'Take back your mink': Lewis Carroll, child masquerade and the age of consent. *Art History*, 16(3), 369-385.
- Smith, L. W., Herman-Giddens, M. E., & Everette, V. D. (2005). Chapter 2: Commercial sexual exploitation of children in advertising. In S. W. Cooper, R. J. Estes, A. P. Giardino, N. D. Kellogg & V. I. Vieth (Eds.), *Medical, legal, & social science aspects of child sexual exploitation: A comprehensive review of pornography, prostitution, and Internet crimes* (pp. 25-45). St. Louis: G.W. Medical Publishing.
- Sonenschein, D. (1998). *Pedophiles on parade: Volume 1: The monster in the media*. San Antonio, Texas: D. Sonenschein.
- Sprague, J. (2005). *Feminist methodologies for critical researchers: Bridging differences*. Walnut Creek CA: Altamira Press.

- Stone, L. (1977). *The family, sex and marriage in England, 1500-1800*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Strega, S. (2005). The view from the poststructural margins: Epistemology and methodology reconsidered. In L. Brown and S. Strega (Eds.), *Research as resistance: Critical, indigenous, and anti-oppressive approaches* (pp. 199-235). Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- Taylor, S. (2001). Locating and conducting discourse analytic research  
In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor & S. J. Yates (Eds.), *Discourse as data: A guide for analysis* (pp. 5-48). London: Sage.
- Teixeira, R. D. (2004). Child protection and the discursive construction of the pedophile: Genealogical investigations. Unpublished Master of Arts, University of Toronto (OISE).
- Tilbury, C. (2004). The influence of performance measurement on child welfare policy and practice. *British Journal of Social Work*, 34(2), 225-241.
- van Dijk, T. (1996). Discourse, power and access. In C. Caldas-Coulthard, & M. Coulthard (Eds.), *Texts and practices* (pp. 85-104). London: Routledge.
- Venn, C. (2006). *The postcolonial challenge: Towards alternative worlds*. London: Sage.
- Valverde, M. (2008). *The age of light, soap, and water: Moral reform in English Canada, 1885-1925*. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- Walby, S. (1989). Theorising patriarchy. *Sociology*, 23(2), 213-234.
- Walkowitz, J. R. (1980). The politics of prostitution. *Signs*, 6(1), 123-135.
- Walkowitz, J. R. (1992). *City of dreadful delight: Narratives of sexual danger in Late-Victorian London*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Walter. (1966). *My secret life*. (G. Legman, intro.). New York: Grove Press.
- Ward, T., & Siegert, R. (2002). Toward a comprehensive theory of child sexual abuse: A theory of knitting perspective. *Psychology, Crime and Law*, 8, 319-351.
- Waskul, D. (2003). *Self-games and body-play: Personhood in online chat and cybersex*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Waskul, D., & Douglass, M. (1996). Considering the electronic participant: Some polemical observations on the ethics of on-line research. *The Information Society*, 12, 129-139.
- Waskul, D., Douglass, M., & Edgley, C. (2000). Cybersex: Outercourse and the enselment of the body. *Symbolic Interaction*, 23(4), 375-397.
- Waskul, D. D., & Vannini, P. (2006). *Body/embodiment: Symbolic interaction and the sociology of the body*. Hampshire, England: Ashgate.
- Waugh, L. (2006, 09/04). Why trafficked women must be "perfect". *New Statesman*, 135, 22.

- Weatherall, A., & Priestley, A. A feminist discourse analysis of sex 'work'. *Feminism & Psychology*, 11(3), 323-340.
- Weber, M. (1947). *The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation*. New York: Free Press.
- Weber, M. (1958). *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism* (T. Parsons Trans.). New York: C. Scribner.
- Webster, T. (1996). Writing to redundancy: Approaches to spiritual journals and early modern spirituality. *The Historical Journal*, 39(1), 33-56.
- Weedon, C. (1987). *Feminist practice and poststructuralist theory*. New York: Blackwell.
- Wetherell, M., & Potter, J. (1992). *Mapping the language of racism: Discourse and the legitimation of exploitation*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Whiteman, E. (2007). "Just chatting": Research ethics and cyberspace. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 6(2), December 1, 2007. Retrieved from [http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/6\\_2/whiteman.pdf](http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/6_2/whiteman.pdf)
- Whitty, M. (2004). Chapter XI, peering into online bedroom windows: Considering the ethical implications of investigating Internet relationship and sexuality. In E. A. Buchanan (Ed.), *Readings in virtual research ethics: Issues and controversies*. (pp. 203-218). Hershey: Information Science Publishing.

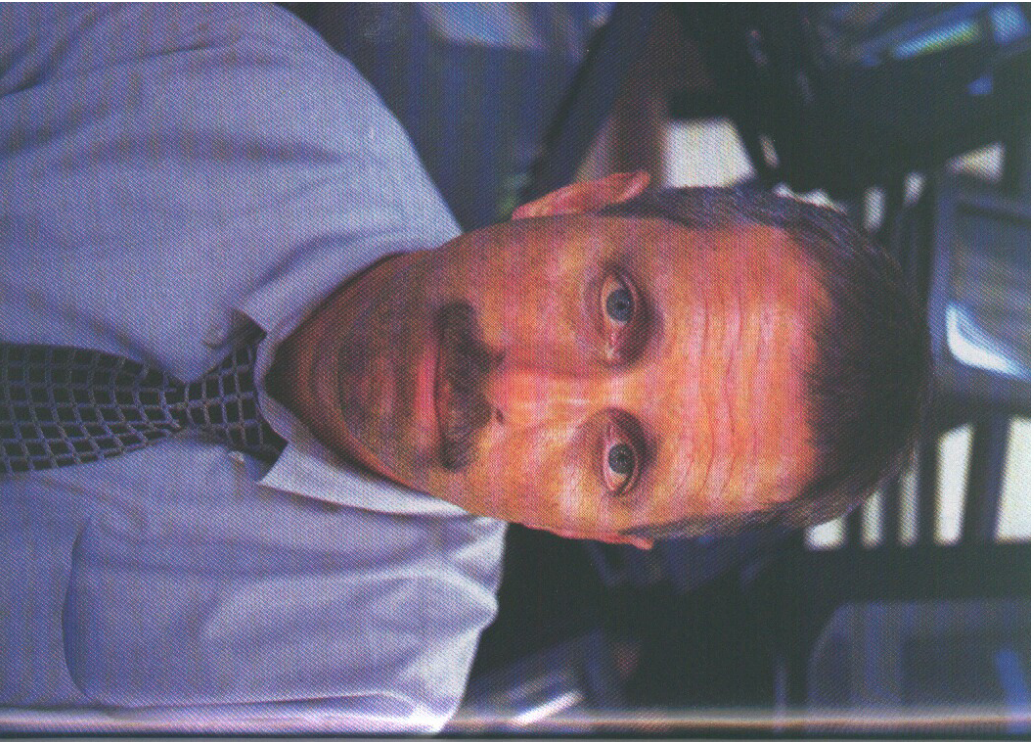
- Wiener, M. J. (2004). *Men of blood: Violence, manliness and criminal justice in Victorian England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Winstead, K. A. (1997). *Virgin martyrs: Legends of sainthood in late Medieval England*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press.
- Wood, L. A., & Kroger, R. O. (2000). *Doing discourse analysis: Methods for studying action in talk and text*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Yates, S., Taylor S. and Wetherell M. (Eds.). (2001). *Discourse as data: A guide for analysis*. London: Sage.
- Young, I. (2004). Five faces of oppression. In L. Heldke & P. O'Conner (Eds.), *Oppression, Privilege, & Resistance: Theoretical perspectives on racism, sexism, and heterosexism*. (pp. 37-63). McGraw-Hill: New York.
- Young, I. (1981). Beyond the unhappy marriage: A critique of dual systems theory. In L. Sergent (Ed.), *Women and revolution: The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism*. (pp. 43-69). London: Pluto Press.
- Young, R. (1981). The order of discourse (introduction). In R. Young (Ed.), *Untying the text: A post-structural anthology* (pp. 48-51). Boston: Routledge.

Yurchisin, J., Watchravesringkan, K., & Brown McCabe, D. (2005). An exploration of identity re-creation in the context of Internet dating. *Social Behavior & Personality: An International Journal*, 33(8), 735-750.

## Appendix

Appendix A.

Morgan, J. (2006, March), r u in yr pjs? *Reader's Digest*, 168, 131-132, 134-140.



# "ruin y r p j s?"

**The** Internet allows the worst kind of criminals to thrive. But Paul Gillespie and his team of Toronto cops are netting pedophiles like nobody else.

BY JULIA MORGAN

DET.-SER. PAUL GILLESPIE was sitting in his office at Toronto Police Service headquarters. It was dark outside, and at 5 a.m. on a Sunday in November 2003, the building was deserted. Dressed in old jeans, a baggy T-shirt and Doc Martens, the six-foot-five officer had come in early to cram for a promotional exam scheduled for later that morning. But his mind kept straying. Soon he logged on to his computer and the shared Interpol workspace his office used to keep in touch with other

elite police forces around the world. Waiting was a series of 450 images posted by an officer in the United Kingdom, Gillespie, who heads one of the world's largest and most successful child-exploitation police units, began clicking on them and caught his breath: In many of the images, a girl was being beaten and raped. In several, there was a hunting knife pointed at her and slogans such as "Kill me, I'm slut" were scrawled on her body. They were the most violent and degrading images Gillespie had ever

PHOTO: COURTESY MICROSOFT

"R U IN 'R PJS?" | MARCH 2006

seen. But the photo of the girl inside a dog cage got to him most. The small, white plastic kennel had a metal door. The girl, about five or six, was naked and crouching, so that most of what you saw was her face and the terrified look in her brown eyes. She was crying, the corners of her mouth turned down miserably.

Thankfully, there was something encouraging in the photos: clues. The next morning, Gillespie showed them to six of his officers. Using photo-editing software, they enlarged objects such as an amusement-park wristband and a number on a Girl Scout uniform, then followed up with old-fashioned research. Working frantically through dozens of leads, they began to suspect the girl was a pupil at one of two schools in North Carolina. A last break came when an officer noticed that, on a deliberately blurred logo on a green T-shirt, a minuscule section was still intact. When placed against the logo of one of the schools, it was a match. The investigation had taken just 36 hours, a record.

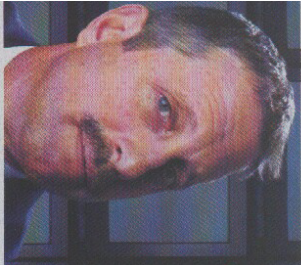
"Get on the phone! I want you to call this FBI officer," ordered Gillespie. Det.-Const. William McGarry, who had barely slept the previous night, couldn't dial fast enough. Over the phone, he presented the evidence, and soon the FBI was showing the girl's picture to the school principal. "You're not going to believe this," the agent said when he called McGarry back. "He recognized her right away. And she's home sick today." Minutes later, another update: The FBI was in front

of an upscale house in a quiet suburb. The young girl was outside, riding her bicycle and, as of that moment, safe. The Toronto office erupted, everyone jumping up and down. A few shed tears.

Following the rescue, the FBI arrested a male relative inside the house. They seized five computers containing 15 years' worth of child pornography, plus camera equipment, weapons, two dog cages, a Girl Scout uniform and other evidence. Gillespie's unit learned the man was a software developer—and well-respected in his community. He was part of a group of online child pornographers who make and view "hurrcore"—images of children under 13 who are being sexually abused and are obviously in pain. He had recently raped a second child, a three-month-old boy, and had hired another pedophile to kill his wife in a few weeks' time. The FBI would classify him as one of the most evil pedophiles they had encountered.

Gillespie's child-exploitation section was created five years ago. Back then, there were only five detectives, and for a while nobody had a computer, let alone Internet access. "That was a bit of a challenge," laughs Gillespie, now 46. He would sometimes go online at home or borrow a computer down the hall to do his job. He began making presentations to anyone who would listen to raise awareness about his department, and that strategy soon

RD | MARCH 2006



**"Get on the phone!  
I want you to call  
this FBI officer."  
ordered Gillespie.**

© NIGEL DICKSON

paid off. Through an association of young business executives, he met a senior manager from a computer manufacturer and received some donated computers. About that time, he was outfitted with dial-up access. The basics, at least, were in place.

Before 2000, Internet child pornography was barely on the radar in most Canadian police departments. Gillespie was supervising foot patrols in an inner-city neighborhood, but had requested a new assignment so he would have time to take care of his young son, who had been diagnosed with cancer. (He has since recovered fully.) So after the bust of a child-porn website in Texas, Gillespie was given the names and credit-card numbers of 241 people in the Toronto area who had allegedly purchased images from the site. It would be a nice, easy assignment, went the thinking, and Gillespie was told to report back on this new frontier in child abuse.

It didn't take more than a week for him to realize the problem was much

"R U IN YR PJ5?"

Gillespie went away unhappy and came back later holding a CD. "Before you close down my unit, take a look at this," he said, inserting it into Ellis's computer. Ellis answered that if it was child pornography, he didn't want to see it.

"How can you shut down the unit if you don't know what we're dealing with?" was Gillespie's insistent reply. Ellis viewed just one image, and that night had what he calls an epiphany. Instead of closing the unit, he joined Gillespie in his efforts. In 2002 they submitted a provincial funding request, proposing to become a more multipurpose, victims-based operation. The \$2.1 million they received marked a turning point. They doubled their staff, sent some to learn from experts at places like Interpol and the United Kingdom's National Crime Squad, and purchased computers that worked. In 2004 alone, they arrested 37 people and seized more than three million images.

Today, the unit has grown to 17 officers—11 men and six women. Although everyone learns all aspects of the business, many have a specialization. Lori Haggert, a veteran of the force and also a grandmother, concentrates on interviewing every potential victim in the life of an offender. Scott Purche, who used to specialize in busting up break and enters, spends his days chatting online as a 12- or 13-year-old, brushing up on teen magazines and *The Amazing Race* for his professional development. John Menard, the "supersleut undercover

135

*Stay inside  
the lines, too.*



Every *Always*® pantliner has unique LeakGuard Boniers plus a LeakGuard Core™ to help keep leaks well in line.

*Please a happy period.*

*always*

RD | MARCH 2006

# Within weeks, Microsoft took on the project with Gillespie's team.



© NIGEL DICKSON

guy," is 28, a new father and part of a group of whip-smart younger officers Gillespie recruited because of their computer savvy. Menard masquerades as a hard-core pedophile to gain intelligence in hidden newsgroups and chat rooms where the worst images are found. And McGarry and Warren Bulmer are good with details and have become experts at background photo analysis. They'll go to any lengths to hunt down a particular manufacturer of bricks or to learn about a species of Dutch elm if it might help locate a victim. McGarry even emailed Bob Vila once to find out about a particular kind of door.

**I**N JANUARY 2005, when Gillespie's department released hotel-room photos with the victim digitally removed, it was a first in North America. Minutes after the photos hit the airwaves, tips came in identifying the location as a Florida Disney resort. It turned out the girl had been

found years earlier. The Toronto unit had tried unsuccessfully to contact other agencies to see if that was indeed the case. This shone a spotlight on a huge problem in the field: a lack of cooperation and sharing, which means officers spend half their time trying to determine if a victim has already been found, or even if there are other forces working to rescue the same child.

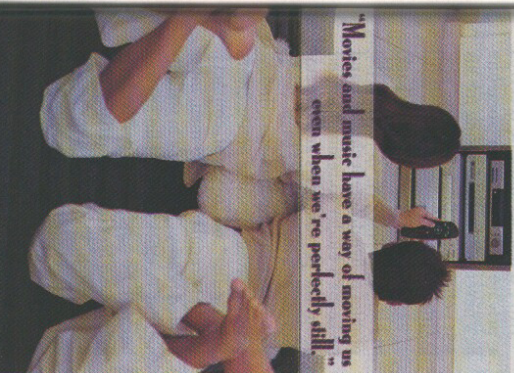
By their very nature, law-enforcement agencies have precisely defined boundaries, and they are notoriously bad at sharing information. Criminal intelligence officer Anders Persson, based in Lyons, France, moderates the Interpol workspace where elite forces like Gillespie's meet online, and says the Toronto unit is one of the most cooperative. He cites a recent example where Gillespie's team found images of an 18-month-old boy and determined they were taken in Madrid. But after tipping Interpol, who got Spanish police involved, Gillespie's unit kept working and turned up a new,

hard-to-find video on the Internet. This led to the uncovering of a child-pornography ring made up of seven offenders who were abducting and abusing victims age 11 months to six years. "They have the best sources," says Persson of his Toronto colleagues. "And they're eager to share their material."

Improved international cooperation is what Gillespie hopes to achieve with a \$4.5 million software program called Child Exploitation Tracking System (CETS), which was developed following an email he sent to Bill Gates three years ago. The story is now almost legendary: On one "really bad day" in 2003, an angry Gillespie banged out an appeal to Gates, never expecting a response. The Internet was facilitating

an explosion in child pornography, he wrote, while making it much easier for the culprits to escape detection. His team was falling behind. "I am frustrated and I need help," he said. Within weeks, Microsoft took on the project in conjunction with Gillespie's team and, eventually, the RCMP.

CETS has already led to a number of arrests. The program allows police forces to work together more effectively, searching for and exchanging encrypted information about offenders and victims. The cutting edge social-network-analysts feature assesses vast quantities of information and assigns scores to people who appear more active than officers might otherwise have noticed. Close to a dozen Western countries have expressed in-



"Movies and music have a way of moving us even when we're perfectly still."

Whether you're moved to tears, laughter or dancing, you'll enjoy our wide selection of videos and exclusive music collections. Call now to order your free catalogue, or to buy any of our wonderful videos and music.

1-800-635-0343 or go to [www.rnd.ca](http://www.rnd.ca)



Reader's Digest

VIDEOS 5

• R U IN YR PLS? | MARCH 2006

terest in adopting the CETS technology, but eventually the aim is that they'll all be connected. Gillespie's dream is to one day bring CETS to the developing world so poorer countries can do something about the growing problem of child-sex tourism.

With all this envelope-pushing, Gillespie's office is no stranger to controversy: Gillespie has an open door policy with the media because he knows he needs the public's help, but he's been criticized occasionally by people in law-enforcement circles who say he gives too many investigative secrets away. Psychologists and social-service agencies have taken him to task for saying he'd like to release photos of victims' faces so they can be found. He's even been told that a local force shouldn't be using municipal tax dollars in an international arena. In response, Gillespie points out that his team has been involved in the identification and rescue of 84 child victims around the world, about half of whom were in the Greater Toronto Area. "But whether it's my child or somebody else's child, it's our child," he says emphatically. "I fail to see the difference."

Regardless of his detractors, Gillespie plans to move ahead as always. He's developing a public website that will contain photos with the victims digitally removed. His officers are exploring new terrain with sound files, breaking them down to isolate voices and other audio clues. It's always a race when using technology to fight technology and any new nightmares it

might bring. Emerging problems are camera phones, which can take and broadcast pictures discreetly; wireless "hot spots" that allow anonymous Internet surfing; and ever shrinking, easy-to-hide computer chips that can store vast collections of child porn.

**I**T'S MID-MORNING on a Tuesday in October 2005 and Scott Purches has just entered a chat room dedicated to the seemingly benign topic of "Canada." The burly officer with the close-cropped red hair has his gun in his holster, and his handcuffs glint from his belt as if he were about to make an arrest. He looks about as far from a young girl as you can possibly get, but that's what he's posing as.

After a few seconds, he receives a private message from someone he's never met before, asking for his ASL: chat-room lingo for "age, sex, location."

"12, f, Toronto," Purches types back. In his undercover work, he uses the profiles of five different children, and he keeps a binder to remind himself about the personalities and circumstances he's made up for each.

Another instant-message window pops up, from someone on Purches's "buddy list" of frequent contacts. He chats regularly to 26 men, most located nearby. This guy's in California, but Purches talks to him anyway because he tends to be particularly graphic, so he could potentially be a bigger catch. The man claims he's in his 30s, and they've had an online "re-

"R U IN YR PJ3?" | MARCH 2006

**For more tips** and a list of kid-friendly search engines, websites and chat rooms, go to [www.bewebaware.ca](http://www.bewebaware.ca).

**To report online child pornography or luring,**

visit [www.cybertip.ca](http://www.cybertip.ca) or call 1-266-6538-9022 (you can report anonymously if you wish). You should also contact your local police.

relationship" for five months. Purches hopes he'll suggest a meeting soon.

"got a webcam yet?" asks the man casually. And later: "r u in yr pj3?" (Are you in your pyjamas?)

"There's still an overwhelming belief among parents out there that if a kid is using the computer, it must be educational," says Purches. "That's our greatest challenge."

GILLESPIE has a variety of coping strategies to deal with the daily assault his work takes on his psyche, and one is family. He has several kids. His wife is also an officer in the Toronto force and specializes in teaching about child abuse at the local police college. It helps that

they understand each other's jobs.

Still, the stress can get to him, and sometimes in the most unexpected ways. He thinks back to the North Carolina rescue and remembers that after the initial euphoria, there was a period of great sadness as his office learned the girl's real name and found out more about her ordeal. They learned that, like many victims, she'd been too traumatized to tell anyone. (Her abuser was recently sentenced to 100 years in prison, and information on his computer has led to at least three other arrests worldwide and the rescue of three other child victims.)

But a year to the day after the rescue, Gillespie received a card in the mail. It was from the mother of the three-month-old victim of the North Carolina abuser. "Thankful," it said.

"That word can't begin to describe." That helped, Gillespie says, choking up a little.

"Maybe she's going to be a brilliant scientist," he reflects, thinking about the young girl who was photographed in a cage. "Maybe she's going to be a statesman. Maybe I'll be reading about her someday—the person who made a difference in the world."

**rd.ca**

For more safety tips for kids by age category, visit us online at [rd.ca](http://rd.ca).

#### READY ANSWER

My husband had recently died, and I was talking to Josh, my 16-year-old neighbour. I told him that while God often answered my prayers, He hadn't answered my prayers for my husband.

"Yes, He did," said Josh. "Didn't you say the doctors had given him three months to live? He lived for 17!"

JOSEPHINE MAYNE, Madras Park, B.C.