Sexed Crime: Media Constructions of Paedophilia

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Statement of Authorship

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Abstract

This thesis provides a feminist poststructuralist analysis of contemporary print media constructions of paedophilia and the paedophile based on a cross-section of Australian broadsheet and tabloid newspapers spanning over a fifteen year period (1990 - 2005). Drawing on feminist, criminological and media developments in the field of ‘sexed crime’, the thesis provides a discursive re-reading of news media representations of paedophilia. The study specifically examines the representational systems of ‘sexual epidemic’ and ‘homosexed crime’ in which modern categories and concepts of paedophilia are firmly grounded and continually reproduced. It problematises the taken-for-granted ways in which child sexual assault is constructed within the news media.

To support the thesis, representations of ‘cyber-paedophilia’, the ‘paedophile priest’, and three high profile cases of what has been termed within the press ‘homosexual paedophilia’, are examined. It also explores constructions of ‘motherhood’, ‘fatherhood’ and the ‘family’ within the current context of the paedophilia ‘epidemic’. The modern category ‘paedophile’ is specifically examined as a regulatory apparatus in the reproduction of binary classifications of sex, gender and sexuality. It is argued that anxieties surrounding the perceived ‘epidemic’ of paedophilia are, crucially, representative of anxieties surrounding the destabilisation and dissolution of core binary systems of meaning (male/female, heterosexuality/homosexuality, masculine/feminine, same/Other etc.) within the (post)modern social.

With regard to the sexed, gendered and sexualised dimensions of crime and criminality, the thesis argues that print media constructions of paedophilia signify an increasing chasm between feminist poststructuralist conceptions of ‘sexed crime’ and news reports of ‘sex crime’. Finally, the thesis considers how media constructions of paedophilia have contributed to the disappearance of men (as men) from the representation of child sexual assault.
'Sexual deviants' have always occupied a critical space in the print news media, and those who sexually abuse children are no exception (Cohen 1980). Despite featuring prominently in the Australian media since the late 1980’s, it was only during the 1990’s that the figure of the paedophile became firmly embedded in the cultural consciousness. Although the paedophile has routinely been the subject of media scrutiny and condemnation, the paedophile has recently become the target of intense media assault. The past ten years has witnessed a discursive explosion surrounding sexual threats to children posed by the paedophile. This thesis provides an analysis

1 For the remainder of the thesis, unless otherwise specified, the term ‘media’ will be used to refer to the print news media.
2 Currently there is no legal definition of paedophilia. The term ‘paedophilia’ is attached to the act/s perpetrated against a child (for example, indecent assault, sexual assault and sexual penetration). Definitions of ‘child’ vary within Australia from state to state. In the state of Victoria, for example, under the Children, Youth and Families Act 2005, ‘child’ means: (a) in the case of a person who is alleged to have committed an offence, a person who at the time of the alleged commission of the offence was under the age of 18 years but of or above the age of 10 years but does not include any person who is of or above the age of 19 years when a proceeding for the offence is commenced in the Court; and (b) in any other case, a person who is under the age of 17 years or, if a protection order, a child protection order within the meaning of Schedule 1 or an interim order within the meaning of that Schedule continues in force in respect of him or her, a person who is under the age of 18 years. In the state of New South Wales a child is defined in the Children and Young Persons (Care and Protection) Act 1998 as ‘a person who is under the age of 16 years’. Similarly, a child in the state of Queensland is defined in the Child Protection Act 1999 as ‘an individual under 18 years’.

One of the most commonly cited medical and psychiatric definitions of ‘paedophile’ is provided by the American Psychiatric Association’s Diagnostic and Statistic Manual of Mental Disorders (2003). Since 1968, the American Psychiatric Association continues to define paedophilia as a mental disorder or illness. Those who are categorised as a paedophile must meet three criteria:

A. Over a period of at least 6 months, recurrent, intense sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviours involving sexual activity with a prepubescent child or children (generally age 13 years or younger);
B. The person has acted on these sexual urges, or the sexual urges or fantasies cause marked distress or interpersonal difficulty;
C. The person is at least age 16 years and at least 5 years older than the child or children in Criterion A.

Although the child sexual molester has consistently appeared as a modern day ‘folk devil’ (Cohen 1980) in a range of social and cultural discourses, I suggest that the paedophile is a distinctively modern category of criminal. Other. The continuing conditions of the (re)production of the contemporary category ‘paedophile’ are, crucially, discursively contingent on contemporary discourses of epidemic.

and contextualisation of media representations of paedophilia and the paedophile over a fifteen year period (1990 - 2005).

1.1 A Question of Location: Why Paedophilia?

Why paedophilia? Although it is a question I have been asked countless times throughout my doctoral candidature, it is a question that deserves some attention. My interest in paedophilia was first ignited as an undergraduate student studying at La Trobe University. During my Bachelor of Arts degree, I majored in a critical branch of legal studies which examined and critiqued dominant representations of sexual violence, including 'serial murder', 'domestic' violence and 'child sexual abuse' from a feminist, poststructural perspective. The subjects explored, challenged and exposed the hegemonic ways in which sexual violence is constructed and represented within a range of discourses, including law, criminology, media and psychiatry. As I immersed myself within the literature, these critical approaches began to shed light on the subject of the representation of sexual violence. An interest in the representation of violence against women and children, developed into an interest in paedophilia. Although there was a vast feminist literature dedicated to the sexual abuse of children, there were surprisingly few texts specifically dedicated to the subject of paedophilia. What I viewed as a gap in knowledge led me to write an Honours thesis on the representation of the paedophile body within criminological discourses. I have

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1.2 Finding a Voice

The vehemence and the anger that the topic of paedophilia provokes has been unsettling. On the surface, the response is in no way unusual. It is to be expected that the subject of child sexual assault, a crime which is universally abhorred within Western society, incites deep-seated fear and hostility. For most people, paedophilia is the most horrific of crimes. The sexual abuse of children is a deeply troubling and distressing subject. The intensely emotional response that the subject of paedophilia elicits was reflected in my day-to-day conversations, academic dialogues and discussions with friends and family. I have also been engaged by people who are relative strangers wanting to air their concerns and fears surrounding the escalating cases of paedophilia. I have been subject to probing questions from strangers wanting to know why I had chosen such a topic. This led to a reluctance to disclose the subject of my research. My unwillingness to talk about my research is not due to a lack of faith in my topic, my approach or my argument, but because of the expectation from others that I would be able to provide the answers or solutions to the current problem of paedophilia. This project does not provide a blueprint for law reform or the seeming concreteness of a medical or scientific model for treatment and rehabilitation. How do I even begin to explain my position, my argument and my critical standpoint without being seen to be writing in defence of the paedophile?

As a researcher I cannot clearly or easily define my disciplinary roots, as my academic background is not in media studies. The intrinsic complexity of paedophilia discourses has provided a unique challenge for the project. The signs and symbols which are embedded within representations of paedophilia are not easily deciphered; there is no unitary theoretical approach that can be applied to the representation of paedophilia. This thesis shares Linda Singer’s conceptual approach in Erotic Welfare: Sexual Theory and Politics in the Age of Epidemic (1993), by drawing from a diverse range of theoretical standpoints. Singer uses the figure of the ‘bandita’ to illuminate her theoretical position. The bandita, she writes:
play[s] with the remains of dead men, ruthless pillaging, taking what’s needed and leaving the rest. The bandita recycles these remains, rather than recasting them as reliquary objects of display, under glass, protected from desecration. They are already desecrated - and also embalmed by others. The remains recycled make a different map, and mark new intersections between discourses, disciplines, forms of 'knowledge'. (1993: 23)

My method has been shaped by the critical contributions of a range of different theorists from a variety of academic fields of inquiry. While firmly grounded in feminist reconsiderations of sex, gender and sexuality, my work is also influenced by developments within poststructuralism, media studies, sexuality studies and critical criminology. What unites these theories is a critical approach to the question of the representation of sexual violence. These perspectives open up the possibility of moving beyond dominant or conventional theories of ‘sex crime’ which have severely limited the ways in which paedophilia is researched, theorised and represented.

The thesis does not provide a history of the paedophile in the Australian media, adhering to a rigid timeline of events spanning the past 15 years. Nor is the study an attempt to analyse and trace statistical trends in newspaper reports. The study is not a scientific study in the sense that it does not employ positivist methodologies which involve the objective interpretation of data. The aim of the study is not to painstakingly document how many instances the paedophile featured in news reports, what offences paedophiles were convicted of, or to provide a comparative analysis of how many boys versus how many girls were sexually abused. It is not an analysis in which the results can be neatly presented in tables, graphs and charts. My methods are not grounded in quantitative research which bear the hallmarks of positivism. This is a different kind of project. My methods of analysis, instead, explore the distinct patterns of representation which characterise media discourses of paedophilia. The thesis will trace the multiple and shifting meanings of paedophilia and reveal what paedophilia is made to signify within media discourse.
Paedophilia discourses have gained even greater symbolic and political purchase over the past 15 years. My (re)interpretation of the 'paedophile' extends beyond the realm of 'moral panic', and seeks rather to dismantle the discourses in which the category paedophile is firmly embedded. In the thesis, I will argue that we have witnessed a paradigm shift in the representation of paedophilia. There is a critical difference between paedophilia discourses and discourses of child sexual assault or child sexual abuse. A competing and contrasting set of discourses govern the representation of child sexual abuse compared with paedophilia. I want to suggest that the paedophile has come to represent more than simply a threat to the sexual safety of children. The present paedophilia 'epidemic' (and I will suggest that we are in the midst of an 'epidemic') can be located more broadly within the social reframing and de-centring of categories of heterosexuality and homosexuality and masculinity and femininity. To put it a different way, I explore the use of the category 'paedophile' within media discourse to signify more than sexual assault. The modern preoccupation with paedophilia is not only about the sexual abuse of children. In accounting for the current significance given to paedophilia within media discourse, I will suggest that the paedophile plays a key role in the regulation of broader categories and concepts of sex, gender and sexuality, for contested meanings of sex, gender and sexuality are at the centre of the current paedophilia epidemic. The thesis examines how normative categories of sex, gender and sexuality inform and structure contemporary print news media representations of paedophilia. It is the sexed, gendered and sexualised dimensions of the category paedophile that are the focus of the thesis.

1.3 Overview of the Thesis
Chapter Two outlines my method and explores the theories that I draw on to help decipher the signs, symbols and imagery encoded within paedophilia discourses. The chapter examines the core themes which underwrite the entire thesis and elaborates on the epistemological context of the analysis. The chapter provides an overview of feminist and criminological literature on sexed violence which will provide a basis for my (re)consideration of the interconnections between the representation of sex, gender and sexuality and the representation of paedophilia. I also revisit feminist
contributions to and criticisms of Foucauldian conceptions of discourse, power and knowledge. The theories I canvass in Chapter Two will provide a framework for my discursive re-reading and re-writing of the paedophile body.

Chapter Three provides an overview of sexological literature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, focusing specifically on the works of Havelock Ellis, Richard von Krafft-Ebing and August Forel. The chapter provides a critical analysis of sexological representations of homosexuality and heterosexuality, and by extension, paedophilia. In the chapter, I suggest that sexological research into categories of sexual normativity and sexual deviancy has provided a foundational basis for modern understandings of paedophilia and the paedophile.

The remainder of the thesis is divided into four key areas of media analysis. Chapter Four focuses on three central narrative themes: 'paedophilia-as-epidemic disease', 'paedophilia-as-homosexuality', and 'paedophilia-as-living-death'. The chapter explores images and representations of paedophilia within a narrative frame of 'homosexed' crime, focusing on three of the most widely publicised cases of paedophilia in Australia over the past fifteen years, those of Brian Keith Jones (formerly known as Brendan Megson), Philip Bell and Robert Dunn. Specifically, Chapter Four addresses how over the past 10 years there has been unprecedented media interest in the sexual abuse of boys. I will investigate further why it is particularly the sexual abuse of boys which seems to provoke a specific kind of anger and indignation within the media.

The fifth chapter examines constructions of 'motherhood', 'fatherhood' and the 'family'. The chapter critically explores representations of the mothers of the victims of paedophiles, mothers who are thought to collude in the sexual abuse themselves, and mothers who are thought to raise paedophile-Others. Specifically, I address the role that the figure of the 'mother' is thought to play in reproducing and sustaining the 'epidemic' of paedophilia. I will suggest, crucially, that media strategies of 'mother-blaming' operate to deflect concerns surrounding the sexual abuse of children by men within the family. The chapter also interrogates how a contrasting narrative of
'fatherhood' has surfaced within paedophilia debates, resulting from broader concerns over the perceived widespread 'fatherlessness' in Australian society.

Chapter Six centres on media constructions of 'cyber-paedophilia'. My interest here, is in how modern advancements in computer technologies have transformed the operations of crime, resulting in the creation of a new breed of criminal Other, the 'cyber-paedophile'. I will suggest that the threat of the cyber-paedophile has played on both individual and collective concerns surrounding the rapidly diminishing demarcation between public and private spheres.

In the seventh and final chapter, I focus my attention on the intersecting narrative fields which have framed representations of what has been termed by the media the 'paedophile priest crisis'. I will suggest that newspaper coverage of the paedophile priest 'plague' or 'epidemic' can in fact be linked to an endemic loss of faith in some of our most important institutions which has resulted from a more generalised fear of risk and crisis in trust. The chapter also explores how a narrative of 'epidemic' has instrumentally framed the paedophile priest crisis, again specifically drawing attention to the homosexualisation of the category 'paedophile'.

The seeming impenetrability of paedophilia discourses has provided a distinct challenge for the thesis. Paedophilia is a representation and self-representation (re)produced within complex discursive networks of power, meaning and knowledge. The thesis will interrogate the various contexts in which the category 'paedophile' is interdiscursively manufactured and (re)produced. It will analyse the historically and culturally specific conditions which have allowed for the (re)production of the modern paedophilia 'epidemic'. I will suggest that the category 'paedophile' functions, to borrow from Hilary Allen, as a key 'discursive manoeuvre' (1987: 82) in newspaper discourse, which has resulted in what I would term the 'disappearance' of child sexual assault. That is to say, as a result of the (re)production of the discursive category 'paedophile', we have witnessed a removal of men as men from the representation of child sexual assault. It is only through the construction of the paedophile as 'monster', 'evil', or 'deviant' that we are able to 'make sense' of paedophilia.
The thesis approaches the question of the representation of paedophilia in a way that problematises the taken-for-granted ways in which child sexual assault is constructed within the news media. The thesis offers a (re)conceptualisation of paedophilia and hopes to challenge media discourses' claims to authority, objectivity and 'truth'. The thesis offers an alternative to hegemonic discourses of paedophilia and provides a different approach to the question of child sexual assault. The project aims to make a critical contribution to knowledge surrounding the representation of paedophilia and the paedophile by disrupting and contesting dominant constructions of paedophilia and exploring what is, and perhaps more importantly, what is not being said about the sexual abuse of children.
Chapter Two:
Epistemic Foundations: Discourse/Power/Knowledge

2.1 Introduction

The following discussion aims to develop the substantive theoretical and methodological foundations that will provide a critical framework for a poststructuralist feminist (re)reading of print news media representations of paedophilia. This section elaborates on four broad theoretical approaches which contribute to the development of an analysis of the language, meanings and imagery of newspaper constructions of paedophilia: 'discourse analysis', 'sexed crime', 'epidemic' and 'narrative structure'. The chapter explores how these combined theories have crucially shaped the aim and direction of the research.

The first section explores Michel Foucault's theories of discourse analysis. Drawing on Foucault's work on the discursive production of sexuality, I will argue that the category 'paedophile' is at the centre of a powerful interplay of various discursive fields of power/meaning/knowledge. I will suggest further, that the discursive approach is particularly useful for interrogating how the body of the paedophile is marked, trained, and imprinted with competing and contrasting discursive practices. Although the discussion examines Foucauldian conceptualisations of discourse/power/knowledge, the section also engages with feminist theories that have contributed to the reconsideration of Foucauldian models of sex, power and knowledge.

The second section examines contemporary feminist and criminological reconceptualisations of categories of gender, sexuality, and criminality under the rubric of 'sexed crime'. The thesis identifies and explores how categories of paedophilia are repetitively read and (re)produced through normative categories of sex, gender and sexuality. Specifically, I consider how the theory of 'sexed crime' opens up the possibility of interrogating the linkages between the representation of sex, gender and sexuality, and the representation of paedophilia and the paedophile.
The third part centres on Linda Singer's theoretical development of 'sexual epidemic' in her work, *Erotic Welfare* (1993). It is Singer's theory of epidemic that will provide the thesis with a conceptual and analytical foundation for examining the multiple intersections between discourses of sexuality, disease and criminality, and by extension, paedophilia. I will suggest that the contemporary matrix of epidemic has symbolised a radical reconfiguration and reorganisation of the sexual economy which has, in turn, allowed for the discursive production of the modern paedophile.

The fourth and final part examines Alison Young's exploration of the power of narrative structure in the representation of crime and violence. Young's analysis of narrative points to the ways in which constructions of crime and criminal deviance are firmly embedded within complex narrative fields of meaning and signification. The section critically addresses how I will apply Young's theory of narrative structure to the analysis of the representation of paedophilia. I will suggest that the representation of paedophilia cannot be separated from the narrative complex in which it is continually produced and reproduced.

The discussion expands on and develops the methodological approach that underpins my research. Paedophilia discourses, however, are inherently complex, and as such, there can be no single method of inquiry that I can apply to the thesis. Rather than focusing on the points of divergence between each theoretical perspective, the chapter seeks to bring together the critical ideas and methodological approaches that will help me address the questions I raise relating to the representation of paedophilia. There are multiple perspectives and approaches and, as such, the chapter draws on the theories that will help me unravel the complexities of media constructions of paedophilia.

2.2 Research Records

The decision to focus on newspaper representations, as opposed to visual or electronic media, was made primarily on the basis that the print media is a main source of crime news information within Australia, attracting wide readerships. My sample of approximately 300 articles draws on three broadsheet newspapers.
Age, The Australian, and The Sydney Morning Herald), and one tabloid newspaper (Herald Sun), over a fifteen year period (January 1990 - July 2005). The Australian, owned by News Limited, is the highest-selling national newspaper in Australia. It is the only national newspaper I have drawn from. The Herald Sun, also owned by News Limited, is based in Melbourne, Victoria and is the highest-circulating newspaper in Australia. The Age, owned by Fairfax, is also published in Melbourne, Victoria. The Sydney Morning Herald, also owned by Fairfax, is located in Sydney, New South Wales.

The sheer breadth and volume of newspaper articles meant that I was able to work with a combination of original newspaper articles and articles downloaded from Internet databases LexisNexis and Factiva. Due to the fact that the majority of articles used have been downloaded from the Internet, the thesis focuses specifically on the analysis of text rather than image.

The thesis draws from two other principal resources. In addition to the primary records that are utilised throughout the thesis, I have also used a combination of secondary sources. I incorporate records that I have kept over the past few years, including notebooks which document ideas, thoughts and random musings that have contributed to the development of the theoretical direction of the research. I also use secondary literature throughout the thesis which not only supports my theoretical position but also helps to illuminate my analysis. The secondary literature includes

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2.3 Positioning the Research: Speaking About Others

A key aspect of feminist knowledge production is recognising how one's subject position influences one's research. In the production of knowledge, feminism has highlighted the impossibility of transcending one's social, cultural and political location (Alcoff 1991-1992). What I have chosen to address, what I have left out, and the conclusions I have reached, are all a product of my subject position. What I say about the representation of paedophilia in the chapters that follow, is a reflection of not only my social and cultural location, but also my sexed positionality. The narrative I have constructed cannot be separated from the very systems of sex, gender and sexuality that I am seeking to examine. The status afforded me by my class, racial, able-bodied and (hetero)sexual privilege, is implicitly reflected in my methods and the focus of my analysis. Feminism acknowledges, however, the diversity of experiences and subject positions and, as such ‘[t]here are many subject positions which one must inhabit; one is not just one thing’ (Spivak 1990: 60). Differences in ethnicity and race are addressed to some extent, but questions of class and physical ability are not addressed in any detail.

As a white, middle-class, heterosexual woman speaking on the subject of sexuality, I am already an authorised speaker. Speaking as a white, middle-class, heterosexual woman on the topic of male homosexuality and paedophilia, also means that I am in some sense speaking for the Other.\(^8\) Although this thesis may be viewed as being written in defence of homosexuality, I do not see myself as speaking for homosexual men. The thesis is about the representation of homosexuality, but I do not claim to be speaking on behalf of homosexual men. I am also representing the victims of child sexual assault. My speaking about paedophilia, from a privileged and authorised

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\(^8\) The limitations and difficulties in speaking for and about the Other have been canvassed in numerous feminist works. See generally: Trinh T. Minh-ha, Woman, Native, Other (1989: 47-76); Bat-Ami Bar On, ‘Marginality and Epistemic Privilege’ (1993); bell hooks, Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics (1990); Elizabeth Spelman, Inessential Woman: Problems of Exclusion in Feminist Thought (1990), and; Aileen Moreton-Robinson, Talkin’ Up To the White Woman (2000).
space, could possibly render those silent who have been subject to abuse (Alcoff 1991-1992: 18-19). There is no space within this thesis from which the survivors of child sexual assault can speak for themselves. I recognise that representing paedophilia, without detracting from the experience of survivors of child sexual abuse, is inherently difficult. In discussing the Other, I am necessarily implicated in the reproduction of the categories I discuss in the thesis. Speaking about the Other is a means of self-reproduction; in speaking about the paedophile, I am, in Linda Alcoff's words, ‘participating in the construction of their subject positions’ (1991-1992: 9). Although representing the Other is problematical, I suggest that speaking about the paedophile is better than not speaking about it at all.

2.4 Finding a Framework: Poststructural Reconsiderations of Knowledge Production

Rather than readdressing the strengths and weaknesses of the important contributions of poststructural theorists to the critique of knowledge production, I will draw on some key points that will support my analysis of media constructions of paedophilia. The section seeks to highlight how poststructural theories of knowledge (re)production can be broadly applied to my analysis of the representation of paedophilia.

The production of knowledge has been subject to extensive critique within feminism. Feminism has specifically called into question the profoundly masculinist underpinnings of the social sciences. Scientific knowledge has historically functioned, and continues to function, as ‘the methodological paradigm for all truth claims’ (Flax 1992: 449). Carol Smart characterises the underpinning principles of positivistic science in the following way. There is, Smart observes:

[A] basic presumption that we can establish a verifiable knowledge or truth about events: in particular, that we can establish a causal explanation which will in turn provide us

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9 In criminology see 'Feminist Approaches to Criminology or Postmodern Woman Meets Atavistic Man' (Smart 1990) and Women, Crime and Criminology: A Feminist Critique (1976). In science see The Science Question in Feminism (Harding 1986). In law see Feminism and the Power of Law (Smart 1989).
with objective methods for intervening in the events defined as problematic. (1990: 72)

Science, as a disciplinary field of inquiry, has become the privileged methodological and analytical process through which we are thought to gain access to what Jane Flax has referred to as the ‘Real’ (1992: 449). In Flax’s terms, the ‘Real’ signifies power, order and privilege. The acceptance of science as an authoritative methodological and analytical device is grounded in its purported objectivity, rationality and ‘universal’ validity. The discursive structure of science secures its epistemic privilege through objective reasoning and methodology; to claim scientificity is to claim ‘truth’, ‘authority’ and ‘legitimacy’. The authority of ‘science’ is embedded deeply in academia. Even though feminism has been largely treated as an adjunct to the authorised territory and more disciplined boundaries of traditional knowledge production, feminism has critically readdressed the methods and practice of positivist scientific research by highlighting the implausibility of dispassionate, value-free knowledge production. Jean Baudrillard has commented of this ‘order of the real’: ‘It is now impossible to isolate the process of the real, or to prove the real’ (1988: 178, original emphasis). Feminist critiques of the disciplines and techniques of ‘science’ have revealed that science masquerades as an objective, neutral, value-free paradigm of inquiry.¹⁰

Smart specifically critiques the failure of the social sciences to engage with what she refers to as ‘personal life’. Smart’s concept of personal life has specific methodological implications for this thesis. Personal life is a different approach to the question of sociological research that challenges the methodological underpinnings of the social sciences. It specifically draws attention to the multiple points of connection between the life of the researcher and of the lives of the subjects of research. As Smart describes it:

Personal life is lived in many different places and spaces, it is cumulative (through memory, history and the passage of time) and it forms a range of connections, thus making it flexible rather than brittle and breakable (2007: 29)

¹⁰ For feminist challenges to positivistic scientific theories see generally: Feminist Epistemologies (Alcoff and Potter 1993), The Science Question in Feminism (Harding 1986), Feminism and Methodology (Harding 1987) and ‘Science, Nature and Gender’ (Shiva 1996).
Smart explores how personal life permeates social research methodologies by inextricably linking the 'personal to the social' (2007: 31). Smart specifically critiques sociological research methodologies that fail to take into consideration 'love (or hate) or other emotions and feelings' (2007: 184). In this sense the personal is the social:

this means that important dimensions of class, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, gender, and disability can be written through the narrative and given significance through attentiveness not only to difference but by reference to cultural tradition, habitus, memories, generational transmission and emotion (Smart 2007: 30)

Here, it is an emphasis on the significance of emotion that has specific relevance for my research. The thesis is not just about the multiple and intersecting discourse(s) of paedophilia; this thesis is not simply an abstract discursive analysis. The personal in this sense is what I have chosen to represent, what I have said and what I have left unsaid. The personal is reflected in the feelings and emotions that have shaped my research and the words I have chosen to use to represent the unimaginable stories of pain and suffering, but also of survival, of recuperation and of recovery. This thesis is about the survivors of child sexual abuse as much as it is about the representation of the paedophile.

Feminist knowledge production threatens to breach authorised and privileged discourses’ claim to objectivity, certainty and ‘truth’. Feminist theory and politics has challenged the notion of a singular, universal truth, for within feminism, there are multiple truths. The project is anchored in critical feminist poststructuralist theory which challenges, in the words of Flax, the ‘belief (or hope) that there is some form of innocent knowledge to be had’ (1992: 447). Poststructural theory has exposed the contingency of objectivity; claims to objectivity and truth are a way of masking subjective investment. For poststructuralist feminist theorists ‘science’ is a profoundly gendered power. Far from being disembodied and context-free, scientific methodologies are fundamentally mired in their sexed, gendered and sexualised localities. As Sneja Gunew has observed, '[n]o theorists, not even feminist ones, are
neutral, apolitical, ahistorical, or classless' (1990: 26). There is no objective reality or neutral ground from which the subject and object of a researcher's inquiry can be impartially observed and analysed. The production of knowledge and experience is constituted within complex discursive processes, language and other signifying practices.

Broadly speaking, the thesis is a genealogical project, a project of refusal which challenges dominant media discourses of paedophilia (Foucault 1981: 13). My use here of genealogy shares Michel Foucault's meaning in *Two Lectures* (1980). Foucault's counter-hegemonic project of genealogy can be defined as the charting of the 'historical knowledge of struggles' which provide a basis for contesting and critiquing the normalising practices of scientific discourse (1980: 83). Foucault's genealogy of the human sciences challenges the rational, ordered objectivity of those discourses which derive their power from the authority of scientific discourse. Although strictly speaking, media discourse is not a scientific discourse, the modern Western mass media crucially draws on the authorised tools, methods and analytics of 'science', most notably through the discourses of criminology and psychiatry, to support its claims to objectivity, rationality and 'truth'. The dominance of science is reflected and reproduced in media discourses of paedophilia.

The thesis will utilise Foucault's deconstructive framework of genealogy and explore the 'lines of fragility in the present', in order to show 'why and how-that-which-is might no longer be that-which-is' (Foucault 1988: 36). Foucault's genealogical method provides the thesis with a strategy for challenging previously unquestioned and uncontested sites of power/knowledge/meaning. Projects of genealogy call into question the universal and absolute 'truths' of authorised and privileged discourses, and seek to resurrect subjugated, disqualified knowledges which offer the possibility of contesting the normalising and hegemonising powers of scientific discourse. The study will employ Foucault's methodological framework of genealogy in order to mark out the history of the paedophile, to reveal the conditions of its production and to challenge the ways in which paedophilia is represented in the media. To borrow from Foucault:
Critique does not have to be the premise of a deduction which concludes: this then is what needs to be done. It should be an investment for those who fight, those who refuse and resist what is. Its use should be in processes of conflict and confrontation, essays in refusal. (1981: 13)

The thesis is a counter-hegemonic project which hopes to expose dominant media discourses of paedophilia and its endless repetitions. This thesis, however, is but another discourse of paedophilia and is subject to the same networks of discourse/power which govern other modes of knowledge production.

Specifically, the thesis is concerned with critiquing the structures and hierarchies of power and knowledge which contribute to the maintenance and reproduction of normative identity categories, which in turn, produce understandings of paedophilia. Postmodern theorists, Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, argue that hierarchical and binary divisions provide a basis for ‘mechanisms of ordering and sense-making’ which produce and reproduce our understandings of the social (1986: 3). Flax also suggests that this lived and symbolic binary order is effectively maintained and reproduced by ‘displacing chaos into the lesser of each binary pair’ (1992: 453). The ‘Other’ of each dichotomy is ascribed negative characteristics which secure and consolidate the ‘high’ terms uncontested authority and privilege. Binary classificatory systems create the illusion of order and of symmetry and operate to support unequal relations of power and systems of oppression. Zygmunt Bauman has commented, however, that ‘[d]ichotomy is an exercise in power and at the same time its disguise’ (1991: 14). Bauman explains further:

In dichotomies crucial for the practice and the vision of social order the differentiating power hides as a rule behind one of the members of the opposition. (1991: 14)

Without its necessary Other, the high term cannot assert and maintain its power and privilege. Poststructuralist feminist theorist Judith Butler explains how subjects are constituted in relation to dichotomies of same/Other. Subjects, she argues:
constituted through the force of exclusion and abjection, one which produces a constitutive outside which is, after all, 'inside' the subject as its own founding repudiation. (1993: 3)

Alison Young has also identified how the binary ordering of sex, gender, and sexuality into same/Other 'is a form of self-reproduction' (1996: 15). The naturalised binary pairing of same/Other is the means through which norms are established, maintained and reproduced.

This thesis is specifically concerned with the sexual classification schemata which operates to demarcate a hetero-sexual 'normal' from a homo-sexual 'deviance'. For Singer, the hierarchical and binary ordering of experiences, bodies and desires into normal/deviant and same/Other is a crucial site of contestation in the politics of sexuality (1993). It is also a critical point of contention in the representation of crime and criminal deviance. Young has suggested that '[c]rime is experienced through an Other' (1996: 13). Paedophilia's core defining characteristic is its Otherness. Public arenas are violently policed to exclude their sexually and criminally uncontrollable Others. It is under the sign of the Other that the paedophile has emerged as a force of sociosexual and criminal disorder. In the chapters that follow, I will suggest that the mass media thrives on stories of the Other (Sercombe 1995: 76).

The naturalised heteronormative polarity of heterosexual/homosexual is essential to our understandings of paedophilia. It is the imposition of a rigid, binary and hierarchically ordered sexual divide that has provided for the discursive category 'paedophile'. The paedophile exemplifies the binary classificatory scheme of sexual difference and sexual deviance. Further to this, I will argue that anxieties over the paedophilia crisis centre around the perceived dissolution of the borders and boundaries of hetero-sexual/homo-sexual, masculine/feminine, same/Other, public/private, adult/child, normal/deviant, order/disorder and us/them. The contemporary category 'paedophile' has come to symbolise the powerful disruption of a core range of binary divisions.\textsuperscript{11} These symbolic oppositions are not only

\textsuperscript{11} Although Richard Collier (2001) has also made the connection between the modern threat and fear of the paedophile and the collapsing of some key foundational dualities, specifically the disintegration of the public/private divide, he does not identify the connections between the representation of paedophilia and the current conditions of
reproduced but also symbolised in the discursive (re)production of the category paedophile.

2.5 Discourse/Power/Knowledge: Feminism and Foucault

It is the relationship between discourse, power and the (re)production of the classification 'paedophile' that is at the centre of my analysis. Although this section briefly revisits the important contributions of Foucault to the reconsideration of discursive categories of sexual normativity and deviancy, it is not intended to be an exhaustive overview of Foucault's work. The section, instead, focuses on feminist engagements with Foucauldian theories of power, discourse and sexuality.

Feminist theorist, Nicola Gavey, argues that discourse operates as a 'structuring principle of society that constitutes and is reproduced in social institutions, modes of thought and individual subjectivity' (1989: 464). It is through the production and circulation of discourses that knowledges are (re)produced, power relations mediated and subjectivities constituted. The production of meaning and knowledge is determined by the circulating discourse relating to a particular sphere of knowledge; meaning and knowledge do not exist prior to being articulated in discourse. Gavey writes further:

Language (and discourse) constitutes subjectivity. Meaning is actively constituted through language and therefore is neither fixed nor essential. Meanings arise out of difference and distinctions, not out of direct and immediate essences and substances. (1989: 463, original emphasis)

Categories of paedophilia are thus constituted and sustained through language and other signifying discursive practices. Paedophilia is a representation and self-representation produced in competing discursive realms of power, meaning and knowledge. Paedophilia discourses, however, are inherently dynamic. Within the media there is at work a powerful interplay between discursive fields that constitute and reconstitute the body of the paedophile.

epidemic. My analysis makes a key point of departure from Collier's argument, in that I suggest it is the cultural coding of paedophilia as a 'disease' or 'illness' that is underpinning modern anxieties over the perceived dissolution of the public/private divide.
Foucault's theories of discourse analysis are useful for identifying how the organisation and production of specific fields of knowledge are fundamentally linked to the deployment and distribution of power. It is through the production of discourse that relations of power are established, exercised and maintained. The thesis specifically draws on Foucault's work on discourse, power and sexuality in *The History of Sexuality* (1976). Foucault's discursive re-reading of sexuality identifies the historically and culturally specific ways in which power relations are manufactured and sustained through practices of sexuality. Foucault's genealogy of sexuality explores how ideas of (hetero)sexual normativity and (homo)sexual deviancy are the products of interrelated discursive fields of power/knowledge/pleasure. Sexual subjectivities are mediated through various discursive practices which operate and are constituted within 'every level of the social body and utilized by very diverse institutions' (1984: 263). Innumerable institutional and discursive devices operate on and through the body to secure standards of sexual normativity and sexual deviancy (1984: 312). The artificial and lived divisions of sexual behaviours, pleasures and desires into 'heterosexual' and 'homosexual' signifies the exercise of disciplinary power.

Foucault's theory of the discursive production of sexuality is particularly useful for identifying and examining the critical role that regimes of power/knowledge/truth play in the constitution of sexual subjectivities and our experiences of the social. As feminist theorist, Vikki Bell, has suggested, the 'proliferation of 'true discourses' around sexuality impinges upon our understanding of ourselves, on our subjectivity' (1993: 20). Within news media discourses of paedophilia, I will argue that sexuality continues to function as a source of knowledge and an 'instrument of truth' (Diamond and Quinby 1988: 196). The thesis will challenge the pursuit of 'truth' which characterises media representations of paedophilia. It is a will to discover the truth of the paedophile, to reveal the reasons and causes behind the paedophile's offending that typifies media discourse.

Foucault's discursive deconstruction of sexuality has also exposed the historical and cultural contingency of social standards of sexual normativity and sexual deviancy.
Foucault traces how the intervention of the human sciences in the nineteenth century resulted in a new regulation and deployment of sexuality over individuals and populations (1984: 268-269). The subsequent scientisation of sex resulted in a move toward the strategic management and control of the life of the species through reproductive hetero-sex. The conflation of sex, power and knowledge functioned as a way of disciplining and regulating bodily and sexual pleasures. Foucault's re-reading of sexuality has revealed that categories of sexuality are not transhistorical and are thus open to renegotiation and resignification. In the words of Alec McHoul and Wendy Grace, Foucault's theories of discourse analysis provide 'a way of calculating strategies for historical transformation' (1993: 53, original emphasis).

Bell has highlighted how the body is marked and shaped by competing discursive realms. The body, writes Bell, 'is a text on which are inscribed the forces of socialisation, discipline and punishment. The body is contextualised and given meaning in discourse' (1994: 12). The body of the paedophile is shaped by intersecting discursive forces; discourse, in effect, 'makes' the body of the paedophile. As Foucault has written:

[T]here are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterise and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse. There can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operates through and on the basis of this association. (1980: 93)

Within intersecting discursive spheres of intelligibility, the sexualised body of the paedophile, a body 'saturated' with sex (Foucault 1976: 45), is at the centre of this power/knowledge matrix. Sexuality, and by extension paedophilia, is thus in Butler's terms, reproduced through the 'performance and production of a "self" which is the constituted effect of a discourse' (1996: 375, original emphasis).

It is the task of this study to call into question the media's continuing role in the discursive regulation of sexuality and, by extension, the construction of modern
categories and concepts of paedophilia. Not only is the paedophile a product of the modern social organisation of sexuality within Western society, the representation of paedophilia symbolises the hierarchical and binary ordering of sexuality. The paedophile has assumed a central position in the strategic deployment of sexuality. In the maintenance of a rigid homosexual/heterosexual divide, categories of paedophilia play a vital constitutive function. The hierarchical and differential ordering of sexual behaviours, pleasures and practices is at the centre of the representation of paedophilia.

An important focus of this thesis is how the paedophile body is represented within the print media. Foucault argues that within modern forms of discipline, the body functions as an instrument of docility/utility. I will suggest that the body of the paedophile is an example of 'docile bodies' in which these bodies are continually 'subjected, used, transformed and improved' (1977: 136). Foucault's analysis draws attention to how the disciplining and subjection of bodies is an effect of what he terms 'biopower'. Foucault describes how in the production of docile bodies, disciplinary technologies operate on the body:

[T]he body is also directly involved in a political field; power relations have an immediate hold upon it; they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks to perform ceremonies, to emit signs. (1984: 173)

Through the operations of disciplinary power, the body is subject to innumerable mechanisms of control, regulation and surveillance.

It is the body/power relation that is at the centre of Foucault's analysis. The body of the paedophile is inscribed by competing relations of power, and both internal and external forces of control and subjection. It is Foucault's concept of the 'carceral archipelago' that highlights how disciplinary and regulatory techniques are operative on and through the body of the paedophile 'outside' formal institutions of penalty (1977: 296-297). Foucault suggests that 'penitentiary techniques' have now moved beyond the institution of the prison and levelled at individuals and populations through the 'carceral archipelago' (1977: 297). The overwhelming disciplinary response to the
paedophilia 'epidemic', and the increasingly punitive measures taken against the paedophile (progressively tougher sentences, the electronic monitoring of paedophiles and chemical castration, for example), exemplify how the body of the paedophile functions as an apparatus of social control and normalisation. The body of the paedophile is thus punished in a way that operates both as a normalising and as a disciplinary mechanism.

Foucault is concerned with the history of discourses: its operations, its specificities and its effects on the body. Although Foucauldian accounts of power provide an important conceptual tool for analysing power in terms of the management and discipline of bodies, his theories are not entirely unproblematic. It is, specifically, feminist contributions and criticisms of Foucauldian conceptions of power, that provide the thesis with an analytical framework for interrogating how the contemporary discursive category 'paedophile' functions as a site for the operation of disciplinary and regulatory systems of power and control.

Many feminist theorists have accused Foucault of being gender-blind. For many feminists, Foucault's analysis of power fails to take into consideration the gendering aspects of disciplinary power. The problem with Foucault's analytics of power, is that his subject of power is not a sexed subject. For example, in her critique of Foucault's 'technology of sex', Teresa de Lauretis argues that his theories fail to acknowledge the 'differential solicitation of male and female subjects' (1987: 3). Similarly, Sandra Bartky has suggested that Foucault's work is limited in its application for feminist (re)conceptualisations of power. Bartky argues that it is Foucault's failure to operate outside his own masculinist framework, and account for the specific forms of disciplinary power which 'engender the feminine body', that detracts from his theory of power (1988: 64). The body at the centre of Foucault's analysis – docile and subjected – is not a sexed body.

Feminist analyses of power have revealed that regulatory, disciplinary and normalising techniques are secured and experienced on the basis of the sexed, gendered and sexualised positionalities we occupy (Bordo 1993; see also Bartky
1988). It is for this reason that Foucault's approach is limited in its scope when applied to the representation of sexual violence. De Lauretis has suggested that any critique of sexed violence needs to encompass an analysis of both male domination and the societal conditions which promote and maintain unequal relations of power, including systems of sex, gender and sexuality (1997: 267). From this perspective, child sexual abuse can be contextualised within the social organisation of the family and the networks of unequal and hierarchically organised relations of power within them. Feminist researchers of child sexual assault have shown that the threat of violence overwhelmingly comes from within the family or from men known to the victim. This understanding of the representation of violence stems from an analysis of power in relation to the differential positioning of men, women and children as sexed-specific subjects. De Lauretis succinctly captures the point of my departure from Foucault's approach:

illuminating as his work is to our understanding of the mechanics of power in social relations, its critical value is limited by his unconcern for what, after him, we might call 'the technology of gender' – the techniques and discursive strategies by which gender is constructed and hence, I argue, violence is engendered. (1997: 269)

For Foucault, those subjected to coercive (i.e., violent) power are not gendered, or indeed, sexed. Foucault's theory of power does not, or cannot, adequately address the sexed nature of violence. Nancy Hartsock has also identified how Foucault's model of power is limited in its application for analysing representations of violence within a context of specifically sexed power and dominance:

12 Susan Bordo, for example, in her analysis of anorexia, points to how it is specifically female bodies that are subject to continuous rituals of discipline and improvement. Bordo highlights how the female body, whose 'forces and energies are habituated to external regulation, subjection, transformation', are continually subject to disciplinary and regulatory techniques (1993: 166).

13 Winnifred Woodhull (1988) in her analysis of rape also draws attention to the limitations of Foucault's theory of power when applied to theories of sexual violence from a perspective of specifically male social, sexual, economic and political power and domination.

14 It was reported in 2003 that 'Research indicates that 80% of childhood abuse is carried out by a parent, relative or someone known to the child...and over 50% of all assaults take place in a private home', http://www.aifs.gov.au/institute/afrc8/rokvic.pdf accessed 12th December 2007.
Foucault has made it very difficult to locate domination, including domination in gender relations. He has on the one hand claimed that individuals are constituted by power relations, but he has argued against their constitution by relations such as the domination of one group by another. That is, his account makes room only for abstract individuals, not women, men or workers. (1990: 169)

From Foucault's perspective, '[p]ower is everywhere, and so ultimately nowhere' (1990: 170). And so, while Foucault's analytics of power is useful, it is ultimately restricted by its disregard for the sexed aspects of modes of disciplinary power. Despite these criticisms, Foucault's analysis of the regulatory operations of power continues to hold particular relevance for the thesis.

The paedophile is at the centre of what Foucault has referred to as the 'punishment-body relation' (1977:11). I will suggest that modern categories of paedophilia are what poststructuralist feminist Adrian Howe has termed 'penal in their effects' (1994: 190). The body of the paedophile, which is subject to rituals of discipline and improvement, is at the centre of the punishment-body relation. It is through the production and circulation of news media discourse that power is effectively exercised over the body of the paedophile. The paedophile is part of a broader network of punishment-body relations in which gendering and sexing devices operate to censure 'deviant' behaviours which fall 'outside' normative paradigms of gender and sexuality. Disciplinary techniques are not simply repressive, they are also productive. Regulatory techniques of normalisation operate to secure sexed/gendered/sexualised subjectivities, including paedophilia.

Specifically, the thesis examines the discursive conditions which have allowed for the development of the sexual/criminal category 'paedophile'. I will reveal how paedophilia is, in Foucauldian terms, 'put into discourse' in the print news media (1976: 11). My analysis will involve a reading of the paedophile body as the product

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of interconnected discursive contexts and practices, cultural locations and historical specificities. The discursive approach importantly opens up the possibilities of interrogating and dismantling the complexities of the representation of paedophilia. It analyses the socially and culturally specific conditions which have allowed for the (re)production of paedophilia by interrogating the frames of reference in which the modern category 'paedophile' is interdiscursively manufactured and (re)produced.\textsuperscript{16} The thesis seeks to explore the specific discursive contexts in which paedophilia, as a distinctive sexual category or identity, is continually recreated within the Australian press.

2.6 Representations of Violence: ‘Sexed Crime’

‘Sex crime’ has been the dominant approach to the analysis of sexual violence against children in a range of academic fields, including criminology, psychiatry and media studies.\textsuperscript{17} A limitation of the theory of sex crime is evident in the way the issue of ‘gender’ is addressed. When the issue of gender is raised within accounts of ‘sex crime’, it is predominantly analysed in terms of trends in statistical data (that is, only as far as how many times men feature in an article, how many men versus women commit a certain crime, how many children are abused, etc.). Theories of ‘sex crime’ rely on statistical ‘evidence’ and the ‘impartial’ analysis of crime. Empirical scientific approaches to the question of sexual violence offer a seemingly objective and

\textsuperscript{16} There are a number of key points of difference in the focus of paedophilia discourses in the United Kingdom compared with Australia. For example, in her analysis of media representations of child sexual abuse over the past fifteen years in the United Kingdom, Julia Davidson draws attention to how the print news media has largely focused on government sentencing policies, including the introduction of increasingly punitive legislation, and the management and treatment of offenders (2008: 116-117). Davidson also identifies how a discourse of public risk surrounding the early release of offenders has crucially framed paedophilia debates (2008: 127). Although epidemic metaphors also clearly underpin this study, representations of paedophilia are predominantly contextualised within a discourse of ‘punishment’ rather than ‘treatment’.

\textsuperscript{17} A study of crime from a perspective of ‘sex crime’ is provided by Keith Soothill and Sylvia Walby’s \textit{Sex Crime in the News} (1991). \textit{Sex Crime in the News} explores the representation of rape and sexual assault in the media through an analysis of statistical data and trends in newspaper reports in the United Kingdom. See also \textit{Sex Crime: Sex Offending and Society} (Thomas 2005).
dispassionate assessment of the characteristics of victim and offender. Sexed crime crucially differs from sex crime in that it seeks to expose the meanings of sex, gender and sexuality that are strategically masked in discourses of crime. Although what is most obviously a sex crime within the media, the sex of paedophilia, I will suggest, is far from self-evident.

The thesis specifically draws from theories of sexed crime which have been developed within feminism, criminology and media studies. Within the media, paedophilia is classified as a ‘sex crime’. It has emerged as the most heinous of sex crimes. The conceptual development of ‘sexed crime’, however, has allowed for the possibility of tracing the discontinuities between critical accounts of ‘sexed violence’ and media reports of ‘sex crime’. Contemporary feminist theorisations of ‘sexed crime’ have played an integral role in the re-articulation of commonsense understandings of ‘sex crime’, which fail to take into account the sexed, gendered and sexualised dimensions of representations of crime and criminal deviance (Howe 1998; see also Bell 1993, Atmore 1998, Dominelli 1989, de Lauretis 1997).

The thesis is indebted to the significant contributions of feminist theorists to the critical reconsideration of categories of sexed, gendered and sexualised normativity and deviancy. Feminism has always been interested in questioning the relationship between the representation of sexual violence and the representation of gender. However, developments within feminism over the past ten years have signalled a new approach to questions relating to the representation of crime and criminality. Howe's

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18 I specifically discuss feminist poststructuralist perspectives on violence against children. Although there is a vast literature of masculinist and positivistic accounts of sexual violence (see for example Seductions of Crime: Moral and Sensual Attractions in Doing Evil (Katz 1988), Sexual Disorders: Treatment, Theory and Research (Tollison and Adams 1979)), I do not have the scope in this thesis to address the limitations and the weaknesses of these theories. The negative effect that masculinist discourses of crime and criminal deviance have had on the representation of violence have been canvassed in numerous other works. See generally: Howe (2000) Smart (1976, 1990), Naffine (1996).

19 For an analysis of serial murder see Lust to Kill (Cameron and Fraser 1987); domestic violence see ‘Notes from a ‘War’ Zone: Reporting Domestic/Family/Home/Epidemic (Men’s) Violence’ (Howe 1998); homophobic violence see ‘Was Lombroso a Queer? Criminology, Criminal Justice and the Heterosexual Imaginary’ (Tomsen 1997) and ‘Just a Passing Attraction: The Tasty Club Raid and the Vanishing Homosexual’ (Davies 1998), and ‘It Forced Me to Open More Than I Could Bear’: H.A.D., Paedophilia and the Discursive Limits of the Male Heterosexual Body’ (Golder 2004).

all crimes and all forms of violence in which the gender or sexed status of the offender and victim is relevant to the criminal or violent act. (1998: 6)

In other words, all crimes are sexed in representation. Central to the development of sexed crime, has been an examination of the ways in which sexual crimes are reported within the press. In deconstructing and questioning the relationship between representations of violence and representations of sex, gender and sexuality, feminist researchers have been concerned with challenging institutionalised modes of knowledge production which structure and reproduce dominant understandings of 'sex crime'. Howe's problematisation of 'sex crime' as an analytical model points to the very specific ways in which the 'sex' of sex crime is continually obscured within press discourse. Howe's analysis of constructions of domestic violence within press discourse focuses on both the sexualised and racialised dimensions of these representations. Discourses of violence, Howe argues, are, crucially, discourses about sex, gender, sexuality and race. Constructions of violence cannot be analysed outside the systems of sex, gender and sexuality that are internal to their reproduction.

Feminist researchers Susanne Davies and Sandy Cook have also pointed to the inescapability of categories of sex, gender and sexuality in the representation of crime and criminality. Davies and Cook suggest that the language used to describe crime, ultimately operates to conceal the sexed specificity of criminal 'actors' and their actions:

[T]he existence of men and women as sexed actors are hidden by such non-specific terms as 'people', 'criminals' and 'prisoners'. The consequence of this is that even though men predominate among perpetrators of crimes, and sex is therefore arguably the most obvious indicator of criminal
activity, men as a sex have been obscured from view. (1999: 61-62)

In this way we can identify how the category 'paedophile' functions as a way of removing the sexed specificity of child sexual assault. The trouble is that men (as men) are rarely the subject of media investigations into crime and deviance. Margaret Thornton has described how the powerful currency of the male 'norm', what she has termed the 'benchmark man', operates in legal discourse to obfuscate the 'sex' of men. Thornton describes the 'benchmark man' as:

[T]he paradigmatic incarnation of legality who represents the standard against whom others are measured and who is invariably White, heterosexual, able-bodied, politically conservative, and middle-class. (1996: 2)

It is the 'benchmark man' that is conspicuously absent from the representation of paedophilia. Within discourses of sex crime, defining characteristics such as sexuality, race (when the offenders are not white) and class are highlighted, yet the sex of the perpetrator is habitually effaced. Contemporary conceptualisations of sexed crime extend beyond the limitations of 'sex crime' as an analytical paradigm, and call into question the self-evidences of 'sex crime' by highlighting the significance of discourses of sex, sexuality and gender in the representation of sexual violence. The concept of sexed crime provides a conceptual and methodological framework for analysing media constructions of paedophilia.

The development of 'sexed crime' has some important implications specifically relating to the representation of paedophilia. Theories of sexed crime have specifically explored the role that discourses of 'sex crime' have played in the production and maintenance of normative constructions of gender. Importantly, these re-conceptualisations have highlighted the previously unquestioned relationship between men and sexual violence, and have revealed that constructions of crime and criminality are profoundly gendered in representation (de Lauretis 1997: 269). In light of these feminist reconceptualisations of sexed crime, the representation of paedophilia can be contextualised within broader fields of sex and gender. Contested meanings of gender are at the centre of the representation of the paedophile.
Representations of paedophilia are intricately tied to definitions of masculinity and femininity. Constructions of paedophilia are inseparable from prevailing changes in the representation of masculinity and femininity. The current fear of the paedophile is a manifestation of anxieties over transformations in the representational categories of both sexuality and gender. The paedophilia 'epidemic' has coincided with current shifts in discourses of masculinity and femininity, and by extension, fatherhood and motherhood. I will suggest, crucially, that the paedophile embodies a particular form of gender deviance. The paedophile does not exhibit a clearly defined gender; the gender of the paedophile is indiscernible and indefinable. The paedophile cannot be neatly categorised as either 'masculine' or 'feminine'. It is the paedophile's indeterminate gender that provokes the disciplinary and regulatory gaze of media discourse.

There is a critical point of disjuncture between news media constructions of 'sex crime' and feminist poststructuralist conceptualisations of 'sexed crime'. My analysis will draw attention to the points of contestation between media representations of paedophilia and feminist representations of 'sexed crime'. ‘Sexed crime’ has the potential to reveal the ways in which the sexed bodies of men, women and children are differentially represented within the media. Importantly, sexed crime offers the potential for the development of alternative strategies for talking about the representation of violence, and the very possibility of new ways of representing the sexual abuse of children, and by extension, the men who abuse children. Constructions of paedophilia take on new meanings when they are analysed outside a framework of 'sex crime'. My analysis will expose the visibility of women and children as sexed subjects and the invisibility of men within paedophilia discourses; both the sex of the victim and the sex of the offender are routinely overlooked within news media discourse. The missing (hetero)sexed bodies of men is the focus of the thesis.

20 It is, however, unreasonable to expect the media to be cognisant with current developments in feminist poststructural theory in the field of sexed crime. It is also not my intention to criticise the media for their failure to apply feminist theories of sex, gender and sexuality to the representation of paedophilia. Rather, I hope to address how the media draws on dominant understandings of sex, gender and sexuality to frame constructions of paedophilia.
Using the theory of 'sexed crime' as a point of reference, the thesis will provide a deconstructive reading of newspaper representations of paedophilia, and suggest that conceptualisations of 'sex crime' ultimately operate to conceal men's sexual violence against children. It is the absence of any consideration of sex and gender within media reports that contributes to what I would term the misrepresentation of paedophilia. The most common characteristic of the paedophile is sex, that is, what most paedophiles have in common is that they are predominantly men. Yet it is precisely the sex of the paedophile that goes almost entirely unremarked within media discourse.

There have been, however, a range of inherent challenges for feminists researching the issue of sexual abuse. Within feminism, child sexual assault has most frequently been articulated as a problem of male (hetero)sexual power and privilege. Feminists have highlighted how the power imbalances that are promoted within a specific nexus of gender relations, are at the core of sexually abusive relationships. Although these theories have contextualised child sexual abuse within a framework of (hetero)masculine sexuality, power and authority, this thesis, however, extends beyond the analysis of child sexual abuse from only a perspective of male domination. I want to suggest that the analysis of child sexual abuse solely from perspective of 'male power' is inherently limiting. Although paedophilia can be contextualised within a framework of male power and domination, there are other important factors at work. Although systemic male power continues to be an underlying factor in the sexual assault of children, male domination on its own cannot account for the pervasiveness of child sexual assault.

Child sexual abuse has been the focus of much feminist research and analysis, feminists having long fought to bring the issue of child sexual assault to a range of social and political agendas. Acts of sexual violence against children are not isolated

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incidences or rare occurrences. Feminism has exposed the pervasiveness of child sexual assault and worked to draw attention to the prevalence of child sexual abuse committed by male relatives or men who are known to the victim, as opposed to abuse perpetrated by the predatory stranger. Despite these revelations within feminism, the powerful myth of 'stranger danger' persists in the news media. Media discourses of paedophilia consistently downplay the threat posed by male relatives or family friends and highlight the threat of 'strangers' operating outside the family unit.

There has been, however, a recent decline in feminist scholarship in the field of sexed crime. The 1990's, which signalled the development of groundbreaking critical and feminist theories relating to the representation of crime and criminal deviance, have been replaced with a period of relative stasis. Thornton contextualises the current transition toward a 'process of commodifying education' (2004: 8), and the resulting disappearance of feminist scholarship, within a specific neoconservative political climate (2002: 8). Thornton traces how a political economy of neoliberalism has undermined and diminished the impact of feminism within the academy:

there has been a resiling from theory, reflexivity and critique in favour of applied and technocratic knowledge because the latter are valued more highly within the market. (2004: 8)

The fact that the theories that I draw on within the thesis are largely from the 1990's, points to the changing nature of feminist theory and politics within the academy. The continually changing political landscape has had a detrimental effect on the production of feminist knowledge. Although important developments continue to be made in the sphere of sexed crime, there is a rapidly diminishing space where these critical ideas can be freely developed and articulated. Theories of sexed crime, which have always been positioned at the margins of academia, are at risk of disappearing altogether.

2.7 Missing Bodies: Heterosexing Sexual Violence Against Children

My analysis also draws from Richard Collier's work on masculinity and crime. Just as feminism has critically examined cultural codes of femininity, Collier has
problematised the notion of ‘hegemonic masculinity’. Collier’s work calls into question current representations of men within constructions of crime and deviance, by rethinking the connections between the representation of hetero-masculinities and the representation of crime and criminality. Collier critically readdresses the sexed specificity of crime and criminality in the following way:

To a large degree the well-documented public ‘fear of crime’ is, in effect, a fear of men: of men as potential burglars, of men as physical attackers, of men who steal, deceive and kill, men who abuse, injure, harm and maim. It is a fear of the slow drip of men’s violences against women, children and other men, the unforeseen (and foreseen) consequences of men’s business and corporate actions. Most crimes remain unimaginable without the presence of men (Jefferson, 1992). The question is: What does this knowledge tell us about ‘crime’? What, importantly, does it tell us about men? (1998: 2)

There is a growing literature that challenges representations of hegemonic masculinity, specifically the representation of masculinity in the media. John Beynon has explored how categories of masculinity are constituted and reconstituted within complex social, sexual, economic and political relations, by examining the differing ways men are positioned in media discourse. Beynon specifically charts the discrepancies between dominant stereotypes of masculinity and the actual lived experiences of men. Beynon suggests that during the 1980’s and 1990’s significant changes have occurred in the representation of masculinity in the media where ‘New “types” of men’ are continually being (re)invented (2004: 215).

Kenneth MacKinnon has also problematised the category of hegemonic masculinity by arguing that concepts of masculinity are inherently changeable. MacKinnon has specifically identified how the ‘packaging of male power’ is socially and culturally specific (2003: 14). Similarly, Jim Macnamara has traced the changing representations of men and masculinity in the Australian media over the past two decades. Macnamara suggests that shifting concepts of masculinity have been impacted by social, economic and technical transformations (2006: 61). These changing definitions of masculinity can be specifically identified in the different ways in which the imagery of the figure of the father and the figure of the paedophile have
been represented within the media. I will argue, however, that discourses of masculinity have not affected all men in the same way. What does the representation of paedophilia say about the representation of men? And further, what does it tell us about the representation of sex, gender and sexuality? Despite the fact that both the father and the paedophile have come to represent different things at different times, I will suggest that there are very specific images of masculinity that have come to dominate paedophilia discourses.

The thesis shares Collier’s interest in the representation of men, masculinity and heterosexuality in the context of paedophilia. Although there has been, in the words of Collier, ‘an erasure of men as social and accountable beings’ (1998: 104, original emphasis) within discourses of crime and criminal deviance, there has also been a powerful resurgence of discourses of masculinity, in particular discourses of heterosexuality and ‘fatherhood’. The thesis aims to explore the powerful discourses of masculinity that are currently underscoring the paedophilia ‘crisis’ or ‘epidemic’ and to reveal, in Collier’s terms, what the paedophile ‘shares’ with other men (1997: 186) by questioning ‘what is, and what is not, being said about ‘being a man” (1998: 8). A seemingly unspeakable fear of men characterises representations of paedophilia and the paedophile; it is the unspoken sexual threat that men pose to children that is currently underwriting the paedophilia ‘epidemic’. I will suggest that paedophilia discourses also operate to enforce and legitimate a heterosexual and hetero-masculine ‘normal’. Crucially, I will suggest that discourses of masculinity are currently being renegotiated within the current epidemic-threat of paedophilia. The fact that hetero-masculinity goes largely unremarked within the media is a sign of its privilege.

De Lauretis has suggested that representations of violence are inseparable from paradigms of gender (1997). Normative paradigms of gender, I will argue, are symbolically reproduced through media representations of paedophilia. That is to say, the ongoing reproduction of categories of masculinity and femininity is the means through which the category of paedophilia itself is socially and culturally reproduced. The media, as a privileged institutional and discursive realm does not simply “reflect”
Butler has suggested that: 'Discrete genders are part of what “humanizes” individuals within contemporary culture; indeed, we regularly punish those who fail to do their gender right' (1990: 139-140). Within the media, paedophilia has been repeatedly associated with a deviant, although not specifically masculine, sexuality. Young’s approach is also useful for theorising the points of connection between the representation of masculinity/femininity and the representation of crime. Young, in Imagining Crime: Textual Outlaws and Criminal Conversations, argues that criminalised Others are necessarily feminised in the ‘cultural unconscious’ (1996: 17). Specifically, this project will reveal how the paedophile is controlled, disciplined and punished, in Young’s terms, ‘as if they were feminine’ (1996: 17, original emphasis).

The thesis addresses existing changes in the representation of masculinity and femininity, and heterosexuality and homosexuality within paedophilia discourses. What I am proposing is a heterosexing of paedophilia, a re-reading of paedophilia within normative paradigms of hegemonic heteromasculinity and heterosexuality. It is, specifically, the absence of the heterosexual male that I will explore more fully in the chapters that follow. I am not interested only in the relationship between the representation of men and the representation of paedophilia. It is the task of this thesis to reveal the homosexualised and the heterosexualised specificities of representations of violence, and to explore the relationship between men, women and the sexed crime of paedophilia.

2.8 Homosexed Crime: Contested Meanings of Paedophilia

Contemporary media representations of paedophilia signify not only a crisis in the representation of masculinity and femininity, but also of sexuality. Theories of ‘homosexed’ crime have crucially influenced my analysis of paedophilia. ‘Homosexed’ crime refers to the way acts of sexual violence are not only sexed but are fundamentally homosexualised in representation (Morgan 1998: 92). In the
thesis, I deliberately focus on the sexual assault of boys. I will suggest that within the media there is an important discursive slippage between homosexuality and paedophilia. How paedophilia has materialised as a condition and identity of specifically homosexualised bodies is a critical concern for this thesis. The thesis specifically draws on Wayne Morgan’s use of the term ‘homosexed crime’ in *Sexed Crime in the News* (1998). A framework of homosexed crime provides a way of charting the complex ways media discourse mark homosexual men with sexual and criminal deviancy, and by extension, the stigmata of paedophilia. Media reports of paedophilia reflect a deeply ingrained anti-homosexual sentiment aimed specifically (although not exclusively) at gay men. Within media discourse, I will suggest the word paedophilia has come to denote homosexuality.\textsuperscript{22}

Central to paedophilia commentaries has been the figure of the homosexual(ised) predator. Paedophilia is projected, to borrow from Young, onto the body of an ‘outlawed’ homosexualised Other (1996). The disciplinary gaze of the media symbolically invests and marks the body of the paedophile with homosexual perversion and criminal deviancy. Paedophilia, both as a concept and category, does not exist outside cultural codes of homosexualised meaning and representation. Familiar cultural narratives of homosexuality as perverse, deviant and Other, have had the effect of positioning gay men as the subject, and object, of media investigations into paedophilia. Davies has observed:

\begin{quote}
non-heterosexuals have been constructed as undesired and undesirable...[t]heir transgression of normative notions of sex, gender and sexuality has been represented as perverse and dangerous, and as a consequence, they have been rendered vulnerable to suspicion, surveillance and punishment. (1998: 105)
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{22} A number of theorists have pointed to the interconnections between representations of the homosexual and contemporary constructions of the paedophile. See for example ‘Towards 2000: Child Sexual Abuse and the Media’ (Atmore 1998) and ‘It Forced Me to Open More than I Could Bear’: H.A.D., Paedophilia and the Discursive Limits of the Male Heterosexual Body’ (Golder 2004). See also generally: ‘How to Do the History of Homosexuality’ (Halperin 2002), *Sexuality and Its Discontents* (Weeks 1985) and ‘Paedophile Panic’ (Stoker 2001).
It is the task of the thesis to reveal how homosexual men are identified and stigmatised as the principal offenders in the sexual abuse of children, and to examine the role of the print news media in the production and maintenance of a narrative paedophilia-as-homosexuality.

One of the central questions posed by media theorist, Stuart Hall, is how ideologies of homophobia are maintained and reproduced within Western culture. Since, as Hall suggests, '[t]he media's main sphere of operations is the production and transformation of ideologies', print media discourse represents an 'ideological terrain of struggle' in which battles over meaning and representations are waged (1992: 8). The dominant interpretation of paedophilia appeals to what Hall has described as a 'homophobic 'commonsense' (1990: 8), or what Butler has termed, a 'homophobic phantasmatic' (1997: 111). Although Hall rightly identifies how the media is a key site for the (re)production of ideologies, I disagree with Hall that it is an ideology specifically of homophobia that is framing paedophilia discourses. It is not a phobia, that is, a fear of homosexuality, per se that is underwriting the homosexualisation of the category paedophile. I will suggest, rather, that it is the ongoing refusal of homosexuality that underscores the representation of the paedophile. Within media discourse privileged heterosexual moralities are measured against the suspect moralities of Other non-heterosexualities. The thesis will dismantle the consistent and recurring theme of paedophilia-as-homosexuality, and conversely homosexuality-as-paedophilia, within press discourse.

Building upon Foucault's concept of the discursive production of homosexuality, Butler argues that homosexual men are symbolic '(un)subjects' confined to the realms of 'unreality' (1992: 380). The production of what Butler terms deviant 'unthinkable, abject, unlivable', specifically homosexual bodies, are crucial in the maintenance and reproduction of categories of paedophilia (1993: xi). The social and cultural meanings that are given to homosexuality and the meanings that are given to paedophilia are

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23 Judith Butler in *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (1993) suggests that the privilege of heterosexuality is founded on the ongoing repudiation of homosexuality. The category heterosexuality does not exist without its necessary, inferior Other.
intricately interconnected. In exploring the relationship between the representation of homosexuality and the representation of paedophilia, I will argue that the cultural prohibitions operative on the body of the homosexual also regulate the body of the paedophile. The paedophile, who is in need of constant surveillance and regulation, is subject to similar censuring devices to that of the homosexual. Discourses of paedophilia have crucially contributed to the erasure and stigmatisation of homosexual desire.

The conflation of paedophilia with homosexuality more insidiously operates to conceal the hetero-sexed dimensions of paedophilia. Media coverage of paedophilia continues inevitably to focus overwhelmingly on homosexual offenders which, I suggest, has resulted in the misreporting and misrepresentation of paedophilia. It is the encoding of paedophilia as homosed which has contributed to the invisibility of cases of sexual abuse involving girls. It is, specifically, the homosexual paedophile that is 'inscribed publicly with the marks of power' (Davies and Rhodes-Little 1993: 26, original emphasis). The resounding silence surrounding the sexual abuse of girls exists in stark contrast to the voluminous number of articles dedicated to the sexual abuse of boys. This thesis will trace the appearance of the homosexual subject and what I would term the disappearance of the heterosexual subject within paedophilia discourses.

The figure of the paedophile, which has continued to dominate popular media discourses of 'sex crime', is a category that is at its core homosexualised. The current paedophilia epidemic can be linked, in turn, to the development and deployment of a profoundly anti-homosexual discourse within the Australian press. The homosexualisation of paedophilia has encouraged the perception that homosexual men pose both an unacceptable and inevitable threat and risk to children. The thesis aims to make a double move, both to displace and refuse the

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24 See for example: 'A Pedophile's Victims can 'Run Into the Thousands'' (Cornford 1997), 'Mr Baldy's Heart of Darkness' (Ryan 1992) and 'The Paedophile File: Where are They Now?'' (Overington 2001).
authorised and privileged narrative of paedophilia-as-homosexuality within media discourse.

2.9 Paedophilia, Criminal Contagion and the Logic of ‘Epidemic’

A core theme of this study is ‘epidemic’. The following section specifically considers some of the implications of Linda Singer’s work, *Erotic Welfare: Sexual Theory and Politics in the Age of Epidemic* (1993), for the thesis. Singer writes that understandings of sexuality have been redefined and reorganised within modern conditions of ‘epidemic’ (1993: 62-63). Epidemic, Singer argues, has marked a new sphere of political contestation in the strategic deployment of sexuality, where social systems of sexual organisation have been resignified and reconstituted. Within the contemporary knowledge/power matrix of ‘epidemic’, bodies and sexualities have been hierarchically re-ordered and re-valued. In order to unravel the consistent and recurring theme of paedophilia-as-epidemic, the thesis will examine the media’s key role in the generation and perpetuation of the current paedophilia ‘epidemic’. I will suggest, in fact, that the entire representation of the modern paedophile is structured around a continually shifting discourse of ‘epidemic’.

Singer’s multi-layered analysis of the operations of epidemic holds particular relevance for the thesis. Singer convincingly illustrates how epidemic discourses have signified a core shift in the sexual/political economy, resulting in a redirection of mechanisms of power operating over the body. Specifically, sexual Others have become the target of epidemic discourses (the homosexual, those who are HIV positive, the prostitute, etc.). Implicit in Singer’s analysis is an understanding of how conditions of epidemic have provided for new modes of sexual discipline in which

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25 Maria Tatar (1995) has also explored the points of connection between epidemic and the representation of crime. In Tatar’s study of serial murder in 1920’s Germany, she draws attention to the linkages between the representation of violence and the representation of epidemic. In her analysis of ‘serial killers’, Fritz Haarmann and Peter Kurten, Tatar has suggested that their crimes functioned as a way of ‘spread[ing] a psychosis capable of infecting an entire population’ (1995: 48). The disease of criminality, in this case ‘sexual murder’, is transferred to the general public through the contaminated moralities of the serial murderer.
power functions as 'a force of production and proliferation rather than as a movement of repression' (1993: 117):

Epidemic logic depends on certain structuring contradictions, proliferating what it seeks to contain, producing what it regulates. The logic of epidemic depends upon the perpetual revival of an anxiety it seeks to control, inciting a crisis that spreads to ever new sectors of cultural life which, in turn, justify and necessitate specific regulatory apparatus which then compensate – materially and symbolically – for the crisis it has produced. (1993: 29)

This point is critical to my analysis. The power of 'epidemic' logic does not operate to suppress or restrain sexuality, but as a way of maintaining and reproducing it. Epidemic is self-reproducing; conditions of epidemic are dependent on the continual and continuous reproduction of sites of sexual danger and/or risk.

In theorising the conjunction between sexuality, power and knowledge production, Singer draws attention to how conditions of epidemic have fostered new modes of sexual exchange and consumption which determine how bodies are produced, managed and organised in a specific nexus of social, cultural and political relations. How authorised and productive discourses of epidemic have impacted on the (re)production of sexualised identities, in particular paedophilia, is a central concern for this project. Sexuality has become the focus of many modern epidemics and the current paedophilia ‘plague’ is no exception. The current paedophile crisis is a modern phenomenon born out of complex relations of epidemic. Within the modern nexus of epidemic, however, it is a fantasised threat of specifically homosexual danger that has been revitalised and reinforced with a new totalising and hegemonising force.

I have suggested that Singer’s analytics of sexual epidemic provide a methodological strategy for charting how modern categories and concepts of sexuality are organised and (re)produced. The questions Singer raises about the proliferation and circulation of discourses of epidemic are also useful for theorising the points of connection between sexuality, criminality and violence. Singer’s formulation of epidemic is an important development, because it encompasses not only the changes in categories
of sexual normativity and sexual deviancy, but also criminal deviancy. ‘Epidemic’ importantly addresses how the body of the criminal has become a renewed target of normalising and disciplinary technologies. Contemporary conditions of epidemic have generated a new era of sexual management and control whereby a redeployment of power has occurred, effectively levelled at the body of the homosexual, and by extension, the paedophile.

In recent times the threat of paedophilia has been renamed ‘epidemic’. It is under the sign of ‘epidemic’ that paedophilia has thoroughly cemented its position as a modern-day sex-panic. Within the discursive parameters of ‘epidemic’, paedophilia has surfaced as a critical site of what Gayle Rubin has termed ‘erotic hysteria’ (1993: 7). Singer’s concept of epidemic provides a persuasive account of the modern anxieties surrounding ‘sex’. Within current conditions of epidemic not only has sexuality resurfaced as both a dangerous and corrupting force, but also a contaminating force. Paedophilia is represented as a modern-day sexual/criminal virus which has the potential to penetrate both public and private spheres. Certainly the associations between sexuality and disease are not new. Nor are the connections between sexuality, disease and death. Singer’s approach, however, enables us to trace the intersections between the modern nexus of the representation of criminality, sexuality and disease. It is impossible to over-estimate the centrality of epidemic to the representation of paedophilia. The modern climate of epidemic accounts for the pervasive perception within the news media that paedophilia has reached ‘plague’ proportions and that we are in fact in the midst of a paedophilia ‘crisis’.

The routine associations in the media between paedophilia and plague are more than merely metaphorical. The recurrent themes of epidemic, disease and contagion

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26 For example, there are a number of similarities between paedophilia discourses and discourses surrounding the AIDS pandemic. I do not intend to canvass the multiple intersections between these two discourses, however, the homosexualised Other as a carrier of disease and an agent of contamination is the most obvious commonality.

27 Sander Gilman in Disease and Representation: Images of Illness from Madness to AIDS (1988), for example, has traced the relationship between constructions of sexual disease and constructions of death within representations of syphilis in the fifteenth century. For an exploration of the representation of the female body, sexuality and death, see also Elisabeth Bronfen, Over Her Dead Body: Death, Femininity and the Aesthetic (1992).
operate in a very specific way to generate, maintain and replicate individual and collective fears about the threat of sexual and criminal contagion. Within the contemporary matrix of epidemic, the modern paedophile is a hybrid category born out of competing discourses of sex, crime and disease. The thesis wages against a powerful discourse of epidemic which works to construct and define paedophilia as a disease, as an anomaly, as an aberration, or as a virus. The paedophile represents, in Kristeva’s terms, a ‘being of abjection’:

There looms, within abjection, one of those violent, dark revolts of being, directed against a threat that seems to emanate from an exorbitant outside or inside, ejected beyond the scope of the possible, the tolerable, the thinkable. It lies there quite close, but it cannot be assimilated. (1982: 1)

The paedophile is marked with an infective desire that ‘threaten[s] the integrity of individual and society’ (1982: 88). The polluted body of the paedophile exists at the margins of society:

A polluting person is always in the wrong. He has developed some wrong condition or simply crossed some line which should not have been crossed and this displacement unleashes danger for someone. (Douglas 1966: 113)

It is the fear of infection, from an always already infected and polluted Other, that is at the centre of paedophilia epidemic.

The contagious dimensions of paedophilia are reflected in the rich vocabulary of disease and sickness which is used to describe both the causes and the effects of paedophilia within media discourse. The imagined criminal threat provides for increased, authorised, bodily interventions and ‘anti-contagion’ devices which function as a way of containing and eradicating the source of criminality. Singer identifies the connection between disease, criminal contagion and the contaminating forces of a criminally marked Other who has the potential to ‘infect’ the general (read: heterosexual) population:

Both criminality and disease are conceived as outlaws, invaders with secret ways, as well as forces of disorder.
Discourses of criminality and disease are used to rationalize forms of power in the name of maintaining a healthier, that is, crime-free and disease-free, society. (1993: 43)

Carl Stychin, in his examination of media discourses surrounding a series of murders of homosexual men in the United Kingdom in 1993, has similarly identified how the body of the homosexual is pathologised. Stychin argues that the 'normal' heterosexual body is represented within media discourse as the 'non-addicted body experiencing free will and immune from the threat of contagion' (1995: 126). The diseased and contagious body of the homosexual is represented as being Other to the clean, non-criminal body of the heterosexual. In Stychin's terms, 'The normal, non-addicted, and engaged body thus is a prerequisite to the continues existence of the social bond' (1995: 130).

The paedophile materialises within media discourse as 'a scapegoat who, having been ejected, allows the city to be freed from defilement' (1982: 84). Paedophilia is not simply represented as a crime to be investigated, explained and solved, but as a disease which is to be quarantined, cured and ultimately vanquished. The paedophile is excluded and expelled yet his continuing expulsion is required in order to maintain a sense of 'community' (Young 1996: 11). The idea of a heterogeneous 'community' is consolidated and symbolically realised through the expurgation of a fantasised, deviant, criminal Other, in this case the paedophile (Young 1996: 11). The threat of the criminal Other provides a rationalisation and justification for increased mechanisms of surveillance and control, aimed at 'containing' the primary source of infection.

Singer suggests that epidemic conditions have generated a new nexus of regulatory techniques of sexual discipline and surveillance, whereby the behaviour of individuals and populations is effectively managed and controlled. Singer rightly points out that rather than symbolising a breakdown or erosion of societal order, sexual epidemics

28 The use here of 'his' is intentional. I suggest that the sexed-specific nature of the category 'paedophile' itself requires that all paedophiles are men. It is for this reason that the term 'paedophile' within the thesis will refer to male paedophilia only. Indeed, the scope of the thesis does not allow for the analysis of the representation of female paedophilia. This is an area of research, however, which needs to be explored further.
are crucial in the maintenance of a specific hegemonic order (1993: 31). The current paedophilia epidemic is reflective of anxieties over modern forms of 'community' and concern over the perceived breakdown of the family (Young 1996; see also Collier 1998). Specifically, epidemic panic-logic proliferates when the site of the nuclear family is viewed as a specific target of sexual threat or risk. The paedophile poses a threat not only to the nuclear family unit, but also to society itself (Hay 1995: 204). The fear that the threat of the paedophile clearly evokes within the general community can be tied to broader concerns over the disintegration of the modern social. Within media discourse, the current paedophilia 'epidemic' is presented as the product of a manifestation of a 'sick society' or a profound societal malaise. Indeed our 'erotic welfare' is fragile, tenuous and is to be violently protected.

Foucault has suggested that a 'normalising society' is a product of 'a technology of power centered on life' (1984: 266). However, with the construction of the modern paedophile, these 'forces of life' have been reharnessed within a new discursive terrain concerned with disease, degeneration and death. What Singer has termed an 'unhappy connection between sex and death', has been resurrected within the current paedophilia epidemic (1993: 114). Through the construction of the body of the modern paedophile, we have witnessed a revitalisation of discourses of death. Not only has the paedophile materialised as the symbolic embodiment of disease and degeneration, the paedophile body has also become circumscribed by discourses of death. Within print media discourses of paedophilia, the menace of death has been revived and redeployed. Over the past fifteen years the category paedophilia has been strategically reloaded with metaphors of disease and degeneracy; the paedophile has become invested with the brutal finality of the kind of power associated with death. It is the ever-present threat of death, I will argue, that overshadows media representations of paedophilia.

I will also argue that the victims of the paedophile too are thought to endure a 'living death'. Within news discourse paedophilia is not only constructed as an infectious, but ultimately a fatal, disease. By extension, in the symbolisation of paedophilia as 'living death', there is also at work a powerful narrative of 'epidemic'. Paedophilia is
represented as a contagious disease which can be passed on from generation to
generation in an endless cycle of abuse through the death-marked body of the
paedophile. Perhaps more importantly, the paedophilia-as-living-death narrative also
operates to disempower survivors of child sexual assault. Within a narrative of living-
with-death, there is to be no recuperation for the victims of the paedophile. The thesis
aims to explore the sex/death nexus enmeshed within modern media discourses of
paedophilia.

Singer’s theory of epidemic provides a broad frame of reference for exploring how the
paedophilia epidemic has taken shape within the Australian media over the past
fifteen years. The current paedophilia epidemic is, in Amy Treichler’s words, an
‘epidemic of signification’ (1987: 269). Although Treichler originally applied this term
to the AIDS pandemic, the current paedophilia plague has materialised as an
‘epidemic of signification’. Within paedophilia discourses, it is specifically
homosexualised bodies that are repetitively ‘fetishized as vials of contagion and
death’ (Singer 1993: 31). Paedophilia, and by extension, homosexuality, has ‘become
a paradigm for contagion’ (Butler 1997: 116). In the transmission of paedophilia,
contagious, diseased, homosexualised bodies are at the centre of sexual and criminal
signification. The bodies of homosexual men have become ‘hysterically invested’ with
currencies of death, disease and contagion (Singer 1993: 63).

2.10 Narrative Imaginings: Representing Crime News in the Media

In her work *Femininity in Dissent* (1990), Alison Young examines the defining power
of narrative structure in print news media discourse, by suggesting that the media
frames knowledge about crime and criminality within very specific narrative patterns of
meaning and representation. Young’s analysis of the power of narrative structure
informs my approach to the representation of paedophilia. Young engages in the
critique of the relationship between narrative form and the production of news,
specifically highlighting the structuring effects of narrative in media discourses of
crime and criminality:
narrative structure can profoundly influence evaluative attitudes to crime and deviance. The majority of people are dependent on the news media for their information about criminality and deviant acts or actors. The news media are wholly committed to using narrative as representational form. This has been taken as natural and unremarkable by sociologists of deviance...the narrative form wields a considerable amount of power in the creation of meaning. For any theorist of crime and deviance, narrative should therefore be an essential object of study. (1990: 105)

Newspaper constructions of paedophilia can thus be located within broader representational systems of language, meaning and knowledge; media representations of paedophilia cannot be read and understood outside the narrative complex in which they are continually (re)constituted.

In Young's analysis of media representations of the female protestors at the Greenham Common Airbase in Berkshire England in 1981, she draws attention to the power of media discourse, through interconnecting strands of narrative meaning, to construct and reconstruct social and cultural ideas about sex, gender and sexuality. The women, who were protesting the storage of cruise missiles at the Greenham Common Airbase, became the focus of news reports surrounding the demonstration. The media focused on what Young terms the 'grotesque' bodies of the protestors (1990: 57), the 'questionable' sexuality of the women involved, and their status as 'deviant mothers'. Young illustrates how the female protestors were constructed as 'deviant' due to the perceived transgression of gender norms, rather than their criminal behaviour per se. That is to say, it was the failure of the women to adhere to rigid codes of gendered normativity - or the law of gender - that marked their behaviour as criminal within media discourse, rather than actual violations of the law.

Although Young critically addresses the role of the media in reproducing standards of sexed, gendered and sexualised normativity, she suggests that:

it is important not to posit a failure on the part of the press: a failure to be 'objective', 'fair', 'honest' or 'accurate'. This misses the point. According to their social positionality and ideological beliefs, the press are being 'fair', 'objective' and so on. This is because of the relational matrix in which we find the press as institution, the Greenham protest and the 'dominant order' as represented by the government and the pro-nuclear lobby. Analysis of the press representation of the
Greenham protest should not seek for its failures, but rather discover its production of ‘truth’ and commonplace meaning within a relational framework. (1990: 128, original emphasis)

Print news discourse is a powerful discourse, ostensibly produced within a narrative order of ‘truth’, ‘fact’ and ‘objectivity’. The aim of the thesis is not simply to reveal the inaccuracies or discrepancies within news reporting, but to explore how the category ‘paedophile’ is socially and culturally loaded with normative understandings of sex, gender and sexuality. Far from being unbiased and context-free, media accounts of paedophilia are inseparable from the narrative fields in which they are constantly reproduced. The thesis aims to provide a counter-narrative to hegemonic discourses of paedophilia by analysing the systems of signs, symbols and images through which media representations of paedophilia are continually and continuously understood and interpreted.

Cultural theorist Stuart Hall has also identified how crime news is ascribed meaning through intricately interwoven narrative strands:

[It] involves the presentation of the item to its assumed audience, in terms which, as far as the presenters of the item can judge, will make it comprehensible to that audience...this process – identification and contextualisation – is one of the most important through which events are ‘made to mean’ by the media. An event only ‘makes sense’ if it can be located within a range of known social and cultural identifications. (1978: 54, original emphasis)

The narrative approach allows us to frame the issue of paedophilia within the pre-existing discursive structures that form common Western cultural understandings of sex, gender and sexuality. Paedophilia has become so familiar a term that it is difficult to extricate it from the narrative complex in which it is entrenched. There is no narrative uniformity in paedophilia discourses and, as such, the thesis seeks to develop an analysis of the highly interrelated narrative threads that underwrite news media discourses of paedophilia.
2.11 Media Discourse: Constructions of ‘Sex Crime’

Media discourse holds key significance in the representation of the paedophile. The mass media is a complex communication network, an authorised and privileged institutional and discursive realm of power/knowledge. The media is not simply a site for the communication or transmission of knowledge and information. The media is a site where knowledge is endlessly manufactured, distributed and (re)produced. The modern mass media machine is an apparatus of meaning-making and sense-making, dictating how knowledge and information is structured, represented and understood. Simon Watney has characterised the significance of the mass media in the following way. The media, writes Watney, is ‘the public forum in which modern societies and individuals make sense of themselves’ (1997: 42). Media discourse is a realm over which definitions of knowledge are continually negotiated and contested.

The media also plays an important defining role in the reproduction of categories of crime and criminality. Those who have studied media power have identified the critical role the media performs in shaping conceptual understandings of crime and criminality. The meanings and messages conveyed within media discourse impact on what we understand crime and deviance to be and what it signifies. As David Altheide has observed: ‘The mass media provide the bulk of cultural experiences for citizens about crime and fear’ (2002: 32). The news media strategically dictates and directs the distribution, organisation and consumption of crime news. It is through media frames of meaning that we read and interpret representations of crime and criminal deviance. Media discourse is critical in shaping knowledge relating to crime and criminality and, by extension, paedophilia. The purported objectivity of media discourse, and its reliance on statistical data and the ‘facts’, is thought to result in what are considered to be authentic, credible and authorised representations of crime and criminality.

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29 This thesis is indebted to the work of Stuart Hall and Stanley Cohen. It is not my intention to revisit their critical analyses of crime and criminal deviance in the media, however, their influential studies relating to the role of the media in the (re)production of crime news have laid the foundation for modern theories of crime news. See specifically Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order (Hall et al 1978) and Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers (Cohen 1980). For a more recent study on the theory of moral panic see Gary Potter and Victor Kappeler (eds) Constructing Crime: perspectives on making news and social problems (2006).
There is a thriving media industry concerned with the production and consumption of crime news. The rapidly changing state of modern communication technologies, however, has greatly impacted on the dissemination of crime news information. Within the modern crime news industry, not only has the way we access information changed, but with advancements in computer technologies, the quality and type of information available has altered dramatically. Crime news is continuously transmitted through a vast modern communications network. With the advent of online newspapers, crime news has become more frequent, more accessible and more detailed.

Violent crimes, most notably sexual offences, feature prominently in the media. Specifically, the print news media has a well-established and long-standing preoccupation with child sexual abuse and exploitation. News media consumers are confronted on a daily basis with images of sexual violence against children (see Best 1990; see also Atmore 1998, Altheide 2002). The print news media is a site where images of child sexual exploitation are endlessly relayed and repeated. It is, however, specifically representations of paedophilia that have assumed both a unique and powerful position within mainstream media discourse. Since the mid-1980’s, the figure of the paedophile has been at the centre of an immensely profitable sex crime news industry.  

The thesis is concerned with revealing how the institutional and discursive power of the media can critically 'effect the definition and perpetuation of certain types of deviance', in this case, paedophilia (Young 1990: 128, original emphasis). What is reported, and how it is reported, is dependent on what is considered to be its news value or newsworthiness. The scandal and spectacle of paedophilia, its

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30 Innumerable television shows are dedicated to the subject of sexual violence against children. Television shows such as: CSI (Crime Scene Investigation Unit), CBS Paramount Network Television in partnership with Alliance Atlantis, Los Angeles, California; Law and Order: SVU (Sexual Victims Unit), Wolf Films in association with Universal Media Studios, Los Angeles, California; Criminal Minds, The Mark Gordon Company in association with ABC Studios and CBS Paramount Network Television, Los Angeles California, and; Bones, 20th Century Fox, Los Angeles, California.
‘entertainment value’, make it particularly newsworthy (Altheide 2002: 51). The media does not simply reflect dominant cultural understandings of criminal deviance, crucially, in defining the parameters of what is sayable and what is ultimately unsayable, the media plays an integral role, prescribing when and how we are to speak of paedophilia. It then becomes not only a question of what the media reports on but more importantly, it becomes a question of how paedophilia is represented. The thesis will problematise the media’s treatment of cases of paedophilia and argue that media discourse is an example of what de Lauretis refers to as:

an order of language that speaks violence – names certain behaviours and events as violent but not others and constructs objects and subjects of violence and hence violence as a social fact. (1997: 266)

Feminist theorist Chris Atmore has also identified how speaking about violence and the practices themselves are inextricably linked:

This means, as feminists have known for some considerable time, that language - how violence is talked about, for example - matters as much as with the abusive practices themselves, because they are intrinsically connected. (1998: 126)

In the production of knowledge about crime and criminality, media discourse is an expert and authoritative discourse, as it not only prescribes when and how we are to speak of paedophilia, but it also defines who paedophiles are and, more importantly, who they are not. What is at stake here, is the way in which we talk about the sexual abuse of children, for I will argue that within media discourse paedophilia can only be spoken of in certain kinds of ways.

Critical analyses of media representations of crime and criminal deviance have revealed that what counts as news, and conversely, what does not count as news, is deeply tied to the political agendas of newspapers (see Kitzinger 1998; see also Altheide 2002). Newspapers set crime news agendas, prioritising certain issues over others. This hierarchy of crime news can be attributed to some extent to what Jenny Kitzinger has referred to as the ‘gender-politics’ of the media, which affects how crime news-making processes are structured and controlled (1998; see also Wykes 2001).
It is the gendered dimensions of crime news reporting that impacts on which stories are covered and those that are not, particularly relating to child sexual assault.

Opposing accounts of sexual violence are routinely marginalised within the media. Howe, for example, illustrates how an absence of feminist contributions to newspaper discourse affects the representation of sexual violence:

While the gap between mainstream and critical perspectives on sex/gender questions may appear to be narrowing in as much as feminist views get periodic airings in the Western media, there is much to suggest that the chasm is actually widening. For what is presented as a 'feminist' perspective in the media is just one perspective, and usually a dated one at that... Yet it is hardly surprising that the new theories have not yet filtered through to the media. Feminist scholars are themselves hard pressed to keep up with developments in feminist conceptualisations of sex, gender and sexuality.

(1998: 3)

Media accounts of 'sex crime' exist in stark contrast to concepts of 'sexed crime' which are currently being developed within feminism, media studies and criminology. The counter-hegemonic narratives provided by feminist researchers are largely refused space in the news media, as feminist accounts of child sexual abuse do not have the same currency as dominant scientific, psychological and criminological - that is, 'scientific' - accounts of paedophilia.

The thesis sets out to challenge dominant media accounts of 'sex crime' and reveal that rather than being an objective reflection of events, newspaper constructions of paedophilia are deeply tied to the sexed, gendered and sexualised systems of meaning that frame them. The descriptive terms used to classify paedophilia and the 'objective' reporting of 'facts', figures and statistics masks not only the subjective investment of the journalist, but also the sexed, gendered and sexualised contexts these representations are firmly embedded. The thesis will examine the social and cultural meanings attached to representations of paedophilia and explore the categories of sexed, gendered and sexualised normativity and deviancy which not only underpin the representation of paedophilia, but which also govern the entire (re)production of crime news.
2.12 Conclusion

The thesis brings together the theories I have explored in this chapter to analyse and explore the language, meanings and discourses of news media representations of paedophilia. Specifically, the theoretical approaches I have outlined in this chapter will provide the thesis with a framework for articulating the relationship between paedophilia and the discursive representation of sex, gender and sexuality. The thesis will examine the contemporary significance of paedophilia in media discourse by deconstructing and questioning the sexed, gendered and sexualised specificities of paedophilia.

The thesis is firmly grounded in feminist poststructuralist reconceptualisations of sex, gender and sexuality which have played a key transformative role in formulating the intersections between discourse, language and power (Weedon 1987: 12). Feminist theories have been instrumental in the reconsideration of the production of meaning and knowledge, specifically relating to categories of sex, gender and sexuality (Butler 1993; see also Flax 1992). Linda Singer has suggested that poststructuralist perspectives provide for the reconsideration of normative identity categories and the possibility of destabilising representations of sex, gender and sexuality (1993). Poststructural reconceptualisations of sex, gender and sexuality have revealed that categories of sex, gender and sexuality are not transhistorical and are thus open to resignification and reconstitution.

I also want to draw attention to the similarities and differences in newspaper interests and approaches, and interrogate the discursive structures and representational systems in which categories and concepts of paedophilia and the paedophile are enmeshed. The thesis seeks to explore the media’s role in the reproduction of social meanings about crime and deviancy, and to examine the relationship between the media and the discursive production of paedophilia.

The resulting identification of paedophilia-as-epidemic and paedophilia-as-homosexuality has signalled an important change in representations of child sexual
assault. It is, specifically, through the core narrative fields of epidemic and homosexuality that representations of paedophilia are read and interpreted. I will address the constant and consistent representation of paedophilia within a central complex narrative framework of both homosexed and 'epidemic' violence. The chapters of analysis that follow will explore how epidemic and homosexed crime operate in synthesis to regulate the modern paedophilia 'plague'.

Following from this, I will suggest that we have witnessed a transmutation of the homosexual subject through contemporary news media discourses of paedophilia. I will demonstrate that within news media discourse, paedophilia is effectively 'owned' by homosexual men. Moreover, discourses of paedophilia operate to circumscribe the boundaries of homosexual 'deviancy' and reinforce and reiterate a phantasmatic heterosexual 'normal'; homosexualised bodies exist in opposition to the uniform subjectivities of 'lawful' hetero-masculinities (Butler 1993: 122). I will argue that homosexual men are represented as being more likely to commit sexual offences as they are, in the words of Davies, symbolically 'undesired and undesirable' (1998: 105). The homosexed paedophile exists in stark opposition to the heterosexual perpetrators of child sexual assault who are unsexed and unmarked. I will explore the associative and connotative meanings of homosexuality which have become indelibly inscribed on the body of the paedophile. It is the all-too-common representation of paedophilia-as-homosexuality that is the focus of the thesis.

In accounting for the media preoccupation with paedophilia, the thesis examines some of the key reasons why paedophilia has recently come to occupy such a central position in both broadsheet and tabloid newspapers over the past fifteen years. I will argue that a core shift in the representation of paedophilia has occurred, a change which can be tied not simply to broader transformations in meanings and definitions of sexual violence, but also the modern social. That is to say, paedophilia discourses

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31 Cherry Grimwade has also explored how homosexual men are marked with a deviant sexuality in the media, by analysing the multiple intersections between the representation of homosexuality and the representation of HIV/AIDS. Grimwade argues that print media discourse has operated to specifically locate the representation of HIV/AIDS within a framework of specifically homosexual risk and contagion (1998).
are implicated in wider battles over power/meaning/knowledge that are currently being contested. The thesis will account for the increasing prominence that the figure of the paedophile has assumed within the Australian print news media and reveal that the meanings given to the body of the paedophile are multiple and continually shifting. The subsequent chapters will critically examine what can only be described as the mythologies of paedophilia promulgated by the Australian print news media. It is through the deconstruction of dominant discursive representations of paedophilia that we can more fully understand what can only be described as paedophilia hysteria within the media.
Chapter Three:
‘Inverts’, ‘Perverts’ and ‘Sexual Deviants’: Sexological Constructions of Heterosexuality and Homosexuality

3.1 Introduction

Terry Threadgold has written that ‘every word, every utterance, brings (noisily) to the present context the history of where it has been before’ (1997: 67). I suggested in Chapter Two that an integral element of feminist theory has been the critique of institutionalised modes of knowledge production which have governed the reproduction of contemporary social understandings of sex, gender, and sexuality. Feminist poststructuralist practice also involves the interrogation of the specific historical and cultural conditions which have allowed for the production of sexed, gendered and sexualised identity categories. The following discussion explores the enduring role sexological discourses of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have played in defining and determining understandings of sexual behaviour and, more importantly, sexual difference and deviance. Specifically, I consider how the sexological ‘invention’ of homosexual and heterosexual subjects in the late nineteenth century has provided a foundational basis for modern categories of paedophilia.

What follows offers a critical historical overview of sexological literature, focusing specifically on the works of Havelock Ellis, Richard von Krafft-Ebing and August Forel. I will suggest that their collective studies in sexuality have provided a methodological and theoretical grounding for modern day discourses of sexuality, specifically paedophilia. The analysis will provide a framework for exploring how contemporary

32 Sexology as a discipline has been the subject of extensive critique and debate in a number of different disciplines, including sexuality studies and feminism. See generally: Against Nature: Essays on History, Sexuality and Identity (Weeks 1990) and The Invention of Heterosexuality (Katz 1995). For a feminist analysis see "Facts of Life" or the Eroticization of Women’s Oppression? Sexology and the Social Construction of Heterosexuality (Jackson 1987) and The Spinster and Her Enemies (Jeffreys 1997). For a critique of representations of the body in sexological discourses see Jennifer Terry’s ‘Anxious Slippages between “Us” and “Them”: A Brief History of the Scientific Search for Homosexual Bodies’ (1995).
media discourses of paedophilia continue to reproduce and reflect the basic sexed, gendered, and sexualised norms that underscored sexological discourses of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In tracing the history of the paedophile, I also want to explore how ideas of sexual deviancy and sexual pathology emerged in a specific nexus of sexological and criminological discourses. The chapter explains and explores how the homosexual and, by extension, the paedophile, emerged as a distinct deviant sexual species within nineteenth century medical and scientific discourses. Contemporary categories of paedophilia are discursively bound by the historical conditions of its (re)production; sexology has importantly worked to establish the discursive patterns of intelligibility through which we understand and interpret modern media constructions of paedophilia. The aim of the chapter is to uncover what these historical discourses reveal about the modern category ‘paedophile’.

What do we mean by a history of sexuality? More specifically, what do we mean by a history of paedophilia? Jeffrey Weeks has suggested that our histories of sexuality are essentially histories of discourses about sexuality (1981: 7). Foucault’s methodological strategies in The History of Sexuality (1976) hold particular interest for this chapter. Foucault suggests that categories and concepts of sexual normativity and deviancy need be examined in terms of their historical localities and discursive specificities. Categories of heterosexuality and homosexuality carry with them specific cultural locations and histories; they are products of conflicting discursive practices and relations of power (Katz 1995: 7). Foucault identifies four strategic discursive fields of sexuality that developed during the eighteenth century and effectively governed the rearticulation and (re)production of sexualised identity categories: the hysterisisation of women’s bodies; the pedagogisation of children’s sex; a socialisation of procreative behaviour, and; a psychiatrisation of perverse pleasures (1976: 104-105). These four principal models of sexuality signalled a new deployment of sexuality in the nineteenth century around the two poles of heterosexuality and homosexuality. Foucault’s critical framework in The History of Sexuality offers a useful strategy for identifying how sexuality emerged, and continues
to function, as an object of scientific knowledge and as a source of 'truth' and knowledge about individuals. These four key institutional and discursive realms provide the chapter with a theoretical framework for identifying and examining the emergence of the homosexual subject, and by extension the paedophile, within specific sexological and criminological power/knowledge/pleasure regimes (Foucault 1976: 11).

3.2 Bodily Interventions: Scientific Constructions of Sex

The period of western enlightenment in the seventeenth century marked a new era of scientific research and exploration. Science, Vandana Shiva writes, signalled a new way of producing knowledge and came to represent 'a specific project of western man' (1996: 268). Shiva suggests further, that underlying authority of scientific 'patriarchal projects' in the seventeenth century was grounded in a core range of hierarchically ordered and divided, naturalised binary oppositions. As Shiva describes it:

central to this masculine project...was a dichotomizing between male and female, mind and matter, objective and subjective, rational and emotional, and a conjunction of masculine and scientific dominating over nature, women and the nonwest. (1996: 269)

The binary order of science worked to reinforce the rigid divisions between science/nature, mind/matter, male/female and adult/child. Scientific method and reason dominated knowledge production in the seventeenth century. Science materialised as a privileged and unique realm of knowledge (re)production, transcending the subjective bias which was thought to taint other disciplinary fields. The scientific revolution of the seventeenth century resulted not only in the binary and hierarchical division of sex, but all aspects of social and political life.

Scientific investigations into mind, matter and nature in the eighteenth century turned to questions relating to the human body. Genevieve Lloyd suggests that the binary division of mind/body was constituted as the foundation on which 'true science is founded' (1984: 47). Our bodies have been marked, separated, and ranked within
discursive fields of science. Cindy Patton has written that our bodies have been 'written by science' (1990: 129). It was through the production of scientific knowledge that power became deployed over the very materiality of the body. Verifiable, quantifiable and fixed, 'sex' became a fundamentally constitutive element of human identity. The scientific division of subjectivity into mind/body and immanence/transcendence meant that men were strategically aligned with the mind and women with the body. The reason and rationality which was thought to distinguish scientific method and practice lead to a new and privileged understanding of the complexities of the human body. As Thomas Laqueur has observed, 'the reproductive organs went from being paradigmatic sites for displaying hierarchy, resonant throughout the cosmos, to being the foundation of incommensurable difference' (1990: 149; see also Harrison and Hood-Williams 2002). Eighteenth century biological determinist readings of the body secured anatomical asymmetries between the sexes as both fundamental and unchanging. We can then understand the binary ordering of the body into specific categories of 'male' and 'female' to be a product or invention of eighteenth century science. The scientific consolidation of concrete and visible differences between the sexes did not only mark a radical transformation and reorganisation of the human body. It was an interest in fundamental differences between the sexes that inevitably led to questions surrounding sexuality.

3.3 The Rise of the Sexological Expert

Just as scientific discourses of the eighteenth century contributed to the discursive reorganisation and reproduction of the body, medical, psychiatric and sexological discourses of the late nineteenth century combined to govern the production of sexual identities. The nineteenth century marked a new trend whereby people were categorised and defined by their sexuality. The core categories of male and female were the two poles around which a new classificatory scheme of sexual behaviour was structured and organised. The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed a proliferation of medico-scientific discourses surrounding sexuality; sexual behaviours, practices, and experiences become the object and subject of endless scientific analysis and debate.
Sexology was a critical meeting point for various disciplines, an intellectual hybrid of medical, psychiatric and scientific fields of study. Sexology emerged as a new discursive and institutional field of scientific knowledge and power surrounding the sexual subject. The pioneering sexologists of the late nineteenth century were preoccupied with what they referred to as the 'sexual question'. It was thought that through methods of observation, measurement and categorisation, sexual practices and behaviours could be examined objectively by science. Sexologists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were particularly significant due to their collective re-mapping of sexual identities. Their combined research into and studies of sexuality importantly signified a social and symbolic re-ordering of sexual desire.

The complexities of sexual behaviour, sexologists argued, could be deciphered through the application of the reason and logic of scientific method and practice. These self-appointed 'sex experts' were empowered to reveal the 'truth' about sex through impartial, objective scientific reasoning and methodology. Havelock Ellis, a British sexologist, and Richard von Krafft-Ebing, a Professor of Psychiatry and Neurology at the University of Vienna, are considered to be among the primary architects of this scientific model of understanding and interpreting sexual behaviour. The authority of sexologists as privileged 'knowers' was grounded in the scientificity of sexological knowledge and practice. Krafft-Ebing, for example, qualified the authority of his analysis by remarking that, 'sexual instinct [was] such a complicated psychical anomaly that only the experienced specialist [could] quickly distinguish between truth and fiction' (1965: 295). Empowered to determine the difference between fact and fiction, only the sexologist could unravel the complexities of sexual desires, practices and behaviours. The language of sexological discourse

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33 Other investigations into same-sex desire were undertaken by researchers such as Karl Ulrichs, whose category 'Uning' was one of the first attempts to theorise homosexuality as a distinct sexual experience (1864-1865). German psychiatrist Carl von Westphal who introduced the term 'contrary sexual feeling' in 1869, is also considered to be among one of the first theorists of homosexuality. Sigmund Freud also made a critical contribution to the development of theories of homosexuality. Freud's work in *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1915) importantly signalled a shift in the representation of the homosexual subject. Freud suggested, for example, that 'psychoanalytic theory is decidedly opposed to any attempt at separating off homosexuality from the rest of mankind as a group of a special character' (1962: 56).
had its own rules of legitimisation and authorisation, allowing only the expert speakers of this medico-scientific vocabulary of 'sex' to be heard.

3.4 The Sexological Invention of the ‘Homosexual’

By the end of the late nineteenth century we can identify the emergence of rigidly defined homosexual and heterosexual identity categories. Sexology traced frontiers of normality and abnormality through the discursive production of polarised categories of heterosexuality and homosexuality. The founding fathers of sexology were more preoccupied with sexual deficiencies and deviances rather than what they considered to be 'normal' sexuality. Jennifer Terry cites 1869 as the year when the homosexual emerged as an identifiable, deviant, and ultimately inferior, sexual species (1995: 130). David Halperin has also observed that:

Although there have been, in many different times and places...persons who sought sexual contact with persons of the same sex as themselves, it is only within the last hundred years or so that such persons...have been homosexuals. (1990: 29).

The invention of the 'species and subspecies of homosexuality, inversion, pederasty' (Foucault: 1976: 101), effectively secured the development of two asymmetrical sexual identities. The medicalisation, and subsequent pathologisation, of homosexuality worked to establish homosexuality not only as a distinct, but also as a deviant, sexual experience. Sex-object choice became the single most important defining characteristic of individuals. As Weeks points out, during the nineteenth century a move was made away from the legal sanctioning of specific sexual acts to the regulation and control of 'particular types of persons' (1981: 99; see also Ruehl 1982: 17). The 'will to knowledge' surrounding specific sexual acts and practices is replaced with a focus on sexual identity (Foucault 1976: 55). The homosexual, as a separate and specific type of person, is a product of late nineteenth century sexological, medical, scientific and psychiatric discourses.

Sexologist's collective research aimed to reveal the inner workings of individual's sexual behaviour. Sexologists conducted countless case studies which were
converted into scientific empirical ‘knowledge’ about sexual practices and habits. The research of Havelock Ellis and his contemporaries, however, was explicitly concerned with what were considered to be deviant or ‘abnormal’ sexualities. The naturalising and totalising forces of sexological discourse operated to discursively define and police bodies which were symbolically ‘outside’ the realm of cultural intelligibility. It was, initially, the male homosexual that became the prime object of sexological research and observation.

There was much debate among sexologists, however, as to the causes of this sexual dysfunction. Was homosexuality an acquired or congenital disorder? Conflicting explanations were given for a variety of sexual anomalies and ‘unnatural’ behaviours. Although there was seemingly contradictory ‘evidence’ as to the primary cause or source of sexual deviancy, sexologists were in agreement that homosexuality was both unnatural and deviant. Ellis, for example, was specifically concerned with investigating sexual ‘anomalies’, disorders and perversions and applying medical treatments to ‘cure’ them. Sexological ‘experts’ diagnosed sexual disorders and dysfunctions, deliberated on prognoses and decided what treatments should be administered. Richard von Krafft-Ebing was also interested in rehabilitating and treating those who were drowning in what he referred to as in his 1886 work *Psychopathia Sexualis*, the ‘quagmire of sexual perversion’ (1965: 299).

Sexology emerged as a key new disciplinary and regulatory realm of power/knowledge/pleasure. Sexological power was deployed through what Foucault has referred to as the ‘microtechnique’ of the interview (Foucault 1976). Foucault explains how the operations of the confession ‘compels individuals to articulate their sexual peculiarity’ (1976: 61):

The confession is a ritual of discourse in which the speaking subject is also the subject of the statement; it is also a ritual that unfolds within a power relationship, for one does not confess without the presence (or virtual presence) of a partner who is not simply the interlocutor but the authority who requires the confession, prescribes and appreciates it, and intervenes in order to judge, punish, forgive, console, and reconcile. (1976: 61-62)
It was the task of the sexologist to extract a public confession of individual's secret or hidden sexual desires.

The end of the nineteenth century signalled an increase in regulatory mechanisms aimed at controlling specifically non-reproductive sexualities, ranging from 'incest and childhood sex to homosexuality' (Weeks 1985: 38). Homosexuality, and other related perversions, became the object of social condemnation and the subject of increasingly invasive scientific and medical investigation and analysis. Ellis's seven volume work *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1897-1928), was a comprehensive catalogue of sexual perversions, anomalies and disorders. Ellis, a leading authority on sexual pathology at the time, pronounced that '[s]exual activities...outside the range in which procreation is possible may fairly be considered abnormal; they are deviations' (1933: 126). He condemned homosexuality as a 'highly abnormal aberration' (1933: 188), which breached the 'obvious rules of sexual hygiene' (1933: 23). As he described it:

> When the sexual impulse is directed towards a person of the same sex we are in the presence of an aberration variously known as 'sexual inversion', 'contrary sexual feeling', 'urnaism', or more generally 'homosexuality', as opposed to normal heterosexuality…it is the most clearly defined of all sexual deviations, for it presents an impulse which is completely and fundamentally transferred from the normal object to an object which is normally outside the sphere of sexual desire. (1933: 188)

Twenty two years after Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*, August Forel also explored ideas of sexual deviancy and pathology in his 1908 work, *The Sexual Question*. Forel, a leading sexologist and former Professor of Psychiatry from Switzerland, worked to discredit nineteenth century sex researcher Karl Ulrich's thesis that homosexuality was in fact a 'normal' sexual instinct, stating that 'Ulrichs endeavoured to prove an absurdity by maintaining that homosexuals are a special kind of normal man' (1908: 242). Forel supported Krafft-Ebing's thesis that homosexuality was a uniquely deviant sexual experience, writing that:

> My experience agrees with that of Krafft-Ebing, that homosexual love is pathological in nature, and that nearly all
inverts are in a more or less marked degree psychopaths or neurotics, whose sexual appetite is not only abnormal but usually also exalted. (1908: 244)

Sexologists invariably characterised homosexuals as immoral, deviant and fundamentally Other. These ‘depraved persons’ (1908: 254) with ‘perverted pathological sexual appetites’ (1908: 208) were specifically targeted by the normalising gaze of sexological practice.

3.5 Classification and Difference: A Question of Proof

This new and authoritative regime of scientific power/knowledge/truth operated on and through the physical body. In the nineteenth century, the body emerges as the principal site of the inscription of sexualised meaning. It was thought that through the relentless examination of the physiological mechanical workings of men and women, the origins and causes of sexual desire would be revealed. Sexology paved the way for a rigid two-sex system of sexuality, where sexual identities were differentially and hierarchically divided on the basis of sex. The human body emerged as a key area of signification, encoded with meanings and symbols that only the sexological expert could decipher and interpret. The physical body with its immutable, fixed materiality, was thought to hold the answer to questions of sexual identity.

Within sexological texts, sexuality could not be defined without necessary reference to anatomical and physiological characteristics. The scientific naturalisation of ‘sex’ reduced the ‘sexual instinct’ to biological imperative. Ellis, for example, argued for a purely biological model for understanding and interpreting both homosexuality and heterosexuality. In the first volume of Studies in the Psychology of Sex, Ellis divided the sexual instinct into four key physiological components: touch, hearing, smell and vision. The body is natural and unchanging, said the sexologists of the late nineteenth century. Just as visible, anatomical markers differentiated the sexes, heterosexual and homosexual bodies could also be hierarchically ordered, separated and evaluated along the lines of what Ellis termed, the ‘objective facts of sex’ (1927: 252).
I have suggested that the 'sex' of sexological discourses of the late nineteenth century was identifiable, knowable and unchanging. Specifically, sexologists sought to explain sexual deviancy in fundamental biological terms. Alongside the scientific rationalisation and naturalisation of the body, came the increase in reference to a specific 'homosexual body' within sexological research. Masculinist scientific and sexological assumptions about sexual inferiority and abnormality were firmly located in the concrete certainty of sex. The power of scientific discourse converged on the bodies of homosexual men and women, Havelock Ellis and his fellow sex practitioners working tirelessly to establish a link between the body and sexuality, more specifically, the body and homosexuality. Homosexual bodies were specifically appropriated as the object and subject of scientific analysis and scrutiny.

Within sexological constructions of sexuality, homosexuality was conceptualised as a congenital defect, a hereditary biological disorder which manifested itself in deviant sex-object choice. Ellis argued, for example, that homosexuality was symptomatic of a pre-existing biological condition, it was a result of what he termed 'congenital inversion'. In his analysis of homosexuality, Ellis remarked further that, 'sexual inversion is akin to a biological variation' (1933: 197). Both the male and female 'invert' were represented as being imprisoned by his/her defective biology. The visible markers of deviancy were written on the bodies of homosexual men and women; homosexuality could be 'read' through the body, where the existence of 'unusual' bodily characteristics was thought to indicate sexual deviance. The bodies of homosexual men and women were considered to be physiologically distinguishable from heterosexual bodies by their anatomical irregularities. Both male and female 'inverts' were subjected to extensive physical examinations. Homosexuals of both sexes, sexologists argued, exhibited sexual organs which appeared to be in an 'over-developed', 'abnormal' or 'disordered' condition (Ellis 1933: 333; 200). August Forel also theorised homosexuality as being an effect or product of what he labelled 'abnormal hereditary sexual dispositions' (1908: 248). Even though sexologists were unable to establish an explicit link between 'abnormal psycho-sexual constitutions'

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34 Ellis's theories of the biological roots of sexuality were influenced by Charles Darwin's evolutionary schema in *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1981).
and biological inferiority, they were nevertheless preoccupied with the search for anatomical aberrations (Krafft-Ebing 1965: 187).\footnote{Although Krafft-Ebing was initially concerned with revealing the biological causes of sexual deviancy, he eventually made a move towards investigating what he termed the 'psychological' aspects of sexual perversion.}

Within this biological model of sexuality, homosexual bodies became socially marked as not only Other and perverse, but also 
\textit{degenerate}. Sexological discourses of (homo)sexual deviancy and pathology were strategically encoded with the imagery of disease, pollution and degeneracy. Sander Gilman has argued that historical discourses of sexuality are infused with metaphors of degeneracy (1985: 213). The relationship between sexual deviancy and degeneracy is explicit in sexological writings of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this nexus of sexuality and degeneracy, the body is primarily the site onto which the 'disease' of homosexuality is projected. Homosexualised bodies become the site of the inscription of abnormality, sexual deviancy \textit{and} degeneracy.

Crucially, it was this ‘transition from notions of sin to concepts of sickness or mental illness’ (Weeks 1991: 20) that marked a radical transformation of the homosexual subject. The theme of contagion, disease and pollution is succinctly expressed in the writings of Krafft-Ebing, where he argued that homosexual men and women were in various states of ‘mental degeneration’ (1965: 187). Forel also suggested, for example, that sex-object choice was ‘predetermined in the brain alone’ (1908: 249) and could be attributed entirely to one’s ‘mental constitution’ (1908: 208). In an effort to isolate the primary cause of this sexual pathology, Forel declared further that the ‘brain is the true domain of nearly all sexual anomalies’ (1908: 208). Homosexuals, he observed, embodied a range of mental diseases and disorders which were manifested in deviant sex-object choice. Homosexual men and women were thought to be physiologically abnormal \textit{and} psychologically impaired.

Degenerative characteristics were thought to be evidenced in the bodies of homosexual men and women, Krafft-Ebing observing, for instance, that ‘this anomaly
of psycho-sexual feeling can be called, clinically, a functional sign of degeneration' (1965: 187). He suggested further that, '[sexual] anomalies are chiefly the signs of an inherited diseased condition of the central nervous system' (1965: 32). Homosexuality, then, materialised as a manifestation of both physiological abnormality and mental dysfunction. I suggest that Krafft-Ebing's discourses of sexual pathology, which attributed disease, degeneration and pollution to the homosexual, continue to have currency in popular discourses of (homo)sexuality today. It is within these historical sexological discourses that the modern epidemic threat of paedophilia can be contextualised.

3.6 The Sexological Invention of the 'Heterosexual'

I have suggested that homosexuality emerged within sexological discourses as but one of many sexual perversions which were pathologised and thought to require 'treatment' and 'correction'. The boundaries of sexual normalcy/deviancy were reinforced with a new hegemony resulting in increased mechanisms of control and discipline directed at the bodies of homosexual men and women. Sexual deviancy was thought to reside in homosexuality and, conversely, sexual normalcy resided in heterosexual desire. A new sexual hierarchy was deployed where heterosexuality was privileged over the many and varied sexual transgressions of homosexuality.

The 'sovereign threat of death' which characterised pre-modern societies (Weeks 1991: 35), was replaced with a new discursive terrain concerned with the reproduction of life and the proliferation of the species. It was through the sexological construction of hetero-sex that disciplinary power, exercised over populations through the administration and reproduction of life, operated through the site of the heterosexual family. Sexology performed a crucial role in legitimating and authorising ideas of an essential, inborn sex-instinct. This 'natural' sex impulse referred to by sexologists, was innate and necessarily heterosexual. Indeed, sexological constructions of 'sex' importantly operated to 'materialize sexual difference in the service of the consolidation of the heterosexual imperative' (Butler 1993: 2). Krafft-Ebing asserted, for instance, that:
If the sexual development is normal and undisturbed, a definite character, corresponding with the sex, is developed. Certain well-defined inclinations and reactions in intercourse with persons of the opposite sex arise. (1965: 187)

The privileged status of hetero-sex was achieved through the delegitimisation of all sexual practices which did not incorporate this heterosexual 'instinct'. Ellis suggested, for example, that in 'order to remain within the normal range' all sexual impulses must 'at some point include the procreative end for which sex exists' (1933: 126). Universal, naturalised, innate reproductive hetero-sex was understood to be the primary site of sexual normalcy and, by extension, moral purity. Sexological discourses served to consolidate the biological imperative of sex by measuring all sexual practices and behaviours against the norm of male-female monogamous reproductive sex. Heterosexuality, then, can be understood as a discursive effect levelled at the body and symbolically realised through the family unit.

The development of the category 'homosexual' coincided with a new and powerful naturalisation of heterosexuality; hetero-sex became the hegemonic referent for all sexual behaviours, desires and experiences. Heterosexuality becomes an unambiguous and uncontested site of sexual normalcy. Sexological discourses, however, served to reinforce the 'naturalness' of heterosexuality by circumscribing the boundaries of the pathological or the abnormal. Within sexological discourses a relationship was established between a self and another which is considered different enough to be constructed as Other. The 'self' (general population, community, 'us') is defined in terms of the repudiation of its necessary Other (homosexual, 'them'). Heterosexuality could not be defined or named without reference to its inferior and excluded Other. Butler has argued that there 'can be no subject without an Other' (1990: 326). The Other – in this case the homosexual invert - performs a key constitutive role, simultaneously producing and reproducing the boundaries which defined sexual normativity and sexual deviancy. Butler has argued that those 'living under the sign of the "unlivable"' are required to govern 'the domain of the subject' (1993: 3). The homosexual invert was that which was not 'normal', yet the
homosexual also marked out the territory of that which was considered to be ‘normal’. Self-perpetuating in its task, the normalising gaze of sexological and scientific disciplinary power produced the object of its own regulation. The category ‘homosexual’ simultaneously operated to circumscribe the boundaries of (homo)sexual deviance while also reinforcing certain (hetero)sexual norms.

Both sexually and morally degenerate, the homosexual existed in opposition to the moral and physical purities of heterosexuality. Devoid of the procreative force from which heterosexuality derived its power and authority, homosexuality was ‘inverted’ into what Butler has termed a ‘death-bound desire’ (1992: 346). Homosexuality was considered to be deviant precisely because it was non-procreative. Forel went so far as to suggest that homosexuality is ‘comparatively innocent for it produces no offspring and consequently dies out by means of selection’ (1908: 247). Sexological discourse trained and inscribed the body of the homosexual Other with immorality, degeneracy and disorder. Symbolically invested with opposing currencies of life and death, heterosexual and homosexual bodies became the material site for operations of power, control and surveillance.

3.7 Disciplining Sexuality: Constructions of Women’s Sexuality and the Family

Within Havelock Ellis’s model of heterosexuality, women were the necessary and passive objects of men’s desire. This model of heterosexuality, also advocated by Krafft-Ebing, legitimised and authorised male sexual dominance and female sexual compliance. An essential, naturalised femininity typifies sexological descriptions of ‘normal’ female sexuality. Women become distinctly embodied subjects, their subjectivities closely aligned with nature, the body and emotion. Discourses of productivity and inefficiency which characterised sexological studies of reproductive anatomy, firmly located women as the requisite and passive vessels of men’s ‘natural’ sexual needs. Consider, for example, the following excerpts from Krafft-Ebing’s Psychopathia Sexualis. Symbolising the opposite of men’s natural, aggressive sexual ‘instinct’, woman existed but ‘as a means by which to satisfy the cravings of his [men’s] natural instinct’ (1965: 10). Women’s sexual nature was also distinguished by an absence of sexual desire, Krafft-Ebing remarking that, ‘woman, however, if
physically and mentally normal...has but little sensual desire' (1965: 8). Ellis made similar observations to Krafft-Ebing about women's sexual 'nature'. In this 'biological game of sex', Ellis declared, 'the female plays the more passive part, and in civilised women this relative passivity is reinforced not only by nature but by our social conventions' (1933: 336).

By corollary, an innate, primordial sex instinct characterised male sexuality. The defining characteristics of this male hetero-sex instinct were aggression, intensity and forcefulness. Ellis continued his assessment of male and female desire, by stating that the sexual impulse leads to 'different feelings and reactions in each sex: the excitable penis producing impulses of propulsivity, activity, mastery etc., and the excitable vagina impulses of receptivity, passivity, submissions etc.' (1933: 332). And further, 'the male is the giver, the female the receiver' (1933: 336).

The pathologisation and hystericisation of female bodies served to locate women in bodies which were considered to be fragile, unstable and inherently changeable. Forever subject to the unpredictable forces of their frail embodiment, women were bound by their inferior sexual 'nature'. The perceived intellectual and moral inferiority of women was in fact explained and justified in terms of the restrictions and limitations

I draw attention to the use of 'civilised' woman. Within sexological discourses, constructions of 'whiteness' operated to secure the qualities and values of 'civilised' Western societies. Sexological constructions of sexual difference also worked to establish 'Other' races as inferior, abnormal and sexually available. The measurement and ranking of cranial capacities of different races, for example, was thought to demonstrate the racial inferiority of 'primitive' races. The category of 'whiteness' was effectively developed through the scientific and sexological appropriation of black bodies.

Discourses of race were invested in the material site of the body, where Other bodies were constructed represented as being 'primitive', 'savage', and sexually deviant. In the white imagination, black bodies were representative of a literal and symbolic sexual excessiveness (Somerville 1997: 41). For example, a perceived difference in clitoral and buttock size between black 'native' and white western women was thought to be indicative of black women's excessive and uncontrollable sexuality. Masculinist scientific and imperialist assumptions about racial inferiority were located in the verifiable fact of sex. Within a scheme of disordered 'other' bodies, the racialised body was at once inferior, identifiable, accessible and available. 'Primitive' races were thought to embody moral and sexual degeneration. Indeed primitive races were thought to be more bodily than white races. As Ellis noted, 'the primary sexual characters are thus objects of admiration among savage peoples' (1933: 56). Hence, according to Ellis, 'any insistence on the naked sexual organs as objects of attraction is, however, usually confined to peoples in a low state of culture' (1933: 56). These 'lower' races were thought to contravene the normative sexual standards of 'higher' races. August Forel also observed: 'One thing appears to be unquestionable in the Negro race; that is the violence of its sexual passion combined with its mental inferiority' (1908: 190).
of the female body. Women's reproductive anatomy came to symbolise her inherent sexual and moral nature. It was through the reproductive imperative of female sexuality that women became linked with the family and motherhood. Limited to, and intrinsically defined by, the procreative purpose for which all 'normal' female sexual desire existed, women were subject to the moralising discourses of heterosexuality espoused by sexologists. The reproductive aim of hetero-sex was exalted to a new privileged status. This circulating discourse of hetero-sex also strategically invested the site of the family as a paragon of moral authority; the monogamous heterosexual family became a powerful ideological symbol within sexology. Subject to the naturalising and normalising forces of biological reproductive discourses, women's sexuality was to be controlled and contained within the family. Women's reproductive capability became the defining characteristic not only of her sexuality, but also of her moral character and nature. Within sexological discourse, heterosexuality became both naturalised and hegemonised.

In her work on feminism and sexuality in the nineteenth century, Margaret Jackson has argued that the sexological works of Havelock Ellis and Richard von Krafft-Ebing performed a critical role in securing men's economic, political and social dominance in a 'sexually divided society' (1987: 52). In *The Spinster and Her Enemies: Feminism and Sexuality 1880-1930* (1985), Sheila Jeffreys has also identified the critical role sexologists played in counteracting feminist campaigns against male social, political and sexual power and authority. Jeffreys cites three strategic areas of normalisation and control which effectively undermined and delegitimised feminist challenges to institutionalised inequalities between the sexes. First, the naturalisation of male sexual aggression and dominance and female passivity and compliance in sexual relationships; second, the consolidation of concrete biological sex difference and third, the elevation of motherhood to a new position within a range of social and political discourses (1985: 129). Jackson also notes that the discursive power and authority of sexology in the nineteenth century coincided with a 'new wave of feminist activity and struggle' (1987: 54). Women's role in the public sphere was being contested at the same time immutable categories of sex, gender and sexuality were being established within a range of scientific discourses, specifically sexological discourse.
Indeed, as Jackson has observed, the sexological works of Havelock Ellis and Richard von Krafft-Ebing were profoundly anti-feminist in nature, and sought to systematically delegitimise feminist's concerns about sexual violence against women and children. Sexologists undermined feminists who were fighting to contextualise men's dominance in terms of broader social networks of unequal and hierarchically organised relations of power. Feminists were also actively campaigning for female sexual autonomy 'free from male sexual exploitation and coercion' (Jackson 1987: 55). Feminists of the late nineteenth century were working to disrupt the authority of sexological works of Ellis and Krafft-Ebing which promoted and reinforced the values and judgments of ruling class men (Jackson 1987: 54; see also Jeffreys 1985). Social, political and economic structural inequalities were dismissed by sexologists as 'natural' divisions which could be grounded in the biological 'facts' of sex and gender difference. Concrete biological difference was construed as 'evidence' or 'proof' of the moral and physical inferiority of women. Feminist critiques of sexological constructions of sexuality have revealed that seemingly 'natural' divisions were informed by social and cultural understandings of gender. The link made in sexological discourse between the 'natural' female body and reproduction gave scientific validity for women's confinement to the private sphere, and their subsequent exclusion from public life. Women were effectively reduced to, and contained by, their sex.

In his work *The Task of Social Hygiene* (1927), Havelock Ellis expressed his concerns about a decreasing birth rate in what he termed 'normal' families. In particular, Ellis was alarmed that people who were thought to possess a biological predisposition to sexual deviance and degeneracy were reproducing. Ellis hypothesised in his work on sexual and social hygiene, that the future of civilisation was at risk from those who were, as he put it, 'mentally and morally a little blunted through some taint of inheritance' (1927: 39). Ellis proceeded, stating that:

"Feeble-mindedness is an absolute dead weight on the race. It is an evil that is unmitigated...the unquestionable fact that in any degree it is highly inheritable renders it a deteriorating..."
poison to the race; it depreciates the quality of a people.
(1927: 43)

A range of mental illnesses and dysfunctions were represented as being the result of an inherited biological variation that could be ‘passed on from parent to child’ (1927: 33). And further, ‘unfit’, congenitally defective parents were ‘a perpetual danger to society’ (1927: 37), having the capacity to pass on the seeds of their ‘degenerating organisms’ (1890: 92) through the production of ‘undesired children’ (1927: 25). Ellis went so far as to suggest that the survival of the species depended on breeding out sexual defectiveness, immorality and disease. Ellis espoused preventative measures which would deter those with defective genetic constitutions from reproducing a ‘new feeble-minded generation’ (1927: 37). Ellis favoured issuing ‘health certificates as a legal preliminary to marriage and the sterilisation of the unfit’ (1927: 44-45) in order to prevent the ‘feeble-minded’ from polluting the race through their diseased constitutions and depraved moralities. Sexologists campaigned to prevent the communication of this sexual variance to the general population through the socially sanctioned scientific eugenics movement. Foucault has identified the points of connection between the social sanctioning of sexual behaviour and the burgeoning eugenics movement:

the analysis of heredity was placing sex (sexual relations, venereal diseases, matrimonial alliances, perversions) in a position of “biological responsibility” with regard to the species: not only could sex be affected by its own diseases, it could also, if it was not controlled, transmit diseases or create others that would afflict future generations. (1976: 118)

Sexologists worked tirelessly to disrupt the train of transmission and prevent the sexual deviant from reproducing and perpetuating generations of degenerative individuals.

3.8 The Gender of Hetero-sex and Homo-sex

The scientific search for fundamental and fixed differences between the sexes, and by extension, sexualities, coincided with the renegotiation of gendered identities (Laqueur 1990). Just as ideas about sexuality were polarised around a two-sex
system, so too were understandings of gender. Sexological constructions of sexuality were consistent with prevailing gender norms of masculinity and femininity in the late nineteenth century. We can then take the development of ideas of sexual normalcy and deviancy as being contingent on the development of distinctly gendered identities; paradigms of sexuality become inseparable from social and cultural constructions of masculinity and femininity. Nineteenth century categories of heterosexuality and homosexuality became the site where, in Teresa de Lauretis's words, the 'trauma of gender' was materially and symbolically realised and reproduced (1987: 23). We can trace the scientific transformation of the male body into a masculine body and the female into a feminine body within the following sexological texts (Bartky 1988: 78).

Sexological constructions of the heterosexual and the homosexual worked to establish a corresponding masculine/feminine consciousness. Within sexological discourse, the marks of gender became written on the bodies of homosexual men and women, where homosexuality was considered to be evidence of a mental hermaphroditism, or what Foucault has termed, an 'interior androgyny' (1984: 322). Indeed, sexologists observed that displaced gender-identification often coincided with what they considered to be 'abnormal' sex-object choice. These 'psycho-sexual hermaphrodites' (Forel 1908: 88), this 'man-woman of moral and metaphysical inferiority' (Krafft-Ebing 1965: 29), exhibited a range of deviant and dysfunctional moral, sexual and physical characteristics. In the mind of the nineteenth century sexologist, homosexuality was not only a biological and sexual disorder, but also a gender disorder.

Images of 'masculine' lesbians and 'effeminate' homosexual men characterise sexological representations of homosexuality. Krafft-Ebing, for example, observed that this 'abnormality of feeling' in inverted men:

[was] often apparent in childhood...the boy likes to spend his time with girls, play with dolls, and help his mother about the house; he likes to cook, sew, knit (1965: 253).
And further, the male invert also 'approach[es] the female appearance in gait, attitude and attire' (1965: 253). August Forel also made the observation that homosexual men 'feel the need for passive submission...they like to occupy themselves with feminine pursuits, to dress like girls and to frequent women's societies' (1908: 243). Forel noted that the female invert also exhibited a range of deviant gender behaviours and disorders:

[She] likes to dress as a man and feels like a man toward other women. She goes in for manly games, wears her hair short and takes to men's occupations in general. (1908: 251)

He stated further that the female invert 'is not usually attractive to men' (1908: 257). It could be suggested that lesbians were simply guilty of subverting social standards of femininity, respectability and passivity idealised by sexologists at the time. The male invert also challenged popular notions of an innate, and inherently aggressive, masculinity. The figure of the 'effeminate' male invert and the 'masculine' female invert threatened and destabilised standards of gender and sexual normativity which underpinned nineteenth century society. The male homosexual who exhibited feminine-identification and the 'inverted' female who exhibited displaced masculine-identification, challenged notions of rigidly defined sex-based gender divisions.

Sexological examinations revealed that bodies could be ordered along gendered lines; masculine and feminine traits could be assigned to male and female bodies. Lesbian women exhibited an indeterminate gender which was evidenced in the disordered state of her physiognomy. Ellis had a particular interest in the female invert who, he suggested, manifested a range of 'masculine' physical and psychical attributes which was considered to be proof of her innate inferiority. Ellis, who conducted extensive medical examinations on inverted women, also noted that a 'masculine distribution of hair' (1890: 253) and an 'abnormal balance in the internal secretions' distinguished lesbian women from 'normal' women. He commented further that:

the muscles everywhere tend to be firm, with a comparative absence of soft connective tissue; so that the inverted woman may give an unfeminine impression to the sense of touch (1890: 255).
The deviancy of the female invert was a distinctly embodied deviancy. As Ellis observed, 'as regards the sexual organs it seems possible, so far as my observations go, to speak more definitely of inverted women than of inverted men' (1890: 256).

The lesbian's symbolic position as degenerate Other served to demarcate the boundaries between healthy, natural hetero-sex and homosexual perversion. Ellis's model of homosexuality also worked to construct sexual relationships between women as both perverse and unnatural. Lesbianism was not only theorised as a defective biological condition, it was also thought to be a product of specific environmental conditions. Sexologists argued, for example, that lesbianism thrived in penal institutions and among the criminally degenerate. By removing, to an extent, sexual desire from lesbianism and reducing it to 'forbidden friendships between women' (Krafft-Ebing 1965: 406), sexologists sought to undermine lesbian sexuality. Lesbian sexuality was also considered to be harmless due to its lack of procreative function. Women's sexuality was largely theorised as an extension of men's sexuality and, as such, lesbianism was not only theorised as being deviant, but also redundant. As Weeks has observed, 'even “science”, which in the early twentieth century strove to classify and label every social phenomenon, stopped short at female homosexuality' (1990: 88).

3.9 Sexological Constructions of Childhood Sexuality

Theorists such as Weeks have remarked that the effective demarcation between homosexuality and heterosexuality coincided with the reconceptualisation of understandings of childhood (1991: 21). Just as sex, gender and sexuality are the products of historical discursive fields of power and knowledge, so too are conceptualisations of childhood. Philippe Aries, in his historical critique of the discursive production of childhood, traces the original moment of the beginning of the modern demarcation between the adult and child to the late seventeenth century (1962: 118). The development of ‘childhood’ in the seventeenth century signified the beginning of a longer process of differentiation between the adult and the child. The
rules and regulations which governed intergenerational relationships were transformed. The increasing and effective divide between adult and child was articulated by ‘New and highly detailed rules [which served] to codify relations between adults and children’ (Foucault 1984: 279). Just as the models for heterosexuality and homosexuality, and masculinity and femininity, have been defined and policed through their incorporation into the institutional realm, so too have understandings of childhood.

Aries has been criticised, however, for the overwhelming focus on what Smart has referred to as ‘noble and propertied’ families within his analysis (2007: 12). Smart critically addresses how Aries’ study of childhood narrowly focuses on upper-class or privileged families. Similarly, Chris Jenks has also identified the limitations of Aries’ study by suggesting that the category of ‘child’ that Aries refers to is a narrow, and ultimately classist, category. Jenks writes that ‘Only particular privileged groups or classes within society could afford the luxury of childhood’ (2005: 57). Within Aries’ analysis of the family and childhood, differentiation in class, and indeed gender, is largely overlooked.

These critiques of Aries’ work, however, do not detract from the usefulness of his study of childhood for this thesis. Jenks has also suggested, for example, that this narrow focus on privileged families is only one limitation of Aries’ thesis: ‘he is arguing that children have not always existed in the way that we now know them; they have not always been the same thing’ (2005: 55). Aries has specifically highlighted how the representation of childhood is socially and historically specific by examining how the category ‘child’ has ‘altered through the passage of time’ (Jenks 2005: 55). Jenks has suggested of Aries that: ‘he is arguing that children have not always existed in the way that we now know them; they have not always been the same thing’ (2005: 55). It is Aries’ exploration of the changes in the representation of adulthood and childhood that has particular significance for this thesis. I will suggest that through modern

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37 See also Linda Pollock for a critique of Aries’ work in Forgotten Children: parent-child relations from 1500-1900 (1983).
representations of paedophilia, the meanings attached to the category 'child' have shifted.

The child emerges in the seventeenth century as not only a specific category, but also a distinct identity: 'the child ha[d] become a subject in its own right, a source of identity and, more than this, a promise of the future good' (Jenks 2005: 60). It was not until the eighteenth century, however, that the child becomes a symbol of social, moral and sexual order. Aries argues that in the seventeenth century the 'idea did not yet exist that references to sexual matters...could soil childish innocence...nobody thought that this innocence really existed' (1962: 104). It was not until the eighteenth century that childhood sexuality became the object of scientific debate. The eighteenth century witnessed the intervention of a variety of psy-professions to prove or disprove the existence or absence of child sexuality. Child, or adolescent, sex symbolised at once a 'precious and perilous, dangerous and endangered sexual potential' (Foucault 1976: 104). Foucault has argued that 'this sexual activity posed physical and moral, individual and collective dangers' (1976: 104).

Within nineteenth century sexological texts there became increased reference to a specific 'childhood sexuality'. What Foucault has termed the 'sexual body of the child', surfaces in sexological discourse as a critical site of the convergence of power/knowledge/truth (1994: 53). Within sexological discourse, we also begin to witness an increase in what Weeks has termed 'child sex panics' (1985: 224). Foucault points to the 'innumerable institutional devices and discursive strategies' which were deployed to effectively control, regulate and inhibit children's sexuality (1984: 312; see also Donzelot 1979). This child sexuality, at once fragile and untamed, was to be rigorously contained, controlled and cautiously protected.

Gilman has suggested that the 'pseudomedical' discourses of sexuality, such as sexology and psychology, were specifically preoccupied with childhood sexual degeneracy (1985: 192). The figure of the 'masturbating child' specifically dominates representations of childhood sexuality in sexological discourse (Foucault 1976: 105). Krafft-Ebing in particular expressed concern about the presence of what he termed a
premature sexual instinct in children. Krafft-Ebing was convinced that evidence of masturbation in children was a certain precursor to adult sexual perversion: 'Nothing is so prone to contaminate...a normally developing sexual instinct, as the practice of masturbation in early years' (1965: 189). Krafft-Ebing lamented further that masturbation in children operated to 'despoil the unfolding bud of perfume and beauty, and leaves behind only the coarse, animal desire for sexual satisfaction' (1965: 189). Sexual excess in children, most regularly evidenced in masturbation, was thought to result in adult sexual perversion. Children were not only subject to the corrupting and contaminating influence of masturbation, the practice of masturbation in children was also considered to disrupt the development of 'normal' sex-object choice. In masturbating children, for instance, Krafft-Ebing noted that, 'the glow of sensual sensibility wanes, and the inclination to the opposite sex is weakened' (1965: 189).

The figure of the masturbating child also importantly contravened ideas of childhood innocence and purity. Masturbation, sexologists suggested, had the potential to disturb 'normal' childhood development. Discourses of childhood sexuality effectively became mediated through discourses of pathology and disease. Krafft-Ebing described how masturbating children 'often sink into dementia, or become subjects of severe degenerative neuroses or psychoses' (1965: 37). Childhood sex, a site of endless prohibition and control, was discursively regulated through the discipline of sexology. Sexological discourse strategically invested the body of the child with at once a dangerous and damaging sexuality.

From the nineteenth century onwards, there was a proliferation of discourses surrounding childhood sexuality. Although there was much debate as to the causes and the effects of childhood sexuality, child sexuality was theorised as both a detrimental and corrupting sexuality. In the minds of nineteenth century sexologists, child sexuality was thought to be a sign and a symptom of the decline of society. Childhood sexuality was represented as something to be feared, admonished and ultimately discouraged. The associations made between childhood sex and moral
corruption, physical pollution and social decay were repetitive. Foucault has identified how the sexualisation of children:

[W]as accomplished in the form of a campaign for the health of the race (precocious sexuality was presented from the eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth as an epidemic menace that risked compromising not only the future health of adults but the future of the entire society and species). (1984: 268)

Children’s sexuality was subject to the regulatory and normalising forces of sexology, where the body of the child became the object of sexological investigation. Those who sexually abuse children, then, emerge as subjects of particular interest to the sexologist.

3.10 Sexological and Criminological Intersections: The Emergence of the Modern Paedophile

I have suggested that sexological research of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries operated to discursively redefine and police understandings of sex, gender and sexuality. I also argued that discourses of sex intersected with prevailing social codes of gender to (re)produce opposing categories of heterosexuality and homosexuality. This section explores how prevailing questions of sexual normativity and deviancy become inextricably linked with conceptions of criminality.

The nineteenth century witnessed the development of a new and equally authoritative discursive realm to that of sexology, centring on the origin and causes of criminality. Crucially, I will suggest that the category 'paedophile' was born out of a nexus of criminological and sexological discourses. My aim here is not to provide a comprehensive history of the development of criminology as a field of study, but to explore how circulating ideas of sexual normativity/deviancy within sexological discourse become intricately tied to questions surrounding criminality.

Criminology emerged as a new scientific field of inquiry concerned with 'crime' and 'criminals'. The pioneering criminal anthropologists of the 1870’s paved the way for
scientific research into crime and criminal deviance. This new criminological field of power/knowledge could be divided into two key fields of investigation: ‘the couplet of crime (offender and victim) and the couplet of control (state and informal social control)’ (Young 1996: 53). Threadgold comments of the operations of criminological power:

[It] involve[s] a subject of will and power (a proprietor, a city, a scientific institution) located in a ‘proper’ place (which it owns) distancing itself from what it regards as exterior to itself (clients, adversaries of the ‘objects’ of research) so that it can control or ‘know’ them. (1997: 72)

Criminological projects of the late nineteenth century were concerned with investigating the link between crime and criminality through ‘objective’ scientific study and research. Criminological research grounded its authority in verifiable quantitative and statistical ‘evidence’ to reproduce ‘truths’ about ‘crime’ and ‘criminals’.

Early positivist criminologists such as Cesare Lombroso utilised scientific analytical methods to irrefutably support his claims to objectivity and scientificity. In his 1876 study, Criminal Man, Lombroso argued that the ‘true’ causes of crime could be located in the physical and mental characteristics of the individual. Anatomical characteristics were measured and ranked according to their level of deviancy. Lombroso’s study into criminal anthropology was among the first attempts to establish a connection between behavioural, psychological and biological characteristics of the individual and criminality. Criminal men and women were thought to display a variety of physical and mental abnormalities, sexual and social disorders which could be grounded in the self-evidences of the body. Criminal Man was a virtual catalogue of anatomical features which Lombroso identified as being characteristic of the ‘born criminal’: ear size and proportion, speech patterns, skin colour and texture, cranial abnormalities, unusual facial characteristics, patterns of the distribution of hair etc. (Lombroso 1911: 3-51).

Practitioners of sexology in the nineteenth century also became increasingly concerned with questions surrounding criminality. In 1890, fourteen years after Lombroso’s study, Havelock Ellis published *The Criminal*, a scientific and psychological investigation into the criminal mind. Ellis’s study of what he termed, the ‘morbid pathology of criminals’, worked to firmly establish a link between sexual perversion and criminality (1890: 43). The physical traits of ‘criminal’ men and women were catalogued and hierarchically ranked in accordance with their varying degrees of criminality and sexual deviancy. The ‘born criminal’, who was marked by the taint of what was considered to be ‘defective’ heredity, was immediately identifiable through his/her deviant physiological attributes. In writing about the ‘criminal’, Ellis noted, for example, that the ‘instinctive’ criminal, what he referred to as a ‘moral monster’ (1890: 2), could be differentiated from non-offenders by their ‘cranial abnormality’ (1890: 52) and ‘abundance of hair’ (1890: 73). Ellis suggested further that the criminal could be likened to an animal. In his criminological findings, Ellis observed that this ‘abundance of hair seems to be correlated with the animal vigour which is often so noticeable among criminals’ (1890: 73). The criminal was thought to exhibit an assortment of pathological symptoms which were considered to be indicative of their disordered psychological and defective physiological constitutions.

The metaphors of disease which characterised sexological constructions of the sexual deviant intersected with criminological discourse to produce the ‘criminal’ as an identifiable, degenerate species. Questions of criminality, then, become closely tied with questions of disease, contagion and pollution. Following Lombroso, who argued that anatomical aberrations were markers of the inherited ‘germs of delinquency and criminality’ (1911: 53), Havelock Ellis theorised criminality as a hereditary disease that could be passed from one family member to another. Applying his theory of sexual degeneration to the criminal, Ellis argued that criminals were more affected by diseases, both mental and physical (1890: 93). Criminality, he suggested, could be attributed to an inborn defectiveness which was passed on by feeble-minded parents (1927: 40): ‘The families that produce feeble-minded offspring

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39 Lombroso’s criminal anthropology was grounded in the work of Charles Darwin in *The Origin of the Species* (1888).
also produce criminals’ (1927: 39). The writings of Krafft-Ebing also echoed Lombroso’s and Ellis’s concerns that criminality was the result of defective parentage. He observed of men who committed sexual crimes: ‘In many instances the culprit is devoid of all moral worth and ethical and intellectual understanding...[he is] in the transitory stage of becoming a psychically defective sexual criminal’ (1965: 368). Criminals were not simply physiologically distinguishable from the ‘normal’ populations, they were *hereditarily degenerate*.

The ‘paedophile’ thus came to be defined through the discourses of sexual pathology and criminal degeneracy that were circulating at the time. Those who sexually abused children were of particular interest both to those who studied sexology and criminology. The discursive development of the category ‘paedophile’ was particularly significant because it marked both a transformation of the criminal body and the sexual subject. The paedophile as a specific category or identity is a product of a very specific nexus of criminological and sexological discourses.

Paedophilia emerged as an extreme manifestation of criminal deviance and sexual perversion. Offenders who were the subject of criminological and sexological investigation were thought to be at various stages of physical and psychical degeneration. Sexological and criminological examinations of the body were thought to prove the existence of a hereditary criminal pedigree. An inborn criminality could be discerned through the exhaustive analysis and examination of the physical body. Ellis, for instance, theorised paedophilia as a sign and symptom of a ‘psychic loss of control’ resulting from a combination of ‘mental decay’ and physiological abnormalities (1890: 182). I suggest that the basic biologism which underpinned sexological and criminological research of the late nineteenth century can be detected in contemporary media discourses of paedophilia.

Krafft-Ebing was also interested in the connection between sexual deviancy and criminality, particularly crimes of a sexual nature. He commented of paedophilia, it is a ‘morbid disposition, a *psycho-sexual perversion*’ (1965: 371, original emphasis). The sexual abuse of children, what he termed ‘erotic paedophilia (love of children)’,
was symptomatic of the paedophile's defective biology (1965: 371). Krafft-Ebing also argued that paedophilia was a 'psycho-sexual perversion' (1965: 371) which symbolised the 'psychical' degeneration of 'civilised' society (1965: 334). And further, 'a strongly marked degenerative predisposition can always be found in these individuals' (1965: 373). Krafft-Ebing made a distinction between two types of sex offenders. First, there were those individuals who used the child as a substitute for a physically mature partner, and second, there were paedophiles whose condition was a specific psycho-sexual disorder. August Forel, in his study into criminal pathology, dismissed paedophilia as a mental disorder or disease, stating that 'Many sexual assaults committed on children are simply the result of senile dementia' (1908: 254). Forel also theorised paedophilia as being a manifestation of constitutional degeneracy, a 'hereditary perversion' or a 'special hereditary disposition' (1908: 254). We can trace through these discourses how not only paedophilia emerges as a sexual/criminal disorder, the paedophile emerges as a particular type of person.

From its very inception, the category paedophile was homosexualised in representation. The paedophile was thought to exhibit a disordered or displaced sexual and gender-identification, Ellis observing that criminals have an 'undue tendency to homosexuality' (1890: 212). Ellis also identified sexual offenders as having a 'peculiar delicacy of the skin, an infantile aspect, and abundance of hair, occasionally resembling a woman's' (1890: 83). Ellis remarked further that sexual offenders could be distinguished by their generally 'delicate' faces (1890: 83).

Krafft-Ebing noted that sexual crimes, or what he termed 'crimes against morality' (1965: 333) were increasing at an alarming rate, 'particularly...immoral acts with children' (1965: 333) at the hands of what he described as 'homosexual seducers' (1965: 392). Krafft-Ebing considered pederasts (homosexuals) to be the most 'dangerous' since they 'dealt mostly with boys, and ruined them in body and soul' (1965: 392). Homosexual men were thought to pose both a moral and sexual threat to children. Within sexological discourse, homosexual men become the primary violators of childhood innocence. The 'excessive' sexual desire of homosexual men extended to the sexual desire for children. He continued, writing that, '[i]t is
psychologically incomprehensible that an adult of full virility and mentally sound
should indulge in sexual abuses with children' (1965: 369). It is nineteenth and early
twentieth century sexological and criminological constructions of the paedophile that
have provided a foundational basis for the enormously powerful stereotype of the
homosexual-as-paedophile within contemporary print news media discourse. As
Watney has observed:

On the one hand there was the invert, the 'natural' (e.g.,
incurable) homosexual, emotionally and/or physically attracted
to his own sex. And on the other there was the 'passive' and,
it was generally assumed, basically heterosexual object of the
invert’s desires. Homosexuality was thus theorised from its
very conception as a relation between predatory seducers and
(their) 'innocent' victims. What is at stake here are the ways in
which the invert/pervert hypothesis has been transmitted
through the mass media of the twentieth century, the ways in
which homosexuality has been regarded as 'newsworthy' and
hence given a particular public profile...which constitutes the

It is the very relationship between historical discourses of sexology and homosexual
sexual and/or criminal dangerousness that has informed and shaped contemporary
understandings of paedophilia and the paedophile. Within sexological and
 criminological discourses, paedophilia is represented as a 'natural' extension of
homosexuality. Paedophilia was, and continues to be, theorised as a manifestation of
the inherent moral and sexual deviancy of the 'invert' or the homosexual.

Images and representations of the modern paedophile are contingent on these
historical discourses. Stephen Tomsen argues that a deeply entrenched homophobia
characterised criminology which operated to mark out the boundaries of sexual
normativity and sexual deviancy (1997: 36). However Tomsen suggests that:

The role of criminology and crime researchers in defining the
boundaries of this homo/hetero divide in modern culture and
academic discourse, and their relationship to homophobic
oppression in the late twentieth century, has not yet been
explored. (1997: 34)

Within these medical-scientific discursive frameworks, the paedophile emerges as a
psychological disorder, a psycho-sexual syndrome. Importantly, the 'expert'
discourses of paedophilia in the nineteenth century (sexology, criminology, and psychiatry) operated to provide ‘a self-conscious identity or role for individuals to take up and define their acts’ (Cameron and Fraser 1987: 22). The new discursive category or identity ‘paedophile’ signalled, more importantly, a new way of describing the sexual abuse of children. Paedophilia, then, as a modern ‘epidemic’ disease, can be effectively narrativised within nineteenth century sexological discourses of homosexual deviancy and degeneracy.

3.11 Conclusion

I have critically examined how the bodies of homosexual men and women were effectively organised, managed and controlled within discursive fields of science, sexology and criminology. I have revealed how the paedophile emerged within a nexus of sexological and criminological discourses as an extreme manifestation of (homo)sexual perversity and criminal deviancy. The sexed, gendered and sexualised economies of sexological discourse continue to be reproduced in contemporary discourses of paedophilia. The sexual anomalies and aberrations catalogued in the works of Havelock Ellis, Krafft-Ebing and August Forel continue to provide a foundational basis for contemporary theorisations of sexual deviance, specifically paedophilia. In the following chapters of media analysis, I will suggest that homosexuality remains linked to deviancy, biological abnormality, physical degeneracy and disease. It is an association, I will suggest, that has endured over the past one hundred years.
4.1 Introduction

This first chapter of media analysis concentrates on three distinct but interrelated narrative themes within media discourses of paedophilia: 'paedophilia-as-epidemic disease', 'paedophilia-as-homosexuality', and 'paedophilia-as-living-death'. The chapter examines some of the ways in which contemporary media constructions of paedophilia can be understood and contextualised within a range of historically specific, social, political and cultural relations of 'epidemic'. The chapter critically addresses how we have witnessed a discursive transformation of crime and criminality within the modern-day epidemic threat of paedophilia.

One of the central concerns of the chapter is to reveal how media constructions of paedophilia are fundamentally homosexualised in representation. Specifically, I want to consider how an intrinsic connection between paedophilia and homosexuality is maintained and (re)produced within press discourse. The discussion centres on three prominent cases which were categorised as 'homosexual' paedophilia during the 1990's; those of Brian Keith Jones, Philip Bell and Robert Dunn. Through an analysis of these cases, I will contend that media discourses about paedophilia are, crucially, discourses about homosexuality. Media discourse has crucially marked out the body of the paedophile as a key site for the inscription of homosexualised meaning and signification.

The remainder of the chapter is an account of how media constructions of paedophilia have signified a resurrection of discourses of 'death'. The section specifically considers how death marks not only the victims of paedophilia but also the paedophiles themselves. Within the current epidemic threat and risk of paedophilia, the menace of death has been revitalised and reproduced with a new normalising power.
The chapter importantly traces how converging discourses of ‘epidemic’, ‘homosexuality’ and ‘death’ play a critical constitutive role in the (re)production of modern understandings of paedophilia. I examine the symbolic meanings attached to the current paedophilia ‘plague’, and specifically interrogate the discourses of sex, gender and (homo)sexuality which effectively regulate the ‘epidemic’ of paedophilia. Intersecting issues of epidemic, homosexuality and death are intricately intertwined and cannot be easily separated. It is through a discursive deconstruction of representations of paedophilia, that I hope to challenge the hegemonic view of ‘paedophilia-as-epidemic disease’, ‘paedophilia-as-homosexuality’, and ‘paedophilia-as-living death’ within the Australian press.

4.2 Paedophilia-as-Epidemic Disease

I suggested in Chapter Two that crime, as a discursive industry of power/knowledge, has been resignified and rearticulated within the contemporary conditions of ‘epidemic’. This first section explores how a powerful and persuasive narrative of epidemic operates within modern paedophilia discourses. The section also explores the key role media discourse plays in defining who, specifically, is considered to be dangerous, and who is considered to pose the greatest risk in the current paedophilia epidemic.

My primary interest here is how against the contemporary backdrop of sexual epidemic, paedophilia is represented as a modern-day sexual virus which is transmittable through the body of an infected criminal Other, the paedophile. Paedophilia discourses have become saturated with metaphors of epidemic; the language of disease, contagion and degeneration has been firmly written into the representation of paedophilia. I will suggest that within the contemporary matrix of epidemic, paedophilia is to be regulated, prohibited and controlled as if it were a communicable disease. The purpose of the section is to examine how the paedophilia epidemic has taken shape in Australian mainstream media discourse, and to explore how emergent discourses of epidemic have crucially impacted on modern concepts of paedophilia and the paedophile.
It was specifically during 1997 that a significant discursive shift in understandings of paedophilia occurred. It is for this reason that the section focuses primarily on newspaper articles dating from the year 1997, when the paedophilia epidemic was at the height of its discursive power and authority. Three critical interrelated events instrumentally contributed to the development of the media’s reporting of the paedophilia ‘epidemic’ from 1997 onwards. First, the Wood Royal Commission findings into the operations of ‘organised’ paedophile networks and corruption within the New South Wales (NSW) police force in 1994-1997; second, the high-profile cases of paedophiles Brian Jones, Philip Bell, and Robert Dunn; and third, the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) conference, *Paedophilia: Policy and Prevention*, which was held in April 1997. Not only did these events signify a core shift in press coverage of paedophilia, these key contributing events have in fact been crucial in accounting for the hegemonic representation of paedophilia-as-epidemic.

The Wood Royal Commission, which had a focus on incidences of ‘homosexual’ paedophilia, was intended to investigate alleged organised paedophile activities and corruption within the NSW police force. The Royal Commission widened the scope of its investigation when the Commission’s terms of reference were amended in December 1994 to include not only the investigation of ‘paedophilia’ but to also investigate what they termed ‘pederasty’. The *Macquarie Dictionary* defines "paedophilia: the sexual attraction to and desire for sexual contact with children. The attraction may be founded on love, care, or affection as well as lust." Examples of newspaper reports which focus on the seriality or disease-like dimensions of paedophilia can also be found prior to 1997. In the *Herald Sun* in 1994, for instance, we read that ‘almost all paedophiles have been abused themselves’ (Biddulph 1994). Another article in the *Herald Sun* also echoed this concern by affirming the viral-like qualities of paedophilia: ‘[paedophilia] is a cycle which is very hard to break’ (Wilson 1995). In the same article we read further that ‘paedophiles tended to become more voracious as they aged’ (Wilson 1995). And elsewhere, ‘an offender is created out of a child. They then create more victims and compound it’ (Wilson 1995).

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42 The original Letters Patent issued to Justice James Wood on the 13th May 1994 were amended on 21st December 1994. The terms of reference were amended to include paragraphs (d1)-(d3) which made specific reference to ‘pederasts’. Of particular relevance are sections (d1)-(d2) which authorised the Commission to investigate: (d1) Whether any members of the Police Service have by act or omission protected paedophiles or pederasts from criminal investigation or prosecution and, in particular, the adequacy of investigations undertaken by the Police Service in relation to paedophiles or pederasts since 1983; however you may investigate any matters you deem necessary and relevant which may have occurred prior to 1983;
pederasty as 'homosexual relations, especially those between a male adult and a boy' (1991: 719). I suggest that the coupling of paedophilia and pederasty within the Royal Commission served to validate and reinforce the connections between homosexuality and paedophilia. The anti-homosexual undercurrent of the Royal Commission's investigation fuelled the media's preoccupation with cases of 'homosexual' paedophilia. Although the Commission failed to find any evidence that multiple networks of organised 'homosexual' paedophiles were operating within Australia, the focus of the Commission on incidences of 'homosexual' paedophilia attests to the powerful connection in popular discourses between homosexuality and paedophilia.

4.3 The Beginning of the ‘Epidemic’

The 1997 AIC conference was organised in response to what was described as a 'deluge' of media reports surrounding the issue of paedophilia. The opening address at the conference claimed that there needed to be 'informed professional discussion of the complexities surrounding the issues' (April 1997). Media interest in Paedophilia: Policy and Prevention was initially generated by an AIC press release entitled 'Paedophilia an Epidemic' (April 1997), which detailed how the conference was intended to address growing concern over what was termed a dramatic increase in the sexual abuse of children, specifically paedophilia. It is, I suggest, after the AIC conference that the 'epidemic' of paedophilia gained full momentum. Coincidentally, the AIC conference was held in the same year that paedophile Philip Bell was being pursued around the globe for the sexual assault of boys.

(d2) Whether the procedures of, or the relationships between the Police Service and other public authorities, adversely affected police investigations and the prosecution, or attempted or failed prosecution, of paedophiles or pederasts.


43 It was reported that 'The Commission looked for, but found no high level network of this kind' (1997b: 76).

44 In Volume 4 of the Commission's findings, it was reported, for example, that 'While current conviction statistics support the popular belief that females are the main victims of abuse, the Commission has found that not only is extrafamilial abuse more common than is popularly believed but there is a high level of abuse perpetrated by adolescents, and a high level of under-reporting of abuse against boys' (1997b: 58).

An already existing preoccupation with paedophilia was effectively compounded when a series of reports covering the AIC’s paedophilia conference appeared in the Australian press in April 1997. Newspaper articles across the country echoed the concerns expressed by speakers at the conference that paedophilia had indeed reached ‘epidemic’ or ‘plague’ levels. Reports appeared within a cross-section of Australian broadsheet and tabloid newspapers, and although a total of 19 papers were presented, it was the keynote address delivered by Dr William Glaser, a lecturer at Melbourne University and psychiatrist who works with sexual offenders, that received most media attention.

Excerpts from Dr Glaser’s paper featured prominently in the Australian media during the week of the conference. Glaser’s paper outlined how paedophilia had attained ‘epidemic’ or ‘plague’ proportions and was, in his words, the ‘public health problem of the decade’ (1997: 15). Dr. Glaser was quoted extensively to bolster media claims that paedophilia had indeed reached epidemic levels. A page three feature article in the Australian broadsheet, The Age, entitled ‘Paedophilia a Scourge, Says Expert’, repeated Dr. Glaser’s assertion that ‘the harm caused by this “scourge” is immeasurable’ (Pegler 1997a). A similar article from The Australian also reinforced the perception of a looming paedophilia ‘epidemic’, reporting Dr. Glaser as stating that: ‘Its [paedophilia’s] effects are certainly more devastating than those of the modern epidemics which currently take up so much community attention and resources’ (Harris 1997a). In the same week, The Sydney Morning Herald also cited Dr. Glaser as saying that most paedophiles were ‘long-term offenders [who] have multiple victims’ (Cornford 1997). The media in no way challenged the perception that paedophilia had indeed reached ‘epidemic’ proportions.

Months after the AIC conference was held, articles referring to Dr Glaser’s paper continued to appear in newspapers across the country. Four months after the paedophilia conference, The Age again picked up on this theme of ‘epidemic’ or ‘plague’, reiterating Dr Glaser’s claim that, ‘paedophilia was the public health problem of the decade’ (Pegler 1997b). The second example of this theme of epidemic can be found in the same article, where it was remarked that ‘paedophiles were likely to keep
molesting children over an extended period of time' (Pegler 1997b). The article also referred to Dr Glaser as stating that paedophiles are 'persistent, dangerous and seemingly unstoppable' (Pegler 1997b). And further, 'paedophiles were driven by fantasies about sex with children, which often began at an early age and persisted throughout life' (Pegler 1997b). Dr Glaser's comments exemplify the instrumental role criminology plays as 'meaning-makers' in crime news (Naffine 1996: 9). Glaser's comments also point to how the criminological idea of a paedophilia 'epidemic' was adopted and propagated by the news media. The media consistently uses criminological classifications to explain and interpret criminal behaviour. The use of criminological supporting 'evidence' gives scientific credibility to their claims.

I have cited comments from these articles in some detail to exemplify how epidemic discourse has framed contemporary news media constructions of paedophilia and the paedophile. Epidemic is clearly the underlying metaphor in these extracts, the reports consistently identifying the threat and risk of paedophilia as both an inevitable and unrelenting force. These examples also illustrate the extent to which the hegemonic representation of paedophilia-as-epidemic within newspapers has contributed to what I would term the 'paedophilia panic' in media discourse, particularly over the past ten years. This response to the 'epidemic' became characteristic of media reports, where anxieties over the seemingly proliferating number of paedophilia victims were coupled with concerns over the apparently increasing number of offenders.

4.4 Hidden Risks/Public Threats
In the current epidemic climate, the image of the threatened or victimised child occupies a critical space in news media discourse (Singer 1993; see also Best 1990: 18-19). The media focused on the seemingly unpredictable and random nature of paedophile attacks, effectively tapping into fears about the safety of 'our' children by warning the general public that 'families' were most at risk from the paedophile. The perceived threat or risk to families was effectively driven home by the press through headlines such as: 'Beware the Predator' (1999a), 'The Paedophile File: Where Are They Now?' (Overington 2001), and elsewhere, 'Who Will Stop Them Now?'
The dramatic effect of these headlines exemplifies how the news media continually positions the danger of the paedophile specifically as an external threat. Such commentary clearly reinforces the idea that the risk of paedophilia comes from the 'outside' and, as journalists from The Age put it, can be located in 'dark criminal sub-culture[s]' (Elias and Watkins 1997).

In another article, we read that the threat of paedophilia has made parents 'afraid to let their children go out alone' (Pristel 1992). Readers are given the impression that, in the words of reporters from The Age, the world is 'crawling with rock spiders' (Elias and Watkins 1997). A barrage of articles concerned about the effects of paedophilia on 'our' community appeared in newspapers. Take, for example the following excerpt. Paedophilia, writes one journalist, is 'a crime against society with the cost being felt by many people within the community' (Wilson 1995). One reporter also described paedophilia as 'The Crime Society Can't Forgive' (Evans 1999). Here, paedophiles are operating within the community as if they are somehow outside the community, rather than a product of the community. The juxtaposition between 'us' and a strategically positioned 'them', operates to specifically define the threat of the paedophile as a distinctly external threat. The discursive strategy of positioning paedophilia as an 'outside' threat is vital in sustaining the public's fear of the paedophile. Not only is the paedophile devious and dangerous, the paedophile is inherently unpredictable.

The threat embodied in the paedophile is tightly bound with understandings about 'dangerous' public spaces and 'safe' private spaces. Young has identified how criminal victimisation operates on two important levels:

first, criminal victimization as analogous to citizenship – and hence a mechanism which asserts belonging; second, crime as other and elsewhere – and hence a device which establishes boundaries. (1996: 55, original emphasis)

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Journalists are not always credited with authorship within the byline of newspaper articles and, as such, some of the articles I refer to will not be referenced with the journalist's name.
Contemporary media discourses of paedophilia signify a crisis of boundaries or borders of the ‘family’, the ‘community’ and the ‘social’. Paedophilia represents a violation not only of childhood innocence, but also a rupture of the borders of the non-criminal community. The imagined borders of the heterogeneous community are threatened by what appears, on the surface, to be the ‘outside’ menace of paedophilia and the paedophile; the paedophile transgresses the imagined boundaries between ‘us’ (family, community, general population) and ‘them’ (criminal, paedophile, Other). The paedophile, an infectious agent, easily moves across the borders and boundaries of the social body. It is the individual and collective fear of the paedophile breaching the borders of the ostensibly crime-free social body that have crucially shaped experiences of the current paedophilia ‘plague’.

As a distinct sexual/criminal classification, paedophilia is unique in that, as Collier has suggested, the paedophile is both ‘knowable’ and ‘unknowable’ (2001: 232). It is, specifically, community perceptions of the unknowable threat of paedophilia that has contributed to the current paedophilia ‘panic’. In order to prevent paedophilia from infiltrating the non-criminal social body, strategies are called for in order to combat and contain the epidemic threat of the paedophile. In the lines of demarcation

47 See, for example, ‘Push for National Paedophile Register’ (Martin 1997). The article called for a national paedophile database which would store details of all known paedophiles. Current legislation in Australia which provides for the compulsory registration of child sexual offenders are as follows: Victoria, Sex Offender Registration Act 2004 and Serious Sex Offenders Monitoring Act 2005; New South Wales, The Crimes (Serious Sex Offenders) Act 2006 and Child Protection (Offenders Registration) Act 2000; South Australia, Child Sex Offenders Registration Act 2006; Northern Territory, Child Protection (Offender Reporting and Registration) Act 2004; Queensland: Child Protection (Offender Reporting) Act 2004; Western Australia, Community Protection (Offender Reporting) Act 2004.

Information pertaining to child sex offenders is also stored on the Australian National Child Offender Register (ANCOR), which is an electronic database maintained by Canberra-based criminal intelligence organisation CrimTrac. The information relating to child sex offenders stored on ANCOR is accessible by a range of federal, state and territory government and law enforcement agencies, and includes the following: full name; any other name/s used in the past (offenders for example sometimes use aliases or change their names by deed poll in an effort to manage stigma) and the time the individual was known by that name; date of birth; photograph; current address/es or place where the offender usually stays; names and ages of any children who live with the offender or are regularly supervised by the offender; the type of work, employer name and address/es or places of work if the offender is employed or a volunteer; membership of clubs or groups that have child members or whose activities involve children; make, model, colour and registration number of any motor vehicle owned or generally driven; details of any tattoos or other permanent marks (even if removed); whether the offender has ever been found guilty overseas of a reportable offence defined by child sex
between 'us' and 'them', paedophilia is represented as a force of chaos and disorder which disrupts the morals and values of ‘family’, ‘community’ and ‘society’.

4.5 Epidemic Contagion: Paedophilia-as-Disease

An explanatory narrative of epidemic also encourages a reading of paedophilia as ‘disease’ or ‘illness’. In Young’s terms, the formulation of crime-as-disease operates specifically to define and construct the threat of crime within a paradigm of contagion and contamination. The ‘epidemic’ or ‘plague’ of paedophilia has become effectively narrativised through what Young terms the ‘concept-metaphor of illness’ (1996: 55). The repetitive associations made between paedophilia and ‘plague’, combined with the epidemic metaphors used to describe both the causes and effects of paedophilia, importantly operate to define paedophilia as a disease or illness. Young describes how metaphors of illness, disease and pollution operate on and through the body of an identifiable criminal Other, where the fear of infection ‘inspire[s] the impulse to quarantine in the desire to halt the movement of infection back and forth across the body’s borders’ (1996: 197). Within prevailing discourses of ‘epidemic’, the polluted body of the paedophile has become veritably ‘infected’ with paedophilia; paedophilia has been re-signified in the form of a plague, invading and colonising with the same disabling force of a virus.

A fear of contagion crucially shaped media reporting of the paedophilia epidemic. In what was continually described as an ‘epidemic’ or ‘plague’, paedophilia materialises as a disease-phenomenon within the press and the paedophile emerges as a sentinel of contamination. In the *Sydney Morning Herald*, another speaker at the AIC paedophilia conference, Dr Kenny, at the time a psychologist with the Strategic Intelligence Unit of the National Crime Authority (NCA), was reported as saying that

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offender legislation or of an offence that requires reporting to a similar register; name and time spent in a correctional facility for reportable offences; and travel plans, [http://www.crimtrac.gov.au/systems_projects_australian_national_child_offender_register_ancor_http accessed October 25th 2007](http://wvw.crimtrac.gov.au/svstems_projects_australian_national_child_offender_register_ancor_/html). I cite the type of information stored in some detail to illustrate how the paedophile is subject to invasive methods of surveillance which extend beyond the confines of the prison.

48 The NCA was replaced with the Australian Crime Commission in 2003 under the *Australian Crime Commission Act 2002 (Cth).*
In extreme cases, the number of children offended against by a single perpetrator can run into the thousands' (Cornford 1997). This comment about the seriality of paedophilia also fits nicely into epidemic theory. The paedophile poses a distinct threat, in that the victims of paedophilia are thought to continue the cycle of crime; abused children grow up to be abusers. The current paedophilia epidemic effectively draws on a collective fear of infection, the paedophile emerging as a threat both to the individual and to the social body. The paedophile thus embodies the threat and/or risk of what Singer has referred to as 'epidemic contagion', where the paedophile is thought to transfer their deviance to an 'at risk' general public (1993: 62).

A contagion definition of paedophilia also operates to inscribe and reinscribe the body of the paedophile with disease and degeneracy. In this nexus of criminality and disease, the paedophile is systematically criminalised and pathologised. Accounts of the disease-like spread of paedophilia are framed in such a way as to construct paedophilia as a contagious virus which has the potential to 'infect' future generations. By relegating paedophilia to the realm of 'disease' or 'illness', the agency of the perpetrator is effectively erased as paedophiles are reduced to blameless 'carriers' who are 'infected' with paedophilia. Interestingly, what goes largely unremarked within the media is that it is primarily men who go on to continue the 'cycle' of paedophilia. And although the majority of child sexual abuse victims are girls, less than two percent of paedophiles are women. While paedophiles are almost always

49 A report published by the Australian Centre for the Study of Sexual Assault (ACSSA) in November 2005, revealed that '18 per cent of women surveyed had experienced sexual violence before the age of 16 years (2 per cent by a parent and 16 per cent by someone other than a parent). The overwhelming majority of those abused by a parent were abused by fathers (only two women in the sample had been sexually abused by their mothers). Of those abused by someone other than a parent, 20 per cent of the perpetrators were friends or friends of the family, 17 percent were acquaintances or neighbours, 13 per cent were strangers, 13 per cent were 'someone else known'. Uncles, brothers, grandparents, cousins, other relatives and other children/students comprised less than 10 per cent of perpetrators each.' Another study revealed that '20 per cent of women had been sexually assaulted in childhood with ninety-eight per cent of the perpetrators being male and forty-one per cent of those were relatives', http://www.aifs.gov.au/acssa/pubs/wrap/w1.html accessed 20th September 2007.

50 Finkelhor and Russell concluded that 'Although males clearly constitute the majority of perpetrators, females do abuse in a small proportion of cases: approximately 5 per cent of female victims, and 20 per cent of male victims experience sexual abuse perpetrated by a female (Finkelhor and Russell 1984: 171-187).
men, they are rarely identified as such within the media. The sex-specific nature of paedophilia has effectively been obfuscated by the language of 'disease' and 'illness'. You would assume that the more critical question would be, why don't girls grow up to be paedophiles? Or alternatively, why is it predominantly men who continue the 'cycle' of abuse?

4.6 The Biology of Crime: Paedophilia-as-Illness

I suggested in Chapter Three, that the idea of sexual deviance resulting from biological abnormality has its historical antecedents in the sexological and criminological works of the late nineteenth century. Just as a link was established between the body and homosexuality, so too has paedophilia been linked to biological dysfunction and degeneracy. The following examples illustrate how media representations of sexual deviancy remain closely tied to conceptions of the body. Moreover, these newspaper excerpts exemplify how nineteenth century sexological discourses of biological degeneracy continue to frame contemporary representations of both sexual and criminal deviancy. In this section, I will suggest that the body of the paedophile, with its immutable and fixed substance, becomes a reliable and indisputable source of evidence about sexual, and by extension, criminal deviancy.

In an effort to prevent the 'disease' of paedophilia from contaminating the social body, the media call upon medical, scientific and criminological 'experts' to diagnose the problem and prescribe solutions, therapies and 'cures'. Foucault has written that criminology is not simply invested with the power to punish the criminal, but to 'transform what he is' (1980: 47). In order to combat the threat of criminal contagion and restore a phantasmatic 'order', corrective interventions are required to treat and 'cure' the paedophile. Within current conditions of epidemic, the body of the paedophile thus can be medically 'known' and reformed.

In response to the impending threat of paedophilia, the press called for the paedophile to be healed and rehabilitated. Within a scientific 'technology of reform' (Foucault 1980: 48), the paedophile is subject to criminological and medical projects of
quarantine, assessment and correction. The media focused on the possibility of treatment for paedophiles, one article suggesting that a program of ‘psychotherapy and behaviour modification’ would ‘cure’ the ‘disorder’ of paedophilia (Ryan 1992). Another article, for example, detailed how paedophile Philip Bell was subjected to electric shock treatment and psychoanalysis because ‘he was uncomfortable with his sexual orientation toward ‘post-pubescent’ boys’ (Green 1999). The body of the paedophile is subject to a litany of treatments, evaluations and therapies in the hope that the paedophile will one day be rehabilitated and ‘cured’ of his ‘illness’.

The extent to which paedophilia has been pathologised can be identified in the following representations. In a report focusing on the debate surrounding chemical castration of convicted serial child sexual offenders, an article entitled ‘Chemistry of Sex’, went so far as to call for the chemical castration of all child sex offenders (Pristel 1992). The article quoted former president of the Victims of Crime Assistance League, Mr Howard Brattan, as stating that, ‘For the sake of our children, we must stop these monsters’ (Pristel 1992). Another article in the Herald Sun reported that paedophile Brian Jones could face chemical castration in order to ‘cure’ him of his paedophilia.51

people in the community are tired of hearing of deviants such as ‘Mr Baldy’ [Jones] being released from jail only to resume their attacks...castration is the only way. (Pristel 1992)

Within a descriptive narrative of illness, media reports worked tirelessly to establish a biological imperative behind paedophiles offending. Further to this, the logic of paedophilia-as-illness validates and justifies regulatory mechanisms of power and control levelled at the body of the paedophile. Paedophile, Robert Dunn, for example, was also subjected to the corrective gaze of science and forced to undergo ‘psychiatric assessment’ before being sentenced for his crimes (Fyfe 2001). The report adopts the language of criminology to explain the disease-phenomenon of paedophilia. The use of criminological classifications not only gives credibility to the

51 See also ‘Baldy Jail Fury’ (Morrell and Giles 1992).
journalist’s argument, but also exemplifies the authority of scientific assessments of the paedophile within media discourse.

Young suggests that reconfiguration of crime-as-illness has had important implications for how crime is to be effectively managed and controlled:

> Just as the person who becomes ill is encouraged to respond by soliciting the help of the health care system and by following their advice as to treatment, so the victim of crime is enjoined to call on the criminal justice system to respond with a cure, a panacea or placebo. (1996: 56)

Within a logic of treatment and containment, intervention from scientific, medical and legal ‘experts’ is essential in the detection and identification of sites of criminal contagion and/or risk. Corrective technologies of sexual discipline and management intersect with strategies of containment to punish and ‘treat’ the paedophile. It is only through the application of objective scientific reason, method and practice that the inner workings of the paedophile can be revealed and deciphered.

There is, however, an underlying fear within these representations that paedophilia is something for which there is no cure. Some paedophiles were represented as being so degenerate as to be beyond treatment and recuperation. A *Herald Sun* article, for instance, quoted parents as saying of paedophile Brian Jones: ‘You definitely wouldn’t want Mr Baldy next door because people like that just can’t be rehabilitated’ (News HS 2005). And elsewhere, in another *Herald Sun* report, ‘There is no way known that you are going to fix a child molester. Rehabilitation is never going to work.’ (Hodgson 2005). These comments attest both to the enduring infectivity and unchangeable character the paedophile is thought to epitomise.

A medical-model of paedophilia effectively reduces paedophilia to a degenerative biological condition. Paedophilia has been inscribed, and continues to be reinscribed, by a narrative of contagion and disease; the act of paedophilia itself is represented as being a manifestation of the paedophile’s systemic infectivity. The medical/scientific framework of child sexual abuse utilised by the media to locate paedophilia on both a
'psychiatric and criminal continuum', is inherently problematic (Cameron and Fraser 1987: 93). Paedophilia is presented not as a problem of men's violence against children, but as a 'disease' or 'virus' which needs to be 'treated', 'cured' and eradicated. In order to protect the health of individuals, and the health of the community, the marked carrier who is 'infected' with paedophilia must be identified and quarantined. In the symbolisation of paedophilia-as-epidemic, outbreaks of paedophilia are to be managed as if they were a communicable disease.

The community is galvanised against the force of social chaos and sexual disorder embodied in the paedophile. In an effort to counteract the helplessness felt by those in the community, resources are mobilised and policies implemented in order to battle the 'plague' of paedophilia. The media represents paedophilia as being 'out of control' and the paedophile in need of containment. An article which appeared in The Australian, headed 'Paedophilia Response in Disarray' (Harris 1997a), highlighted the need for a plan of attack in counteracting the spread of paedophilia. Another article also quoted Dr Glaser as saying that we need to call 'for a body to monitor the problem nationally, analyse data and coordinate resources for treatment and rehabilitation services' (Pegler 1997a). An article from The Australian covering the AIC conference, also reported Dr Glaser as commenting that:

Public response to child sexual abuse, even now, is fragmented, poorly coordinated and generally ill-informed. A massive public health problem like child sexual abuse demands a massive societal response. (Harris 1997a)

The paedophile, who poses a threat to the fantasised 'community', is the target of increased measures of surveillance and control which are simultaneously rationalised within a rhetoric of public health and law and order.

4.7 Paedophilia-as-Homosexuality

This section offers an exploration of what I would term the homosexual specificity of media constructions of paedophilia. Popular social and cultural stereotypes of homosexuality have crucially influenced media constructions of paedophilia; the
discursive production of paedophilia is inextricably linked to the discursive production of homosexuality. In the section, I identify and examine the role the media plays in constructing and maintaining dominant discursive representations of paedophilia-as-homosexuality. The following discussion specifically focuses on the cases of paedophiles, Brian Keith Jones, Philip Bell and Robert Dunn.  

My specific interest is how the media, through intersecting narratives of sexual/criminal contagion and contamination, locates the crimes of these men within a textual narrative of homosexualised violence. I will suggest that the Australian news media has tactically re-deployed an already circulating narrative of homo-social/sexual danger to perpetuate the myth of a paedophilia ‘epidemic’ or ‘plague’. I argue further that the continued associations between homosexuality and paedophilia in the cases of Jones, Bell and Dunn have patently strengthened the anti-homosexual sentiment which has underwritten paedophilia discourses. The section will specifically explore how understandings of paedophilia can be tied to shifting conceptions of homosexual deviance.

The following representations of Brian Keith Jones, Philip Bell and Robert Dunn are all narrativised within normative frameworks of sex, gender and (homo)sexuality. Crucially, I argue that the paedophile shares the intransigent social/sexual/criminal deviancy of the homosexual. I will also identify how homosexualised representations of paedophilia ultimately operate to deny the sexed specificity of paedophilia. That is

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52 Media reports surrounding more recent cases of paedophilia exemplify how paedophilia discourses continue to be framed within a narrative of epidemic. The case of paedophile Dennis Ferguson points to the ongoing discursive currency of epidemic. Ferguson was due to stand trial at the Brisbane District Court in 2008 over allegations of sexual assault against two children. The presiding judge ordered a permanent stay of proceedings in July 2008, citing doubts over whether Ferguson could receive a fair trial in the state of Queensland due to the media coverage surrounding prior convictions relating to child sexual assault. Ferguson had previously been sentenced to 14 years prison for kidnapping and sexually assaulting three children in 1988. Since his release in 2003, Ferguson has been convicted a further two times for child sexual offences. The unknown whereabouts of Ferguson after his release provoked mass media hysteria. While the decision to order a permanent stay of proceedings was being appealed, Ferguson was moved from location to location within the state of Queensland after a series of public protests. The case of Dennis Ferguson highlights how the infective desire of the paedophile is such that communities are thought to ‘contract’ the disease of paedophilia. In order for the non-criminal community to remain uncontaminated, the excommunication of the contagious body of the paedophile is required.
to say, it is the homosexualisation of paedophilia that has effectively shifted the focus away from cases of 'heterosexual' abuse.

Representations of 'homosexuality' and representations of 'paedophilia' cannot be readily disconnected. Media discourses of paedophilia can be understood to be deeply tied to historical and cultural understandings of homosexual perversion and deviancy. Raymond Donovan, for example, has identified how modern sexual diseases, such as AIDS, can be contextualised within broader historical constructions of sexual deviancy:

On the level of metaphor...modern diseases are placed within past discourses, and resonate signifying systems of similar texts. So, the prostitute in the age of AIDS is symbolically read into the nineteenth century text of the syphilitic whore. (1995: 118)

Similarly, contemporary conceptualisations of paedophilia can be located within sexological understandings of the homosexual deviant who was the embodiment of sexual deviancy, moral depravity, biological abnormality and criminality. Popular media representations of paedophilia can also be grounded in sexological constructions of homosexual men as the carriers of disease and agents of contagion and contamination. The descriptive terms of modern categories of paedophilia cannot be separated from the historical preconditions of its reproduction. How the homosexual male has become necessarily implicated in the media 'epidemic' or 'plague' of paedophilia can be traced through these historical discourses. It is within these historical frames of reference that we can identify how paedophilia has effectively become a property of specifically homosexualised bodies.

Within current conditions of epidemic, the infective homosexual Other is already an identifiable source of criminal contagion. It makes a certain sense, then, for the media to link homosexual men with the emergent 'epidemic' of paedophilia. As Butler has written, '[f]or if homosexuality is pathological from the start, then any disease that homosexuals may sometimes contract will be uneasily conflated with the disease that they already are' (1992: 357). Butler's contention explains, at least to some extent,
how the paedophile has been indelibly marked as homosexed within the media. Within a descriptive narrative of homosexual contagion and disease, paedophilia is represented in the media as simply another ‘gay plague’. The media epidemic of paedophilia has positioned the male homosexual as a primary carrier and a source of contamination. For the logic of paedophilia-as-disease operates around a similar pathologising locus to that of homosexuality; within a logic of contagion, pollution and corruption of ‘normal’ sexuality. In a broader sense, then, the discursive category ‘paedophile’ operates to define the boundaries between ‘normal’ heterosexuality and ‘deviant’ homosexuality. Understandings of paedophilia are constructed around two oppositional sexual identities which are discrete and uniform. The ways in which we understand the condition, or indeed the subject position, ‘paedophile’ are contingent on our understandings of the subject positions ‘heterosexual’ and ‘homosexual’.

The following representations of Brian Jones, Philip Bell and Robert Dunn can be located within a familiar range of historical and cultural narratives about homosexual deviancy and perversion and heterosexual normativity. The connections between homosexuality and paedophilia are made through a series of assumptions about what we understand (homo)sexual deviancy to represent. In this sense paedophilia is sex-specific within media discourse. That is to say, within media discourses the body of the paedophile is sexed-specific, or more specifically it is homosexed.

The widespread newspaper coverage devoted to the crimes of paedophiles Jones, Bell and Dunn, I suggest, can be attributed to the extensive number of children abused and the fact that the majority of victims were boys. The following representations of Jones, Bell and Dunn reflect normative assumptions about homosexuality rather than paedophilia, and are a prime example of how the press sustains and reinforces the mythology of paedophilia-as-homosexuality. That is to

53 See Simon Watney’s Policing Desire: Pornography, AIDS and the Media (1987) for a detailed discussion of how the homosexual body came to be an important signifier in media representations of the AIDS pandemic. The associations made between AIDS and homosexuality operate along a similar narrative trajectory to that of paedophilia and homosexuality, in that homosexual men are positioned as the primary ‘carriers’ within the epidemic. Stychin has also explored the relationship between discourses of homosexuality and discourses of AIDS in Law’s Desire: sexuality and the limits of justice (1995: 135-138).
say, the subsequent constructions rely heavily on cultural understandings of heterosexuality/homosexuality and masculinity/femininity rather than paedophilia per se. In the signification of paedophilia-as-epidemic, the collective crimes of these men have palpably strengthened this nexus.

4.8 Brian Keith Jones: The Case of ‘Mr Baldy’

There is a tendency within the media to separate paedophilia into two discrete and opposing categories: ‘homosexual’ paedophilia and ‘heterosexual’ paedophilia. The demarcation between familial (coded as heterosexual) and extra-familial (coded as homosexual) categories of paedophilia are constructed around normative understandings of masculine sexuality (Cossins 1999). The press emphasises the distinction between heterosexual paedophilia and homosexual paedophilia by focusing on the ‘homosexual offender’ or the ‘homosexual paedophile’ who is categorised as a ‘fixated’, ‘preferential’ or ‘serial’ offender. One of the best illustrations of the homosexualisation of the category ‘paedophile’ can be found in the Sydney Morning Herald’s coverage of the AIC’s paedophilia conference. Commenting on Dr Kenny, one journalist reported that ‘The reoffending rate for paedophiles who prefer boys is much higher than for those who prefer girls’ (Cornford 1997). And further, ‘most of the victims of recidivists are boys’ (Cornford 1997). In another Sydney Morning Herald article, a reporter commented on ‘fixated’ offenders that ‘the victims are usually boys’ (McClymont 1997).

Newspaper reports also implied that homosexual men were overrepresented in paedophilia-related offences. Take, for example, the following excerpt where Dr William Glaser was again quoted as saying that:

incarcerated offenders reported that 62 per cent of their child victims were boys. It was now becoming obvious that boys constituted up to 45 per cent of victims. (Cornford 1997)

54 Reports prior to 1997 also suggested that offences perpetrated by ‘serial’ offenders against boys were disproportionately higher than offences against girls. A journalist from the Herald Sun newspaper, for example, reported in 1995 that ‘with multiple preferential offenders, boys are more than twice as likely to be victims than girls’ (Wilson 1995).
The media uncritically uses the research findings from the AIC conference to reinforce the idea that 'fixated' or 'preferential' paedophiles almost exclusively target boys.

The increasing prominence and emphasis within the media on incidences of 'homosexual paedophilia', combined with the strategic positioning of homosexual offenders as more dangerous and more likely to re-offend, has resulted in what I would term a removal of heterosexual offenders from paedophilia discourses. The vitriolic attacks in the press reserved for the paedophile, combined with the increased visibility of cases of 'homosexual' paedophilia, is indicative of anxieties over what the media perceived to be mounting incidences of male to male child sexual abuse. Within this power/knowledge/pleasure matrix of paedophilia, power has effectively been re-deployed at the body of the homosexual.

We can trace the beginnings of the 'homosexual' paedophilia epidemic to the early 1990's when the case of Brian Keith Jones, dubbed 'Mr Baldy' by the Australian media due to his practice of shaving the heads of his victims, made headlines across the country. The viciousness of Jones' attacks, combined with the ages of the boys he abused, made the offences particularly newsworthy. In the words of one journalist, Jones' 'destructive sex attacks on young boys' made him 'Victoria's worst child-abuser' (Ryan 1992b).

Newspaper accounts of Jones' behaviour pointed clearly not only to his sexual deviance, but what was considered to be his social deviance. In an article focusing on the crimes of Jones, one reporter described how:

> The children had been living in squalor. They slept in stained bedding, there was excrement in the bath and a dog was eating a live kitten in the hallway. (Ryan 1992b)

The scene described in this article powerfully conveys a sense of urban decay. The paedophile is not only considered to be a sexual pariah, the paedophile also signifies social deviance. Similar to popular depictions of the homosexual body, the body of
the paedophile emerges as a symbol of social deviancy and disorder. Young comments on constructions of the homosexual body:

The ‘morally correct’ in this scenario are positioned as different to and separate from the ‘social deviance’ deemed to reside in homosexuality. To that extent, the deviance of homosexuality constitutes a sort of Bakhtinian grotesque against which the morally righteous occupy the position of the classical body, asexual, clean, elevated, bourgeois. (1996: 199)

Accounts of Jones’ crimes are framed in such a way as to link his deviant sexuality and moral depravity with social chaos. The interior degeneracy of the paedophile manifests itself in material disorder. The degeneracy and deviancy which is manifested in the body of the paedophile is, in turn, transferred to the social body; the social body (‘family’, ‘community’, ‘us’) becomes tainted by the corrupted moralities of the paedophile.

Jones’ peculiar practice of dressing his victims in girl’s clothing and shaving their heads was also thought to provide incontrovertible evidence of his inherently ‘deviant nature’. An article catalogued Jones’ ‘bizarre attacks on young boys’, detailing how ‘after abducting his victims, Jones shaved their heads, dressed them in frilly outfits and then sexually molested them’ (Ryan 1992b). Here, it is not simply the sex of the victims, but also the feminisation of the victims, that implicates homosexuality. The perceived transgression of gender norms, which is symbolised in the action of dressing boys in girl’s clothing, also relegates Jones’ behaviour to the realm of the Other. It is an understanding of paedophilia as both sexually deviant and socially and/or morally reprehensible, through which paedophilia is projected onto the bodies of homosexual men.

In reporting on the sentence given to Jones after he was found guilty in 1992 of the sexual penetration of a child under 10 and three counts of indecent assault, a journalist from the Sunday Herald Sun commented that, the ‘public may have felt some relief that the man who had stalked and abused boys as young as four was finally behind bars’ (Ryan 1992b). The use here of the general ‘public’ clearly marks out ‘us’ and the ‘Other’, the paedophile. Judge Neesham, when handing down Brian
Jones' sentence, was quoted as saying that Jones was a 'dangerous and unrepentant paedophile' (Johnson 1992). Jones appealed his conviction and sentence in March 1993, but the appeal was dismissed.55

I suggested earlier that implicit in the formulation of paedophilia-as-epidemic is an association between child sexual abuse and contagion. In the case of Brian Jones, we read that his childhood 'reads like a blueprint for a paedophile'...[Jones is a] classic product of the sexual abuse cycle' (Ryan 1992). Newspaper journalist's accounts of Jones' sociosexual depravity and dangerousness are framed in such a way that can be somehow linked to his 'inborn' criminal 'pedigree'. Jones' crimes were attributed to his sexual deviancy, his devious and dangerous 'nature'. The narrative of contagion which has surfaced surrounding the paedophilia epidemic is nowhere more apparent than in an article from the *The Age*, where one journalist commented that, 'they [psychologists] are also working to break the cycle of child sex crimes - to prevent victims becoming perpetrators' (Ryan 1992). The article titled 'Now a Race to Save 'Mr Baldy' Victims', also explained how the victims of Jones would 'almost certainly perpetuate the cycle of abuse' (Ryan 1992). It was reported further that:

> psychologists fear that the two boys assaulted by Brian Keith Jones, 45, may themselves commit sex crimes against children later in life unless they receive immediate help. (Ryan 1992)

In the same article we read that, 'we must stop this self-perpetuating cycle where 100 per cent of abusers have been abused children whether they recall it or not' (Ryan 1992). This article is an important example of how paedophilia is constructed within a paradigm of contagion, where the infective desire of the paedophile is doubly constructed both as a threat to the lives of children and to the life of the community.

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55 The Queen v Brian Keith Jones Director of Public Prosecutions v Brian Keith Jones - BC9300624 (Unreported Judgment March 1993).
Brian Jones featured again in Australian newspapers in May 2004. Such was the perceived threat and risk of Jones that once he had completed his 14 year jail sentence, Jones would be electronically tagged so that his movements could be constantly tracked. The *Herald Sun*’s front page report, ‘No Escape for Worst Predators’, revealed that Jones would be electronically monitored and linked to a national sex offenders’ database, which would trace his movements indefinitely (Giles 2004). Police Minister at the time, Andre Haermeyer, was quoted as saying that:

> Sex offenders, and paedophiles in particular, are notoriously compulsive and recidivist...sex offenders are known to go to great lengths – to move house and even to change states – to avoid police scrutiny. Now they will have nowhere to hide. (Giles 2004)

The use of statements from the Police Minister have the effect of bolstering media claims that Brian Jones posed both an unacceptable and imminent threat to the community.

In the same edition of the *Herald Sun*, an editorial commented on ‘sex fiend’ Brian Jones and his ‘depraved ilk’: ‘they lurk, they stalk...because sex predators – particularly paedophiles – are unlike other criminals’ (Editorial 2004). We read further that, ‘they [paedophiles] defile for their own pleasure’ (Editorial 2004). The editorial also detailed how the introduction of the *Sex Offenders Registration Bill 2004* would protect the community from the threat of the paedophile: ‘And if they spend life looking nervously over their shoulders, great. Much better them than us’ (Editorial 2004). Within this statement, we can identify how the lines of demarcation are again firmly drawn between those who belong to the non-criminal community and the criminal Other.

In the ‘war’ against paedophilia, law enforcement authorities are called upon to restore public safety. When the *Sex Offenders Registration (Amendment) Act 2005* was introduced in January, a page one feature article entitled ‘Sex Crim Tagged for Life, New Laws to Shield Young’, again explained how ‘Notorious pedophile Brian “Mr Baldy” Jones would be electronically tagged for life’ (Kelly 2005). The article detailed
how Jones' release had prompted the Victorian State Government to draft new laws 'protecting children from the sex predator' (Kelly 2005). Within news reports, Jones was consistently referred to by his media moniker rather than his given name. The labelling of Brian Jones as 'Mr Baldy' reduces Jones to a gross caricature.

In what could only be described as a barrage of articles surrounding the release of Jones, the press characterised the life-long electronic monitoring of Jones as 'an historic bid to protect the community from the serial sex offender' (Buttler and Anderson 2005). An opinion piece in the Herald Sun went so far as to describe how the new legislation would 'save our children from perverts' (Bolt 2005). And elsewhere, Jones was described as one of the 'hardest and remorseless paedophiles to have blighted Victoria' (Pinkney 2005). In the same article we read further that, 'he [Jones] has history of re-offending, he is remorseless and he has consistently refused to allow himself to be helped' (Pinkney 2005). Jones' resistance to treatment for his crimes is again representative of the unchangeable and immutable character of the paedophile. Such is the deviancy of Jones that he is beyond treatment and recovery.

Andrew Bolt, an ultra-conservative columnist for the Herald Sun, provided a persuasive justification for the electronic monitoring of Jones:

Of course, if the Government really wanted to save our children from Jones and his kind, it would ensure that paedophiles were never released until deemed safe'. (Bolt 2005)

Such is the fear of the danger posed by the paedophile, that offenders are subjected to a punishment which extends beyond the confines of the prison. The perceived immediacy of the threat of the paedophile to 'our' community and 'our' children, is justification for the ongoing punishment of the paedophile. Such is the severity of the paedophile's crimes, that the paedophile is to be subjected to a protracted penalty; it is only through permanent surveillance that the risk embodied in the paedophile can be contained, controlled and effectively prevented from contaminating the social body. The paedophile, who is continually punished for his sexual/social deviance cannot be recuperated.
When journalists from the *Herald Sun* newspaper attempted to follow police who were relocating Jones after his release from prison in July 2005, it was reported that, 'incredibly, a Herald Sun photographer was prevented by police from following the car in which Mr Baldy was a passenger' (Editorial 2005a). And elsewhere in the same editorial:

> Victoria police pulled up the Herald Sun car while Mr Baldy was being whisked away. We say that the police had no right to prevent the Herald Sun from trying to determine where this child abuser will live. (Editorial 2005a)

Within the current epidemic threat of paedophilia, there is an appeal for citizens to help combat the threat of the paedophile-Other. The reporters justified their actions in the following way:

> We photographed Mr Baldy because we wanted parents to know what he looks like and we intend to fight any court orders that might seek to stop us from telling parents where Mr Baldy is living now. (Editorial 2005a)

The reading audience cannot deny the reasonableness and rationality of the journalist's actions. The overwhelming public support the reporter's actions attracted within the media was staggering. For example, residents in the suburb Jones was relocated to were reported as saying: 'I think it's fantastic and I commend the Herald Sun for doing a community service' (Hodgson 2005a). Not only are the journalists' actions justified, they are in fact to be congratulated. Mr Dalla-Riva, the Victorian Government Opposition Corrections spokesperson at the time, was quoted as saying that:

> The person or persons who had tipped off the Herald Sun to the secret location should be thanked...Victorians needed to be able to identify Mr Baldy for their own safety. (Mickelburough 2005)

Another editorial appeared in the *Herald Sun* defending the actions of the journalists involved:
He has now been removed from that house where he was photographed by the Herald Sun. We publish his picture not to encourage vigilantes to attack him, but to show people what this sexual predator looks like so they can protect their children. (Editorial 2005b)

The undisguised self-congratulatory tone of the article is clear. The reporter's culpability in endangering Jones' safety went largely unremarked within the media. The crude vigilantism that was encouraged in this series of reports exemplifies the extent of the risk the paedophile is thought to embody. The physical proximity of Jones to 'our' community was enough to incite fears of infiltration. One report effectively captured the anxieties felt by those in the community:

Schoolchildren passed by the rapist's Kent St home without a hint that the evil Jones – known as Mr Baldy – was inside only metres from them. The home is in what could only be described as a pedophile's paradise. (Anderson and Dowsley 2005)

Another report quoted a resident as saying 'the thought of Mr Baldy living in his street made his skin crawl' (Anderson and Dowsley 2005). The vehement reactions the paedophile provokes within the community is also evident in the following statement:

In all God's honesty, how could you put that man that close to schools and next to people who don't know who he is? The Government should have their a---s kicked. (Dowsley and Anderson 2005)

And further, we read that: 'Victorians have been urged not to forget this face of evil – child rapist 'Mr Baldy' as he looks today' (Mickelburough 2005). These statements illustrate how the media invites members of the community to partake in the policing of paedophilia. The intensification of the threat of Jones was also achieved through headlines such as 'DANGER ZONE' (Buttler and Anderson 2005). The article proceeded to allude to Jones' whereabouts by describing in detail the surrounding landmarks of the area in which Jones was located. The community's response to the release of Brian Jones symbolises the perceived disintegration of the boundaries of the community, the family, and of the 'social body'.

There have been many examples of paedophiles being the target of violence. See for example 'Mr Baldy Rumours Spark Attack' (Buttler and Power 2005).
4.9 The Case of Philip Bell

During 1997-1998, the high-profile case of Philip Bell dominated the Australian news media. Philip Bell fled Australia when he was charged with 37 counts of indecent assault and acts of homosexual intercourse against boys aged between 12 and 15. The global hunt for Bell, and the events surrounding his eventual 'capture' and arrest in 1998, attest to the severity of his crimes. Not surprisingly, Bell's arrest made front page news across Australian newspapers.

Articles which featured Bell, however, were more often a statement about his homosexuality rather than his paedophilia. In a feature article from The Age, it was reported that Bell was a 'paedophile who lived in a fantasy 'hebephile' world' (Ellicott 1998). Marked by his deviant sexual preference for young boys, Bell's 'debauched lifestyle' (Ellicott 1998) made him, in the words of one reporter, 'one of Australia's most wanted men' (Glascott 1997b). Descriptions of Bell within the media relied heavily on cultural stereotypes of homosexuality. The easy slippage between homosexuality and paedophilia is nowhere more apparent than in an article from The Australian, where Bell was depicted as a 'flamboyant millionaire', a 'self-styled hebephile - or lover of youths' (Keenan 1998). Another related discursive manoeuvre can be found in the following excerpt, where it was reported that Bell 'freely admitted he was a homosexual' (Keenan 1998). This example also highlights the ways in which the word homosexual is used interchangeably with paedophile.57

The Sunday Age also picked up on this theme of Bell's (homo)sexual deviancy, labelling him the 'evil pied piper of Sydney' (1997). Bell's pathological and unremitting desire for 'young boys' emerges as a manifestation of his innate sexual deviancy and

Leslie Moran has examined the construction of the 'homosexual' body in law through an examination of the Sexual Offences Act 1967 in the United Kingdom. Moran suggests that the act of buggery has become interchangeable with homosexuality: 'the homosexual as an embodied object of law is implicated in the production of homosexual as an embodied subject of law' (1996: 13). Within the body of law, Moran argues that homosexuality becomes buggery. In much the same way, I suggest that homosexuality has become paedophilia.

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moral depravity. The body of Philip Bell is represented as a symbolic site of sexual excess and dangerousness. Bell, who 'lured boys into a lifestyle of sex and drugs' (Harris 1997b), materialises as the epitome of homosexual predatoriness. Another report published in the same edition of The Australian, depicted Bell as a 'relentless sexual predator' (Keenan 1998). And elsewhere, it was reported that Bell would 'seduce them [boys] into sexual activity' (Green 1998). These excerpts highlight how Bell's paedophilia is inevitably coupled with his homosexuality.

Much of the reporting surrounding Bell also served to reinforce stereotypes about homosexual promiscuity. The Australian, for example, described Bell as a malicious sexual predator whose 'sexual appetite was almost unstoppable' (Ellicott 1998). Representations of the paedophile are congruent with representations of the homosexual as the embodiment of sexual lasciviousness and rapaciousness. Davies rightly points to the similarities between nineteenth century sexological and criminological representations of the homosexual, and contemporary negative representations of homosexual men in the media:

At best the image of the 'homosexual' constructed within these discourses was unflattering. At worst, it was relentlessly damning. Immaturity, narcissism, hedonism, deceitfulness, promiscuousness and predatoriness were amongst the characteristics most often contributed to the 'homosexual'. (1998: 107)

Given that the structures and discourses of nineteenth century sexology have provided a foundational framework for positioning paedophilia as homosexed within the print news media, we can identify how homosexual men have been more readily identified as the perpetrators of paedophilia. It is through these historical discourses that the modern paedophile has been indelibly marked as homosexed. It is Bell's homosexuality, rather than paedophilia in itself, which is linked to the disruption of the development of 'normal' heterosexuality in children. Within media reports victims of Bell were described as his 'young heterosexual lovers' (Cooke 1998b), and sexual assault or abuse becomes substituted for 'acts of homosexual intercourse' (Cooke 1998b). In this instance, it is the fact of Bell's homosexuality that marks him as
deviant. His status as 'homosexual' already locates Bell within a recognisable subculture of criminal-Other. The repetitive associations made between homosexuality and paedophilia reinforce the idea that paedophilia is endemic in certain social groups, namely homosexual men. Within these representations, paedophilia is also mistakenly reduced to a problem of sexual orientation. These examples highlight how categories of paedophilia are constructed in complex ways in relation to prevailing cultural stereotypes surrounding homosexuality. The term 'homosexual' carries with it an already implied criminality; homosexuality violates the laws of nature, the laws of society and the law of masculine sexuality. I suggest that the mere inference of homosexuality within these reports has contributed to the homosexualisation of the category paedophile.

During his trial in October 1998, Bell's offences were depicted in the media as premeditated sexual abuse of the 'worst' kind. An article entitled 'Defiant Bell Guilty of Sex with Boys', detailed how Philip Bell, the 'flamboyant millionaire' (Keenan 1998), was convicted of multiple charges relating to indecent assault and homosexual intercourse. In February 1999, Philip Bell was sentenced to 14 years imprisonment, after being found guilty of 28 charges relating to acts of indecent assault and what was repeatedly referred to in the Australian media as 'homosexual intercourse' (Keenan 1998), involving five boys aged between 12 and 15 over a 13 year period (1978-1991). 

The vast majority of reports centring on Bell which appeared in the Australian media focused on his perceived sexual deviancy and 'depraved paedophile lifestyle' (Fife-Yeomans 2001). Another article focused on Bell's sexual deviancy, confirming that he was 'unable to resist impulses to engage in sexual relations with young males' (Green 1999). This inability to control his sexual impulses further attested to Bell's depraved behaviour; within this statement paedophilia is at once a deviant sexual desire and an abnormal sexual practice. Judge Davidson, who presided over the trial, was quoted...

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58 Bell had appealed his convictions on the grounds that he had been denied a fair trial due to pre-trial publicity. The New South Wales Court of Criminal Appeal dismissed the appeal (Regina v Philip Harold Bell - BC9805451, Unreported Judgments, 8th October 1998).
as saying that Bell was able to 'bedazzle, entice and seduce' his victims (Pristel 1999). In another article we read about Bell's 'notorious seduction techniques', where it was reported that Bell 'usually had a dillybag with KY Gel, which he would carry with him' (Ellicott 1998). These graphic representations are further evidence of Bell's sexual deviancy and voracious sexual appetite for 'boys'.

During Bell's trial, he was described in the Herald Sun as 'sophisticated and calculating' (Pristel 1999). Bell 'showed no emotion' as what was referred to as his 'reign of sexual terror' was described in the court room (Pristel 1999). It was also reported that throughout the trial Bell 'remained impassive in the dock' (Pristel 1999). Bell's behaviour during the trial was considered to be further evidence of his callous and 'evil' nature (Cooke 1998a). Not only are Bell's crimes represented as being so reprehensible as to be beyond 'our' understanding and comprehension, he emerges, in the words of one journalist, as 'one of Australia's most evil men' (Ellingsen 1996). Within epidemic discourse, paedophilia has been removed from the practice or act of paedophilia; paedophilia has emerged as a specific identity. Within press discourse the sexual act becomes connected to an individual social and (homo)sexual identity category.59

4.10 The Case of Robert 'Dolly' Dunn

Another high-profile case which appeared in Australian newspapers in the late 1990's was that of paedophile Robert Dunn. Fleeing Australia in 1996 after being identified as a paedophile during the Wood Royal Commission investigation, Robert 'Dolly' Dunn's crimes made him one of Australia's most notorious paedophiles. In November 1997, Robert Dunn was extradited from Honduras and charged with 85 paedophilia-related offences against boys aged between seven and 17, spanning a 16 year period (1979-1995). More than 20 of the charges were for offences against boys under the age of 10.

59 Bell appealed against his conviction again in 2002, but the appeal was dismissed (Regina v Bell [2002] NSWCCA 2).
In what could only be described as a bizarre series of events, Dunn was tracked down by current affairs television show *60 Minutes* to Honduras, where he was ambushed in a hotel room by a television crew and police. The media frenzy which ensued after his arrest draws attention to the perceived seriousness of Dunn's offences. Feature articles detailing Dunn's 'capture' appeared in a cross-section of Australian newspapers. A front page story carried in *The Australian*, described how Robert 'Dolly' Dunn had finally been arrested in Honduras after a two-year international manhunt (Harris and Glascott 1997). The celebratory tone of many newspaper reports is evidenced in newspaper headlines such as 'Goodbye Dolly' (Barrett 1997) and 'It's Over – Dolly Dunn Caught in Honduras' (Harris and Glascott 1997).

During the extradition hearing in Honduras, descriptions of Dunn centred on his unruly and dishevelled appearance. In *The Australian*, Dunn was described as being '[u]nshaven and looking jaded' (Balogh 1998). In the same article Dunn was described as a 'short, stooped man with thick glasses, [and] thinning hair' (Attwood 1997). Descriptions of Dunn as 'ageing' and 'pathetic' were consistent within newspaper reports. Here the deviance of the paedophile is signified by the lack of a masculine appearance. However, it was Dunn's apparent inability to exhibit remorse or guilt for his crimes that was testament to his sub-human character. As one journalist observed, 'even when there was a legal discussion about minor children [who were] allegedly victims of sexual assault he showed no emotion' (Attwood 1997).

A feature report headed 'Unspeakable Images of Sex Acts on Young Boys', graphically described Dunn's crimes:

> In the next series of photographs, this poor little boy and several others - none older than eight - are having to endure adult penises thrust down their throats. The image of that tiny pyjama-clad boy and the visions of the indignities he and the others suffered is making me weep as I write this. (McClymont 1996)

This explicit image of sexual abuse is framed in such a way as to relegate paedophilia to the realm of homosexual deviancy and depravity. The injury of sexual abuse is lost
in sensationalised and explicit accounts of predatory homosexual men preying on innocent children.

Dunn again dominated news headlines during his trial in June 2001. After being found guilty of 25 counts of sexual misconduct, Dunn was sentenced to 30 years imprisonment in December 2001, one of the most severe penalties ever handed down for offences relating to child sexual abuse. In commenting on Dunn's sentence, one journalist claimed that Dunn 'would remain a danger to children to the day he dies' (Clifton 2001). Remarking of Dunn's crimes, trial Judge Michael Finnane was also reported as saying:

'It is predatory behaviour of a very high order by a man whose lust for children was so great, he went to the trouble of having a colleague video it...this stamps him as a man of an unusual, and in my opinion, dangerous type. (Clifton 2001)

On trial for what was described as his 'hunt of young boys', Crown prosecutor Margaret Cuneen summarised Dunn's actions in the following way: 'This case is as evil and reprehensible a case of compulsive and predatory paedophilia as any of us are likely to see' (Connolly 2001a).

The disbelief and anger Dunn's offences provoked in the media was palpable. In recounting the events of Dunn's trial, one journalist commented:

'It was 21 minutes of video that no parent would ever want to see. It showed the depraved life of child sex offender Robert 'Dolly' Dunn, and more than that – it showed how paedophiles seduce their victims and make it seem normal. (Fyfe 2001; my emphasis)

The use here of 'no parent would ever want to see' operates as an important signifier. Newspaper readers become united in their outrage as parents. Readers who do not have children are also invited to position themselves as parents. The implication seems to be this: 'parents' do not sexually abuse children. These representations of Robert Dunn's crimes have had the effect of marking paedophilia out as a crime
perpetrated by Other men. Dangerous, sexually perverse and morally corrupt, Dunn was consistently described as both ‘evil and frightening’ (Fyfe 2001):

The distressing scenes yesterday made the court – and Judge Michael Finnane – uneasy, but Dunn, a small, 60-year-old with his grey and white hair parted to one side, kept his eyes on the screen, his face betraying no emotion. (Fyfe 2001)

Throughout Dunn’s trial, it was also observed that he ‘sat stony faced’ (Hudson 2001). What is being symbolised within this article is the Otherness of paedophilia, Dunn is represented as being devoid of the ‘normal’ range of human responses to the sexual abuse of children. Dunn’s failure to respond in a way that we understand to be characteristic of being ‘human’ firmly locates Dunn in the realm of the Other. Media descriptions and definitions of paedophilia rely on and are fundamentally framed by the symbolic divisions of normal/deviant, heterosexual/homosexual and same/Other.

4.11 Gendering Paedophilia

Media descriptions of paedophilia are suggestive of homosexuality; the category ‘paedophile’ carries with it the same social/moral/criminal/sexual censuring as the category ‘homosexual’. Media representations of Brian Jones, Philip Bell and Robert Dunn exemplify both the sexualised and the gendered dimensions of constructions of paedophilia. Press constructions of paedophilia are structured and informed by prevailing cultural understandings of masculinity and femininity. It is within media discourse, I suggest, that body of the paedophile is feminised. The paedophile is feminised due to his failure to identify with that which is considered to be culturally masculine (Collier 1998: 170). The paedophile materialises, in David Buchbinder’s terms, as a ‘non-masculine yet male subject’ (1994: 86). The paedophile, a distinctly male subject, is feminised specifically within a narrative of homosexuality. The feminisation of the paedophile within media discourse operates to locate the paedophile within a subjectivity that exists in opposition to normative masculinity. Paedophiles Brian Jones, Philip Bell and Robert Dunn all appear as individuals who
are unable to behave reasonably, rationally, or indeed, morally. It is this perceived inability that locates them firmly in the realm of the feminine (Tatar 1995: 55). Paedophilia emerges within media discourse as much a gender disorder as a sexual/criminal disorder. The paedophile exhibits a range of personality and behavioural abnormalities and defects which contradict normative masculine gender-identification. Paedophiles have been consistently characterised within media discourse as ‘immature, with poor adult interpersonal skills’ and they ‘prefer socialising with children’ (Wilson 1995). The paedophile emerges as a contradictory creature, on the one hand, described as socially inept, feeble-minded and child-like, and on the other hand, as devious, manipulative and, in the words of one reporter, ‘sophisticated and cunning’ (Pristel 1999).

Young has observed that ‘gender is only re-marked when femininity is in question’ (Young 1996: 27). However, it is the questionable masculinity of the paedophile that is the marker of deviancy within media discourse. The faulty or misplaced gender thought to reside in the body of the paedophile, a gender which cannot be easily or neatly defined as either masculine or feminine, is a further sign of the paedophile’s Otherness. The paedophile displays qualities traditionally ascribed both to women (irrationality, moral laxity, etc.) and to men (power, sexual aggressiveness, etc.). The paedophile thus epitomises a faulty masculinity, exhibiting characteristics which are considered to be indicative of normative femininity and normative masculinity. In the performance of gender, the paedophile has failed.

60 Butler has also drawn attention to the ways in which homosexualised men are marked with a ‘faulty’ gender (Butler 1993: 238).
61 I have borrowed Judith Butler’s use of ‘performance’ in relation to the performativity of gender identity. Butler explains how male and female subjects are required to ‘perform’ masculinity and femininity in order to be considered a coherently gendered subject. In Butler’s terms masculinity and femininity are the product of discursive practices: ‘Performativity is thus not a singular “act,” for it is always a reiteration of a norm or set of norms, and to the extent that it acquires an act-like status in the present, it conceals or dissimulates the conventions of which it is a repetition’ (1993: 12).
The collective actions of paedophiles Brian Jones, Philip Bell and Robert Dunn are represented within the print news media as being somehow beyond humanity. Collier has suggested that it is the construction of the criminal as ‘evil’, ‘inhuman’ and ‘monstrous’, that operates to conceal both the sexual specificity of the perpetrator and the crime itself (1998: 107). The act of paedophilia, and the damage caused by the sexual abuse, is lost in the explicit details and descriptions of the paedophile's offences.

The Otherness of paedophilia is effectively secured through images of paedophiles, Jones, Bell and Dunn as the personification of evil. The powerful imaginary of the ‘evil’ predatory paedophile is nowhere more apparent than in the following newspaper headlines. Consider these examples: ‘The Exploiters Who Prey on Children’ (Wilson 1995), ‘Debauched Tales Emerge From a Garden of Evil’ (Ellicot 1998), ‘Predator Bell Lured Teen Boys, Court Told’ (Green 1998), ‘Mr Baldy’s Heart of Darkness’ (Ryan 1992b) and ‘Devil’s Playground’ (Elias and Watkins 1997). These headlines serve to illustrate how understandings of paedophilia are constructed in relation to ideas about self/Other, good/evil and us/them. In all three instances, the crimes of these men are conceived as something which is unfathomable to ‘us’. Faced with the incontrovertible facts of their ‘evil’ natures, ‘we’ are able to dismiss paedophilia as aberration, as pathological, as Other, as unimaginable.

The paedophile has been consistently portrayed within media discourse as the epitome of evil and inhumanity, as they are in the words of reporters, Elias and Watkins, ‘the lowest of all creatures’ (Elias and Watkins 1997). The ‘monstrous’ acts perpetrated against children locate the paedophile ‘outside’: outside the family, outside the community and outside society. The routine dehumanisation of these men also operates in a very specific way to remove the sexed, gendered and sexualised specificity of their crimes. This is a point worth emphasising, because the construction of paedophilia as something other than distinctly human has the effect of removing or obfuscating the profoundly sexed dimensions of the abuse. The monster-like caricature which the paedophile has been reduced to within sex crime
reporting has contributed to the disappearance of child sexual assault within the media.

4.13 Deathly Desires: Paedophilia-as-‘Living Death’

Young has written that crime is literally and symbolically ‘constructed as a deadly problem’ (1996: 8). Crime poses a threat to the life of the family, the life of the community and the life of society itself. This section critically examines discourses and representations of death within the paedophilia epidemic. In the section, I will suggest that contemporary newspaper constructions of paedophilia are inextricably marked by ‘death’. I argue that the figure of death is symbolically realised in the paedophile-Other, and conversely ‘death’ is symbolised in the discursive production of the paedophile.

I suggested earlier that paedophilia is both a sign of criminality and a sign of sexual deviancy. Paedophilia is also a sign of death. However, I will not only argue that the body of the paedophile signifies a form of ‘living death’, I will suggest that the victims of paedophilia too are represented as ‘living-with-death’. That is to say, the economy of death operates on two important levels. First, the paedophile is the symbolic bearer of death, and second, the victims of paedophilia are forced to endure what I term ‘living-with-death’. Within this narrative figuration of paedophilia-as-living death, paedophilia is constructed as not only a disease, but as a fatal disease. The following discussion explores the narrative complex of death which frames both the representations of paedophiles themselves and the representation of their victims.

In the battle over life and death, paedophilia has emerged as an important signifier. As a result of the paedophilia epidemic, the very life of the social body - family and the community - has been put at risk. The threat of death embodied in the paedophile-Other, has been strategically positioned against the ‘general population’ and ‘community’, which embodies ‘life’. The following representations of paedophilia crucially centre around the two axes of ‘life’ and ‘death’.
Foucault points to the way in which ‘the power of ‘life” has been effectively harnessed and deployed within the operations of sexuality:

We, on the other hand, are in a society of “sex”, or rather a society “with a sexuality”: the mechanisms of power are addressed to the body, to life, to what causes it to proliferate, to what reinforces the species, its stamina, its ability to dominate, or its capacity for being used. Through the themes of health, progeny, race, the future of the species, the vitality of the social body, power spoke of sexuality and to sexuality; the latter was not a mark or a symbol, it was an object and a target. (1984: 269, original emphasis)

Foucault writes further of the discursive deployment of ‘life’: ‘sex became a crucial target of a power organized around the management of life rather than the menace of death’ (1984: 268). Images and representations of paedophilia, however, are no less regulated by discourses of ‘death’ than ‘life’. This is not to say that discourses of ‘life’, concerned with the preservation and protection of the species, have been entirely replaced with the threat of death. Rather, within the narrative fields of disease, contagion and degeneration, the spectre of death has been strategically resurrected, reharnessed and redeployed.

Judith Butler has observed that Foucault’s analysis of discourses of ‘life’ and ‘death’ is restricted by its failure to recognise the discursive power of ‘death’. In her critique of Foucault’s argument, Butler has written that:

Death is the limit to power, he argued, but there is something that he missed here, namely, that in the maintenance of death and of the dying, power is still at work and that death is and has its own discursive industry. (1992: 357-358)

Foucault failed to consider, Butler argues, ‘that the regulatory discourse on sex could itself produce death, pronounce death, even proliferate it’ (1992: 360). Butler suggests further that, in fact, ‘death can be not the limit of power but its very aim’ (1992: 360). It is the finality, the absolute power, of death that is at the centre of paedophilia discourses. The regulation and management of life and its very forces have been redirected within the modern epidemic threat of paedophilia. The
widespread figuration of paedophilia-as-'living death' in the following representations draws attention to this revival of 'death'. The following examples effectively illustrate how a significant redeployment of the discursive power of death, effectively aimed at the body of the paedophile, has occurred. In fact, I suggest that the resurgence of death has been achieved and directed through the discursive production of the paedophile. Within press discourse the paedophile emerges as an iconic bearer of death.

Categories of heterosexuality and homosexuality are respectively invested with the currencies of life and death. If paedophilia is, as I have argued earlier in this chapter, homosexualised from the start, then the paedophile will also be marked by 'death', as within the cultural imaginary homosexual men are always already the symbolic bearers of death (Butler 1992: 346). Homosexuality, in Stychin's terms, has come to represent a 'death wish' within the media (1995: 138). Understandings of disease, contagion and death which are inextricably linked with homosexuality and paedophilia cannot be meaningfully separated. Homosexual men thus become necessarily linked to paedophilia through an intricate nexus of disease, contagion and death.

More importantly, the section explores how discourses of death also mark the survivors of paedophilia. Within media discourse the victims of child sexual assault are represented as 'contracting' the disease of paedophilia, which then manifests itself in one of two important ways. First, many victims of paedophilia are thought to perpetuate the cycle of abuse by becoming paedophiles themselves. And second, victims endure what I term a 'living-death'. Within media discourse a paedophilia-related death is the worst kind of death; within the narrative of living-death, there is to be no recovery for the victims of child sexual abuse. To put it another way, the discursive coupling of paedophilia and death operates in a very specific way to deny the victims of paedophilia the possibility of survival.

4.14 The Battle of Life over Death

There has been a marked shift in the representation of survivors of child sexual abuse from the 1980's to the 1990's. In the 1980's feminists strived to 'remove the stigma
attached to the term 'victim' (Kelly 2000: xii); child sexual abuse was no longer confined to the realm of the unspeakable (Kelly 2000: xi). In the 1990's, however, there has been a move towards a narrative of what Kelly terms to as 'damage', which has resulted in a 're-silencing' of survivors and their stories (2000: xiv). There are multiple survivor perspectives and experiences, however, the stories of survivors have been repositioned within media discourse within a narrative of pain, suffering and death. As Liz Kelly writes: 'Survivors are only required by the media to speak their pain, to - in the all too revealing language of journalism - make features 'sexier'' (2000: xii). Kelly points to a disappearance of 'survivor' stories and a revival in stories of damage: 'what the media want in the late 1990's are not survivors, but victims' (2000: xii). This narrative of death has operated to re-silence the survivors of child sexual abuse.

'Living-with-death' is a powerful narrative formulation and a privileged signifier within media discourse. Take, for example, a report from *The Age* which described how some victims of child sexual assault had 'moved into heroin trafficking and spent four years in jail; one had a series of nervous breakdowns; another suffered a stroke induced by stress' (Cooke 1997). Victims of paedophile, Robert Dunn, were also reported to have died prematurely as a result of being sexually abused. For example, *The Australian* reported that, 'some of Dunn's victims became male prostitutes, some are heroin addicts, some are serving lengthy jail sentences – and some are dead' (Fife-Yeomans 2001). An article from *The Age* also described how two victims of Philip Bell 'later died of heroin overdoses' (Bearup 1996). It was also reported of one of Robert Dunn's victims that: 'He had become a heroin addict and was in and out of jail' (Connolly 2001b).

Victims of the paedophile are forced to endure an existence which is similar to death, a 'living-death'. Victims of child sexual assault are thus subject both to a literal death and a symbolic death. I refer to 'symbolic death' in that the victims of the paedophile are thought to be prevented from fulfilling their role as productive and law-abiding citizens. The anxiety that the fear of death triggers can also be clearly identified in the following article, where it was commented that, 'sexual abuse is an insidious disease,
silently and secretly infiltrating at random, leaving a trail of emotional destruction’ (Evans 1999). The ‘living-death’ suffered by victims of the paedophile manifests itself in psychiatric illness, criminal activity and a range of other anti-social behaviours, including drug and alcohol addiction. The multiple, converging and, at times, disparate accounts of child sexual abuse are lost in this linear narrative of ‘death’. Survivors are often refused the space to voice, in Susan Brison’s terms, their own ‘narrative of trauma’ (2002: 29).

Death’s presence can also be read in the following statement from the Herald Sun, where Detective Senior-Sergeant Chris O’Connor was quoted as saying that, ‘a child who is introduced to sex when he is not ready for it, or aware of it, can (be subject to) life-long emotional, if not physical, detrimental effects’ (Wilson 1995). The promise of death which the paedophile brings is nowhere more apparent than in an article from the Sunday Herald Sun, where one journalist commented: ‘you have a victim for life’ (Wilson 1995). Another report referred to the victims of paedophilia as the ‘human debris that is the result of such deviancy’ (Hodgson 2002). The effects of paedophilia have been consistently described within the media as death-like; the moment of death occurs at the moment of the sexual abuse.

The construction of paedophilia as a fatal illness also links paedophilia to ‘epidemic’. Representations of paedophilia are marked by the presence of death which resides both in the body of the paedophile and the paedophile’s deviant sexual desire. Paedophilia is not only symbolic of the sexual corruption or violation of youth and innocence, paedophilia is also thought to prevent the successful entry of the child into adulthood and the social body. These convergent plagues, or epidemics, of homosexuality and paedophilia are conceived as a threat to ‘normal’ childhood development (socially, sexually and psychologically).

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62 Many articles made the connection between paedophilia and a ‘living death’. It was reported in The Age, for example, that: ‘it [paedophilia] is a major cause of the social breakdowns that lead many to jail and many more to the welfare queues’ (Elias and Watkins 1997).
Victims of the paedophile are forever marked with an enduring death which is transmitted through the body of the infective paedophile-Other. An opinion piece in the *Herald Sun* commented on paedophile Philip Bell:

Or was it the lifelong damage you, and men like you, do to your victims - children too young to know the real meaning of the sexual actions you spend your lives 'grooming' them for? (Gray 1999b)

The paedophile materialises within these representations as a symbolic messenger of death. The death-like existence which survivors are thought to lead as a result of the sexual abuse can also be identified in the following excerpts. In an article from the *Herald Sun*, for example, we read that:

Often the damage manifests itself as wild, off-rail behaviour by boys in their teenage years and young adulthood. One victim tells how he drank heavily, got tattoos and slept with nearly 100 girls. (Gray 1999b)

These examples illustrate how victims of child sexual assault are thought to experience a different kind of death, a 'social death'. This social death manifests itself in a cycle of self-destructive and, ultimately, life-threatening behaviour.

The nexus between paedophilia and death has meant that paedophilia emerges within media discourse as a 'public health issue'. In the words of one *Age* reporter, 'the social effects of paedophilia are more widespread that those of car accidents, AIDS, heart disease and other plagues' (Pegler 1997a). Here the associations made between AIDS, death and paedophilia also ensures that paedophilia is 'owned' by homosexual men. This statement also powerfully conveys a sense of urgency in containing the paedophilia epidemic.

These examples have drawn attention to the paedophile's symbolic alliance with death. The finality and authority of death is realised in the child victims of sexual abuse. The very real and damaging effects of sexual abuse are lost in sensationalistic accounts of the destructive and extreme behaviours of the survivors of
paedophilia. These grossly insensitive accounts of paedophilia deny the trauma of survivor’s experiences of sexual abuse; their stories are effectively reduced to sex crime news fodder.

Discourses of death and degeneration have also been assigned to the body of the paedophile. Paedophilia, in effect, has become an identity or condition of specifically ageing, degenerating bodies. The ailing, decaying body of the paedophile has become an important symbol in media discourses of paedophilia. Central to the reporting of Robert Dunn’s arrest, for example, was the image of his frail, ageing body. He was described in The Australian in the following way: ‘Wearing glasses and with scruffy grey hair, the diminutive Dunn was pale and disorientated’ (Balogh 1998). Dunn was also depicted in The Sydney Morning Herald as ‘a short, stooped man with thick glasses, thinning hair and white stubble’ (Attwood 1997). And elsewhere, Dunn had a ‘pathetically weak voice’ and was described as a ‘grey-haired old man’ (Barrett 1997). And further in The Age, Dunn was referred to as ‘a small, 60-year-old with his grey and white hair parted to one side’ (Fyfe 2001). Descriptions of paedophiles as ‘frail’, ‘pathetic’ and ‘ageing’ appeared repeatedly within the press. The essence of death which is thought to lie at the core of the paedophile, rises to the surface and manifests itself in material degeneration and decay. It is this narrative of death, I suggest, which is specific to discourses of paedophilia. For the paedophile is not only the bearer of death, the paedophile is also represented as living-with-death. Within these representations the paedophile thus embodies the very presence of death.

The characterisation of paedophiles as being in an enduring state of decay is also evident in media descriptions of Philip Bell. Representations of Bell after his triumphant ‘capture’ and arrest differed greatly to previous descriptions of his ‘evil’ and ‘cunning’ nature, media reports instead centring on his fragile and feeble appearance. Dominant images of Bell as ageing and frail demonstrate how the paedophile is constructed as the symbolic bearer of death, embodying a permanent or protracted state of death. The Australian had run a story about Bell’s arrest detailing how, ‘Wearing khaki trousers, a tartan shirt and a beach hat, the diminutive figure showed no emotion as he was led handcuffed from a police car into the courtroom’ (Fife-
Yeomans 1997). On the one hand, we have representations of paedophiles as ‘evil’, ‘predatory’ and master manipulators, and on the other hand, the paedophile embodies a fragile corporeality which is presented as being symptomatic of their interior degeneracy. Death, both material and social, is the final mark of the paedophile.

4.15 Conclusion

I have argued that print media discourses of paedophilia centre around the figure of a homosexual-Other. Within the cultural imagination, homosexuality has become linked quite naturally with paedophilia, as it is always already figured as morally reprehensible. The images I have discussed can be tied to a familiar anti-homosexual cultural narrative which locates homosexual men as perverse, deviant and unreservedly Other. A discursive framework of homosexed violence has allowed me to interrogate the fictionalised and sensationalised newspaper accounts of the threats posed to children by homosexual men, or examples of what I would term the systematic misrepresentation of paedophilia.

This is not to say, however, that media reporting of paedophilia is homogenous. News media reports are not uniform in their approach, some articles challenging the seemingly unwarranted and excessive focus on homosexual men as the perpetrators of paedophilia:

The righteously indignant have in some cases swung their sights around to target homosexuality as well as paedophilia. But gay men are no more likely to sexually abuse children than are heterosexuals. (Powell 1996)

The journalist from The Age characterised paedophilia instead as a ‘brutal display of power’. While some reports condemned the unwarranted focus on homosexual men, the continued associations between homosexuality and paedophilia were repetitive. The representation of homosexuality as deviant and corrupting of ‘normal sexuality’ remains pervasive in news media discourse, and continues to critically contribute to the mythology of paedophilia-as-homosexuality.
The consequences of the continual association of paedophilia with homosexuality have been manifold. I have argued that the increasing emphasis within the media on incidences of ‘homosexual paedophilia’ has reinforced and strengthened cultural stereotypes of (homo)sexual perversion and dangerousness. However, most concerning has been the effect on the representation of the sexual abuse of girls. The focus on incidences of male to male paedophilia also contributes to the perception that it is primarily boys who are the victims of sexual assault. A focus on homosexual offenders has also resulted both in the normalisation and desexualisation of child sexual abuse by heterosexual offenders. In stark contrast to the unmistakably homosexed ‘paedophile’, heterosexual child sexual assault has effectively been desexed, and subsequently overlooked, within the news media. What is particularly significant about paedophilia - that almost all paedophiles are men and that the majority of child sexual assault victims are girls - goes largely unremarked within the media. Men as men are notably absent from media representations of paedophilia. It seems that paedophilia is far more easily explained if it is located ‘outside’. Within media discourse the crimes of the paedophile are more easily explained if they are removed from ‘family’, ‘community’ and ‘society’. The relegation of paedophilia to homosexual deviancy is also the means through which what I would term the ‘normatively normal’ nature of child sexual abuse is effectively removed.

I have examined the processes through which the media explicitly and unambiguously identifies paedophilia as an identity and condition of homosexualised bodies. The homosexualisation of the category ‘paedophile’ has been canvassed in the examples of Brian Jones, Philip Bell and Robert Dunn. The classification or categorisation of paedophilia as either ‘heterosexual’ or ‘homosexual’ has meant that commonsense or dominant understandings of sexuality have become incorporated into understandings of paedophilia. Crucially, the bifurcation of paedophilia into ‘heterosexual’ and ‘homosexual’ has the effect of reinforcing and reproducing a ‘naturalised’ heterosexuality and a ‘deviant’ homosexuality.

The media highlights the threat of paedophilia from homosexual men and systematically downplays the threat from heterosexual offenders. The collective focus
on extra-familial homosexual offenders also contributes to the myth that children are more at risk from predatory paedophiles external to the family unit. The division of paedophilia into ‘homosexual’ and ‘heterosexual’ effectively operates to erase the damage done by offenders within the family unit, and emphasises and exaggerates the dangerousness of homosexual ‘predators’ who operate ‘outside the family.’
Chapter Five:
Media Representations of Motherhood, Fatherhood and the Family in the Paedophilia Epidemic

5.1 Introduction

A great deal of media attention has been directed onto women and their responsibilities as mothers, both as the mothers of paedophiles and the mothers of the victims of paedophilia. In this chapter, I suggest that as the primary carers of children within the conventional social script, the figure of the mother has become the focus of paedophilia discourses. The following analysis of 'motherhood' will be three-fold. First, I examine the figure of the 'single mother' who emerges within press discourse as the embodiment of deviancy and disorder through what is considered to be her 'reckless' social/sexual/moral behaviour. Second, I analyse constructions of the 'colluding' mother who either participates in, or 'turns a blind eye' to, the sexual abuse of her children. Specifically, the chapter focuses on the representation of Deborah Taylor in the case of paedophiles Brian Jones and Gordon Taylor. And third, I will explore the deviancy of the 'criminal mother' who is thought to neglect her maternal responsibilities and raise paedophile-Others. I will suggest that within media discourse all of these women are thought to embody a particular form of gender deviance.

The following constructions of motherhood can be linked to a specific representational practice deployed by the media which operates as part of a more general and systematic strategy of positioning the mother, in the words of Young, as the symbolic scapegoat for 'all manner of social malignancies' (1996: 156). Both the 'criminal' and the 'single' mother are positioned as symbolic 'outlaws', for they have transgressed the boundaries of the law (family, community, society) through a repudiation of their maternal obligation and responsibility (Young 1996). It is, I will suggest, the relentless scapegoating of the mother that has resulted in a deflection away from the more problematic question of men's role as 'fathers'.

63 I refer to the 'criminal' mother in that her actions are constructed in such a way that marks her behaviour out as criminal within media discourse.
My aim here is to explore how the media employs strategies of mother-blaming which, in turn, have had the effect of redirecting attention away from men as the primary perpetrators of paedophilia. Within paedophilia debates, issues surrounding 'parenting' have inevitably become discussions about 'mothering'. A circulating discourse of maternal responsibility has positioned the single-mother/child relationship at the centre of paedophilia discourses. The almost exclusive focus on the mother within the following paedophilia discourses has, I will argue, contributed to the removal of men from discourses of child sexual assault.

The chapter also again draws attention to the central theme of 'epidemic'. I will argue that the current paedophilia epidemic can be contextualised within heightened anxieties over the proliferation of single mother households. I also explore how constructions of motherhood have re-introduced a narrative of contagion and contamination to the representation of paedophilia. It is the relation between the perceived social/sexual/moral danger of the single-mother household and the correlative increase in cases of paedophilia that is the focus of the chapter.

The chapter will also examine representations of masculinity and 'fatherhood'. I specifically interrogate some of the ways in which the relationship between fathers and children is represented, and furthermore, how an intrinsic connection is established between a 'return of the father' and a comparative decrease in instances of paedophilia. The chapter will explore common meanings and understandings of masculinity, manhood and male sexuality and consider how father-absence has been highlighted within media debates as a key contributing factor to the current paedophilia 'epidemic'. More specifically, I question how the presence of the father is thought to prevent both the development of criminality in children and guarantee the protection of the family from the threat and risk of the paedophile.

The two contrasting discourses of 'motherhood' and 'fatherhood' are crucially important signifiers in the current paedophilia epidemic. In examining media representations of fatherhood and motherhood, my analysis will involve a
(re)consideration of the powerful textual narratives of both masculinity and femininity which underpin media constructions of paedophilia. It is through an analysis of current debates surrounding motherhood, fatherhood and the family that we are able to contextualise the modern epidemic threat of paedophilia.

5.2 Disorderly Women: Media Representations of the Single Mother

This first section is concerned with the representation of women and how the 'single mother' is depicted within media discourse. The following constructions of motherhood are a prime example of how culturally constructed sexual and gender norms are maintained and reproduced in the mainstream media and how they, in turn, organise and manufacture understandings of paedophilia. Specifically, my aim here is to analyse the meanings attached to the body of the single-mother and to examine the social and sexual deviance and disorder the single mother is thought to embody. The section also considers the multiple and intersecting ways women’s sexuality is regulated and controlled within a narrative of 'family values'. I will trace how a current neo-conservative shift towards conventional 'family values', and a correlative resurrection of sexual and moral conservatism, has coincided with a re-direction of media attention onto single women and their role as mothers. Representations of the single mother’s sexuality are framed by a discourse of 'family values' which is, in turn, intricately tied to gender meanings and relationships. The following newspaper images illustrate how constructions of motherhood are consistent with complex social constructions of both gender and sexuality.

One of the consequences of the paedophilia epidemic has been a redeployment of regulatory power levelled at the body of the single mother through a circulating narrative of 'maternal responsibility'. The following representations draw attention to how the disciplinary operations and normalising gaze of media discourse polices the bodies and subjectivities of women through their subject position as 'single mother'. The subsequent examples are characteristic of the didactic tirade which is waged against the single mother by newspaper journalists. Furthermore, these extracts
exemplify the negative representation of the single mother in press discourse and how the single mother’s conduct as ‘mother’ is continually called into question. It is, specifically, the mother who emerges within paedophilia debates as the perennial subject of media investigation and condemnation.

Diane Richardson defines heterosexuality as a ‘set of socially and culturally specific practices which define the nature of social membership’ (1996: 16). Richardson argues further that the ‘claims to citizenship status at least in the West, are closely associated with the institutionalisation of heterosexual as well as male privilege’ (1996: 16). Not all forms of heterosexuality, however, are equal (Richardson 1996: 17). As a result of the paedophilia epidemic, a profoundly moralistic discourse surrounding women’s sexuality has surfaced within the Australian media. The current neo-conservative climate within Australian society, which has been firmly grounded in the policies of the former Howard Liberal Government, has effectively revived notions of the heteronormative family. The media has tapped into the current neoconservative climate to tactically resurrect the idealised image of the ‘good family’. The following constructions demonstrate how regulatory ideals of sex, gender and sexuality are discursively policed within media representations of motherhood.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, single or unpartnered women have been the main target of this moralising, and fundamentally conservative, discourse of sexuality. It is, I suggest, due to her perceived socio-sexual dangerousness that the single-mother has been singled out within media discourses of paedophilia. The first example of this anti-single mother discourse is best illustrated in a report by journalist Bettina Arndt, a former clinical psychologist and, at the time, a columnist for The Age and The Sydney Morning Herald broadsheets. Arndt’s article, which originally appeared in The Sydney Morning Herald in December 1995, but appeared in The Age two weeks later in a page four feature, is an important article in many respects, because it is

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64 Here, the ‘good’ family is characterised by a father who assumes his rightful and necessary position as the head of the household and an archetypal 1950’s ‘stay at home’ subservient mother who necessarily defers to the father’s authority.
65 Bettina Arndt is now a journalist writing for the Herald Sun newspaper.
representative of how the single mother surfaces within news discourse as the epitome of sexual dangerousness and social disobedience.

The two articles, respectively entitled ‘In The Blender’ and ‘Dangerous Dads’, explained how single mothers were exposing their children to the threat of paedophilia through what Arndt considered to be their ‘irresponsible’ lifestyle. Arndt writes that, ‘the growing prevalence of boyfriends and ‘play husbands’ in households with children poses a direct threat to children’s physical and sexual safety’ (Arndt 1995a). Arndt continued to describe the potential danger of single mothers establishing relationships with ‘strange’ men: ‘How worrying that women in this state are choosing new fathers for their children’ (Arndt 1995a). The condemnatory tone of the article is unambiguous. In the same report, we read further about the detrimental and damaging effects that the single mother’s sexual behaviour is having on her children:

Of all factors likely to have an impact on children’s lives after divorce, this is, perhaps, one the most worrying. Mum’s boyfriends have the potential to cause havoc in many ways. (Arndt 1995a)

Such commentary suggests that by inviting danger into the home, the single mother has recklessly exposed her children to the ‘outside’ danger of paedophilia. Arndt mistakenly argues that the sexual abuse of children can simply be reduced to the single mother’s poor judgment and decision-making ability. This representation of paedophilia works in such a way as to establish an intrinsic connection between the inadequate parental supervision provided by the single mother and the sexual abuse of children. It is the single mother who bears the weight of blame and responsibility for the sexual abuse of her children. By corollary, the threat of strange or unrelated men become the focus of paedophilia debates.

The single mother’s sexuality is also automatically associated with a permissive sexuality. Arndt’s article expressly focuses on the single mother’s sexual practices, flippantly referred to within the report as ‘Mum’s love life’ (Arndt 1995a). The article describes how ‘Mothers re-partnering more than once were found to be associated with lower self-esteem in children’, which in turn, Arndt argued, renders them
vulnerable to the threat of paedophilia (Arndt 1995a). What becomes clear in this article, is that there is a self-evident relationship between the single mother’s ‘risky’ sexual proclivities and the sexual abuse of children by paedophiles. The unruly single mother is at once negligent and reckless; her perceived sexual avarice needlessly endangering her children.

In the same article, attention is again centred on the single mother’s sexual behaviour, where we read that ‘stories are legion of children reacting badly to a new sexualised view of their mother’ (Arndt 1995a). It was reported further that ‘a mother preening herself for a date can be a confronting sight’ (Arndt 1995a). These comments are characteristic of the morally conservative standpoint taken by many journalists within paedophilia debates. At the level of imagery, the single mother emerges as a symbolic signifier of both social disorder and sexual deviance. These representations of the single mother operate as part of a broader and more systematic discursive strategy aimed at locating the single mother’s sexuality outside the ‘normal’ range of activities. Here, the actions of the single mother symbolise not simply a failure in her duty of care as ‘mother’, more crucially, they are representative of her failure to comply with gendered and sexualised normativity.

What also strikes me here, is the link made between the promiscuous sexuality of the single mother and the sexual abuse of children. An explicit and repetitive association between single-mother households and an increased risk of child sexual abuse can be found in this report. Not only does this example illustrate how autonomous female sexuality is socially constructed as both dangerous and threatening, it exemplifies how a strategic alliance between heterosexual monogamy and the sexual/social safety of children is maintained and reproduced. The heterosexist bias which underscores media representations of what I would refer to as the ‘good family’ (the ‘good family’ two parents that are necessarily heterosexual, monogamous, white, middle class, able-bodied and married) is unequivocal in this report. Rather than symbolising the dissolution of social order, we can then understand the representation of paedophilia as symbolising ‘a power struggle for the maintenance of a certain kind
of social order' (Breines and Gordon 1983: 511, my emphasis). Within the current conditions of epidemic, however, it is a battle that is increasingly being lost.

In the disciplining of women’s gender and sexuality, discourses of paedophilia have become a critical site of contention. In defining the boundaries of ‘acceptable’ and ‘unacceptable’ sexual and gender behaviours, media discourse fulfils an important regulatory function. Single mothers of the victims of the paedophile have crucially abdicated their gender-assigned role as responsible, nurturing and chaste mother and wife. The single mother has not only disregarded, but importantly transgressed, the rigid codes of conduct women must adhere to, to be considered properly ‘feminine’. The single mother is signified as deviant because of what I would term her gender disobedience, her failure to adhere to the strict cultural codes of femininity which demand heterosexual monogamy. The single-mother poses a challenge to the hegemony of normative femininity; it is the single mother’s deviation from these gendered norms which effectively marks her as aberrant Other within the press.

As a result of this discourse of ‘family values’, or more specifically ‘maternal responsibility’, single-mothers have been effectively removed from debates surrounding child sexual abuse. Disqualified and silenced, the single mother is noticeably absent from any dialogue regarding her ability as mother. An endless procession of family ‘experts’ are authorised to deliberate endlessly on the single mother’s capability as ‘mother’, and although women are from radically different social, economic and racial groups, within press discourse all single mothers are reduced to one homogenous category. The totalising discourse of ‘motherhood’ which has characterised media debates of paedophilia has effectively worked to elide and erase the differences in race, class and sexuality between women and among women.

Young has described how the discursive slippage between ‘parent’ and ‘mother’ operates to reduce ‘the entire institution of parenthood, all the practices and emotions that make up parenting...into the figure of the mother’ (1996: 158). This slippage is nowhere more evident than in The Sydney Morning Herald where we read:
Children in some sole-parent families are exposed to a series of de-facto parent relationships, often with people who are violent or pose a danger to the safety of the children. (Loane 1997)

This example clearly points to the multiple ways in which language is used to obscure the sexed specificity of child sexual abuse. When discussing violent behaviour, the language used is deliberately gender-neutral. The use here of the term 'people who are violent' operates to conceal the sex-specific nature of these crimes. Yet the use of 'sole parent' necessarily implicates women. Women currently comprise eighty seven per cent of single parent families within Australia. The idealised image of the conventional archetypal ‘family’, has a specific political purchase in the current neo-conservative climate. A rigid gendered hierarchy exists where single mothers whose sexual status as unmarried, unpartnered or, more specifically, unmanned, mark her as Other. In many instances the single mother’s subject position as mother is over-ridden by her subject position as an unmanned woman.

Key changes in familial structures and women’s social position, combined with women’s increased sexual freedoms, has meant that women are increasingly leading lives independently from men. However, even though there have been core shifts in women’s social, economic and political standing, women continue to be the primary carers of children (Wearing 1996: 141). Ann Ferguson has suggested that within Western societies, single mothers are both discounted and devalued (1997: 56). The current negative social coding of single motherhood within paedophilia debates is an excellent example of this. Despite these changes in familial structures, the patriarchal ideal of the family persists within media discourse.

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67 An analysis of the changes in Australian familial structures can be found in Betsy Wearing’s, Gender: The Pain and Pleasure of Difference (1996).
69 For an analysis of the category ‘heterosexuality’ see Diane Richardson, Theorising Heterosexuality: telling it straight (1996). See also generally Van Every (1996).
These representations also typify how the single mother household is identified as a key site for the transmission of paedophilia. Within these constructions, repetitive references are made to 'problem' families that are characterised by an 'absent father' and an uncaring, irresponsible, sexually promiscuous mother who endangers her children by exposing them to a range of risks, including paedophilia. Linkages are also made between the uncontrolled and damaging sexuality of the single mother, and the perceived moral breakdown of the family. The issue of paedophilia itself is lost within questions surrounding the social disruptiveness and 'dangerous' sexuality of the single mother. Discourses of paedophilia are, then, crucially discourses about sexual dangerousness, specifically the sexual dangerousness epitomised in the figure of the single mother.

5.3 Mad or Bad? The 'Colluding' Mother

Indeed, in much the same way as the single mother, the 'criminal' mother has also become the prime object of journalistic scrutiny. This section considers how the 'colluding' mother, rather than the perpetrator of sexual abuse, becomes the focus of news reports. I will suggest that the figure of the 'colluding' mother operates as a key signifier, demarcating the boundaries between both a normative femininity and a deviant femininity within newspaper discourse. It is her perceived transgression of 'proper' femininity that marks the colluding mother out within media constructions of paedophilia.

In the section, I argue that the current narrative of maternal responsibility has signalled a move away from the more critical questions surrounding the role men play in the sexual abuse of children. Attention has been re-focused onto the mothers of children who have been sexually abused and the key contributing role they may have had in the abuse. The following discussion centres on representations of Deborah Taylor in the case of paedophile Brian Jones and Gordon Taylor. Although Deborah Taylor is a partnered or manned woman, Taylor continues to be branded a 'deviant'
mother within media discourse. I will suggest, however, that Deborah Taylor is marked as deviant for different reasons to that of the single mother.

Deborah Taylor was wife of Gordon Taylor, one of the two men who sexually abused six children during 1988-1991 with paedophile Brian Jones. Reporting on the Taylor and Jones case, one journalist remarked:

[Taylor’s] wife also played a big part in the scheme. Known locally as an independent council candidate who fought for youth related policies, it was accepted she would turn a blind eye to what was going on in her own home. Now serving two years jail for her involvement in this spate of abuse, she had held down one of her own screaming children on a bed while her husband raped him. (Ryan 1992b)

The discursive slippage here between wife and mother is important. In this report it is, specifically, the mother-child relationship that is regarded as problematic. Within this discourse of maternal responsibility, Deborah Taylor is not a mother at all. Taylor is refused her subject position as ‘mother’, her actions exist in stark opposition to that which is considered to be normatively ‘motherly’. The explicit representation of Taylor’s actions mark her out as a woman who also cannot be considered to be normatively feminine. This commentary exemplifies the negative social and cultural meanings attached to mothers who are considered to be deviant or ‘Other’. Within paedophilia discourses it is predominantly women’s identity as mother which becomes her defining characteristic. In the Taylor and Jones case, for example, Deborah Taylor was repeatedly referred to as either ‘mother’ or ‘wife’. Women’s subjectivities are intrinsically defined by their relationship both to men and to children.

Colin Hay has identified how the ‘collective strength of a ‘community of mothers” operates within newspaper discourse (1995: 214). The discursive power and authority of the community of ‘good mothers’ can be clearly identified in the following statement from the same *Sunday Herald Sun* article:

‘You have to understand the degree of our anger at the time’, one of the women has said. ‘These people are paedophiles and their sexual preference is for children. It didn’t matter to them that the children were defenceless, innocent victims in a
crime they could not possibly understand. They were violated in a way that will affect them horribly forever. *That a woman could stand back and allow it to happen under her nose, and even hold one of the children down in one case, was disgusting*. (Ryan 1992a; my emphasis)

A good mother/bad mother dichotomy frames these examples. Within this excerpt, the 'criminal' mother embodies a particular form of gender deviance. Accounts of this case relied on and were framed by very specific understandings of what constitutes 'good' or 'proper' mothering, and what is considered to be 'bad' or 'deviant' mothering. Within a circulating narrative of maternal duty and obligation, the actions of the community of 'good' mothers are vindicated. United in 'our' collective outrage and disbelief, the collective actions of these women are both understandable and in fact commendable. The anger of these women is at once justifiable and reasonable.

In discussing Deborah Taylor's culpability in the abuse of her children, the media were unremitting in their attack. It was, specifically, the participation of Taylor in the abuse that fuelled public outrage and anger, the terms used to describe her actions were worse than those reserved for paedophiles Gordon Taylor and Brian Jones. As one journalist put it: 'her behaviour in the past to her own children has been worse than any animals' (Ryan 1992a). Hay has written that the 'we' of the community importantly establishes itself as that which is not Other (1995). Community, family, society, 'us', exists in opposition to that which is considered to be criminal, Other, 'them' – the paedophile. Crucially, the Other mother embodies what I would term a derailed or disordered femininity. The community of 'good' mothers punishes the Other mother for her blatant transgression of her gender-assigned role. This case also highlights how the criminal mother's actions are not only constructed as being morally reprehensible, her behaviour is *unnatural*. It becomes *inconceivable* that a mother could behave in such a way toward her children. Her actions are seemingly irreconcilable with her gender-prescribed role as mother. The unspeakable horror of the act of sexual assault is deflected away from the paedophile and projected onto the Other mother who has neglected her maternal duty to protect her children. The criminal mother exists in symbolic opposition to the maternal values embodied in the normative ideal of the 'good' (i.e., heterosexual, dutiful and monogamous) mother.
The double effect of this discourse of 'motherhood' has been that women's role as nurturer and carer is at once reinforced and naturalised. Women who are mothers are subject to both internal and external modes of surveillance and regulation. In the policing of femininity, the community of 'good' mothers has fulfilled an important disciplinary duty. The Other mother is subject to both the weight of the law and the weight of what I would term the law of her gender identity. The enforcement of the law of gender, or more specifically the law of femininity, is symbolically carried out through the collective actions of the community of 'good' mothers. David Halperin has observed how:

Modern forms of governmentality actually require citizens to be free, so that citizens can assume from the state the burden of some of its former regulatory functions and impose on themselves - of their own accord - rules of conduct and mechanisms of control. (1995: 18, original emphasis)

The combined actions of these women illustrate how processes of self-governance are effectively enforced and regulated. Furthermore, their actions highlight the multiple ways in which governmental technologies are self-enforced and self-regulated (Foucault 1976: 110). The behaviour of the 'good mothers' exemplifies how regulatory and disciplinary techniques of control and normalisation are self-imposed. The disciplining of femininity is symbolised in the joint actions of these women. The Other mother is not only punished for what is considered to be her criminal conduct, but for her failure to adhere to cultural codes of femininity which require a specific standard of maternal care. The actions of Deborah Taylor provoked the fierce regulation of norms of femininity among the community of 'good' mothers. The disciplines and techniques of self-governance are exemplified in the individual and collective actions of these women.

5.4 'Other' Mothers

Mothers who failed act against the sexual abuse of their children, and mothers who were thought to 'turn a blind eye' to the abuse, were also the target of media scrutiny.
For instance, an article in the *Herald Sun* was particularly critical of mothers’ role in failing to speak out against the sexual abuse of children:

> A question that has troubled many workers in the field is the role played by mothers, who often know their children are being sexually abused but do not speak out. Why do they either fail to read the signs, or to act when the signs are clearly before their eyes? (Biddulph 1994)

And further, ‘often, a woman in some way colludes in the abuse, if only to turn a blind eye, or have another drink’ (Biddulph 1994). Another example of this mother-blaming discourse can be found in an article from *The Age*, where one journalist described how:

> Mothers frequently turn a blind eye to the darker doings of their inarticulate husbands and a child’s dignity is thought worth sacrificing to avoid any public scandal. (Conway 1993)

The focus on the mother in these articles is repetitive. The actions of the colluding mother are described in such a way that suggests her actions are worse than that of the perpetrators of the abuse. We also read in the *Herald Sun* that ‘Some mothers are as disturbed as their husbands, seeing the maltreatment as deserved, or welcoming it as relief for themselves. A minority even participate’ (Biddulph 1994).

Representations of women’s role in the sexual abuse of children crucially rely on, and are framed by, cultural constructions of normative femininity. The behaviour of the colluding mother is presented as being more despicable than that of the primary abuser due to her ‘natural’, principal role as carer and nurturer, as ‘mother’. The actions of the colluding mother become in the mind of the journalist the ultimate betrayal of her gender role. Constructions of paedophilia symbolise the regulation and reproduction of a normative femininity and a deviant femininity. Within this discourse of maternal responsibility and obligation, these women are inscribed firmly with the marks of an unruly femininity. Evil, uncaring and sadistic, the colluding mother surfaces as the embodiment of both criminal and gender deviance. The ‘we’ of the community is strengthened through our collective resentment and blame aimed
at the colluding mother who has ostensibly failed to protect her children from the threat of the paedophile.

The unquestioned and naturalised relationship between mother and child becomes an important signifier. Representations of the colluding mother exist in stark contrast to an idealised figure of the 'good' mother who embodies the image of responsibility, dependability and femininity. It is only the figure of the mother that is subject to the regulatory gaze of media discourse; the 'father' is conspicuously absent from any analysis of paedophilia. Another problem with these representations is that the reasons why many women do not or cannot speak out are over-simplified. The journalist does not address the more critical questions surrounding the reasons why women do not, or indeed cannot, leave an abusive relationship. These representations fail to critically account for the powerlessness of women in the family unit.

5.5 Criminal Contagion: 'Toxic' Families

By way of corollary, single mothers have also been implicated in the raising of paedophile Others. In the transmission of the disease of paedophilia, the 'toxic' single-mother family has been marked as a new locale of criminal contagion. In the social reproduction of paedophilia, the single-mother household emerges as a key site of risk and/or contagion. At the level of media discourse, the single mother emerges as a primary carrier in the plague of paedophilia. The following examples exemplify how intersections of epidemic operate in representations of 'motherhood'.

I have suggested that it is specifically the single mother that emerges as an important signifier in the paedophilia epidemic. Discourses of paedophilia, however, symbolise more than simply anxieties over the spread of single mother families in the climate of epidemic. Specifically, debates surrounding the 'epidemic' of single motherhood within paedophilia discourses have become increasingly connected in the media with the idea of a disintegrating nation. Within the media, the perceived breakdown in heterosexual familial relations was closely interlinked with ideas about citizenship and
the future of the nation. As Richardson has observed, 'citizenship continues to be premised with heterosexuality' (1996: 18). The crumbling foundations of heterosexual familial relations have become a symbol of the disintegration of the nation-state: 'It is heterosexuality as marriage and 'the family' which is associated with the notion and, moreover, seen as necessary for ensuring its survival' (1996: 17). The epidemic of single mother households has specifically signalled a breakdown in societal bonds. The single mother, in the words of Richardson, has 'imperil[ed] the nation' (1996: 17).

As mothers, women are charged with what Foucault has referred to as the 'supervision of normality' (1977: 296). Within paedophilia discourses, the figure of the 'good' mother, who is signified as heterosexual and manned, embodies the 'appearance of responsibility' (Young 1996: 148, original emphasis). Elena DiLapi has argued a hierarchy of motherhood exists, where 'the heterosexual woman is the most appropriate to parent' (1989: 101). DiLapi also suggests that the 'good mother' is 'of legal age, married in a traditional nuclear family, fertile, pregnant by intercourse with her husband and wants to bear children' (1989: 110). In continuing the cycle of crime, it is the single-mother who materialises as the prime suspect within media discourse. In this way we can identify the central role that the epidemic of paedophilia plays in what Watney refers to as the 'government of the home' (1993: 205). The single mother, who is represented in the media as a socially dangerous and ultimately destructive force, becomes the symbolic bearer of criminality, responsible for the endemic spread of paedophilia.

Part of mother's disciplinary duty (as the principal bearers of parental care and responsibility), requires that mothers raise productive law-abiding citizens. In the raising of criminal Others, the mother of the outlawed paedophile has ostensibly failed in this responsibility. Importantly, Young has suggested that 'the figure of the mother is made a scapegoat for the failure of investment in the link between community and child' (1996: 147). The mother of the paedophile, in her failure to rear law-abiding citizens, becomes the target of the media's regulatory and disciplinary gaze. It is due to her neglect as 'mother', that the mother of the paedophile becomes the object of media condemnation and investigation. Establishing a link between sexual abuse and
the development of criminality in children, one article reported that children's brains were 'exquisitely vulnerable', and damage by abuse could result in a 'violent, criminal or socially dysfunctional adult' (Loane 1997).

Socially stigmatised, the single mother emerges within the paedophilia epidemic as a principal carrier. The theme of 'epidemic' or 'plague' can be clearly read within an article from The Sydney Morning Herald, where it was reported that 'Sole parents, mostly mothers, are multiplying' (Legge 1997). And in the same article we read, 'It is possible that modern life is fanning child abuse because there are more "disorganised, disrupted, impoverished families"' (Heath 1996). Elsewhere in the same report, we read that single-parent households provide a 'breeding ground for a new generation of child abuse victims' (Heath 1996). In this article, there seems to be at work a panic-logic about the perceived increase in crime which can be connected to the proliferation of single-parent, or specifically single-mother, families. The children of single mothers are not only thought to be 'at risk' from the threat of the paedophile, but are also more likely to exhibit a range of behavioural problems, including criminality. The disorder of the single-mother, then, poses a double threat. First, the single mother exposes her children to the threat of sexual abuse from paedophiles due to her perceived 'risky' behaviour. And second, the single mother also plays a role in raising children who 'turn into' paedophiles. The single mother, then, becomes necessarily implicated in the fight against paedophilia.

Media investigations delved into the childhood backgrounds of the paedophile in an attempt to reveal the origins of their 'deviant' behaviour. Newspaper articles suggested that if we simply traced the actions of the paedophile back to their dysfunctional childhood, then we can 'make sense' of their horrific crimes. It is during childhood, one article claimed, that the paedophile is 'made': 'Rather than attempt to destroy our monsters, we should look at what creates them' (Evans 1999). It is, however, an inadequacy of specifically maternal care that is thought to contribute to the 'making' of the paedophile. Here, the paedophile emerges as a result of 'toxic families' which can be characterised by both an absent father figure and an irresponsible and neglectful mother (O’Neill 2002). It was reported, for example, that
paedophile Philip Bell was raised by a mother who was a ‘drug dependent pensioner’ (Cooke 1998b).

There is a repetitive and persistent attempt to establish a causal relationship between single-mother families and the development of paedophilia in adult men. Multiple references to an ‘over-protective mother’ in the paedophile’s childhood could also be found within media reports (Porter 1997). One article, for example, suggested that paedophiles tended to have ‘mothers who were often dominant figures in early development. The father, if he was there, often had a weak role’ (Wilson 1995). It was commented further of the paedophile that, they ‘often lived alone; if not with their mother’ (Wilson 1995). A dominant mother, combined with the lack of a male role model, is thought to contribute to the development of paedophilia in adults. The media, as an authorised realm of power/knowledge, reinforces the ‘naturalness’ of the subordinate female role within ‘traditional’ interactions within the family. It is the dismantling of the archetypal ‘traditional’ family, and the resulting change in women’s role within the family, that has contributed to the current paedophilia epidemic. In this way, the paedophilia ‘crisis’ has been deployed by the media to revitalise the representational currency of the heteronormative familial ideal and the specific dominant male and subordinate female gender roles within them.

Newspaper investigations into the perceived connections between criminality and poor or inadequate mothering were consistent. It is the figure of the mother who once again surfaces as the primary target within a narrative of ‘family values’ and parental responsibility. Young has suggested that within discourses of crime, the mother-child relationship is considered to be vital in the development of criminality in adults (1996: 147). The mother of the paedophile, in Young’s terms, ‘shrugs aside responsibility for raising her child to become a moral citizen and instead permits him or her to develop criminal values’ (1996: 157). A series of multifactorial explanations are given as to the cause of the development paedophilia in adults. In an effort to explain the crimes of the paedophile, many newspapers also identified key contributing environmental factors such as ‘chronic emotional neglect by mothers’ (Evans 1999). A predictable
and indisputable relationship between negligent mothering and the development of criminality and/or delinquency in children is established. There can be little doubt that the repetitive association made between single mother households and the development of criminality in children is an important discursive manoeuvre aimed at redirecting blame at the mother. Crucially, these representations are part of an entire discourse which attributes criminality and sexual/social disorder to 'deviant' mothers.

The mother has not only failed in her duty of care to her child, the mother has, crucially, also failed society. The mother has neglected her moral duty to both her family and the social body. Specifically, the mother of the outlawed paedophile is fundamentally negligent in her responsibility as mother. As the primary carers of children women are entrusted with this disciplinary duty. Conflicting explanations are given, however, as to the role the mother plays in the 'making' of the paedophile. On the one hand, mothers are presented as being overly protective and dominant, and on the other, they are negligent and incompetent. The message conveyed, however, is clear: deviant mothers raise paedophiles. However, why those individuals who are subject to the same environmental or family conditions but do not 'turn into' paedophiles is not explained within the media.

5.6 The 'Good Father': Discursive Mediations of (Hetero)Masculinity
A burgeoning discourse of 'fatherhood' has also been strategically re-harnessed within the paedophilia epidemic. MacKinnon has argued that the 'hegemonic ideal' of masculinity is 'not above history and social change' (2003: 115). I will not suggest that there is only one model of fatherhood, or that this model is not subject to rapid periods of social change; there are multiple meanings attached to the category of 'masculinity' and, by extension, 'fatherhood'. What I will argue, however, is that within representations paedophilia there is a very specific image of fatherhood that has come to dominate discourses of paedophilia over the past 15 years. It is, expressly, the 'absent father' who emerges as a central figure within news reports of paedophilia. This section explores the privileged meanings and values attached to 'fatherhood' and the specific understandings of normative masculinity which underwrite representations
of paedophilia. While paedophilia discourses are, crucially, discourses about masculinities, they are also discourses about masculine sexualities. The section will consider the dominant discourses surrounding male sexuality and constructions of masculinity which have framed these debates.

At a time when 'fatherhood' is being renegotiated within a range of social and cultural discourses, the figure of the good 'father' has reached a new symbolic currency and political purchase within social and cultural discourses of paedophilia. The section focuses on hegemonic representations of the 'good' father, who surfaces as the epitome of 'responsible' parenting. Importantly, I will suggest that representations of the 'good father' symbolise a resurrection of traditional masculine/feminine gender roles. My aim here is to critically examine how a circulating discourse of specifically masculine authority and paternal care operates within news discourse. The subsequent representations are also predicated on very specific understandings of what the term paedophilia means and what the category paedophile signifies, for I will suggest that men who abuse their biological children are, crucially, within media discourse, not paedophiles. There has occurred a core slippage between child sexual abuse and paedophilia.

The significance assigned to the figure of the father operates on two important levels. First, the father is positioned as protector of the family unit, effectively preventing the paedophile from entering the home. And second, the father is thought to perform a pivotal counteractive role, deterring the development of paedophilia in children through his conventional social responsibility as disciplinarian and moral guardian. 'Good' or 'proper' order emanates from what English political philosopher, Thomas Hobbes, referred to in the seventeenth century as 'domestic government' (1998: 110). Hobbes suggested that the 'power of domestic government belongs to the man' due to the fact the family is established and 'owned' by the man (1998: 110). Neoliberal discourse has sought to revive ideals of masculine domestic government that were promoted in the seventeenth century. Social control and stability is achieved through the 'good order' that results from the heteronormative family. Media discourses of paedophilia reflect - and reinforce - the legacy of Hobbes' domestic governance.
The perceived breakdown of traditional familial bonds within paedophilia debates have brought about a significant reconsideration and reappraisal of men’s role in the family. We have witnessed an intensification of the debate surrounding the place of men, or more specifically the place of fathers, in modern society. It was, specifically, the endemic absence of men from the home that was posited as the cause of an increase in cases of paedophilia. A series of attempted linkages have been made in the press between the dissolution of traditional family alliances - characterised by an absent male authority figure - and a correlative rise in incidences of paedophilia. Within news media debates of paedophilia, father-absence is presented as having an enduring and damaging effect on the sexual abuse of children.

The shared values of ‘family’, ‘community’ and ‘society’ are under constant threat and as a result paedophilia has seemingly thrived. In this sense we can understand how media representations of paedophilia suggest that a ‘death’ of the family has occurred. The increasingly fractured structure of the modern family has destabilised the institution of the family as a privileged and inviolable institution. Present anxieties over the deteriorating state of the family have resulted in a renewal of a neoconservative rhetoric of ‘family values’ and an elevation of the heterosexual family unit to a new level of symbolic power and authority. The collective ‘moral good’ - symbolised in the ‘good father’ - which is thought to lay the foundation for society, has been effectively undermined by the ‘epidemic’ of single mother families.

There has also been a tendency within media discourse to highlight father-absence as a key contributing factor to the development of criminality in children (see Collier 1997; see also Young 1996). The causes of the spread of paedophilia were repeatedly reduced to what many journalists referred to as an ‘absent father’. It is an absence of specifically paternal care and/or authority which is thought to result in the

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70 Tom Morton (1997) has also highlighted the current cultural shift in discourses of fatherhood. Morton suggests that as a result of changes in modern familial structures, specifically relating to an increased disconnection between fathers and their children, a ‘new ideology of the father’ (1997: 253) has been resurrected within the Australian media.
development of criminality or delinquency in children. The gender-specific roles men are thought to fulfil within the heterosexual family unit - the father's role as protector of the family, and his more general role in providing children with moral training and guidance - have been repositioned within the media as being vital in the deterrence of criminality in children. The following examples are characteristic of the authority the figure of the 'good father' has assumed within news media discourse.

Debates surrounding paedophilia have been framed by general concerns over what was consistently referred to within the news media as the 'future of the family'. I suggested earlier that single-mother families have become increasingly linked with social breakdown, moral pollution and an increase in crime, specifically paedophilia. The lamentable state of the modern family has been widely condemned in the media, many articles calling for a return to more 'traditional' family values. The anxieties expressed in these reports over an increase in single mother households are representative of concerns relating both to the future of the family and the future of society itself.

Media responses to the 'epidemic' of paedophilia have resulted in a redirection of attention onto the perceived 'problem' of single mother families. Numerous reports reflected a pro-family stance calling for a return to the far more disciplined boundaries of 'traditional' (that is, where the mother defers to the father's authority) family structures. The connection made between fatherless families and an increase in criminality in children was a theme picked up by The Sydney Morning Herald, where Dr Ruth Webber, a self-described 'authority on stepfamilies', was reported as stating that, 'research shows children in single-mother families have less controls put on them, more freedom and much less supervision' (Arndt 1995b). The symbolic associations between the single mother and moral laxity within this article are consistent. Collier succinctly describes the regulatory operations of this discourse of 'family values':

[It] has not been just the intensity and venom with which never married lone mothers have been scapegoated in a series of demands to restore 'family values' through 'returning' the
father to the family. It is, importantly for my present concerns, the increasing prominence of the explicit association which is being made between family breakdown, crime and the more general notion of a crisis of masculinity in which, crucially, the concept of fatherhood has moved centre-stage. (1998: 131)

It is seemingly only through the return of the father that the ‘natural’ order and safety of the family, which has effectively been undermined by the paedophilia ‘plague’, can be restored. Within media discourse, father-absence symbolises a perceived loss of boundaries, authority and moral probity. Within paedophilia discourses, mothers are representative of ‘non-autonomy’ and fathers signify ‘independence’ and ‘individualism’ (Rose 1993: 64). Men are represented as the subjects of reason, intellectualism and culture, while women embody passivity and vulnerability. The father counteracts the many and varied social and sexual transgressions of the single mother, the law of the father is thought to provide a panacea to the social ills that flourish within single-mother households.

Within a narrative of masculine authority, the father’s dual responsibility as disciplinarian and guardian secures his key role in the management and regulation of the home. The authority of the father is thought to counteract the ‘lawlessness’ that the single-mother embodies. It was suggested in news reports that the changing state of the family had effectively undercut the role of men in the home. This point was particularly evident in the following excerpt, where David Blankenhorn, a self-described conservative social critic and head of the rightwing think-tank, the Institute of American Values, was quoted as saying:

The single biggest social problem in our society may be the growing absence of fathers from their children’s homes, because it contributes to so many other social problems. (Arndt 1997)\footnote{Blakenhorn’s comment is originally taken from a speech given by former United States President Bill Clinton. Bettina Arndt comments on Blankenhorn’s book Fatherless America (1995): ‘His scholarly book, complete with 81 pages of footnotes, documents the link between fatherlessness and child poverty, juvenile delinquency, the declining health of children, educational failure, an increase in child sexual abuse, domestic violence and adolescent child-bearing’ (Arndt 1997).}
Here, a return of the father is posited as the solution to not only the increasing threat of crime, but a range of social evils. Despite more general shifts in the representation of masculinity in the Australian media over the past two decades, an idealised image of the father, or what I would term the ‘fiction’ of fatherhood, continues to underwrite these representations.

It is no coincidence that the heightened significance of the return of the father to the family home is occurring at the same time that the very relationship between men and children is currently being brought into question. Within the epidemic threat of paedophilia, we are witnessing a discursive reconsideration of modern social and cultural constructions of fatherhood. All things that are thought to be embodied in the figure of the father (discipline, responsibility, moral integrity, etc.) have been exalted to a new level of discursive authority and power. It was suggested in the media that the changing state of the family had effectively undercut the role of men in the home. The heterosexist bias that underwrites these representations is nowhere more apparent than in an article from the *Herald Sun*, where one journalist invited us to ask ourselves: ‘Are we ignoring one of our major causes of crime? – fatherlessness’ (Gray 1999a). The article highlights the connections made between father absence and an apparent increase in criminality in children. The father’s physical presence and unquestioned authority within the neoconservative social script, guarantees the maintenance and reproduction of the social/sexual/moral order. This at least partly accounts for the broad symbolism and immediate resonance that the image of the absent father has with readers. Newspaper accounts of the perceived increasing problem of fatherlessness, and by extension criminal delinquency in children, instantly registers with the reading audience.

The father has also emerged as a dominant symbol within an existing discourse of criminal contagion. The father plays a vital role in crime control; order, stability and the safety of the family and, by extension, the community is maintained by the father.

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The implication seems to be this: if we could simply return fathers to the home then the problem of paedophilia would be erased. These representations have signalled the development of a public discourse which articulates the growing problem of fatherlessness as a key contributing factor in the proliferation of paedophilia. The discourse of 'family values', which has characterised paedophilia debates, has narrowly focused on the negative impact father-absence was having on the sexual abuse of children by paedophiles.

The side-effects of the endemic fatherlessness within modern Australian families was characterised by the media as devastating. Father-absence is posited as the cause of a range of social problems, including paedophilia. In identifying children who are at the greatest risk from paedophiles, one article reported that 'kids whose fathers are detached and not involved in their lives; kids who don't have a dad or significant male role model' are at greatest risk from the paedophile (1999). In describing the benefits of traditional family alliances, one journalist reported that 'Few children from happy, relaxed families with united parents are likely to come to any sexual harm from adults' (Conway 1993). If we are to accept this argument, paedophilia by its very nature is not something which occurs within the heterosexual monogamous family. This discourse of 'family values' has signalled a revival of what Smart refers to as a 'patriarchal ideal of family life' (1989: 52). The risk posed by the paedophilia epidemic has provided a rationale and justification for the resurrection of the father's traditional role as head of the family. The heterosexual family unit emerges as an ideologically powerful symbol of 'good' order.

Concerns over spreading fatherlessness were generated by news reports that suggested that the absence of a male role model was common to most victims of the paedophile. For example, in commenting on the victims of paedophile, Philip Bell, one journalist observed that, 'all the boys were met by Bell soon after puberty and

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73 Many newspaper reports condemned the demise of the family, and in particular, highlighted father-absence as the cause of a range of social problems. See for example 'Call to Hold on to Fathers', where it was reported that 'fatherlessness is the most harmful demographic trend of this generation' (Critchley 1997). See also from the Herald Sun, 'Dad is Missing from too Many Homes' (Gray 1999a).
they were 'boys at risk' from broken homes or those who lacked a proper father figure' (Ellicott 1998). It was also reported that most of paedophile, Robert Dunn’s victims, were from ‘disadvantaged families’ (Connolly 2001b). It is the absence of the law of the father which allows the ‘disease’ of criminality and, by extension, paedophilia to replicate itself. The paedophile is able to enter the home with ease because the family has become vulnerable to attack. But even more problematic, was accounting for the role the paedophile plays in the lives of the children he abuses.

It was also reported that victims of sexual abuse often come from ‘dysfunctional backgrounds’ (Wilson 1995). Here, ‘dysfunctional background’ means single mother household. For example, Wilson, writing for *The Age*, says that the victims of paedophiles were:

usually ‘vulnerable’ children, often from one-parent families’ who might have something missing from their childhood, whether it be love or attention or material goods. (Wilson 1995)

Again, there is a focus on the inadequate care provided by the single-mother. The journalist continued, describing how the single-mother is targeted by the paedophile:

If a single mother was too busy to drive her son to sports practice the paedophile might offer. The mother believed she had a helpful friend. (Wilson 1995)

What many journalists referred to as the rapid rise in child sexual assault was frequently attributed in the media to widespread father-absence. One report, for instance, warned us that ‘neglect and abuse of the young is rising fast’ (Loane 1997). And elsewhere, we read that, ‘they [paedophiles] often target children in single-parent families or families without fathers’ (Gray 1999a). These comments point to the father’s more general role in protecting the borders of the non-criminal community. The privileging of fatherhood within these debates is unequivocal. One report published under the headline, ‘The Darker Love of Children’, described how ‘The eerie fatherlessness typical of large stretches of Australian society will only grow more marked and we will become an unhappy matriarchy by default’ (Conway 1993).
The father is hegemonically represented as both a protective force and a positive moral influence. This discourse makes clear the difference between the detrimental effects of de-facto families on child sexual abuse and the positive effect of families with a biological male parent. An article in *The Age* also detailed how paedophiles go ‘even so far as entering de facto relationships with single or separated mothers, to get access to children’ (Elias and Watkins 1997). An existing discourse of ‘family values’ promotes and validates the heterosexual family as a ‘safe’, that is, crime-free, space. The systematic privileging of heterosexual family relations within media discourse also operates to police women’s sexual subjectivities. This circulating discourse of fatherhood and heteronormativity reflects a deeply ingrained sexual conservatism aimed at controlling and disciplining women.

Articles also implied that the sexual abuse of children by a biological male parent were isolated incidences. For example, one report asserted that, ‘There are more children growing up without their biological fathers. Biological fathers, by and large, do not sexually abuse their children’ (Heath 1996). Within this discourse of family values, it is taken for granted that fathers do not abuse their children. In arguing that children are more at risk living with their mothers, one journalist commented that ‘de facto living arrangements have increased the child sex abuse rate by 600 per cent’ (Gray 1998). The report continues stating that:

> A culture which supports fathering by biological fathers is vital for the future well-being of society. For children, this is especially true. For their sake, let’s wake up now (Gray 1998)

In these representations, we can identify how gender, or more specifically masculinity, is a privileged signifier. Not only do media representations of ‘fatherhood’ rely heavily on social understandings of masculinity. The media emerges as a critical site where the discursive mediation of masculinity takes place. Horin, for *The Sydney Morning Herald*, also writes:

> The royal commission also exploded the myth that most child sexual abuse occurs in the home. It doesn’t. More than 50
per cent of child sexual abuse is committed by an outsider – a clergyman, sports coach, teacher, family friend. (Horin 1997)

Here the presentation of information as statistical knowledge gives the journalist’s argument credibility. This example best illustrates how threat of strangers is exaggerated and sexual abuse within the home is systematically downplayed in the media. Again these arguments reinforce the idea that only children with a biological male parent are truly protected against the threat of the paedophile.

5.7 Feminist Analyses of the Paedophilia Epidemic

As a result of this discourse of family values, there has been a de-sexualisation of the father and fatherhood within media reports which has, in turn, resulted in a de-sexualisation of child sexual abuse (Collier 1995: 209). When measured against sexualised representations of the single mother, news media constructions of ‘fatherhood’ are distinctly de-sexed. The de-sexualised ‘dad’ of today which features prominently in newspaper discourses of paedophilia, contributes to the invisibility of cases of sexual assault within the family unit. We can understand these representations to be part of the process through which sexual violence perpetrated by heterosexual men is systematically normalised.

Media ideas of ‘motherhood’ and ‘fatherhood’ remain strongly linked to normative understandings of both masculinity and femininity. Specifically, these examples have pointed to what I would term the productive capacity of the discourse of maternal responsibility. Feminists have long identified the heterosexual family unit as a site for the social control and subordination of women and children. In the policing of women’s subjectivities, the family is a primary site for the operations of disciplinary power, control and surveillance. The family is the symbolic site through which categories of sex, gender and sexuality are reproduced, organised and normalised. The family emerges, in Singer’s terms, as a ‘prophylactic social device’, where techniques of bodily management and discipline are aimed at the bodies of women (1993: 85).
Feminists have identified how the heterosexual family is a critical site in the deployment of masculinist power (Butler 1990: 35). Further to this, media reports fail to consider the sexual division of labour within the family and the patriarchal social structures in which women and children are positioned. It is the exploitation of women and children within patriarchal familial structures that has contributed to the endemic child sexual abuse. The discourse of 'family values' has reinforced the acute power imbalances within modern family structures by reaffirming the fathers 'rightful' and 'natural' position as head of the family and the relative powerlessness of women within the family. Within this political economy of heterosexuality, the family is coded as a privileged social space. Paedophilia discourses have had the double effect of stabilising and strengthening the socio-political relations of power which, in turn, reproduce heterosexual norms, in particular hetero-masculinities.

The paedophilia epidemic has resulted in a re-evaluation and re-framing of gender relations within the nuclear family. Gender divisions and differences are once again clearly demarcated in paedophilia discourses. There is, however, a distinct absence of any analysis of gender relations, including heterosexual male power, within newspaper reports. To assume that newspaper journalists are cognisant with contemporary developments in feminist poststructuralist theory is, on the surface, unrealistic. However, without any critical engagements with sex, gender and sexuality, or indeed, the current cultural reconsideration of hetero-masculinities, which appear to be at the core of the paedophilia epidemic, the media provide an overly simplistic approach to the question of sexual violence against children.

What also characterised public debates surrounding paedophilia was an emerging anti-feminist discourse, which functioned as a way of deflecting attention away from more crucial questions about the role of men in the sexual abuse of children. Although feminists have long strived to put child sexual assault on social and political agendas, men have been carefully positioned within media discourses as the unfairly silenced majority. One example of this emerging anti-feminist discourse is from The Australian, where it was observed that, 'masculinity is under siege' (Legge 1997). The Sydney Morning Herald also ran a story about the unfair focus on men in
newspaper reports of paedophilia. Men, the journalist commented, ‘have been targeted in campaigns against domestic violence and sexual abuse, always the uncontested suspect for social ills’ (Legge 1997). And further, it was suggested that, ‘Paedophilia has sullied further our image of men’ (Legge 1997). This pro-father and anti-feminist discourse is also illustrated in another report: ‘the father has his first taste of something he had better get used to – being marginalised and irrelevant’ (Biddulph 1995). And elsewhere, ‘Dads, you see, have become disposable’ (Biddulph 1995).

The distinct anti-feminist sentiment which underscored articles is nowhere more apparent than in the following extract. In what could only be described as a journalistic crusade against feminism and feminists, we read that:

‘Revenge feminism’ is not terribly interested in the suffering or history of men of men who perpetrate (and is also not keen to examine the growing evidence of women who perpetrate or collude with their male partners for their own gratification). (Biddulph 1996)

The virulently anti-feminist sentiment of many newspaper reports is exemplified in an opinion piece in the Herald Sun, where it was stated that feminists are ‘hostile’ towards men (Gray 1998). This style of reporting aims both to disqualify and silence feminist concerns about the sexual abuse of children. It makes sense that the stereotypical rabid, aggressive ‘lesbian’ feminists would exaggerate the threat posed to children by men. The lumping of all feminists into one homogenous category of man-hating feminist is pervasive within media representations of paedophilia. It seems that popular stereotypes of feminists as angry and antagonistic persist in news discourses.

I have suggested that there has been a resurgence of the patriarchal ideal of family life which is evidenced in the conventional familial roles espoused in news media constructions of paedophilia. Interestingly, this anti-feminist discourse has also provided a platform for the concerns and interests of men’s lobby groups. It is no coincidence that the media has picked up on this theme of fatherhood at a time when emerging debates surrounding the rights of fathers have come to the fore. Many
journalists leapt to defend men who appeared to have been unfairly targeted in child sexual abuse debates. In commenting on the unwarranted focus on men, one journalist cautions readers to 'Remember that women can also sexually abuse children' (Biddulph 1995).

On the one hand, child sexual abuse occupies a critical space in print news media discourse. Yet male-perpetrated sexual abuse of children can only be spoken about in certain kinds of ways. Feminist research cannot claim the objectivity and neutrality which is thought to distinguish the scientific models of crime and criminality which dominate media discourse. Due to the fact that feminism has a critical perspective, it is assumed to be partial, and therefore, suspect. It is reasonable to talk about child sexual abuse as long as it is not mentioned that it is primarily men who are the perpetrators of abuse. There is a resounding discursive silence surrounding men's criminal responsibility for the sexual abuse of children.

5.8 The Biology of Crime: The Inherited 'Germs' of Paedophilia

Despite the spurious origins of positivistic scientific theories of crime and criminality, the idea of an innate criminality continues to have currency within social and cultural discourses, in particular media discourse. Contemporary newspaper representations of paedophilia are reminiscent of sexological investigations of the late nineteenth century which searched for the in-born germs of criminality and degeneracy. In fact, I suggest these constructions of paedophilia signify a return to biological determinism, where the body is again privileged as an indisputable source of evidence about criminal deviance.

Young suggests that the disease of criminality replicates and reproduces itself on two important levels: 'biological and social reproduction: child-bearing and child-rearing' (1996: 148). The media does not simply examine offender's social backgrounds, but also investigates the biological factors which are thought to have contributed to paedophiles offending. A narrative of criminal contagion again emerges as offenders' backgrounds are examined for signs of the inherited 'germs' of criminality. An article featured in the Herald Sun, headed 'Making of Monsters begins with Babies',
described how paedophilia has biological origins (O'Neill 2002). The socio-biological
explanations of paedophilia provided by criminologists consistently receive extensive
coverage within the media. Consider also, for example, the following comment made
in an article entitled ‘Born to be Bad’ (Drury 1997):

hormones, neurotransmitters, brain structure and malfunction
all contribute to criminal behaviour and all in turn are
influenced by genes. This raises the question of whether there
is a criminal pedigree. The answer is a qualified yes. One
study found that 50 per cent of adoptees from criminal families
went on to acquire a criminal record, whereas 5 per cent of
adoptees from non-criminal natural parents took to crime.
(Drury 1997)

The continuing impact of sexological classifications on modern categorisations of
sexual behaviour can be identified in these excerpts. The ‘germs’ of criminality, which
were promoted by sexologists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,
continue to circulate in contemporary discourses of crime and criminality. The
comment clearly reflects the same basic biologism of the late nineteenth century
which reduced criminal behaviour to biological dysfunction and physical degeneracy.
The paedophile is represented as an instinctive criminal whose sexual and criminal
deviancy is the result of a defective physiognomy.

In suggesting that there is a genetic predisposition to criminality, the article continued,
stating that, ‘The roots of crime lie in the brain’ (Drury 1997). The journalist likens the
‘criminal mind’ to a hand of cards, where a core range of sociological and biological
contributing factors can be identified:

it takes more than one card to produce criminal behaviour and
in most cases you need to add social factors such as poverty,
poor parenting, criminal parents, and drug and alcohol abuse
to produce a royal flush of criminal activity. The criminal cards
include gender, age, IQ, personality, hormones, brain
chemistry and structure. (Drury 1997)

The report details individuating ‘inherited’ characteristics that are accepted uncritically
as contributing factors in criminal behaviour. In the same article, we read that
offenders have ‘damaged brains’ and are ‘imprisoned by their own criminal biology’
The repeated references made to an inborn 'criminal pedigree' or 'criminal instinct' that can be passed on from generation to generation, illustrate how the idea of an inborn criminality continues to operate within modern discourses of crime.

The above article is also significant due to the timing of its publication. The report, published three months after the AIC conference, reported that the paedophile displays 'brain abnormalities in the limbic system which is responsible for sexual arousal' (Drury 1997). We read further in the same article that, 'in violent paedophiles, damage to the frontal lobes adds an extra dimension of violence and aggression' (Drury 1997). A rudimentary biologism underscores this argument which has the effect of reducing paedophilia to biological anomaly or dysfunction. The paedophile is, in fact, thought to possess an innate 'genetic drive' to sexually abuse children (Loane 1997).

In all of these reports, biological constitution becomes an important precursor to paedophilia. Within a logical positivistic framework of 'science', it is possible to search for biologically-based characteristics that are presented as being indicative of an 'innate' criminality. The paedophile thus surfaces within media discourse as a distinct and definable sexual/criminal species that can be identified by a range of physiological disorders and psychical peculiarities. The paedophile's 'criminal biology' is a distinctive marker of his 'instinctive' sexual/criminal deviancy.

The representations I have examined also follow a coherent narrative of epidemic. The narrative of paedophilia-as-biological disease is easily reproduced in the current conditions of epidemic. The above comments are reflective of an underlying panic about the spread of paedophilia. The narrative formulation of paedophilia-as-biological-dysfunction is important, because it draws on an already existing collective fear of infection. Within this medical model of criminality, people become 'infected' with paedophilia. If we are able to simply reduce paedophilia to biological dysfunction, we are able to predict and control 'outbreaks' of paedophilia by identifying people who are 'at risk' of developing the paedophile 'gene'. If the cause
of paedophilia is reduced to inherited biological aberration, we can prevent paedophilia from contaminating future generations. If paedophilia can be removed from the realm of social construction and instead located within a framework of medical science we are able to ‘cure’ the disease of paedophilia.

5.9 Conclusion
Within constructions of paedophilia, there seems to be at work a discourse of maternal responsibility which positions the single mother, the colluding mother and the criminal mother as Other. It is this failure in her duty of care, her maternal obligation, which singles out the deviant mother as Other within newspaper discourse. Further to this, the circulation of media images of the single mother and the criminal mother act to discursively bind women to specific traditional gender-roles within the family. Single mothers have been variously labelled within news discourse as sexually promiscuous, morally deficient, and socially incompetent. The perceived inadequate standard of care provided by the single mother is presented as a fundamental contributing factor in the sexual abuse of children. Crucially, this lack of maternal care is posited as the cause of paedophilia within newspaper discourse.

Media constructions of motherhood, fatherhood and the family are inseparable from the discursive representation of gender. Newspaper discourse is part of a privileged discourse which marks out a ‘deviant’ femininity and a normative ‘masculinity’. More specifically, the following representations exemplify the critical role cultural meanings and social systems of gender play in constructing understandings of paedophilia and the paedophile. Our understanding and knowledge of paedophilia is, I suggest, inexorably linked to media discourse which systematically privileges masculinity and fatherhood and systematically devalues femininity and motherhood.

As a result of this focus on the ‘mother’, men’s culpability has effectively been diminished. More importantly, within this discourse the sexual abuse of children is produced and framed as being the entire responsibility of the mother. The narrative of mother-blaming which characterises these representations has effectively resulted in the removal of the offender from paedophilia discourses. Rather than the man-child
relationship, it is the mother-child relationship which becomes the central object of media investigation and scrutiny.

These examples have also exemplified women’s critical role in the reproduction of the plague of paedophilia. The deviant mother has materialised as a new carrier within the narrative frame of epidemic. Epidemic conditions have fostered new modes of transmission; the pestilence of paedophilia has mutated, replicating itself through modern familial formations.
Chapter Six:

Media Constructions of Cyber-Paedophilia and the Cyber-Paedophile

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I examine representations of what has been referred to in the print news media as 'Internet' or 'cyber' paedophilia. The figure of the cyber-paedophile has been central to media debates surrounding paedophilia, particularly over the past ten years. Media constructions of cyber-paedophilia have marked a critical shift in the representation of paedophilia, the cyber-paedophile emerging within the Australian press as a discursively specific and distinct category of criminal Other. The creation of this new discursive category, the cyber-paedophile, has had important implications for the entire representation of paedophilia.

The emergence of the cyber-paedophile has necessitated a re-reading of the criminalised body of the paedophile and has importantly signalled a new mode of conceptualising paedophilia within news discourse. Representations of cyber-paedophilia and the cyber-paedophile cannot only be contextualised within anxieties surrounding the proliferation of paedophilia in general. I will suggest that media constructions of cyber-paedophilia are ultimately reflective of specific anxieties over the border disruption between public and private spheres (Collier 2001). With the creation of this hybrid creature, the cyber-paedophile, the lines of demarcation between 'us' (the general population) and 'them' (criminal Others, the paedophile) have become virtually impossible to maintain and reproduce.

The following discussion also critically addresses how media constructions of cyber-paedophilia continue to be constructed discursively within a context of 'epidemic'; the paedophile is at the centre of a new 'epidemic' of child sexual abuse, cyber-paedophilia. Media constructions of Internet or cyber-paedophilia are no less characterised by metaphors of disease and contagion than other representations of
paedophilia, cyber-paedophilia materialising within press discourse as a threat that in fact cannot be contained and defeated.

I will also argue that the sexed, gendered and sexualised dimensions of paedophilia have been concealed within the technological realm of 'cyberspace'. That is to say, the language of technology has not only obscured the sexed identity of the paedophile, but also the sexed identity of the victims of paedophilia. Within the media, the perpetrators of child sexual assault are reduced to 'cyber-paedophiles', a category which is distinctly disembodied and desexualised.

6.2 Virtual Realities: Discursive Constructions of Sex, Crime and Gender in Cyberspace

Before I examine representations of the cyber-paedophile, it is first necessary to address how new cyber-technologies have impacted on modern relations of power/knowledge and experiences of subjectivity. The intervention of modern computer-based technologies into our everyday lives has been far-reaching. Developments in information and communication technologies, in particular, have played a significant role in what Threadgold has referred to as the 'making of new kinds of subjects' (1997: 67). In the production and formation of identity categories, computer-based technologies have had an enormous impact. The emergence and development of technologies specifically relating to the Internet, have signalled a major transformation in the ways people communicate and relate to one another. The 'virtual' environment of cyberspace has provided new methods of communication and

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74 A special investigation by the Queensland Police Force into paedophilia (2003-2004), found that of the twenty five investigations undertaken relating to Internet paedophiles, all of the suspects were male and, in the majority of cases, the victims were girls. There were only two cases where the suspect attempted to solicit boys, http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/tandi2/tandi301t.htm accessed 10th May 2006.

75 It is necessary to define some terms that will be used throughout the following section. Branwyn defines the Internet as: 'The global 'network of networks' that contains a growing number of these constituent networks...the total constellation of computer nets containing the Internet, the other large networks, and the smaller regional nets is frequently referred to in on-line vernacular as 'cyberspace' (1994: 225). Featherstone and Burrows define cyberspace as a 'generic term which refers to a cluster of different technologies, some familiar, some only recently available, some being developed and some still fictional, all of which have in common the ability to simulate environments within which humans can interact' (Featherstone and Burrows 1995: 5). In short, cyberspace refers to an 'electronic matrix or virtual environment' (Balsamo: 116).
interaction that has resulted in a new, seemingly disembodied, mode of being. For
Vicki Kirby, developments in cyber-technologies have importantly reframed our
understandings of self and Other. She writes of these modern virtual interactions:

The human subject is now digitised and decentred through the
global stretch of cyberspace capillaries. Kinships of technicity
are organised along bloodlines of data that have begun to
complicate and displace more familiar identity alliances. (1997:
129)

The virtual community of cyberspace has significantly altered and redefined
interactions between self and Other. We inhabit a new techno-reality where the
boundaries between human and machine, technology and nature are not so clearly,
or indeed easily, defined. Kirby comments further that the modern communications
revolution has 'significantly refigured corporeal possibility in a way that extends to the
larger and not unrelated question of what it means to be human' (1997: 129). Within
the seemingly limitless possibilities of this 'virtual' reality, discursive mediations
between self and Other are in a constant state of transition and transmutation. As
Emily Martin has also observed:

there are changes afoot in our embodied dispositions,
changes that will surely take importantly different forms among
different people and groups. We are experiencing not so
much the end of the body as the ending of one organizational
scheme for bodies and persons and the beginning of another.
(1997: 555-556)

Advancements in information technologies have had important consequences for how
bodies and subjectivities are produced, categorised and understood.

In this modern realm of power and technology, we have witnessed the re-mapping of
a range of identity categories. In the 'virtual' world of cyberspace, identities have
become increasingly fragmented, unstable and uncertain. Categories of sex, gender
and sexuality have been destabilised and are continually being renegotiated within
this contemporary cyber-cultural matrix.76 Inside the ceaseless flux of cyberspace our

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76 For a feminist account of the impact of virtual technologies on experiences of
subjectivity see Vicki Kirby, Telling Flesh (1997).
digitised 'self' is thought to be unmarked by the restrictions of social classifications of sex, gender, race and sexuality. For within the new techno-reality of cyberspace, these categories can seemingly go unidentified and unremarked.

The ramifications of this new technological realm, in particular the Internet, for the (re)production of identity categories, have been manifold. Specifically, the Internet has had implications for how we understand and experience sexuality, the world of the virtual transforming what sex means in the twenty first century. Cyberspace has emerged as a modern medium for sexual exchanges and a new site for the inscription of meaning about sexuality. The Internet initially emerged as a site of seemingly 'safe' sex, immune from the modern plagues which have marred sexual relations in the late twentieth century. The creation of cyberspace promised the possibility of sexual interactions which were unaffected and unrestricted by the dangers associated with embodied human sexual relations. Claudia Springer has written:

The appeal of computer existence for humans in the late twentieth century cannot be separated from the actual crises confronting us, in particular the crises surrounding issues of sex and death. (1994: 161)

Cyberspace, in essence, has been conceptualised as a realm that is free from the spectre of death which has overshadowed sexual relations during the past two decades. It is a space which has ostensibly managed to escape the nexus of sex and death which has so heavily imprinted modern sexual relationships.

Virtual realities have marked a new era of technologised sex where individuals are also seemingly unrestricted by their bodily limitations. It is this disconnection between the physical body and the virtual body that holds such appeal for computer users. Our digitised selves are, on the surface, not bound by the constraints of physical embodiment. Virtual technologies promise the existence of a 'self' which is unencumbered by the bonds of corporeality, where one is able to appear as something Other than what one really is. Media reports of Internet or cyber-paedophilia, however, contradict the idea that the Internet is a site of 'safe' sex; media
discourses of paedophilia have crucially marked out the Internet as a new site of sexual danger and/or risk.

Springer comments that the 'inscription of sexuality to computers is part of a larger well-documented tendency for people to anthropomorphise computers' (1994: 160). Computers have become invested with human characteristics, they have become, in effect, an extension of our human 'self'. Cybercultural discourses, however, are no less infused with the same normative assumptions about sex, gender and sexuality that underpin other discourses (Springer 1994: 158). We should also not assume that this seemingly disembodied space is any less regulated by the operations of power. The realm of the virtual is subject to the very same regulatory, prohibitive and disciplinary powers which govern the physical or 'real' world. Our digitised self continues to be subject to the rigid dualistic codes of sexed, gendered and sexualised normativity which govern our embodied selves. This technological realm remains fundamentally regulated by normative categories of sex, gender and sexuality. I will also suggest that the descriptive terms used to contextualise Internet paedophilia are framed, and continue to be framed, by the dualities of self/Other, heterosexual/homosexual, and masculine/feminine.

Cyberspace has been largely represented within popular discourses as a realm unaffected by discursive constructions of sex, gender and sexuality. My analysis of newspaper articles involves a reading of cyberspace as a distinctly sexed, gendered and profoundly sexualised environment. Although cyberspace is a technological realm, it remains a thoroughly gender-coded space (Kirby 1997; see also Springer 1994). Kirby has observed that 'human-computer interaction is already sexualised because the computer is fetishized as the body of woman' (1997: 143). It is this reading of cyberspace as a specifically feminised space that we can contextualise the epidemic of cyber-paedophilia. Not only is the feminisation of computer technologies reflected in terms such as 'motherboard', but cyberspace has become a feminised conduit for modern sexual relations. The 'public' space of cyberspace has been coded as a distinctly feminised space. I will suggest that cultural representations of
the female body as unpredictable, unknowable and unstable are reflected in representations of cyberspace.

6.3 Cyber-Crime

The growth in modern communication technologies has redefined the operations of crime in two important ways. First, the Internet represents a new site for operations of crime itself, and second, the criminal Other has been re-signified within this modern era of technological advancement. I suggest that within the discursive realm of cyberspace, the criminal Other is being reconstituted and continually, in Young’s words, being ‘brought into crisis’ (1996: 17). The threat embodied in the cyber paedophile has surfaced within modern paedophilia discourses as a distinctly different threat. Within the new and emergent media discourses of cyber-crime, the cyber paedophile has materialised as a high-tech hybrid of sexual and criminal deviancy. The sexual/criminal category of paedophilia has been altered within the discursive terrain of cyberspace, the cyber-paedophile surfacing within media discourse as cyber-body, part techno-sex object, part criminal-Other.

Modern intersections of technology and nature have signified a remaking of the paedophile. In this way it is useful to apply Donna Haraway’s concept of the ‘cyborg’ to media constructions of the cyber-paedophile. Within media discourse the cyber-paedophile emerges as a cyborg, ‘a cybernetic organism, a hybrid of machine and organism, a creature of social reality as well as a creature of fiction’ (1997: 502). The discursive terrain of cyberspace has blurred the boundaries between myth and reality, fact and fiction. Modern cyber-cultural discourses have further contributed to the mythologising of paedophilia; within press discourse the paedophile has become a technologised criminal Other. What follows explores how the threat of the cyber-paedophile is, in effect, an artificial construction, a creature of technological, media and criminal fiction.

Cyber-cultural discourses have been crucial in the development of modern concepts and images of cyber-paedophilia and the cyber-paedophile. I suggest that with the
creation of the cyber-paedophile, the fiction of paedophilia has been re-written. This new category of criminal-Other, the cyber-paedophile, importantly represents a critical site of disruption to the category 'paedophile'. What paedophilia has come to signify within press discourse has been transformed within these modern virtual realities. The threat of the cyber-paedophile, more importantly, signifies a collapsing of the 'virtual' and the 'real' world. The cyber-paedophile is a category of criminal Other that has become intrinsically volatile; within the contemporary geography of cyberspace, the body of crime, its borders and boundaries, have been irrevocably compromised.

In this way we can understand media constructions of Internet paedophilia to be representative of a specifically disembodied crime, for 'there is no body in virtual space' (Kirby 1997: 134, original emphasis). Where the body, the physical body and the body of crime, ends and begins has been open to renegotiation within these contemporary techno-discourses. If the cyber-paedophile is disembodied, then it follows that the victim of paedophilia is also disembodied. I will suggest that one of the effects of confining paedophilia to the realm of cyberspace has been the de-sexualisation of paedophilia. Discourses of cyber-paedophilia have had the reverse effect of downplaying, or indeed minimising, the harm done to survivors of paedophilia. The sexual specificity of paedophilia is once again erased as the men who sexually abuse children are reduced to 'cyber-paedophiles'. Within these emergent cyber discourses of paedophilia, the techno-sexed body of the paedophile is reduced to nothing but a de-sexed computer-mediated 'virus'. Representations of cyber-paedophilia have had the effect of situating paedophilia outside the relations of gender, sexuality and power which are internal to sexually abusive relationships.

The following examples attest to the powerful position the figure of the cyber-paedophile has assumed within print news media discourse. Specifically, these excerpts draw attention to how the media has constructed the crisis or epidemic of cyber-paedophilia in such a way as to heighten anxieties over the perceived dangers relating to computer-based technologies. The emergent cyber-paedophilia epidemic has signified a new era of technological embodiment where the threat of the paedophile has become far less concrete, and indeed far more threatening. The
disembodied cyber-paedophile is an important sign of the omnipresence of paedophilia.

6.4 Media Constructions of Cyber-Paedophilia

Within conditions of epidemic, discursive mediations of paedophilia are in a constant state of transition; conditions of epidemic are by their very nature volatile and subject to rapid periods of change. Cyber-paedophilia is a key new area in the development of the epidemic of paedophilia. The following newspaper representations exemplify how discourses of cyber-paedophilia have also been dictated and directed by a narrative of epidemic, for I will suggest that constructions of the paedophile body as a source of pathology and contagion persist in media discourses of cyber-paedophilia. An intrinsic connection is established within the media between new cyber-technologies and the widespread contagion of paedophilia. In the modern climate of epidemic violence, the Internet has become a source of infection whereby the disease of paedophilia is effectively communicated to others through cyberspace.

The language of 'disease' and 'infection' has become a common feature of computer discourse. The very operations of computer networks are structured around the language of illness and contagion. Metaphors of disease and contamination have been firmly written into modern day computer terminology. Computers can be infected with 'viruses', 'worms' and 'bugs', that threaten to attack and disable your computer. Computer systems are invaded from the outside by the corrupting and disabling forces of a virus which can spread from one computer to another. Viruses require a 'carrier program' in order to transfer the disease to other computer networks, and one is required to install anti-virus software to combat the infection that has been transmitted to your computer.

The multiple disease signifiers which are implicit in computer terminology are also internal to the entire discourse of cyber-paedophilia. Cyberspace has become an additional site for the transmission of paedophilia, the cyber-paedophile materialising within press discourse as an agent of disease who spreads the virus of paedophilia.
through cyberspace. The cyber-paedophile is, in the words of Treichler, 'both infectious (a state or condition) and infecting (an active agent of disease)' (1993: 282, original emphasis). The simultaneous reading of the cyber-paedophile as both infective and infectious frames my analysis of media representations of the cyber-paedophile.

The disease of paedophilia has mutated, the cyber-paedophile representing a new nexus of criminal and sexual danger within media discourse. In the reproduction of this cultural narrative of epidemic, the disease-marked body of the cyber-paedophile performs an important carrier function. The development of the discursive category 'cyber-paedophile' has also posed a series of unique and challenging obstacles in the fight against the paedophilia epidemic. I suggested earlier that the current fear of paedophilia can be attributed, in part, to the unknowable threat of the paedophile. Within the techno-cultural matrix of cyberspace, the threat of cyber-paedophilia is at once unknowable, unmanageable and unfathomable.

The development of the cyber-paedophile as a distinct identifiable criminal (sub)species can be traced to the 1990's, where the first of what would become a succession of articles relating to Internet paedophilia featured in Australian newspapers. Media interest in the topic of cyber–paedophilia was initially ignited by general concern over what was termed an increase in 'high-tech' crimes, specifically relating to the traffic of child pornography. The cyber-paedophile made one of its first appearances in The Age in 1999, when it was reported that, 'the growth of child pornography on the Internet had led to the creation of cyberspace paedophiles who were potential offenders' (1999a).

Media debates surrounding the traffic of child pornography over the next few years were narrowly focused on the menace of this new cyber-villain, the cyber-paedophile. An article which featured in The Age commented on the threat of the cyber-paedophile, '[they] stalk their victims and display their pictures on the Internet, sharing their material with other child molesters' (1999a). In the same article, head of the...
Victoria Police Child Exploitation Squad at the time, Detective Senior Sergeant Chris O'Connor, was quoted as saying:

> The Internet has created a new generation of potential child molesters who can obtain kiddie porn at the click of a button. If they are downloading images and they haven’t assaulted, they certainly will. (1999a)

Within these articles there is a transparent relationship between pornography and paedophilia. In the battle against the 'encroaching tide' of sexually explicit material on the Internet, the cyber-paedophile materialised as the primary threat (Barker 2003). In what was continually described as a new and rapidly increasing danger, cyber-paedophilia was represented as an untraceable and undetectable source of criminal contagion. In redefining the risk posed by the paedophile-Other, media discourse has played an important constitutive role. Writing for *The Age*, one journalist suggested that, with the development of modern computer technologies a 'new breed of cyberspace paedophiles' had been created (1999a). And elsewhere, 'the Internet had created a new type of child abuse' (1999c). In the midst of the social crisis of paedophilia, the cyber-paedophile has materialised as a distinctly new, and a far more dangerous threat.

The media worked tirelessly to establish a correlation between the expansion and development of computer technologies and a rise in the sexual abuse of children. Newspaper reports also suggested that as a result of the growth in computer technology, the fight against paedophilia had become increasingly difficult. It was claimed that computer technologies, specifically relating to the Internet, had hindered attempts to stamp out child sexual abuse. The seemingly hostile and chaotic world of the Internet emerges as an ideal space for the paedophile to operate. The Internet has, in the words of one journalist, 'provided a new gateway, particularly to people who are disposed to offend' (Robinson 2001a). In an article focusing on the dangerousness of this new type of criminal Other, one reporter also commented that paedophiles were 'using internet chatrooms to pursue pedophile activity' (Hickman 2004). In what could only be described as an overstatement of the risk, another report asserted that, 'paedophilia is one of the main threats on the Internet' (1999d).
Not only has the Internet been identified as a new locale for the operations of paedophilia, the extent of the threat and risk of the cyber-paedo has become inconceivable and insurmountable.

Young has suggested that a key principle of crime control is the ability to identify and predict sites of criminal danger and/or risk. She writes:

Criminals can spring up all over, new forms of criminality can be developed. Prediction becomes a major bulwark of the community's fight against crime; for prediction can suggest future locations of the boundary. (1996: 12)

The fight against crime is dependent on the identification and anticipation of sites of danger and/or risk. In the war or battle against the cyber-paedophile, crime control and prevention has become increasingly problematic. In anticipating the movements of the criminal Other, the Internet has posed a number of different challenges. What distinguishes cyber-crime from other forms of crime is an absence of physical borders and boundaries. As Baron has suggested, the Internet is 'a realm that has no physical boundaries' (2002: 191). The logistics of policing paedophilia is inherently problematic, for as Balsamo has also observed, 'although this space is structured, it is impossible to map' (1996: 127). If crime has no location how are we to police it? How can paedophilia be controlled and contained if there are no boundaries to be enforced and no borders to patrol? How are we to stem the increasingly rapid spread of paedophilia if we are unable to locate the threat? Within the seemingly endless scope and infinite possibility of cyberspace, paedophilia is difficult to pinpoint.

The new discursive realm of cyberspace has had enduring implications for how crime, specifically paedophilia, is to be policed. Within news reports, the assumption appeared to be that if the Internet could be effectively regulated then the problem of cyber-paedophilia would be eradicated. Press discourse effectively draws on individual and collective fears relating to the intrinsic difficulties and seeming impossibility of negotiating this impenetrable cyber-matrix. As one journalist put it in an article headed 'On the Torturous Trail of the Cyber-paedophile', paedophilia on the
Internet is difficult to regulate and contain as paedophiles are able to 'cloud the identities of sender and source' (Robinson 1997).

What also characterised these constructions was the common representation of the cyber-paedophile as an overwhelmingly concealed threat. Reports suggested that the largely unchartered territory of cyberspace had been specifically targeted by the paedophile to gain access to children. In the Herald Sun for example, a report explained how the cyber-paedophile is able to evade law enforcement authorities with ease:

By using pseudonyms in chat rooms, fake e-mail addresses, and software which strips out any information from an e-mail which might be used to trace them, they [paedophiles] hope to cover their tracks and avoid prosecution. (Robinson 2001a)

Media representations of cyber-paedophilia also relied heavily on community fears that the cyber-paedophile posed an imminent threat. For example, a report from The Age tapped into community concerns, stating that:

Police estimate there are hundreds in the community who are never caught. In Victoria alone, there are estimated to be about 2000 paedophiles at large. (1999a)

What is crucial here is that cyber-paedophilia is presented as being out of control and impossible to contain. The cyber-paedophile is able to merge seamlessly within the intricate web of cyberspace. In the virtual community of cyberspace, paedophiles are able to operate without detection and conceal the 'truth' of their sexual and criminal perversion, for within cyberspace, the paedophile is able to misrepresent his age, gender, sex and sexuality, and more importantly his criminality.

Innovations in computer technologies have marked a new era in crime control where the threat of the criminal Other has become far less tangible. Discursive constructions of time, space and identity have been rearticulated within the technocultural matrix of cyberspace. Specifically, the Internet has greatly impacted how crime is to be controlled, managed and contained. As one reporter commented,
recent developments in electronic communications media have enabled paedophiles to 'assemble invisibly' and share information (Bates 1994). The report also suggested that the Internet had provided paedophiles with new and far easier methods of accessing children: 'certainly paedophiles have emboldened one another before, but the new technologies make it much easier' (Bates 1994).

The growing fear that cyber-technologies had effectively facilitated the spread of paedophilia was also reflected in another article from The Age:

As a consequence of recent advances in technology, such as the Internet and computer bulletin boards, networking between paedophiles has become easier, more anonymous, more accessible, less risky and probably more prevalent. (Robinson 1997)

The very existence of the cyber-paedophile contradicts popular notions that the paedophile is an identifiable and knowable criminal species. The media reinforces the perception that the Internet has allowed for the proliferation of criminal subcultures and that the 'paedophile problem' is now out of control. The Internet, in effect, has aided paedophiles in the sexual abuse of children by providing new opportunities to access children relatively unchecked.

An implied limitlessness to cyber-paedophile's offending could be found in articles. As one reporter observed, 'The Internet is a powerful tool. Anyone can use it. You can get away with pretty much everything' (Shmith 2002). An all-pervading fear of the unknown characterises discourses of cyber-paedophilia. What was once represented as an identifiable threat, now becomes a hidden problem, lost in the limitless expanse of cyberspace. The seeming impossibility of the regulation of Internet activities was enough to incite fear and anxiety in the community. Headlines such as: 'Governments Urged to Act On Net Paedophiles' (2001), 'Ministers Plan War on Child Sex' (Tingle 1997) and 'Police Alarm on Net Child Sex Sites' (1999a), convey a sense of urgency in combating the danger of the cyber-paedophile.
The threat of paedophilia has shifted from outside to inside, from public to private. Although Young has suggested that ‘crime is elsewhere’ (1996: 57), I suggest that the cyber-paedophile has brought the criminal Other much closer to home. The threat of the cyber-paedophile from the ‘inside’ has disrupted the imagined borders and boundaries of the public/private divide. The very existence of the cyber-paedophile violates the order, safety and security of the family and the community. The cyber-paedophile represents a threat to the very life and safety of the family, and by extension, the social body. Dominant discourses of ‘danger’ and ‘risk’ surrounding the sexual abuse of children effectively operates to manufacture a culture of fear about the concealed dangers of the Internet. The Internet is represented as a frightening and chaotic world where criminal Others lurk in the vast unknown of cyberspace. Sensationalised accounts of Internet paedophiles ‘invading’ or ‘infiltrating’ the family home featured prominently in newspaper reports. There is no better example of this than in an article from The Age, where it was suggested that ‘the Internet is a jungle and the monsters prowling its darkest corners are growing bigger, more threatening and more aggressive by the day’ (Barker 2003). This comment convincingly taps into growing fears that the Internet has become ‘overrun’ with paedophiles and that we are in the midst of a new epidemic of paedophilia.

Within media discourse the cyber-paedophile is represented as being everywhere at once. Collier has observed that:

\[\text{paedophilia (and, implicitly, the paedophile) increasingly appear as a ubiquitous phenomena, potentially penetrating all spheres of life...in doing so transcending the boundaries of the family, community and state. (2001: 232)}\]

Collier’s suggestion that the paedophile poses a specific disembodied and intangible threat is specifically applicable to the cyber-paedophile. These examples attest to the ever-present threat which the paedophile is thought to embody. An all-consuming fear about the unknown dangers of the Internet coupled with anxieties over the breakdown or transgression of the boundaries between public and private spheres,
was consistently reflected in media reports covering the impending epidemic of 'cyber-paedophilia'.

The cyber-paedophile epidemic can, in fact, be related to the collapsing of some key foundational dualities (Featherstone and Burrows 1995: 3). Within media discourses of cyber-paedophilia, the divisions between public 'dangerous' spaces and 'private' safe spaces are thought to be rapidly diminishing. Such an account of the 'outside' threat of paedophilia effectively draws on collective fears of the criminal Other threatening 'safe' familial spaces. The representation of the cyber-paedophile is tightly bound with the perceived disintegration of the boundaries between individual 'private' spaces and collective 'public' spaces. In this sense, the threat of the cyber-paedeophile symbolises the dissolution of binary systems of meaning and representation. The binary divisions and differences between age, sex, gender and sexuality can, on the surface, be easily concealed within cyberspace.

Paedophilia has come to signify more than simply a fantasised or imagined threat. The media plays a key role in the construction of crime as a specific and a very real and inevitable threat. Media discourse operates to reinforce the threat of paedophilia as social reality in the public imagination. Jean Baudrillard has suggested that 'reality itself is hyperrealistic' (1988: 146). For Baudrillard, the 'hyperreal' signifies:

> a much more advanced stage insofar as it manages to efface even this contradiction between the real and the imaginary. Unreality no longer resides in the dream or fantasy, or in the beyond, but in the real's hallucinatory resemblance to itself. (1988: 145, original emphasis)

The fear of the threat of crime has been thoroughly incorporated into our everyday experiences and practices. The fear of the threat of crime has become a *lived reality*. The difference between media image and reality has collapsed. Mass media systems of power/knowledge crucially function as a way of shaping and reproducing our experiences of reality (Watney 1987; see also Hay 1995, Altheide 2002, van Zoonen 1994).
David Altheide's analysis of the operations of 'fear' in news media discourse also provide some useful tools for contextualising media representations of paedophilia. Writing on the subject of fear, Altheide comments that modern Western societies can be characterised by an increased generalised fear of crime (2002: 6). He writes further: 'Fear is a manufactured response that has been produced by a mass-mediated symbol machine' (2002: 23). It is a 'modern discourse of fear' (Altheide 2002: 155) which characterises mass media representations of cyber paedophilia. Altheide writes that a discourse of fear:

resonates through public information and is becoming a part of what mass society holds in common: We increasingly share understandings about what to fear and how to avoid it. (2002: 32)

Accordingly, the media's 'very reporting of certain 'facts' can be sufficient to generate concern, anxiety, indignation or panic' (Cohen 1980: 16). A 'fear' thematic is particularly evident in constructions of cyber paedophilia. Altheide's critical analysis of the relationship between crime and the generation of fear within the news also highlights the defining power of media discourse:

as fear is more closely connected with specific topics, the topic becomes more fearful as a matter of public discourse. Accordingly, if fear is becoming more closely associated with certain topics, this should be apparent in news media reports, and changes in symbolic (word) proximity should be apparent over time. (2002: 55)

News reports featuring paedophilia succeed in creating and sustaining a culture of fear. In the (re)production of news reports of cyber paedophilia, discourses of fear, risk and danger have become central. The media functions as a 'fear-generating machine', implanting the idea that 'we' are at more at risk from crime than people from any other time (2002: 155). As Altheide observes:

The "objective" reality of most citizens is that they are safer, healthier, living longer, and more secure in their environments than virtually any population in history, yet there is widespread public perception that risk and danger are everywhere, that we are not safe and that the future is bleak. (2002: 42)
Within the current climate of epidemic, collective perceptions of what Young has referred to as a 'community of fear' are experienced (1996: 5). The idea that 'our' communities have become plagued by crime and violence is consolidated through these very processes of fear amplification. The modern climate of fear is intricately tied to the mass media production of crime news, specifically paedophilia.

Within a rhetoric of fear and risk, the media define what it is that we fear, who is to be feared and the reasons why it is that we should fear them. Ericson and Haggerty have also commented on the operations of 'risk media' in modern society:

Risk media do not stand apart from institutions but rather participate in their formation and change. They become embedded in institutions and have powerful social effects. They are the sinews that connect institutions and allow the perpetual articulation of risks as reality. They broker consciousness and social existence, defining what should be taken as objective reality. They create knowledge structures concerning who knows what, and thus institutional environments of inclusion and exclusion. They organise social relations in two ways: first, in terms of population categories, and second, in terms of who should relate to whom, on what basis, and for what purposes. They 'auditize' the world, always scanning for risk and efficient management of it with reference to their own particular criteria of efficient management. (1997: 106)

If crime is considered to be 'out of control' then we can understand the operations of risk media to be necessary in the exercise of power over populations. The media participates in the 'war' against 'crime problem' by encouraging the self-regulation of individuals and populations. The cyclical nature of crime news is such that, it 'conveys an impression of endlessly repeated drama whose themes are familiar and well understood' (Rock 1973: 77). The perpetual crisis of paedophilia has had ongoing implications in the governance of individuals and populations.

6.5 Threatened Private Spaces: The Child Victim

My focus in this section is specifically on the figure of the threatened child and how discursive intersections of dangerousness and safety have framed these representations. Specifically, the discussion examines the implications the cyber-
paedophilia epidemic has had for maintaining and managing the private sphere of the family. Within discursive constructions of danger and risk, it is the family that needs to be protected against the impending threat of the cyber-paedophile.

Australia has the third highest level of Internet user-ship in the world, of which a considerable percentage are children (Stanley 2001, see also Fleming and Rickwood 2004). The image of the threatened child has become central to media descriptions of the cyber-paedophile. News media debates have been overwhelmingly framed by parental concerns over the cyber-paedophile invading 'safe' familial spaces, many articles reinforcing the idea that the family was at greatest risk from the cyber-paedophile. Community fears of the cyber-paedophile resulted in a panic surrounding the dangers of the Internet, in particular about children using computer technologies unsupervised. These concerns were further dramatised by images of the cyber-paedophile entering 'our' homes undetected. Take, for example, the following excerpt:

> to give your children access to the Internet could be likened to handing them an unexpurgated version of an encyclopaedia. It offers an abundance of information and enlightenment, but you have no idea of what horrors may lurk within, nor where its murkier passages may lead inquiring young minds. (1997)

Newspaper reports seemingly contradicted entrenched understandings of the family home as a 'safe' space. In a potentially misleading statement, one journalist commented that, 'online chat rooms have replaced the playground, park and beach as the most popular pick-up point for child abusers' (Robinson 2001a). The concern over a perceived lack of 'safety' of the Internet was also effectively captured in another article from the Herald Sun. The report tells us, without citing any supporting evidence, that the Internet 'provides opportunities for paedophiles to...trawl an online chat room to get access to children' (Robinson 2001b). It is through our collective narrative engagement as parents that the fear of the cyber-paedophile is consolidated and reinforced. Parental fears of the cyber-paedophile, then, become both understandable and justifiable.
Other articles also focused on the imminent threat of the cyber-paedophile into 'our' homes. For instance, *The Age* effectively contributed to cyber-paedophile panic by reporting that, 'one in five Australian children who access the web are solicited by strangers for sex' (2001). It was also suggested that the modern communications revolution had had a negative impact on the sexual abuse of children. A report from *The Australian* echoed the concerns expressed in *The Age*, confirming that, 'there was no doubt that predators were using the internet to try to make contact with young people' (Hickman 2004). The construction of the threat and risk of the cyber-paedophile is framed in such a way that incites fears of infiltration. Newspaper reports simultaneously exaggerated and reinforced the potential threat of the cyber-paedophile on the Internet. These examples are characteristic of attempts in the media to perpetuate the myth that we are in the midst of a paedophilia 'epidemic'.

These excerpts also clearly demonstrate the critical role the media plays in bringing the potential dangers of the Internet to the public's attention. Readers were left with little doubt that paedophiles were indeed using the Internet to gain access to children. An article titled 'E-Stalking, the New Cyber Evil', detailed how the cyber-paedophile posed an inescapable threat to children. Dr Ogilvie from the *Australian Institute of Criminology*, was reported as saying that, 'cyberstalking could predict real world behaviour' (Burstin 2000). This example also relies upon a very specific understanding of what constitutes sexual abuse. These comments have the effect of systematically downplaying the considerable complexity of child sexual abuse by suggesting that sexual abuse is only defined as a sexual act. The article assumes that sexual abuse is physical abuse only.

The media specifically identified Internet use as 'risky' behaviour for children. The risk embodied in the cyber-paedophile was effectively driven home through images of paedophiles entering the family home without parent's knowledge. For example, in *The Age* we read that:

Professor Ellen Wartella, a US researcher on media and its impact on young people, said children under 13 became isolated and were exposed to inappropriate material if they
watched TV or used the Internet behind closed bedroom doors. (Milburn 2002)

Journalists invited and encouraged parents to more closely monitor the Internet activities of their children. News media discourse highlighted the risks involved in letting children use the Internet unsupervised. In an article entitled ‘Poisonous Penfriends’, one Age journalist warned parents against the ‘hidden perils of the Internet’ (Shmith 2002). Graphic images of children being tracked down over the Internet by net paedophiles dominated media reports. Parents were consistently cautioned against the dangers of the Internet and the threat of, in the words of one reporter, ‘paedophilic predators’ who prowl the Internet for child victims (Shmith 2002). What these newspaper examples have revealed is a certain panic-logic about modern technology, coupled with a fear of the criminal Other.

In an effort to sustain the public’s fear of the cyber-paedophile, journalists resorted to formulaic sex-crime reporting. The following headlines effectively encapsulate the growing fears surrounding paedophiles operating on the Internet, and what many journalists referred to as the imminent risk posed to children: ‘Internet Use by Abusers Rising, Say Investigators’ (Robinson 1997), ‘Nasties On the Net’ (1997), ‘Every Parent’s Nightmare’ (1999b), ‘Paedophiles Trawl Net’ (Robinson 2001b), ‘Police Unable to Track Net’s Sex Fiends’ (Robinson 2001a), and ‘Predators Prowl Online’ (Robinson 2001c). We can understand these titles to be a statement about both the unknowable and inevitable threat of the enigmatic cyber-paedophile.

Repeated attempts were also made to reinforce the dangerousness of the Internet. Within media discourse, Internet paedophilia is represented as a new plague of criminal activity and, as a consequence, the call is made for increased measures of control and surveillance of Internet activity. The media pressured law enforcement authorities to ‘take paedophiles off the internet’ (Middleton 1997). In order to compensate for the growing threat of paedophilia and prevent the possibility of exposure to the infection, appeals are made for new tactics in the fight against paedophilia. The implication seems to be that if we are able to police the Internet, the
problem of paedophilia would be vanquished. In fact, the entire problem of paedophilia is reduced to inadequate policing.

Interestingly, the emergent threat of the cyber-paedophile also raised a number of additional questions about parental responsibility and care. In order to combat the threat of the cyber-paedophile, the community is invited to partake in the policing of paedophilia. The media rationalised the call for increased monitoring of computer users. Parents are encouraged to supervise their children’s activities more diligently in an effort to protect children from the mounting threat of the net paedophile. In many instances the entire issue of cyber-paedophilia was reduced to the presence or absence of parental supervision. The media advised parents to take precautionary measures to protect their children from the looming threat of the cyber-paedophile. It was suggested that the risk of the cyber-paedophile could be minimised through ‘responsible’ parenting. Predictably, many reports made links between single parent families and ‘at risk’ children who were considered to be most vulnerable to the threat of the cyber-paedophile.77 Reports also suggested that only specific family structures, namely monogamous heterosexual couples, were capable of providing a safe and secure environment for children. The family is strategically repositioned within this discourse as a site for the discipline, regulation and surveillance of children. An already existent fear of the paedophile, combined with concerns over modern computer technologies, become the connective meanings through which we are able to ‘make sense’ of the cyber-paedophile epidemic.

The paedophilia crisis on the Internet has also had significant implications for self-governance. As David Altheide had observed:

\[
\text{Policing our lives becomes more acceptable if the risks are great enough, if the messages are repeated often enough, and if the fears resonate through every-day life. (2002: 154)}
\]

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77 A Child Abuse Prevention Issues report revealed that sexual offenders targeted ‘at risk’ children ‘with particular characteristics’. The report found that ‘children from single parent families’ were at greatest risk from the threat of paedophiles operating on the Internet (Stanley 2001: 3).
In governing individuals and populations, the cyber paedophilia epidemic has played a central disciplinary and regulatory function. The collective fear of the paedophile has galvanised the community against the danger the cyber-paedophile is thought to represent. In the belief or hope that the paedophilia epidemic can be contained, individuals are encouraged to be ever-more vigilant in guarding families against the threat of the paedophile.

6.6 A New Epidemic

The theme of epidemic can be most clearly read in representations of what the media referred to as ‘organised’ cyber-paedophilia. Excerpts from a National Crime Authority (NCA) report were used to support media claims that paedophiles were using the Internet to aid their criminal activities:

The NCA report said that paedophiles had turned to computers because the exchange of pornography and, at times, victims via on-line services was relatively anonymous. It said exchange was easily achieved, material could be received immediately and there was unlimited potential to reproduce and distribute. (Robinson 1997)

In the same article we read that, ‘Paedophiles have been increasingly using the internet to import information and exchange it within Australia’ (Robinson 1997). The extent to which the danger of the cyber-paedophile has been promulgated within the media is also illustrated in the following article:

substantial evidence that paedophiles have been ‘networking’ via the Internet, exchanging child pornography and, in some cases, using the Internet to access potential child victims. Paedophile activity and the sexual abuse of children is a serious and largely concealed problem. (Robinson 1997)

And further, it was revealed that:

78 Many articles echoed this concern that paedophiles were using the Internet as a new tool, not only to access future victims, but also to facilitate ‘organised paedophilia’. See for example an article in The Australian headed ‘Ministers to Consider National Crackdown on Sex Abuse Rings’ (Kerin 1997).
A top-secret National Crime Authority report has identified loose networks across Australia of up to 5000 paedophiles who sexually abuse minors and traffic in child pornography. (Robinson 1997)

The report was so significant that segments from the original article appeared again in the following day's edition of *The Age*. The heightened anxiety over a perceived loss of borders can be clearly read in the following excerpt from the same edition, where it was reported that, 'Small networks of two or three paedophiles are known to operate across several states' (Robinson 1997). And although reports referred to relatively small numbers of paedophiles, the threat of the cyber-paedophile was framed in such a way as to imply a limitlessness to their offending.

The theme of 'organised' paedophilia was also picked up by *The Australian* in an article which suggested that the Internet has aided the growth of paedophile networks. The article repeated claims made by the *Sunday Age*, reporting that police were planning to 'crack down on up to 5000 paedophiles, operating in a myriad network of rings' Australia-wide (Kerin 1997). Another report, headed 'Paedophile Rings Operating on the Internet' (2001), detailed how the Internet had facilitated the sexual abuse of children through organised paedophile operations. It was suggested that the Internet had not simply allowed sexual predators increased access to children, but had also enabled paedophiles to 'recruit new members'. In the words of one reporter, paedophiles operating via the net have 'promote[d] the demand for abused children' (Beauchamp 2003).

The repeated use here of 'networks', 'rings' and 'organised paedophilia' effectively conveys the idea that the Internet has fostered a new criminal subculture where paedophiles congregate to organise their activities. 'Organised' paedophilia has been represented a distinctly different threat within news media discourse. Cindy Patton has observed of modern communication technologies: 'mass media and transportation technologies had effectively reduced the size of the globe' (2002: xi). The implausibility of containing the threat of the cyber-paedophile, combined with the seeming impossibility of monitoring paedophile activities, consolidated and legitimated the public panic surrounding the cyber-paedophilia 'epidemic'.

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Tracking paedophiles in 'cyberspace' is inherently problematic, a point which was effectively encapsulated in this excerpt from *The Sydney Morning Herald*. The article entitled ‘Paedophiles Caught On Net: Just Tip of Iceberg’, reported Superintendent John Heslop as stating that law enforcement authorities were only recently coming to grips with 'just how enormous these networks are...but the truth is no one knows how much there is' (Humphries 1998). Within media discourse, the impending crisis or epidemic of internet paedophilia is unimaginable.

Measuring the extent of the cyber-paedophile abuse 'epidemic', however, is problematic as accurate figures on exactly how many children have been abused is difficult to obtain. Current research also suggests that children are unlikely to report sexual encounters with strangers on the Internet (Stanley 2003). There is also the difficulty in assessing harm done in what amounts to a simulated setting. These factors, combined with the fact that no one really knows how many children are being solicited by paedophiles on the Internet, contribute to the inherent problems in assessing the effect the Internet has had on the sexual abuse of children. The prevalence of child sexual abuse on the Internet is difficult to ascertain as researchers are still attempting to gauge the effects of cyber-technologies.

6.7 Conclusion

Mike Featherstone and Roger Burrows have suggested that concerns over the perceived negative effects of modern computer technologies can be related to anxieties over 'the shrinking of public space and the increasing privatization of many aspects of social life' (1995: 12). Fears expressed over the crisis of paedophilia are representative of social anxieties about a breakdown in the order and safety of the family and a collapsing of the public/private divide. I have suggested that the creation of a new category of paedophile, the cyber-paedophile, has had the effect of heightening the communities' sense of public and private danger. What was initially constructed as a public threat now becomes a problem confined to the private sphere. The private sphere, which has been culturally coded within media discourse as a 'safe' space, has now become vulnerable to the threat and risk of the paedophile.
Crucially, this new epidemic has drawn attention to the inescapability of paedophilia and the paedophile. For the risk that the threat of the paedophile embodies cannot, in fact, be located in the vast expanse of cyberspace. Constructions of cyber-paedophilia have highlighted the omnipresence of paedophilia; the paedophile has now violated the borders and boundaries of the, ostensibly, non-criminal family. Within this new epidemic, however, the family has also becomes a site of mobilisation; the family has been recruited in the paedophilia epidemic to combat the imminent threat and risk of the paedophile. Media commentaries, I have argued, manipulated already existing parental concerns over the impending threat of paedophilia on the Internet, while also exaggerating the extent of the disintegration in familial order. In this way we can distinctly identify the power of the mass media in the production of hysteria over the sexual abuse of children.
Chapter Seven:
Institutionalised Paedophilia: The Paedophile Priest ‘Crisis’

7.1 Introduction

The last two decades has witnessed unprecedented media coverage of national and international cases of child sexual abuse within both the mainstream Catholic and Anglican Churches.\(^ {79} \) It is only since the early 1990’s, however, that what has

\(^ {79} \) There is a breadth of literature – although not from a perspective of sexed crime - on the paedophile priest scandal both in Australia and the United States. In the Australian context see Child Sexual Abuse and the Churches (Parkinson 1997). A detailed account of paedophilia within the Boston diocese of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States can
commonly been referred to as the paedophile priest 'crisis' or 'epidemic', has commanded a unique position within the Australian media. This chapter is divided into four key areas of analysis. First, I trace how shifting narratives of trust, risk and loss have instrumentally framed the unfolding paedophile priest scandal. My focus is on how the epidemic of paedophilia within the church has emerged as an important symbol for more generalised concerns surrounding the postmodern 'new world disorder' (Bauman 1997: 22), which has not simply threatened and undermined our trust in the institution of the church, but also our sense of 'self', 'family' and 'community'. I specifically consider how the threat of the paedophile priest has effectively played on individual and collective concerns surrounding the breakdown between ‘self’ and ‘Other’. In accounting for the prominence of the figure of the paedophile priest, the chapter will explore the connections between our modern state of fear and anxiety and the perception that we are in the midst of a paedophilia ‘crisis’. Anxieties surrounding the proliferation of paedophilia within the church cannot be separated from the modern crisis of trust, risk and fear we are currently experiencing. The chapter aims to examine media responses to the paedophile priest ‘epidemic’ and the perceived crisis of trust and risk which has ensued.

In the second section, I explore how constructions of paedophilia have been framed by broader debates over the place of religion in Australian society. Coinciding with the paedophile priest crisis, there has been a marked shift towards a far more conservative brand of Christian fundamentalism within Australian society, and a move away from more traditional, institutional religious structures. I will suggest that the paedophile priest crisis can be grounded in present transformations in our social, cultural and political climate.

The focus of my analysis in the third part of the chapter centres on representations of men’s heterosexuality and homosexuality. I will argue that discourses surrounding...
the paedophilia within the church have relied upon very specific understandings of hetero-masculinities and hetero-sexualities. That is to say, the crisis of 'priestly paedophilia' can be linked more generally to emergent debates over social and cultural definitions of masculinity and heterosexuality. I specifically focus on media debates surrounding the issue of celibacy. Conversely, I will chart how a narrative of homosexual danger has crucially framed media debates. In the symbolisation of paedophilia as homosexed, the paedophile priest crisis has further consolidated this relationship. The section importantly addresses both the heterosexed and homosexed dimensions of the paedophile priest 'crisis' or 'epidemic'.

I suggested in earlier chapters, that the entire representation of paedophilia is inseparable from the representation of epidemic. The remainder of the chapter will account for the central discursive position the paedophile priest crisis has occupied in the unfolding of the paedophilia 'epidemic'. I will demonstrate that the fear of the paedophile priest has been strategically reharnessed and redeployed by the media to perpetuate the myth of a new paedophilia epidemic. Through an analysis of the case of paedophile priest Frank Klep, the discussion traces how the paedophile priest crisis has materialised as a new and distinctive epidemic of paedophilia, heightening both individual and collective fears of the threat of the paedophile; the epidemic of paedophilia within the church has highlighted global anxieties and local concerns about the proliferation of paedophilia.

Although the chapter draws on some of the central themes discussed in the previous chapters, specifically epidemic and the homosexualisation of the category 'paedophile', there are some significant differences in the representation of the paedophile priest. The category 'paedophile priest' has brought about a significant reconsideration of categories of paedophilia. Crucially, I will suggest that compared with other representations of the paedophile, cases of paedophilia within the church are governed by a different set of discourses. The chapter critically examines the
discursive patterns of representation which are specific to the abuse epidemic within the Catholic and Anglican Churches.\(^8^0\)

The paedophile priest has become an iconic figure in sex crime news. In examining the emergence of the paedophile priest 'epidemic', I will suggest that discourses of paedophilia have been re-framed within an institutional setting. The paedophile priest scandal is an example of what I would term 'institutionalised' paedophilia. It is the institutional locus of this current paedophilia ‘epidemic’ that differentiates the representation of the paedophile priest. In the chapter, I investigate the way in which the media has framed the issue of paedophilia as a problem of institutional, rather than individual, failure. It is within a broader institutional framework that we are able to dismantle the ‘crisis’ or ‘epidemic’ of paedophilia within the church, and mark out what separates priestly paedophilia from other representations of paedophilia.\(^8^1\)

The chapter is not concerned with establishing a fixed time-line of events, but instead aims to capture how a distinct set of competing narrative threads intersect to regulate this epidemic of paedophilia. In tracing the discursive and institutional operations of paedophilia, the chapter considers how the abuse crisis within the church has signalled an important discursive shift in the representation of paedophilia and the paedophile. The paedophile priest is a distinct identity category with its own discursive specificities. It is not, however, simply a matter of slipping from one narrative to another. The narratives that frame representations of priestly paedophilia continue to be intricately intertwined with other discourses of paedophilia. The

\(^8^0\) There have also been cases of paedophilia within the Protestant Church. See for example the case of Protestant pastor Keith John Burton, who pleaded guilty in 1996 to seven child sex charges against two brothers aged 12 and 14: one count of maintaining a sexual relationship with a minor, five counts of indecent treatment of a boy under the age of 16 and one count of having permitted himself to be sodomised. Burton was sentenced to seven years jail.

\(^8^1\) Although there are other examples of institutionalised paedophilia, I have chosen to focus on instances of paedophilia within the church. Other authority figures such as diplomats, school teachers and youth workers, have all been at the centre of paedophilia debates within the news media. They are all, however, categories of paedophile which are governed by contrasting sets of discourses. I do not have the scope in this project to canvass these other discursive categories of paedophile.
The chapter will draw attention to commonalities and differences of paedophilia discourses by exploring the contrasting ways in which representations of 'paedophile priests' have been constructed and produced within the print media, and further, how these reports have contributed to the public perception that we are in the midst of a paedophile priest 'epidemic'. I will also demonstrate how cases of paedophilia within the church have operated in a very specific way to deflect attention away from other forms of child sexual abuse, specifically regarding men's violence within the family. The paedophilia 'crisis' within the church has also raised a number of questions about how we define paedophilia and those whom we consider to fall under the description 'paedophile'. How has this recent epidemic of paedophilia impacted on the meanings of the category paedophile? And further, what do these images reveal about the paedophilia epidemic? These critical questions will be addressed in the following chapter.

7.2 Narratives of Trust, Risk and Fear in the Paedophile Priest 'Crisis'

One of the defining features of media debates surrounding paedophilia within the Catholic and Anglican Churches has been the issue of 'trust'. The philosopher Annette Baier defines trust in the following way:

> Trust...is letting other persons (natural or artificial, such as firms, nations etc.) take care of something the truster cares about, where such "caring for" involves some exercise of discretionary powers. (1997: 611)

Baier has observed, however, that, '[e]xploitation and conspiracy, as much as justice and fellowship, thrive better in an atmosphere of trust' (1997: 605). She comments further that, '[w]e inhabit a climate of trust as we inhabit an atmosphere and notice it as we notice air, only when it becomes scarce or polluted' (1997: 607). It is only when 'our' trust has been violated or breached that its absence becomes abundantly clear. The first section of analysis examines the resulting public crisis of trust that has ensued from the paedophilia 'epidemic'. It is in this sense that the paedophile priest
crisis is discursively distinct; the paedophilia epidemic within the church has importantly symbolised a new crisis of trust and risk.

Recent work by Onora O'Neill has also shown how prevailing perceptions of an erosion or decay of trust can be understood to be a symbolic manifestation of an enveloping 'mood of suspicion' that has characterised modern Western societies (2002: 11). O'Neill describes how this modern 'loss of trust' is 'becoming the cliché of our times' (2002: 9). She asks, 'is the current supposed crisis of trust just a *public mood or attitude of suspicion*, rather than a proper and justified response to growing untrustworthiness?' (2002: 16, my emphasis). Trust in modern society is a risky business; modern trust relationships are seemingly tenuous and easily undermined.

The generalised crisis of trust in modern Western society has resulted in a fear of risk. The resulting fear of risk is a response to the crisis of trust. It is a public discourse of fear and risk that regulates the paedophilia epidemic within the church. O'Neill comments of modern risk societies: '[they] must be characterised simply by their *perceptions of and attitudes to risk*, and not by the seriousness of the hazards to which people are exposed' (2002: 16, original emphasis). That is to say, the current general climate of distrust can be linked more specifically to a 'culture of suspicion' (2002: 18), rather than to an actual increase in levels of danger and/or risk. It is the *perception* of risk, rather than *actual* risk, that has instrumentally shaped media discourses surrounding the abuse crisis within the church.

Another explanation for the perceived endemic loss of trust and heightened climate of uncertainty has been provided by postmodern theorist Zygmunt Bauman. Bauman

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82 Ulrich Beck is considered to be the primary theorist of the modern operations of 'risk'. Beck suggests that the current preoccupation with risk can be attributed to a specific cultural climate in which the fear of risk has come to symbolise the dissolution of the social. Beck has identified how the fear of risk, in fact, governs individuals and populations within (post)modern society. The operations of risk, writes Beck, 'thus characterizes a peculiar, intermediate state between security and destruction, where the *perception* of threatening risks determines thought and action' (2000: 213, original emphasis). See also on the operations of discourses of risk, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Giddens 1990). See also Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim for an analysis of the interconnections between perceptions of risk and institutionalised individualization in *Individualization: institutionalised individualism and its social and political consequences* (2002).
gives an account of how the postmodern 'new world disorder' has instilled a general sense of scepticism and distrust both in individuals and in communities:

The image of the world daily generated by present-day life concerns is devoid of genuine or assumed solidity and continuity which used to be the trade-mark of modern 'structures'. The dominant sentiment now is the feeling of a new type of uncertainty – not limited to one's own luck and talents, but concerning as well the future shape of the world, the right way of living in it, and the criteria by which to judge the rights and wrongs of the way of living. What is also new about the postmodern rendition of uncertainty (by itself not exactly a newcomer in a world with the modern past) is that it is no longer seen as a mere temporary nuisance, which with due effort may be either mollified or altogether overcome. The postmodern world is bracing itself for life under a condition of uncertainty which is permanent and irreducible. (1997: 21)

The postmodern condition is thus characterised by what Bauman refers to as a 'popular feeling of insecurity' (1997: 35). The postmodern consciousness represents a far more permanent state of insecurity and instability. It is not simply a coincidence that the sexual abuse crisis is occurring at a time of radical social change and upheaval. The postmodern 'crisis' of uncertainty and instability has crucially shaped perceptions and experiences of the crisis of trust that has resulted from the child sexual abuse scandal within the church. Correlatively, I will suggest that this modern crisis of trust can be related to perceived threats of the paedophile. I will reveal that what these representations have in common is an underlying textual narrative of 'trust' and 'risk'.

Collier has also identified the significance of what he refers to as the 'postmodern social', which can be defined as the 'symbolic representation for the re-organisation of the patterning of relationships within the social' (1998: 121). Collier suggests that the state of postmodernity has informed public perceptions of an increased disconnection and dislocation between 'self' and 'community'. Within the age of postmodernity, a range of relationships are currently being decentered and re-framed, the paedophile priest crisis importantly symbolising a rupture of some key foundational dualities (self/Other, masculinity/femininity, heterosexual/homosexual etc.). The exigencies of the postmodern world have highlighted the dissolution of these relationships.
Anxieties over the breakdown of these core divisions are specifically reflected in concerns within paedophilia debates over the perceived increasing divide between 'self' and 'community'. The problem of paedophilia within the church has thus assumed a heightened significance in the context of the current postmodern consciousness. As a result of this increased social fragmentation and disruption, the paedophilia epidemic is thought to have flourished.

The postmodern condition is vital in accounting for the special significance the epidemic of priestly paedophilia has occupied within media discourse. At a time when both our sense of security and stability is under constant threat, the fear of the paedophile has become tangible. The threat of the paedophile can be intricately tied to concerns over the deteriorating divisions between 'self' and an identifiable 'Other'. Our relationship to the Other, in this case the paedophile, has become progressively volatile and unstable. Here, Bauman's work is again of particular significance. Bauman draws attention to how a perceived crisis of distrust and uncertainty manifests itself in the creation of a symbolically sacrificed, although not necessarily criminal, Other:

The society unsure of the survival of its order develops the mentality of a besieged fortress; but the enemies who laid siege to its walls are its own, its very own 'inner demons' – the suppressed, ambient fears which permeate its daily life, its 'normality', yet which, in order to make daily reality endurable, must be squashed and squeezed out of the lived-through quotidianity and moulded into an alien body; into a tangible enemy whom one can fight, and fight again, and even hope to conquer. (1997: 38)

Following Bauman, we can identify how the paedophile priest crisis has come to occupy such a prominent discursive position within the media. It is an all-consuming sense of anxiety and instability which can be tied to the general representation of paedophilia as not only an ever-present, but also an ever-increasing phenomenon. The paedophile Other who embodies an ever-returning threat to the established social, sexual and moral order, has become a symbolic icon of our fear and distrust. Altheide also addresses this 'crisis' of the Other:
it is the "other", that category of trouble that can unseat solid expectations and hopes for a future that is never to be realized in what is perceived to be a constantly changing and out-of-control world. (2002: 26)

The escalating crisis of paedophilia within the church is a reflection of these very anxieties over the perceived loss of boundaries and of order and control over our environment. The chaotic social world we inhabit has resulted in an intensification of the threat of the paedophile. It is therefore possible to locate the epidemic of paedophilia within the church on continuum of rapid social changeability. It is a pervasive atmosphere of uncertainty and insecurity that characterises newspaper commentaries of the paedophile priest.

7.3 The New Christian Right

Before I explore how narratives of trust and risk have intersected in the representation of the paedophile priest, I first need to address how the paedophile priest epidemic can also be tied to a very specific social and political milieu within Australian society. There is little doubt that the current suspicion attached to the church can, at least in part, be attributed to cases of paedophilia within the church. However, it is not only the current paedophilia crisis which has undermined people's faith in the mainstream churches. The intense media pressure the Anglican and Catholic Churches have been subject to over allegations of child sexual abuse, can be linked to emergent political debates surrounding the place of religion in Australian society. It is significant that the paedophile priest crisis coincided with the development of a neo-conservative brand of religious politics within Australia which was, correlatively, firmly anchored in the conservative policies of the former Liberal Howard Government. There is at work a powerful conservative undercurrent directing media debates surrounding the sexual abuse crisis within the church. 83

83 The move toward conservative Christianity is not only specific to Australia. The United States has been experiencing this very same shift toward a conservative brand of fundamental Christianity. Maddox charts how the influence of right-wing Christian groups, such as the Christian Coalition, have impacted on the American political landscape. Maddox observes, however, that: 'Lacking the large conservative Christian voter base that sustains such organisations in America, Australia is no easy haven for religious right ideas; yet, the current combination of social conservatism and free market economics looks remarkably like the American phenomenon' (2002: 200).
We can trace the beginnings of the paedophile priest crisis or epidemic to the early 1990's, when the revelation of abuse cases within the church coincided with the emergence of a powerful neo-liberal and neo-conservative agenda within the Australian media. In her book, *God Under Howard: The Rise of the Religious Right in Australian Politics* (2005), Marion Maddox convincingly argues that the current conservative political climate within Australia has coincided with a resurgence of a powerful and influential brand of fundamental Christianity. The overwhelmingly moral response to incidences of paedophilia within the church can be attributed to the conservative branch of Christianity which is currently underpinning not only Australian politics, but also Australian culture.

The move away from the more traditional religious structures can be broadly contextualised within the conservative social and economic policies of the former Liberal Howard Government. Maddox has suggested that 'we cannot examine Howard's economic neo-liberalism in isolation from his social conservatism' (2005: 197). The Howard Government has displayed a commitment to economic conservatism, characterised by the increasing privatisation of government corporations, and the advancement of social policies driven by economic rationalism. Maddox specifically highlights the connection between the Howard Government's deregulationist economic activities and the implementation of increasingly conservative social policies, and a move away from traditional religious structures. The Howard Government has appropriated the religious right to, in the words of Maddox, make 'religion...less visible' (2005: 198). Maddox comments on this conservative strain of Christian fundamentalism which is increasingly replacing more traditional church structures within Australian society:

> Christian fundamentalists tend to share the mistrust of 'religion'. They criticise institutional churches, claiming a return to a pure, pre-institutional 'fundamental' form, with only loose or no links to the denominational structures whence they came. (2005: 161)

Although there has been a powerful revival of Christian values within news media discourse, paedophilia discourses have been characterised by a specific anti-religious
sentiment. The church, as a privileged and authorised institutional realm, has been positioned in opposition to those who possess the same morals and values as 'us'.

As Maddox observes:

Traditional churches were painted as part of the dangerous 'Them', while a particular, conservative kind of Christianity became increasingly entrenched as a cultural marker of 'Us', even if relatively few of us actually identified with it, or even knew much about it. (2005: 164)

A connection has emerged within media discourse which Maddox describes as an 'indissoluble nexus between faith and morality' (2005: 188). The neo-conservative fundamentalism which is underwriting the paedophilia crisis symbolises the common bond of 'morals' and 'values' (Maddox 2005). The resurgence of conservative Christian values was particularly evident in the way in which the media appealed to an assumed audience of Christians. For example, it was reported in the Herald Sun that, 'the ordinary, faithful Catholic' is 'scandalised and made sick by the horrors of the pedophile priest revelations and cover-ups' (McManus 2002, my emphasis). Within paedophilia debates, a cohesive, righteous, 'us' - a community whose shared values and objectives bears the hallmarks of conservative 'Christianity' - has been mobilised against an othered 'Them'. Within media discourse, the church has been deliberately positioned against mainstream public 'Christian' values. From this perspective, 'religion' has been appropriated by the media to propagate the idea of a rise in 'liberal' Christianity.

The scepticism and hostility that has been directed at the church within paedophilia debates is, in fact, indicative of a more general move being made away from traditional organised religion, and a move toward a far more conservative brand of Christianity. The current popularity of Christian organisations such as Hillsong

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84 Hillsong describes itself as a 'fresh and contemporary church' that is 'said to be the largest church in Australian history', http://www2.hillsong.com/church/default.asp?pid=10 accessed 16th February 2008. Hillsong, however, has avoided being labelled an institutional church, which is reflected in its mission statement: 'To reach and influence the world by building a large Christ-centred, Bible-based church, changing mindsets and empowering people to lead and impact in every sphere of life,' http://www2.hillsong.com/church/default.asp?pid=8 accessed 16th February 2008. Interestingly, Hillsong’s website features what they term a ‘Children and Young People
(organisations which are structured around, and encourage, the individualisation of parishioner's relationship with God), has patently reinforced the deep scepticism and mistrust of traditional organised religion. The media have appropriated the paedophile priest crisis to perpetuate the myth that organised religion is a socially damaging, and ultimately, destructive force. The current crisis is inseparable from the very specific socio-political climate in which paedophilia debates are narrativised. The sexual abuse crisis within the Catholic and Anglican Churches is congruent with present concerns surrounding the place of religion in Australian society. We have, however, witnessed the revitalisation of an ultra-conservative religious platform which has, on the surface, avoided being labelled a 'religious movement'. Neo-conservative fundamentalism has gained symbolic currency through a far more ambiguous platform of Christian 'morals' and 'family values'.

Rather than looking to traditional churches for moral guidance in a time of rapid social change and upheaval, the community has moved away from organised religion. Although the Christian faith has been thoroughly tarnished by the abuse epidemic, a range of problems have plagued institutional churches, and as a result, people have become increasingly disconnected from these structures. There has been a core shift over the past twenty years in social attitudes toward contraception, divorce, premarital sex, and familial structures. Muriel Porter addresses the changing role of the Christian Churches in the following way:

> For centuries, the Christian Church has functioned as the moral policeman for the State, ensuring that people conformed to the requirements of their particular society. It upheld the status quo, encouraging submission to God, king and country,

Protection Statement', which outlines their commitment to the 'safety, protection and wellbeing of all children and young people from all forms of abuse and neglect.' http://www2.hillsong.com/church/default.asp?pid=190 accessed 16th February 2008.

In commenting on the priest sex abuse scandal in the United States, the staff of the Boston Globe commented that: 'The erosion of Catholic authority was aided by sociological factors as well; many Americans, regardless of faith, were according less deference to societal institutions and were increasingly determined to define their own sexual mores. In poll after poll, most Catholics acknowledged that they simply don't agree with Church teachings on birth control, divorce, premarital sex, and homosexuality, and many said they don't agree on abortion either' (2002: 187). This change in attitudes toward the church is also reflected in Australian newspaper reports. See for example 'God's Falling from Grace' (Murray 2004) and 'Crisis of Faith' (Waldon 2002).
to the feudal lord and the local squire. It sacralized classism, the notion of "each man in his station", and romanticized notions of meek and mild children, and pure and lowly womanhood. In latter years, under the onslaught of democratic principles, that influence has shrunk to the entirely domestic sphere. The exaltation of the nuclear family, abiding by "traditional" expectations, has become almost the central tenet of some church communities. Without it, there is not much left. (1996: 127-128)

Porter's argument, at least in part, explains why incidences of paedophilia within the church have been constructed as a crisis within the media, and why this relationship has suddenly become the subject of prolonged media investigation.

The symbolic capital of Christianity, combined with an already existing scepticism of the church, has been tactically redeployed by the press to promulgate the idea of a crisis of trust within organised traditional churches. The media have suggested that it is, specifically, institutionalised religious structures that have fostered the conditions for the sexual abuse of children. The following representations illustrate how the anti-church bandwagon within the media has been effectively aided and supported by the paedophile priest scandal.

7.4 A Narrative of Loss: Media Constructions of Trust and Risk

Christianity has been a dominant institutional and religious force within Western society, playing a key role in shaping individuals, communities and societies. Elizabeth Castelli has commented that religion has performed a crucial function in 'identity formations, social relations and power structures' (2001: 5). Christianity has historically functioned as a privileged cultural symbol of trust, faith and authority in Western society. It is no surprise, then, that the Christian Churches, perhaps more so than other institutions, have been the subject of concentrated media attention over child sexual abuse claims.

Of those who fall under the description 'paedophile', members of the clergy have been subject to intense media scrutiny and condemnation. Initially, cases of sexual abuse were publicly greeted with disbelief. Disbelief that one of society's most valued and respected institutions had so flagrantly abused its trust. Newspapers across the
country featured reports detailing the mounting cases of child sexual abuse perpetrated by both Anglican and Catholic priests. The following statement from a 1998 report in *The Australian*, effectively captures the unfolding crisis, the reporter describing child sexual abuse within the church as a ‘scandalous sexual violation of trust’ (Faust 1998). Another report regarded the instances of abuse as ‘an outrageous betrayal of trust’ (Shadbolt 2004b). Although the extent of the crisis was initially difficult to gauge, what was becoming clear from these reports was that we were in the midst of an escalating ‘crisis of trust’.

The crisis of trust was also succinctly summarised in the following statement, where one reporter commented that the Catholic Church is being ‘engulfed by a crisis over the sexual molestation of children’ (Overington 2002). The trust of the community had been compromised through the gross and negligent abuse of power and authority by priests. The perceived magnitude of the crisis was reflected in the extensive media coverage incidences of sexual abuse within the church attracted. Many cases of abuse, which occurred in the 1960’s and 1970’s, were not uncovered by the media until the 1990’s, when the enormity of the problem was finally revealed. As more claims of child abuse surfaced, the growing suspicion that the community had been deceived by the church was reflected in countless newspaper reports.

Cases of sexual abuse began to emerge that even church officials could not deny, prompting Archbishop at the time, Cardinal George Pell, to make the following statement in *The Australian* in 1996. The problem of child sexual abuse, Pell commented, ‘almost has an element of sacrilege because priests are sacred persons and it’s a violation of every principle of trust’ (Le Grand and Forbes 1996; my emphasis). The following statement from an editorial entitled ‘Sex Abuse Shakes the Foundations of Trust’ in 2002, also vividly conveys the perception of a mounting crisis of trust:

Trust is a fragile thing that bears a fearful weight. Sound relationships are founded on mutual trust; no society can function properly when this breaks down. Every day, in countless exchanges, we need to trust other people: to get along, to get things done, to live together as a community. We
place our children in the care of other people not because we know them personally but because they hold positions of trust. Being a priest, minister, teacher, child-care worker or youth worker implies, or used to imply, trustworthiness. Repeated betrayals of trust not only destroy lives but eat away at society. And this is particularly so with revelations of sexual abuse of children by those appointed as moral guardians. Public trust has been lost. (Editorial 2002)

This excerpt succinctly captures the growing fear that a breakdown in the 'order of things' has resulted from this egregious breach of trust. Incidences of paedophilia within the church have seemingly undermined and irrevocably breached every principle of 'our' trust. The spread of paedophilia within the church represents a loss of cohesion, stability and security.

Shared perceptions of a crisis or loss in trust were also effectively encapsulated in the following article. In a report headed '25 Years of Changing Concerns', it was commented that Australians were 'very concerned' about 'soft sentences for child molesters and the abuse of children by teachers and priests' (Williams 2002). The survey reported Dr Stephen Juan, a Sydney University Social Anthropologist, as saying that:

We are becoming more cynical; we are becoming more realistic... [t]his trend is very understandable. It is a response to reality. You cannot be completely safe. (Williams 2002)

The report effectively conveys the sense that things are much less certain and safe than they used to be, the journalist suggesting that 'Australians were less trusting than they used to be' (Williams 2002). The current threat and risk of paedophilia within the church can be contextualised within broader concerns over a perceived breakdown of social bonds. 'Our' trust has effectively been eroded and our collectivity fragmented. Who are we to trust when the most trusted members of the community cannot be trusted? The media has carefully constructed the category 'paedophile priest' to represent a very specific and a very real threat. The current epidemic of abuse within the church is both a sign and a symptom of an irreversible trajectory toward social chaos and unrest; the paedophilia epidemic has come to represent the decay and corruption of the shared morals and values of 'community', 'family' and 'society'.

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Given the modern preoccupation with fear, risk and instability, the 'crisis' of trust has become an instantly recognisable narrative.

The dissolution of the Catholic Church over incidences of sexual abuse has been greeted by the Australian media with a barely disguised jubilation. The abuse epidemic within the church has coincided with a conservative moral agenda within the aimed at discrediting institutionalised religion. The churches' fall from grace was wholeheartedly embraced by the media, the current sexual abuse crisis seemingly confirming community suspicions that the Catholic Church was not only becoming corrupt, but also redundant. The litany of specifically anti-Catholic reports further testify to the anti-religious sentiment which characterised reports.\(^\text{56}\)

The perpetuation of the myth of a worsening crisis of trust was effectively achieved through the repetition of the threat of the paedophile priest. According to the media, the full extent of the sexual abuse revealed could not be described as anything other than alarming. Cases of paedophilia within the church have thoroughly destabilised the foundations of trust within the community. Reports also depicted the crumbling foundations of the institution of the church, an opinion piece from *The Age* describing how 'The smell of panic is unmistakable' (Bunting 2002). We can detect in this report the sense that not only had community confidence in the church been shattered, but the authority of the institution of the church as a whole had been undermined. We can also identify the dismantling of the moral authority of the church in the following opinion piece, where it was reported that, 'What we can see is the crumbling of an entire system of authority' (Bunting 2002). And again, in the same article, it was suggested that the abuse crisis has resulted in 'the demoralisation of the priesthood in most Catholic countries' (Bunting 2002). In response to the mounting claims of sexual abuse, Cardinal George Pell was again reported as saying that, 'continued revelations of paedophilia among the clergy represented a serious blow to the church’s prestige' (Hutchings 1996). The corrosion of the churches’ power and authority can also be

\(^{56}\) See for example 'Trail of Sin' (Robinson 2002), 'Faith No More' (Rintoul 1996) and 'Cutting the Cost of a Priest’s Bad Faith' (Zwartz 2004).
read in the following headline from *The Australian* newspaper: 'A Shepherd who divided the flock – CHURCH IN CRISIS' (Walker and Yallop 2002).

These excerpts illustrate how narratives of trust and risk have been firmly written into the paedophilia epidemic. At a time when a pervasive mood of unease and fear is all-encompassing, the paedophile epidemic has materialised within newspaper discourse as an important signifier. Reports covering cases of paedophilia have reinforced the perception that the established order of 'our' community is slowly being dismantled and destabilised; social bonds have become fractured, the paedophilia plague is eating away the foundations of society. The paedophile priest epidemic exemplifies how already fragile trust relationships have been further eroded and undermined. In many respects, anxieties over the threat of the paedophile priest could be said to be an expression of this enduring uncertainty and risk. Conversely, indispensable to this modern discourse of fear, risk and loss has been the figure of the paedophile.

Commenting on investigations into paedophilia within both the Catholic and Anglican Churches during the 1970s and 1980's, one journalist observed that, 'we were more trusting, we took things at face value and created a haven for these sorts of offenders' (Roberts and Altmann 2003). Here, trust was something that 'we' once had and now we have lost it. At the same time, these reports assume a common understanding of what exactly we understand this loss to be. We can detect within this narrative, a universal desire to recapture a time lost, to return to a time which is unscathed by the menace of paedophilia and the paedophile. Allusions are made to a phantasmatic crime-free society which we once inhabited, a society presumably without the threat of child sexual abuse. In the midst of the crisis of trust, the 'we' which defines 'family', 'community', and 'us', is galvanised through our collective sense of loss and betrayal. The war against paedophilia is part of a symbolic effort to regain control, a battle centrally concerned with restoring and maintaining a fictional order. In this sense, the paedophilia epidemic is historically specific; a modern crisis of fear, risk and loss is directing the current paedophilia epidemic.

7.5 Institutionalised Paedophilia
The epidemic of paedophilia within the church is occurring at a time when faith and trust in some of our most prominent institutions is waning (see Mätzal 1996; see also Bauman 1997 and Sennett 1998). Marian Sawer suggests that under the Liberal Howard Government, a fundamental cultural shift in Australian society has occurred (2004). The Howard Government, Sawer argues, has ‘trad[ed] on the fears, resentments and insecurities of the mainstream’ (2004: 41). The ‘mainstream’ has come to signify a new and increasingly disillusioned underclass whose interests and values have been progressively undermined. These fears over a loss of shared values have now extended to the public sphere, where a range of institutions have become the target of increased pessimism and distrust:

This populist discourse has also contributed to a distrust in institutions of representative democracy and in the expert knowledges cultivated in the courts, universities and other public institutions. (Sawer and Hindess 2004: 2)

The general environment of mistrust, which is a marker of the postmodern world, is critical in shaping attitudes to institutions. Ulrich Beck has observed that ‘Where risks are believed to be read, the foundations of business, politics, science and everyday life are in flux’ (2000: 214). The paedophile priest crisis is just one example of how public trust in institutions has been effectively eroded and undermined. Misztal also rightly points to how:

The renewed significance of the issue of trust in recent studies can be explained by the transitional character of our present condition. It seems that the main characteristic of the present transitional stage is the trend towards the ‘decentring of some of our most important institutions’ (Wolfe 1991: 462). (Misztal 1996: 3)

Cases of paedophilia perpetrated by priests are presented as being symptomatic of a decline in integrity that many institutions generally are currently enduring. As a result of the abuse epidemic, the institution of the church, previously a repository of moral authority and order, has been thoroughly discredited. It is a loss of faith in traditional religious structures combined with a general erosion of public trust in institutions that has characterised media discourse. It is not simply that societal trust in institutions has been thoroughly eroded and destablised. It is not only that the integrity of the
church has been irrevocably compromised. It is the fact that this loss of trust in institutions is perceived to be *increasing*, or indeed, *worsening*. The paedophile epidemic within the church has corrupted the seemingly incorruptible. The church, once an icon of faith and trust, now symbolises a new locale for the epidemic of paedophilia.

The media was torn between attributing the epidemic of paedophilia to a contaminating - and contaminated - individual and the institution of the church as a whole. News commentaries suggested that the church, as an institutional realm, had fostered the conditions that had facilitated the spread of paedophilia. As one journalist put it:

> The Catholic Church in Australia has been suffering from a deep malaise for decades and the 'paedophile priest' scandal is just the most public manifestation of those institutionalised problems. (McManus 2002)

The media claimed that it was specific ‘institutional deficiencies’ (Slattery 1997) which had promoted the growth of paedophilia within both the Catholic and Anglican Churches.

The specific anti-religious sentiment that underscored media reporting, combined with the highly critical standpoint taken by many journalists, prompted church officials to defend the church against claims of sexual abuse. In an effort to counteract the criticism that had been directed at the Christian Churches, church representatives went into damage control, one spokesperson commenting that, ‘while paedophilia had an institutional locus, its existence within institutions should not be used to taint them’ (Slattery 1997). The media attack over paedophilia claims triggered another church official to warn ‘against the stigmatisation of institutions such as the church’, and instead called for the media to focus on the ‘corrupt activities of individuals operating within them’ (Slattery 1997). Church representatives attributed the problem of child sexual abuse to corrupt or toxic individuals operating within the church itself. The individualisation of paedophilia within these reports has had the effect of apportioning blame at the individual, and leaving the institution relatively untarnished. As more
claims surfaced, however, it became increasingly difficult for church authorities to dismiss cases of abuse as isolated incidences.

The media were seemingly undecided as to who, specifically, should be held accountable for the abuse crisis. Newspaper commentaries wavered between focusing on the institution of the church as a whole, and on individual perpetrators. Some cases of paedophilia were explained not simply in terms of institutional failure but as an individual failure. Reports reduced the cause of the paedophilia epidemic to a contagious individual who had the ability to infiltrate, 'infect' and destabilise institutions. An opinion piece from The Sydney Morning Herald succinctly encapsulates this sense of disorder and decay within the church, where it was reported that the church hierarchy was 'rotting with pedophilia and abuse claims' (Baird 2003). The fact that child sexual claims have so thoroughly tainted the church, a trusted and revered institution, exemplifies the insidious nature of the 'disease' of paedophilia. Church representatives argued that it was the corrupting force of the paedophile that has disabled the institution of the Church, rather than institutional failure. It seems that the sexual abuse of children is more easily explained and understood if it can be blamed on the individual pathology of the paedophile.

In suggesting that paedophilia is endemic in certain institutions, the media circumvents more critical questions surrounding the sexual abuse of children within the family. This understanding or explanation of paedophilia has the effect of shifting responsibility from individual perpetrators to the institution of the church. What is interesting about this argument, is that in establishing an institutional pattern of sexual abuse, paedophilia then becomes not simply a problem of criminal deviancy but also a symbol of institutional breakdown. The issues of men's criminality is subsumed among other questions surrounding the church's institutional deficiencies.

A flood of opinion pieces and letters to the editor expressed anger, outrage and disbelief at the sexual victimisation of children by the members of societies most trusted and respected institutions. Community anger was palpable at firstly, how paedophiles had managed to infiltrate such a large institution as the church, and
secondly, that the church had allowed paedophilia to spread through its ranks unchecked. We read in one article:

But the order’s spiel fails to mention how its global structure has provided comfortable boltholes for priests who are alleged to have preyed upon the children their order vows to protect. (Callinan, Hoare, and Kaszubska 2004)

The media was particularly critical of what they termed the church’s failure to ‘uphold the standards the community expects of them’ (Slattery 1997). Here, the ‘community’ is strategically positioned against the threat and risk embodied in the paedophile Other, in this case the paedophile priest. Another journalist commented on the cases of sexual abuse, writing that ‘[it] has the community asking how our trusted institutions let down so many children’ (Slattery 1997). What was becoming clear from these reports was that the institution of the church had ostensibly failed to protect its children.

The church has gone to great lengths to distance itself from the problem of child sexual abuse. The public disclosure of church cover-ups regarding the extent of the sexual abuse was enough to incite the ire of Australian journalists and the public alike. The spectacular failure of the church to account for its actions, particularly relating to the protection of priests who sexually abused children, was the focus of countless newspaper reports, letters to the editor and opinion pieces. What was viewed as particularly problematic was the fact that the church had attempted to deal with the issue of paedophilia within the institution of the church itself. The compensation paid to victims of sexual abuse, and the confidentiality and secrecy provisions of these agreements, added further to the perception that the church was attempting to conceal cases of paedophilia from the public. This, coupled with the church’s failure to deal with cases of sexual abuse as a criminal issue, attracted widespread media condemnation.

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88 See ‘Victims Find that the Devil is in the Detail’ (Mottram 2002), ‘Payout from Pell was “Hush Money”’ (Strahan and Haslem 2002), ‘New Hush Money Claim on Church; Sex Victim: I was paid for silence’ (Tame 2002), and ‘Money Talks – When Hush Comes to Shove’ (Burke 2002a).
Church representatives at an international conference on sexual exploitation were reported as saying that, 'they were shocked by the extent of sexual abuse by clergy that they had uncovered'. The report succinctly captures the sense of the public violation of 'our' trust. It was commented further, that the victims of child sexual abuse had 'discovered their trust was betrayed in the most devastating manner (Glascott 1996b). And elsewhere, the article reported Ms Johnson from the child protection agency Bravehearts as saying that: 'It's a disgrace. It makes a mockery of the Bible. It makes a mockery of the whole Christian faith' (Meade 2004). The media also criticised the bonds of the confessional which protected priests who had admitted to their crimes:

There are no laws in Australia compelling priests to report crimes confessed to them. Under Catholic Church laws, priests can be excommunicated for reporting confessions to police. (Meade 2004)

The church was not only avoiding the issue of child sexual abuse within its ranks, but the church was also seen to be protecting paedophiles from criminal prosecution.89

The main problem with these representations is that by locating paedophilia within a broader institutional framework the individual accountability of the abuser is diminished. The individualisation of paedophilia has had the effect of deflecting attention away from the systems of masculinity, sexuality and power which enable the sexual abuse of children. The very real sexual threat posed to children by men is lost in a narrative of institutional failure. On one level, paedophilia can be easily separated from the complex institutional relations which have (re)produced paedophilia, and on another level, paedophilia is the product of very specific institutional relations of power and authority.

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89 Section 127(1) of the Evidence Act 1995 provides that: 'A person who is or was a member of the clergy of any church or religious denomination is entitled to refuse to divulge that a religious confession was made, or the contents of a religious confession made, to the person when a member of the clergy'.
The paedophile priest occupies competing subject positions: 'paedophile' and 'priest'. The desexualisation of representations of the paedophile priest is evidenced in the ways in which reports consistently referred to abusive priest rather than abusive man. The paedophile's subject position as 'priest' becomes the defining characteristic of his criminality. It is, specifically, his subject position as 'priest' that detracts from the sex of this sexed crime. The sexual abuse of children becomes a transgression of his priestly duty. I suggest that the use of 'paedophile priest' is a key discursive strategy aimed at removing and redirecting men's responsibility for the sexual abuse of children.

7.6 The Power of the Pastorate: The Case of Michael Glennon

There is little doubt that the sexual abuse of children by members of the clergy amounts to an egregious abuse of power, authority and privilege. The sacred power entrusted to members of the clergy, the power of what Foucault has referred to as the 'pastorate', has been flagrantly misused. Foucault describes the power of the pastorate in the following way:

This power I would call – no, is called – the pastorate. That is the existence within society of a category of individuals absolutely specific and singular...who in the Christian society play the role of pastor [pasteur], shepherd [berger] in relation to others who are their sheep or their flock. (1999: 121)

Foucault comments further of the pastorate: 'its principal function is doing well for those over whom one watches' (1999: 123). The overwhelmingly moral response in the media to the epidemic of paedophilia within the church can be attributed to a breach of this pastoral duty of care.

He - for only men are endowed with the power of the pastorate - who is entrusted with pastoral power has an obligation to exercise this control with care and with caution. Foucault describes further the unique operations of pastoral power:

Consequently, pastoral power is a power that ensures at the same time the subsistence of individuals and the subsistence of the group, unlike traditional power which is manifested
essentially in triumph over one’s subjects. It is not a triumphant power, it is a beneficial power. (1999: 123)

The operations of the pastorate is distinctive in that its defining characteristic is unconditional trust. By its very nature, the functioning of pastoral power is dependent on an absolute and unwavering foundation of trust. Cases of paedophilia, however, signify a blatant and negligent breach of this fundamental trust relationship.

The pastor is strictly bound by a sense of obligation and responsibility to parishioners. The pastor, however, is not only empowered to protect but also to punish. Foucault characterises the power of the pastorate as a new technique of power which was aimed at controlling and disciplining individuals through the confession:

This new form is ensured by the pastor, who can require the people to do everything that they must for their salvation, and who is in a position to watch over them and to exercise with respect to them, in any case, a surveillance and continuous control. (1999: 124)

According to Foucault, the pastor is one who can ‘demand of others an absolute obedience’ (1999: 124). The pastor is an iconic bearer of trust and authority; it is the pastor’s role to uphold people’s faith and to guide his flock. Moral guidance is both administered and directed through pastoral power. Porter has observed that ‘[o]ne of the Church’s persistent sins is its tendency to see itself, or its clergy, as a separate caste, and therefore holier than anyone else’ (1996: 128). Due to the fact that members of the clergy have been historically entrusted with this specific duty of care - a duty of care which separates the clergy from ‘us’ - that the sexual abuse of children within the church represents such a gross violation of trust. It has been, specifically, an abuse of this privilege, this unique power which is entrusted to members of the clergy, that is at issue in the paedophile priest epidemic. The abuse crisis has brought into question the previously unchallenged pastoral authority and privilege bestowed upon priests. Moreover, the epidemic of priestly paedophilia has transformed the operations of pastoral power into a detrimental power. The case of priest Michael Glennon illustrates how instances of paedophilia have irrevocably undermined the principle, aim and intent of pastoral power and care.
Priest Michael Glennon was initially charged in 1985 with child sex offences against five boys and one girl (1978-1980). Such was the perceived threat of Glennon that radio commentator Derryn Hinch publicly identified Glennon during his 1985 trial as having prior convictions relating to child sexual abuse.\textsuperscript{90} Glennon was not convicted until 1991, where he was eventually found guilty of offences relating to indecent assault, attempted buggery and buggery with violence and sentenced to nine years’ jail. Glennon was eventually acquitted in 1991 when the Court of Criminal Appeal found that, due to Hinch’s comments, Glennon was denied a fair trial. In May 1992, however, the High Court reinstated the convictions and sentence.\textsuperscript{91} Although Glennon was released in November 1997, he was charged with a further 65 sexual offences against 15 male and female victims and ordered to stand three separate trials. Glennon was found guilty of 24 sexual offences at the first trial in May 1999, and counts of sexual assault at the second trial in August 2003.

In October 2003, at the conclusion of the third trial, a report entitled ‘Priest and Predator’ (Silkstone 2003a) detailed how Glennon was sentenced to an additional 15-20 years imprisonment after being found guilty of a further 23 sexual abuse charges in October 2003 against three boys, which made him in the words of one journalist, ‘one of Australia’s worst pedophiles’ (Silkstone 2003a). Central to media reports of Glennon during his trial was the familiar image of the paedophile-as-monster. The day after the sentence hearing, the following headlines appeared in newspapers: ‘Applause as ‘Evil’ Priest Gets More Jail’ (Silkstone 2003b), ‘Sex Monster May Get Life’ (Cullen 2003a), ‘20 Years for ‘Evil’ Pedophile Ex-Priest’ (Kaszubska 2003), ‘Monster Pays for Evil’ (Cullen 2003b) and ‘Keep Him Caged’ (Editorial 2003).

Paedophile Michael Glennon materialises within the paedophile priest epidemic as the embodiment of evil and an iconic figure of our loss of trust, one report describing Glennon as ‘a throwback to a time when the priesthood was the repository of blind

\textsuperscript{90} Glennon was convicted in 1978 of two charges of indecent assault against a fourteen year old girl.

\textsuperscript{91} R v Glennon (1992) 173 CLR 592.
trust' (Silkstone 2003a). An editorial which appeared after Glennon was found guilty of sexual assault commented:

Cunning and evil, he seeks out innocence and destroys it like an agent of Satan. Repeatedly betraying his church and the trust of children and their families, he is one of the most malevolent elements in the flotsam that occasionally pollutes our country's otherwise-hopeful tides. (Editorial 2003)

This image of Glennon is further dramatised by the following statement from the same article: 'Glennon's perversions knew no bounds. And what of the poor parents who had this smiling savage baptise their babies – and with what depraved thoughts?' (Editorial 2003).

Another report catalogued what was referred to as Glennon's 'most wicked crimes' (Cullen 2003b). Glennon, who was repeatedly labelled a 'sex monster', emerges as the epitome of immorality (Cullen 2003a). Other accounts of Glennon's behaviour also focused on his 'evil' nature. When sentencing Glennon, County Court Judge Roland Williams described Glennon as 'wantonly evil':

You have indeed shown yourself to be an evil and callous human being capable of the most cunning and pre-meditated planning to commit the most sordid sexual acts on young children. (Kaszubska 2003)

The representation of Glennon as 'evil' and 'depraved' operates to easily link his crimes to his inherent sub-human character. The paedophile priest who already signifies sexual and criminal deviancy, has also become a symbol of our disillusionment and distrust. Media commentary of the case also underscores the significance of the sexed specificity of paedophilia, by again confining it to the realm of the Other. One would assume that one of the central, indeed more difficult questions, would be, what is the relationship between Glennon as a sexed specific subject and the sexual abuse of children?

Constructions of Glennon also draw attention to the physicality of paedophilia. The Otherness of paedophilia is discerned by the visible differences between 'us' and the
paedophile. The media, for example, focused on what was considered to be 
Glennon's monster-like appearance. Glennon was described as a 'bony-faced 
monster' (Cullen 2003a), and elsewhere it was observed that Glennon appeared 
'greyed and hollowed' (Silkstone 2003a). Glennon, who was described as an 
'unremorseful and unrehabilitated' paedophile (Silkstone 2003b), is represented as 
physically manifesting the symptoms of his inherent depravity and disorder. The 
grotesque body of the paedophile is both a sign and a symptom of the paedophile's 
interior deviancy and systemic degeneracy.

7.7 Sins of the Flesh: Discursive Mediations of Sexuality in the Paedophile 
Priest Crisis

This section examines the role the Christian Churches have played in the 
(re)production of ideas of sexual normativity and sexual deviancy. In forming 
understandings and attitudes to sex and sexuality, Christianity has played a central 
defining influence. The power of Christianity is fundamentally steeped in the 
management and regulation of sexual practices, desires and behaviours. Specifically, 
it has been Christianity's role in the disciplining and policing of ideas of sexual 
normativity and deviancy that has greatly impacted on sexual relations. Given the 
Christian Churches' conservative views on sex, the child sexual abuse crisis has dealt 
a severe blow to the reputations of both the Catholic and Anglican Churches.

Foucault has outlined three main areas in which Christianity has influenced sexual 
relations:

First of all, it is Christianity that would impose on ancient 
societies the rule of monogamy. Second, it is Christianity that 
would give reproduction as the function – not the privileged or 
principal, but the exclusive function – as the sole and unique 
function of sexuality: do not make love except to have children. 
Third and finally, moreover, one would be able to begin with a 
general disqualification of sexual pleasure. Sexual pleasure is 
an evil – an evil which must be avoided and which must, in 
consequence, be accorded the smallest possible place...these 
three characteristics would define Christianity. (1999: 120-121)

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92 For a detailed analysis of the institution of Christianity and the regulation of sexuality 
see Foucault, Religion and Culture (1999).
Foucault traces how, in the fourth century, Christianity emerged as a new machinery of power and control concerned with the administration and regulation of sexuality through heterosexual monogamy. Sex emerges as the primary means through which power and control is exercised over the individual and the family, and by extension, society. Foucault comments further that:

Christianity found the means to establish a type of power that controlled individuals by their sexuality, conceived as something of which one had to be suspicious, as something which always introduced possibilities of temptation and fall in the individual. (1999: 126)

The regulation of sexuality is at the core of Christianity’s disciplinary and regulatory power:

I believe that in fact Christianity indeed played a role, but its role was not so much in the introduction of new moral ideas. It was not in the introduction, the contribution or the injunction of new prohibitions. It seems to me that what Christianity brought to this history of sexual morality were new techniques: new techniques for imposing this moral, or, to speak precisely, a new mechanism or an ensemble of new mechanisms of power for inculcating these new moral imperatives. (Foucault 1999: 121)

The effective management of sexuality was administered and achieved through the continual prohibition and control of sexual behaviours which were considered to contravene ‘normal’ sexual relations. Foucault points to how this new regime of power, concerned with the regulation and discipline of sexuality, centred on the prohibition and condemnation of perverse pleasures. These ‘immoral acts’ existed outside what were considered to be the ‘normal’ range of activities (i.e., reproductive monogamous sex). ‘Normal’ sexual relations, implicitly defined by their reproductive

93 Muriel Porter, among many others, has also identified the role Christianity has played in the enforcement of codes of sexual morality. Porter has elaborated on the role Christianity has played in defining modern sexual standards of normativity and deviancy by tracing the beginning of the regulation of sexuality to the fourth century. ‘So by the end of fourth century, the die was cast in no uncertain terms. The Christian Church’s first consistent, formalized standard of sexual behaviour was uncompromising. Indeed, it might be said to offer clear “certainty”. All sexual activity, even within marriage, even for nothing but the express purpose of procreation, was defined as inherently defiling and, even worse, potentially mortally dangerous to the Christian soul...Human sexuality was not for one moment seen as a good gift of God; in fact it was the exact opposite: a punishment the human race repeatedly paid for the Fall’ (1996: 29).
imperative, were to be confined within the bonds of heterosexuality monogamy. A new sexual hierarchy was deployed which rewarded (hetero)sexual self control and restraint, and punished (homo)sexual excess and licentiousness. Sexuality was thought to be a source of constant temptation and, as a result, sexual identities and practices were subject to endless prohibitive regulations. Christianity has performed, and continues to perform, a key role in defining and policing standards of sexual normativity and deviancy. It is specifically the figure of the priest that has been charged with enforcing church directives on sex.

Another fundamental characteristic of the power of the pastorate is the pastor's role as protector of truth. Central to this power over sexuality, is the apparatus of the confessional. Foucault observes that Christian codes of sexual conduct require that one submit oneself to 'exhaustive and permanent confession' (1999: 125). The pastor encourages one to declare the 'truth' of one's sexual sins via the confession. The pastor, who is the guardian of the confession, is empowered to deliver divine guidance and to absolve one of one's sexual transgressions. Foucault writes that the pastor:

must also know [connaitre] what goes on inside the soul, the heart, the most profound secrets of the individual. This knowledge of the interior of individuals is absolutely required for the practice of the Christian pastorate. (1999: 125)

It is the pastor who is empowered to pass judgment on the sins of his flock and to provide absolution for the many and varied sins of the flesh. The role of the pastor

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94 Catholic Priests are forbidden from revealing what is divulged to them in the confessional. Catholic Canon Law 983:1 provides that: 'The sacramental seal is inviolable. Accordingly it is absolutely wrong for a confessor in any way to betray the penitent, for any reasons whatsoever, whether by word or in any other fashion'. Canon 1388:1 also provides that: 'A confessor who directly violates the sacramental seal incurs a latae sententiae excommunication reserved to the Apostolic See; one who does so only indirectly is to be punished according to the gravity of the delict'.

Provisions for preventing the disclosure of information revealed in the confessional are also set out in the Anglican Canon (1989) concerning confession: 'If any person confess his or her secret and hidden sins to an ordained minister for the unburdening of conscience and to receive spiritual consolation and ease of mind, such minister shall not at any time reveal or make known any crime or offence or sin so confessed and committed to trust and secrecy by that person without the consent of that person.'
is to warn parishioners of the dangers of succumbing to temptation, and to remind us of the ever-present threat of eternal damnation. The modern child abuse crisis, however, has patently undermined the authority of the priest. The operation of the power of the pastorate is dependent on people’s faith, faith which has now been corroded and undermined.

7.8 The Disciplining of Hetero-Sexual Desires: Discourses of Celibacy

I argued in earlier chapters, that understandings of paedophilia are contingent on our discursive knowledge of sexuality. It is, specifically, the binary and hierarchically ordered system of heterosexuality/homosexuality that organises understandings of paedophilia. This section critically examines opposing definitions and understandings of heterosexuality in the context of the paedophile priest epidemic. The discussion explores some of the pervasive stereotypes of men’s heterosexuality within news reports, and addresses how media debates have been primarily driven by the issue of celibacy. The section also seeks to question representations of masculinity within the priestly paedophilia epidemic. My analysis is informed by a reading of the church as a profoundly gendered space, a site where specifically masculine power and authority is exercised.

The following discussion considers the way in which the discourse of the popular press is encoded with very specific understandings of male (hetero)sexuality. The subsequent articles will reveal how a circulating discourse of normative heterosexuality dictates that men’s sexuality is a natural, powerful, and inherently aggressive force. The section explores how newspaper discourse presents paedophilia as being the by-product of archaic church rules and regulations regarding (hetero)sexuality, rather than the individual responsibility of offenders. Specifically, I address how paedophilia discourses can be contextualised within current debates over prevailing social definitions of masculine heterosexuality.

A fundamental aspect of paedophilia debates has been the issue of celibacy. Porter comments on the introduction of a 'sexually chaste priesthood' (1996: 29) within the Christian Church:

Christian people could have been in no doubt at all on the subject. That these demands quickly and effectively established a special, elite clerical caste that the humble laity could in no way emulate is no accident. Again and again, the Church has used moral and other codes of behaviour in order to impose authority and gain power for certain privileged groups. The temptation is not very far away today. (1996: 29)

Over the past ten years, celibacy has been posited as a key contributing factor in the sexual abuse of children, the media attributing incidences of paedophilia to what was termed the 'unnatural' conditions of the priesthood. It was reported in, for example, that:

More than 100 Catholic priests had been forced out of the priesthood over sex offences in the past year and the Church should consider loosening celibacy rules to combat the problem. (Glascott 1997a)

Cases of sexual abuse against girls and boys were both explained and justified in terms of the sexual pressures of being a priest. We read further in the same article that, 'the church should consider allowing priests to defer permanent celibacy vows until the "mature" age of 40' (Glascott 1997a). Celibacy is commonly cited within the media as a mitigating factor in cases of paedophilia; it is the conditions of priesthood which cause members of the clergy to sexually abuse children. The growing 'crisis' of sexual abuse, another article suggested, can be explained in terms of the 'effects of the vows of celibacy that clergy are required to take when they enter the church' (Glascott 1997a).

The issue of celibacy has raised a number of important questions about the representation of men's sexuality. Central to the celibacy argument has been dominant constructions of men's hetero-sexuality as both innate and insatiable. One

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Porter notes that: 'The first attempt to impose clerical chastity as a universal law came some sixty years later, in the first authentic papal decretal of 385. Pope Siricius commanded continence for reasons clearly linked to the need for cultic purity for the Eucharistic celebration' (1996: 28).
article from *The Australian* demanded that 'Mandatory Celibacy has to go' (Neill 2002). Paedophilia has consistently been reduced to the irrefutable biology of (hetero)sex: 'mandatory celibacy has failed...mandatory celibacy is unhealthy — even dangerous...[it is] simply unworkable (Neill 2002). Within these debates, a primordial, aggressive sex drive emerges as an identifying marker of masculine (hetero)sexuality. News media discourse locates celibacy outside the range of 'normal' (hetero)sexuality for men.

A report from the *Herald Sun* referred to compulsory celibacy as the 'bond that breaks lives' (Henderson 2003). The article continued, stating that: 'It is disturbing that one of the most sensible things that’s been said in a long time by a member of the Catholic Church was uttered by a child molester' (Henderson 2003). After his sentence of two years and eight months for the sexual assault of a fifteen year old boy was suspended, the article reported Father Barry Gwillim as saying that, 'If we did away with celibacy this would all go away' (Henderson 2003). The reporter, however, stopped short of attributing the paedophilia epidemic to celibacy entirely, stating that 'Surely celibacy cannot be blamed. But I have to say, it certainly would not help' (Henderson 2003).

As an explanatory narrative, the celibacy argument suffers from a fundamental misunderstanding of the dynamics of child sexual abuse. By insisting that celibacy is a predisposing factor in the sexual abuse of children, it supposes that one can disregard the flagrant abuse of power which characterises the relationships between victims of sexual assault and offenders. The association between celibacy and child sexual abuse is at best a tenuous connection, as it falsely assumes that child sexual abuse is simply reducible to individual sexual pathology. This understanding or explanation of paedophilia highlights the sexual dimensions and critically overlooks the *sexed* relations of power that underscore these relationships. On the one hand, debates surrounding celibacy have readily overlooked the hetero-sexed specificity of paedophilia. And on the other hand, representations of paedophilia rely on and are framed by very specific understandings of hetero-masculinity. The issue of celibacy has directed attention away from priest's role as specifically masculine authority.
figures and the relations of dominance which typify the relationship between men and children within the church.

Cases of heterosexual abuse is rarely, if ever, heterosexualised. Heterosexual abuse is routinely explained and justified in terms of mitigating circumstances. Many familiar explanations were given in newspaper reports relating to the sexual abuse of girls. The sexual abuse of girls was routinely reduced to external factors or environmental conditions, including celibacy. Heterosexual offenders are not subject to the same censures reserved for those who sexually abuse boys. Indeed, within media discourse, heterosexual desire is unmarked and unremarkable. These examples have convincingly demonstrate how men's (hetero)sexuality is widely constructed within the media as both a natural and inherently aggressive force. Another journalist observed that 'it was dangerous to make it [celibacy] compulsory' (Murray 2002). The language used to describe the effects of celibacy draws from stereotypes of men's (hetero)masculinity. This reading of men's heterosexuality also operates to reinforce its hegemonic status. The interdiscursive reading of men's (hetero)sexuality as innate and insatiable, has a powerful symbolic currency within media discourse. Crucially, the celibacy discourse which has characterised media debates has functioned as a way of abrogating men's responsibility for sexual abuse.

7.9 Disciplinary Bonds/Regulatory Spaces: Configurations of Space and Crime in the Paedophile Priest Crisis

I have suggested that what distinguishes the paedophile priest crisis from other discourses of paedophilia is its institutional setting. However, Collier has identified how the criminal Other is represented as inhabiting:

> a terrain 'outside' the family. They are, however, no less regulated by codes of a familial ideology which ascribes men to particular social roles and functions (as disciplinarian, authority figure, protector and 'friend'). (1998: 115)

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96 See for example 'Celibacy in the Catholic Church – Thou Shalt Not' (Yallop 1994).
Historically, priests have been charged with the management of the moral and sexual disciplining and training of young boys (see Foucault 1976; see also Sheridan 1980: 187). Collier observes that:

A range of institutions have historically sought to discipline, guide, direct and control the bodies of young boys. Such disciplining has been secured historically by facilitating boys' subjection and bodily proximity to the (suitable) authority of an older man or men. (1998: 115)

The sex abuse crisis within the church has raised some important questions about the way in which the relationship between men and children is represented within the media. The underlying anxieties surrounding the relationship between men and children are reflected in the almost exclusive focus on the sexual abuse of boys in news reports. It is the problem of the relationship between men and children, specifically between men and boys, which is underwriting the sexual abuse crisis within the church. The once pivotal role priests played in the education and disciplining of young boys, is now thought to involve a high degree of risk and is greeted with suspicion and distrust. The previously unquestioned and unchallenged authority of priests, has now been openly criticised within the media.

I suggest that the narrative interpretation of the paedophile priest crisis, however, has also been filtered through the current preoccupation with the fear of risk. Fears surrounding the threat of the paedophile priest specifically centred on the risks involved in leaving 'our' children in the hands of Others, specifically Other (read: homosexual) men. The overwhelming focus on cases of male to male sexual abuse can be tied to perceived risks involved in leaving boys alone with strange or unrelated men. Collier argues that:

Indeed, the relationship between men and children constitutes, at present, a problematic (Burgess and Ruxton, 1996) which rests, in part, on a consciousness of men and masculinity as potential threats to the safety, integrity, autonomy and, ultimately, lives of children. (1998: 116)

The church is an important site of what Collier refers to as the 'conflation of space and crime' (1998: 108). The church is a distinctly gendered space, a site where priests
have exercised specifically masculine power and control over boys (see Porter 1996; see also Castelli 2001). From a feminist perspective, the child sex abuse epidemic is not surprising given that the church is an institution whose traditions and practices are fundamentally steeped in masculine power and authority. Historically, the masculinist culture of the church has fostered inequitable relationships between men and women, and also men and children. The church’s organisational structures are dependent on the hierarchical and binary ordering of gender; the inherent organisational composition of the church both enables and legitimates the institutionalised abuse of male power, authority and privilege. The rigid gender divisions that are authorised and legitimated in the tenets of Christianity have also enabled and endorsed the sexual abuse epidemic.

The church is a space where gendering practices are mediated, it is a site where the performance of gender is carried out. In this sense, paedophilia can be understood to be an expression of hetero-masculinity; paedophilia is a quintessential act of masculine (hetero)sexuality. Paedophilia is the performance of masculinity. The paedophile both embodies and enacts hetero-masculinity at moment of sexual abuse. Foucault has written that ‘power’s success is proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms’ (1976: 86). The entrenched sexism within the church has promoted and reinforced these abusive relationships (Porter 1996). Feminist analyses which have explored the relations of domination and subordination that are internal to sexually abusive relationships are notably absent from media reports. It is these aspects, the sexual and power asymmetries, that are critically overlooked in media analyses. The central lack of attention to the question of men’s sexed power contributes to the misrepresentation of child sexual abuse within the media. It is the very problem of masculine authority and power, and implicitly male heterosexuality, which is at the centre of the paedophilia epidemic.

The sexual abuse of children, of course, is not only specific to the church. It is also the case that not all priests are paedophiles. Statistics also contradict media claims that there are a disproportionate number of paedophiles within the ranks of the
Catholic and Anglican Churches. It is partly due to the fact that the relationship between priest and child, a relationship which was once widely sanctioned in the community as a vital and beneficial affiliation, has now become tainted, that priestly paedophilia has assumed such a central position within paedophilia discourses. This leads, however, to the question, is this abuse of trust by familial abusers any less scandalous than that perpetrated by the paedophile priest?

7.10 The Homosexualisation of the Paedophile Priest

I suggested previously that one of the defining characteristics of the category ‘paedophile’ is its homosexualisation. This is no less the case than with media constructions of paedophilia perpetrated by priests, as an understanding of paedophilia-as-homosexuality has been instrumental in accounting for the paedophilia crisis within the church. The section explores the ways in which paedophilia is constructed as a sexual/criminal disorder whose identifying characteristics are consistently homosexualised. It is the homosexualisation of these accounts that has correlative result in a disappearance of cases of sexual assault against girls. Specifically, I examine the high profile case of priest Gerald Ridsdale. I will suggest that at issue in the case is the questionable (homo)sexual transgression of priest Ridsdale. The homosexualisation of the paedophile priest is crucial in illustrating the repetitive nature of representations of paedophilia. At issue in each of these articles is the homosexuality of Ridsdale, rather than paedophilia in itself.

97 Exact figures as to what percentage of paedophiles are members of the clergy are difficult to ascertain. It was reported by child protection agency Bravehearts, that during the 1990’s Australian courts dealt with nearly 450 individual cases of child sexual assault by priests. It was reported that during 1997-2002 more than 100 clergy from the Catholic and Anglican churches have been convicted of child sexual assault, http://www.bravehearts.org.au/docs/facts_and_stats.pdf accessed 19th October 2007. The possible underreporting of cases of paedophilia perpetrated by priests also contributes to the lack of any concrete statistical data.

98 There have been innumerable accounts of ‘homosexual’ paedophilia within the church. Some of the most high profile cases have included: Priest Garth Stephen Hawkins who was charged and pleaded guilty to sexually abusing boys in Tasmania over a 10 year period 1974-1984. See for example ‘Ex-priest Jailed for Abuse of Boys’ (Altmann 2003). See also the case of Father John Barry Gwillim, who pleaded guilty to five counts of indecent assault and four counts of gross indecency against a 15 year old boy during 1979-1980. Gwillim was given a suspended sentence of two years and eight months. See for example ‘Priest Walks Free on Sex Assault Charges’ (Silkstone 2003d).

99 For example A Child Abuse and Neglect report cited that 70.8% of sexual offenders within the Canadian Roman Catholic, Anglican and Protestant Churches were ‘homosexual paedophiles’ (Langevin, Curnoe and Bain 2000: 543).
A familiar anti-homosexual discourse once again surfaces and dominates debates surrounding the paedophilia crisis within the church. Articles focused on the purported homosexuality of priests who were alleged to have sexually abused children:

Thousands of priests, brothers and nuns abandoned their religious vows, and bishops and religious superiors responded by lowering entry levels just to maintain numbers. Many of the psychologically disturbed were never vetted and cabals of homosexuals took over seminaries. (McManus 2002)

There seems to be little question in the mind of the journalist that the ensuing crisis of paedophilia within the church is a direct result of homosexual priests ‘infiltrating’ church hierarchies. Within this statement there are some familiar associations between homosexuality and epidemic. The use of the word ‘cabals’ also implies that homosexual men have deliberately conspired to overtake churches for the purpose of sexually abusing children. The report in no way challenged the myth that it is predominantly homosexual men who are paedophiles.

Priests who exhibited what the media termed ‘homosexual leanings’, were represented as being more likely to sexually abuse children than ‘heterosexual’ priests. Countless articles reported that priests who abused children were more likely to be homosexual.100 The links to homosexuality, for example, can be clearly established within the following article, where it was observed that ‘some...priests and brothers, who, not surprisingly, have no difficulty with heterosexual celibacy’ (McManus 2002). Here, heterosexuality is measured against the deviancy of homosexuality; homosexual men are represented as being incapable of controlling their sexual impulses.

One of the most prominent cases in the media that was categorised as homosexual paedophilia, was that of Roman Catholic Priest Gerald Ridsdale. Ridsdale was first charged in May 1993 with 30 counts of indecent assault involving nine boys aged

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100 See ‘Sex and the Sacraments’ (Krygsman 1999) and ‘Gays Face Ban on Ever Becoming Priests’ (Burke 2002b).
between 12 and 16 (1974-1980). Ridsdale plead guilty and was sentenced to 12 months jail. Ridsdale was sentenced to a further 18 years jail in 1994 after more sexual abuse claims surfaced. After pleading guilty to 46 charges involving 20 boys and one girl spanning a 21 year period (1961-1982), it was commented of Ridsdale in an opinion piece that: ‘Nowhere is cunning more evident than in the case of Catholic priest Fr Gerald Ridsdale’ (Gray 1999b). Writing for The Age, one journalist described how Ridsdale was a ‘serious sexual offender’ (Saunders 1994) who had a ‘serious psycho-sexual dysfunction that was akin to a sexual addiction’ (Saunders 1994).

Graphic depictions of Ridsdale’s crimes draw attention to how the paedophile priest is also culturally inscribed with the marks of homosexuality. It was reported of one of Ridsdale’s victims, for example, that Ridsdale ‘anally raped him in a toilet block’ (Rintoul 1996). It is through shared concepts of cultural understandings of homosexuality that we interpret Ridsdales crimes. As Lee Edelman has observed:

The wash-room here serves as the locus of a universally recognizable heterosexual mythologizing...that defensively seeks to establish a sign by which homosexual difference can be determined – a sign that would establish such a difference as explicitly as the sign on the washroom door would insist on the certainty of distinctions between the sexes. (1993: 562)

Ridsdale, who ‘targeted ‘young boys” (Saunders 1994) to ‘[s]atisfy his sexual urges’ (Gregory 1995), emerges as the epitome of homosexual dangerousness. Elsewhere, it was reported that: ‘What the priest wanted was sex – repeatedly’ (Munro 2002). The instantly recognisable nexus of paedophilia and homosexuality in these examples illustrates how the media draw on familiar cultural images and narratives of homosexual depravity and dangerousness to contextualise Ridsdale’s crimes. One of the interpretive effects of the paedophilia epidemic has been that the familiar cultural signs that are an identifying marker of homosexuality have also become an identifying marker of paedophilia. These examples also highlight the ways in which the paedophile priest epidemic has consolidated homosexual difference. To put it a

\[101\] Ridsdale was sentenced to a additional four years imprisonment after pleading guilty in August 2006 to a further 35 charges involving 10 boys.
different way, the paedophilia epidemic operates as a way of reproducing the cultural references through which sexual difference is reinforced.

An existing narrative of homosexual danger interests with modern discourses of trust, fear and risk to create a new epidemic of paedophilia. As more cases of abuse were uncovered, the media effectively conveyed a limitlessness to Ridsdale's offending. Ridsdale, who was categorised in the media as a 'serial offender', was described in one report as 'a sick man crippled by his own sexual dysfunction' (Gregory 1995). Descriptions of the crimes of Ridsdale also signalled a return to sex-crime reporting conventions. It was reported, for instance, that Ridsdales 'evil perversion' (Gregory 1995) left a 'trail of shame' (Robinson 2002). And elsewhere, Ridsdale's 'evil secret' (Clifton 2002) was described in the media as a 'reign of terror' (Hodgson 2002).

Such was the gravity of Ridsdale's offences that an article entitled 'Tattoo these Sex Fiends Says Former Democrats' appeared in the Herald Sun. Ridsdale, who was referred to as one of 'Australia's most notorious sex offenders' (Robinson 1997), was identified as being one of four paedophiles who were the 'enemies of our children' (Robinson 1997). Don Chipp, founder of the Australian Democrats party, was reported as saying that as part of their punishment, paedophiles should be tattooed with the letter 'P' on their foreheads as an identifying marker of their criminality: 'It is not a suggestion that the faint-hearted will welcome, but it is the only one that will work' (Robinson 1997). In the modern climate of fear and risk, the paedophile is to publicly bear the mark of his deviancy. If we are able to distinguish the paedophile from the non-criminal community, in this case by the mark of a tattoo, the threat of the paedophile becomes fixed, identifiable and knowable.

The ongoing division of paedophilia into 'homosexual' abuse and 'heterosexual' abuse amounts to an overly simplistic approach to the problem of child sexual abuse. Within media discourse, the problem of paedophilia is related to the inevitable threat or danger that homosexual men are thought to pose to young boys. The sexual abuse of children within the church has been specifically articulated within the media as a problem of homosexuality within the church, rather than paedophilia per se. The case
of Ridsdale highlights how it is the *homosexual* transgression which marks the relationship between Ridsdale and child as deviant. By again creating a distinction between heterosexual and homosexual abuse, and the fact that homosexual abuse is constructed as being significantly more damaging than heterosexual abuse, the continued associations between homosexuality and paedophilia are consolidated. A focus on individual cases of ‘homosexual’ paedophilia has meant that paedophilia has also effectively been removed from the social systems of sex, gender and sexuality that are integral to its hegemonic reproduction.

Although it is perhaps not surprising, given the church’s unreserved disapproval of homosexuality, the ‘crisis’ of child sexual abuse prompted church officials to launch a carefully orchestrated plan of attack against homosexual men. Reports focused on the preventative measures the church was enforcing to preclude homosexual men from joining the clergy. A report, headed ‘Vatican Plan to Block Gay Priests’, revealed that ‘studies of sex abuse within the Catholic Church have confirmed that most abuse cases involve homosexual acts with teenage boys’ (Burke 2002c). It is clear from this report that the threat homosexual priests pose to children is far more dangerous than the threat posed by priests who identify themselves as being heterosexual. The implication within this report is that if homosexual men could be prohibited from entering the clergy, the problem of paedophilia would be eradicated. These examples also draw attention to the visibility of homosexuality within the church and the invisibility of heterosexuality within the church. Within an already existing narrative of homosexual danger, it is homosexual men who are held accountable for the sexual abuse of children. The thinly veiled attacks on homosexuality within the media have had the effect of relegating paedophilia to the realm of homosexual perversion.

The repetition of the association between paedophilia and homosexuality diminishes the differentiation between the two categories. The paedophile, who is marked and known though stereotypes of homosexuality, is a category whose definition is left to the mass media. The equation of paedophilia with homosexuality in the representations I have discussed, exemplifies the process through which homosexual men are marked, and indeed demarcated, as Other. The naming of homosexual men
as 'paedophile' also operates to make the homosexual subject visible within media discourse. The visibility of the homosexual subject in paedophilia discourses is the means through which the ongoing regulation and prohibition of homosexuality is achieved.

7.11 Infectious Desires: The Case of Paedophile Priest Frank Klep

I suggested in earlier chapters that paedophilia can be defined as an 'epidemic sexuality' (Singer 1993: 40). In this section, I consider how the print media continues to use popular metaphors of 'epidemic' or 'plague' to contextualise the crisis of paedophilia within the church. Epidemic discourse has strategically framed the paedophile priest crisis within a context of trust, fear, risk and 'public health'. I specifically address the role and influence of the press in shaping the epidemic of 'priestly paedophilia' by focusing on the case of paedophile Frank Klep, who emerges within the contemporary crisis as a primary carrier of the disease of paedophilia. Within media discourse, the institution of the church has aided the transmission of paedophilia by allowing priests to 'infect' communities, both nationally and internationally, with paedophilia. The case of Frank Klep draws attention to the centrality of epidemic discourses within paedophilia debates, and illustrates how epidemic has become an integral component of the paedophile priest crisis.

Until relatively recently, members of the clergy who have sexually abused children have enjoyed relative anonymity, but a core shift has occurred. Not only are news reports now highly critical of church protocol in dealing with claims of child sexual abuse, but they have also critically called into question the failure of the church to adequately address the issue of child sexual abuse within its ranks. The media was specifically condemnatory of the discretionary powers of the church in extending protection to paedophiles within Australia and abroad. The failure to disclose cases of sexual abuse means that priests have not only escaped public exposure, but also largely escaped criminal prosecution.

Concerns in the media over the paedophilia 'epidemic' notably intensified when it was uncovered that church officials had been protecting paedophile priests from public
exposure and prosecution. What was seen as particularly disturbing, was the fact that the Catholic and Anglican churches had allowed priests to continue working within communities, even after it was revealed they had sexually abused children. Reports also claimed that it was church policy to protect paedophile priests from prosecution for their offences. A report entitled ‘The Vatican’s Big Secret’, for example, detailed how church officials had permitted priests who were known to have sexually abused children to remain in the priesthood. The article outlined the Catholic Church’s procedural protocol in dealing with known sexual offenders: ‘Alarmingly, the 69-page instruction spells out procedures for shifting accused clerics to new postings’ (Shadbolt 2004a).

It was the practice of simply moving priests who were known to have sexually abused children to other parishes that specifically ignited outrage and condemnation within the media. Priest Frank Klep of the Salesian branch of the Catholic Church, was removed from his parish after being found guilty of seven counts of sexually assault involving two boys in 1994 at a Salesian College in Sunbury, Melbourne, in the 1970’s. Klep, who fled Australia in 1998 in order to escape further charges, was posted to Moamoa Theological College in Samoa. The media uncovered that it was church policy to remove and reassign priests to different parishes who were known to have sexually abused children, rather than reporting their crimes to law enforcement authorities. The media exposed the church’s policy of ‘moving suspected paedophile priests across international borders’ (Callinan, Hoare, Kaszubska 2004):

Australian Catholic authorities learnt last October that convicted Australian pedophile priest Frank Klep was associating with children in Samoa, but failed to inform the Samoan Catholic Church until yesterday. (Harvey, Davis and O’Brien 2004)

The Church had concealed from Samoan authorities the fact that Klep had criminal convictions relating to child sexual assault and that there were outstanding warrants for his arrest in Australia. Subsequent investigations into the Salesian order of the

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102 Klep was convicted in 1994 of seven counts of sexual assault.
Catholic Church revealed that not only was the church failing to disclose priest’s crimes, but that ‘priests were being moved from country to country’ (Callinan, Hoare and Kaszubska 2004). It was also suggested that the church was guilty of ‘protecting priests who were shuffled across international borders’, without informing communities of the potential danger (Callinan, Hoare and Kaszubska 2004). Journalists attacked the church hierarchy which appeared to be more concerned within minimising the damage caused by the scandal of paedophilia, than repairing the widespread damage which has resulted from the abuse: ‘These events are bad enough. It was ‘the churches’ responses – or lack of them – that are particularly devastating’ (Goddard 2004).103 Another report called for the Salesian order to ‘explain its “breach of trust” (Harvey, Davis and O’Brien 2004). The case of Frank Klep highlights the symbiotic relationship between narratives of trust and risk, and epidemic. An already circulating textual narrative of epidemic has instrumentally shaped experiences of the crisis of trust. Conversely, the modern climate of fear and distrust has also shaped perceptions of a paedophilia epidemic.

Frank Klep was ordered to leave Samoa and was arrested at Melbourne airport in June 2004. In April 2005, Klep was charged with twenty eight acts of indecent assault and one act of buggery. During his trial, the court was told that the Klep had ‘passed through Australia three times without being detected despite outstanding arrest warrants’ (Callinan, Hoare and Kaszubska 2004). Images of paedophiles crossing international borders unchecked, clearly invokes a sense of disorder and a loss of control over borders and boundaries. Within the current climate of epidemic, the church was seen to be guilty of allowing the disease of paedophilia to spread globally. The church has been identified within media discourse as a new location of contagion and infection. Klep was convicted and sentenced to three years jail in December 2005.104

103 See also Letters ‘The Church Closed its Eyes to Child Abuse’, where it was commented that: ‘Reluctance to admit mistakes, apologise and make proper compensation seem to be general institutional traits. It appears that the fear of “public scandal” and any subsequent loss of image or reputation is more of a concern than the problem itself’ (2002).
104 The sentence was appealed in the Supreme Court in April 2006 and was eventually increased to five years and ten months.
Public fears surrounding the spread of paedophilia were exemplified in the level of concern surrounding the purported unknown whereabouts of offenders. The media suggested that the institutional structure of the church had both promoted and enabled paedophile ‘networks’ to flourish. It was reported, for example, that ‘The practice of moving sex offenders around became widespread’ (McManus 2002). An article in the *Herald Sun* also detailed the ‘Catholic church’s attempts to shield perpetrators by moving them around unsuspecting parishes’ (Robinson 2003). Here, the epidemic references that characterise these reports are clear. Much of the concern surrounding the sexual abuse of children centred on the fact that church authorities were seemingly unable to prevent the virus of paedophilia from spreading internationally. Within media discourse, the infected body of the paedophile priest - undetectable and untraceable - easily moves across national and international borders.

7.12 The Paedophile Priest ‘Plague’: Narratives of Epidemic in the Paedophile Priest Crisis

I have suggested that the epidemic metaphors which characterise other newspaper representations of paedophilia also dominate representations of the paedophile priest. The abuse crisis within the church has also generated an inevitable resurgence of the associations between paedophilia and illness or disease. Within the discursive context of epidemic, representations of the paedophile priest have become inextricably tied to metaphors of disease, contamination and contagion.

We can identify familiar accounts of the disease-like spread of paedophilia within the *Herald Sun*, where it was reported that the paedophile priest crisis ‘grew as a cancer’ (McManus 2002). Another article described the practice of moving priests from community to community in the following way: ‘The movement by the hierarchy of sexual offenders from parish to parish was like sending an alcoholic from pub to pub’ (Robinson 2002). The associations made between alcoholism and paedophilia also demonstrates how the connection between illness and paedophilia is developed. The
analogy between paedophilia and alcoholism more importantly operates to define and construct paedophilia as an addiction and as a sickness.

This disease-model of paedophilia that persists in representations of the paedophile priest scandal can also be clearly read in the following excerpt. In describing the toxic effects of paedophilia and the paedophile on the church, one journalist commented that: ‘But that was 30 or 40 years ago when paedophilia wasn’t understood as much as it is today. It was not seen as a sickness’ (Robinson 2002). The descriptive narrative of illness is used to represent not only the effects of paedophilia, but also the paedophiles themselves. Within a paradigm of disease, the paedophile priest emerges as an agent of contamination and a host of infection. *The Age* suggested, for instance, that ‘In order to continue to assault children, the child molester needs to subvert the host organisation’ (Goddard 2002). Child sexual abuse within the church has taken on plague proportions. This ‘sex abuse epidemic’ is, in the words of one reporter, a ‘paedophilia plague engulfing clerics’ (Ellingsen 2002).

One journalist observed, ‘in its diagnoses of paedophilia, at least, the Church is thoroughly modern’. Describing the insidious effects of the disease of paedophilia, the article commented that:

> the Church now believed child molestation by priests and Brothers was not a moral problem. It’s an illness. (Meade 1996)

The coding of paedophilia as a ‘disease’ operates very specifically to relegate paedophilia to the realm of ‘illness’. In asserting that paedophilia within the church has reached epidemic levels, it was suggested that the church is ‘crusading against an unholy scourge’ (Roberts and Altmann 2003).\(^\text{105}\) The epidemic metaphors became more frequent as the full extent of the sexual abuse was uncovered. The majority of reports were devoted to cases of paedophile priests who were categorised as serial offenders whose offending was characterised as both pathological and persistent.

\(^{105}\) Epidemic metaphors also persist in media discourses of the paedophile priest scandal in the United States. Paedophile priests in the United States, for example, were described by journalists from the *Boston Globe* as a ‘microcosm of a festering sore on the body of the entire Church’ (2002: 6).
Within a coherent narrative of epidemic, the pathogenic qualities of the paedophilia are emphasised. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, for example, described the child sexual abuse epidemic within the church as a 'sickness that can no longer be hidden or denied' (Kitney 2003).

The immediacy of the threat of the paedophile was reiterated, when church officials publicly acknowledged that paedophilia was an unrelenting force, and that they were unable to protect the church from being 'invaded' by paedophiles. In 1997, Sydney Bishop at the time, Geoffrey Robinson, commented: 'you can put all the windows you like in all the confessionals it won't stop the true paedophile' (Haslem and Hutchings 1997). The paedophile - evil, manipulative, cunning - is both a predatory and unstoppable force. The fear that the paedophilia epidemic, in fact, cannot be impeded is continually reinforced within the media. The paedophile is represented as permeating all spheres of the community; there is no space that remains unscathed by the threat of the paedophile. In order to combat the plague of paedophilia, church officials were reported as saying that the church planned to 'release a pedophile personality profile next year in a bid to help people identify deviants' (Eilingsen 2002). In the battle against the 'sex abuse epidemic' priests were to be subjected to range of different tests to ascertain whether they have what was termed 'the makings of a sexual predator' (Eilingsen 2002). The narratives of epidemic within these examples are unmistakably characteristic of paedophilia discourses. The allusions made to organised paedophilia operating within the church also function as a way of drawing attention to the contagious dimensions of paedophilia. These reports are more than a mere objective account of events. Crucially, these articles illustrate the media's critical role in the socially constructed reality of the epidemic.

7.13 Conclusion

I have suggested that in organising and transmitting meaning about paedophilia, the print news media plays a key defining role. The development of this new paedophilia epidemic has signalled some core dramatic shifts in paedophilia discourses. Such was the enormous magnitude of the epidemic, that the association between
paedophilia and the mainstream Christian Churches, particularly the Catholic Church, has become thoroughly embedded in the cultural consciousness.

As the paedophile priest scandal moves into its third decade, I suggested that the threat of the paedophile has been resymbolised and rearticulated within modern discourses of 'trust' and 'risk'. I have suggested that the paedophilia crisis within the church has highlighted the fragility of the distinct stage of postmodernity which characterises the modern social. The chapter examined how the media has effectively utilised incidences of paedophilia within the church to propagate the idea of a 'deepening crisis of public trust' (O'Neil 2002: 8). I have examined the relationship between representations of paedophilia within the church and narratives of trust and risk which have instrumentally framed them. In revealing what is unique about the representation of priestly paedophilia, the chapter addressed specific questions relating to the critical intersections of risk, trust and loss which have effectively regulated the epidemic of paedophilia within the church. The paedophile’s ability to penetrate the church has drawn attention to the inescapability of paedophilia.

I also suggested that the disintegration of the authority of the church has coincided with an anti-religious, specifically anti-Catholic, undercurrent within the Australian media. I specifically traced how a rise in neo-liberalism, a perceived decline of trust and a powerful anti-religious discourse combined to manufacture the paedophile priest epidemic. The child sex abuse crisis has further contributed to the already deep pessimism attached to the church. This pessimism, coupled with a perceived decline in 'Christian' family values within the church, has contributed to a resurgence of conservative neo-liberal 'values' and 'morals'. The anti-church campaign waged within the media has coincided with a rise in neo-conservative-family-values campaigns. The modern category 'paedophile' is thus born out of complex social, political and cultural relations.

The chapter has also highlighted how constructions of the paedophile priest are consistent with the representation of the homosexual within media discourse. I suggested in earlier chapters that paedophilia has frequently and consistently been
articulated within media discourse as a problem of homosexuality. Popular (mis)representations of homosexuality as a deviant, contaminating and ultimately corrupting influence have also instrumentally framed media reports of the paedophile priest epidemic. In the categorisation of paedophilia as homosexuality, I suggest the paedophile priest epidemic has patently strengthened this relationship.

Concluding Remarks

This thesis has traced the nature and significance of the paedophilia 'plague' within the Australian news media, by drawing attention to the complex and varied ways in which the issue of paedophilia has been effectively structured by a narrative of 'epidemic'. The concept of epidemic has been instrumental in shaping the identity 'paedophile' and the meanings attached to the entire discourse of paedophilia. The cultural matrix of epidemic has also signified an important shift in the positioning of paedophilia discourses. Epidemic culture insists that we read paedophilia within a narrative framework of disease, illness and contagion. Epidemic discourse has crucially transformed the body of the paedophile into a contagious body, where bodily displays of degeneration have become a marker of the paedophile's systemic infectivity. The fear of infection is evidenced in the desire to act against contagion by capturing, containing and quarantining the paedophile. The resulting identification and classification of paedophilia as a disease has meant that the category paedophile has been represented within media discourse as if it can be medically or scientifically
‘known’, treated and reformed. The construction of paedophilia as an illness, more importantly, has functioned as a way of distorting and obscuring the sexed specificity of the representation of paedophilia. The intersections between sex, gender and sexuality that have crucially shaped the paedophilia epidemic have been obscured by the language of disease and illness. The brutality and violence inflicted upon children has effectively been lost in a narrative of epidemic.

The modern disease of paedophilia, however, has been specifically assigned to the body of the homosexual. It is difficult to escape the deviance that homosexuality signifies within media discourses of paedophilia. I suggested that the interconnections between representations of homosexuality and representations of paedophilia are so entrenched that it has negated a reading of paedophilia as anything other than a property of homosexualised bodies. The constant coupling of homosexuality and paedophilia has, in fact, precluded a reading of paedophilia as heterosexed. The cases of paedophiles Brian Jones, Philip Bell and Robert Dunn exemplify how the classification ‘paedophile’ cannot be stripped of its homosexualisation. Media discourse is a discourse which encourages, and indeed permits, a reading of paedophilia as homosexed. In the ongoing prohibition and repudiation of homosexuality, paedophilia discourses have performed a key regulatory function.

My interpretive strategy has involved peeling away the textual layers embedded in constructions of paedophilia to expose the meanings that have been hidden by dominant discourses. The thesis has explored how the body of the modern paedophile is interdiscursively manufactured and reproduced within the print media, by specifically drawing on developments within feminist and criminological theories of sexed crime. My analysis has highlighted the impossibility of locating the representation of paedophilia within a linear narrative by revealing how frameworks of epidemic and homosexed violence operate in tandem to produce and reproduce understandings of paedophilia. One of the greatest challenges for the thesis, however, has been how to expose the repetition inherent in paedophilia discourses without this repetition impacting on my own writing. It is impossible to analyse these
discourses in isolation, as the meanings of paedophilia are multiple and continually shifting. As soon as I began to unravel one discourse, I tripped over another.

Recognition of the way in which categories of sex, gender and sexuality intersect in the representation of violence has been a vital component of feminist theory and research. Central to my approach, has been the exploration of the disciplinary and regulatory mechanics of the category ‘paedophile’ in a context that recognises the positioning of these representations as simultaneously sexed, gendered and sexualised. Constructions of sex, gender and sexuality are the means through which the category paedophile is continually and continuously reproduced; the paedophile simultaneously constitutes and is constituted by systems of sex, gender and sexuality. The paedophile, however, also embodies the instability of these categories. In the replication of sex, gender and sexuality contained in these narratives, the body of the paedophile performs a central normalising role; the category ‘paedophile’ exemplifies the enforcement and deployment of disciplinary power. The paedophile is not only punished for his transgression of the boundaries of the law, the paedophile is punished for transgressing the boundaries of sexed, gendered and sexualised normativity.

Throughout the thesis, I suggested that an emphasis on the sexual elements of paedophilia has had the effect of obscuring other characteristics of the abuse and the identity of the abuser, including gender. Paedophilia, however, is not a problem that can be simply attributed to a uniform ‘masculinity’. In an attempt to examine the gender of paedophilia, my analysis has revealed that the paedophile does not represent a distinct and coherent ‘masculine’ or ‘feminine’ subject. Part of the ongoing punishment of the paedophile can be related to the paedophile’s inability to signify a coherently gendered ‘self’. The paedophile inhabits a gender which cannot be easily defined. The gender that the paedophile performs is, on the one hand, socially and culturally unintelligible. Within press discourse, the paedophile is routinely located within a specifically feminine consciousness. On the other hand, the paedophile symbolises recognisable gender norms. The sexual abuse of children is a specific act of masculine power and authority. The paedophile has been located
within a contradictory gender consciousness while, at the same time, transgressing and embodying normative masculinity. In the ongoing 'policing and shaming of gender' (Butler 1993: 238), the paedophile at once displays a gender disorder and a gender normativity.

My analysis, however, has highlighted how the power of paedophilia discourses operate not only on and through the body of the paedophile. Within the current paedophilia epidemic, I explored how the single mother, the criminal mother and the colluding mother are subject to internal and external forces of discipline, control and subjection. Within paedophilia debates, sex and gender norms intersect to discipline women considered to fall outside the boundaries of normative femininity. The category 'paedophile' operates as a way of discursively policing, regulating, and at the same time, reinforcing and consolidating, categories of masculinity/femininity and heterosexuality/homosexuality.

The representation of paedophilia has been structured around a core range of what Collier has termed the 'hierarchic binaries of modernity' (1998: 162). I have analysed the binary forms of classification that underpin the entire representation of paedophilia, by suggesting that the body of the paedophile continues to be read and re-read within existing hierarchical frameworks of sex/power/knowledge. I suggested further that constructions of paedophilia have represented key sites of disruption to these binary classificatory systems. The emergent child-sex panic of paedophilia is indicative of broader anxieties surrounding the ongoing demarcation between the dominant hierarchic dualisms of victim/criminal, same/Other, normal/deviant, heterosexual/homosexual, masculine/feminine, public/private and order/disorder. This is particularly evident in the way the cyber-paedophile has been constructed in the media as a distinctly unknowable, ever-increasing, and ostensibly uncontainable, threat. The cyber-paedophile is a classification of the criminal Other which simultaneously transcends and displaces binary systems of meaning. The imminent threat and risk posed by the paedophile has highlighted the fragility and the rapid changeability of these binary divisions.
Questions of sexual difference and of sexual deviance have become paramount in the current conditions of epidemic. The ongoing delineation between heterosexed and homosexed identities impacts on our understandings of paedophilia. Within the press, the paedophile has been represented as the worst possible kind of sexual deviant. The paedophile is part of an epidemic and disciplinary culture which punishes sexualities that are considered to be 'outside' the realm of social intelligibility. In its current cultural manifestation, the homosexed paedophile has achieved an unprecedented level of notoriety within the press. The paedophile, who has been so readily demonised within the Australian media, has materialised as a grotesque figure within sex crime discourses, an enigmatic creature of both fact and fiction.

Although the problematic of the paedophile has been consistently confined to the realm of the Other, my analysis has also revealed that the body of the paedophile is in crisis. The term 'paedophile' has lost its stable meaning. The body of the paedophile has come to represent a significant rupture between 'self' and Other. The paedophile, a category of criminal Other which was once knowable, uniform and concrete, has become progressively unpredictable; the paedophile is a slippery category that is continually mutating and transcending the boundaries of the unknown. The increasingly fractured state of the category paedophile is reflected in the recent creation of new categories of paedophile – the cyber-paedophile and the paedophile priest are the latest examples of this. The cyber-paedophile, the most recent transmutation of the discursive category paedophile, symbolises the uncertainty and volatility of the paedophile. This is reflected not only in the desire to control and contain the paedophilia 'epidemic', but to also predict 'outbreaks' of paedophilia. The paedophile priest also embodies the unpredictability and instability of paedophilia.

Cases of paedophilia within the church, one of the most respected, and ostensibly

106 The constantly changing nature of epidemic is reflected in the endless creation of new types of criminal Other. Over the past few years, the current paedophilia epidemic appears to have abated. Since the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11 2001, the paedophilia epidemic has been supplanted by a new epidemic. The emergence of the figure of the terrorist has compounded the modern fear of risk and the threat posed by the criminal Other. Equally ubiquitous as the paedophile, the figure of the terrorist has emerged as a new carrier in the current conditions of epidemic.
inviolable, institutions, have come to represent the omnipotence of paedophilia. There is no border that the paedophile cannot breach; the paedophile seemingly penetrates all social spheres and violates all boundaries. Within the current conditions of epidemic, there is no space that is immune from the disease of paedophilia.

I do not think, however, that the representation of paedophilia can simply be reduced to a problem of media distortion. The paedophilia epidemic is a phenomenon which can be located within a specific, yet continually changing, social, cultural and political milieu. The representation of paedophilia is not a constant. Throughout the thesis, I have suggested that the fear of the paedophile can be directly related to existing social and political developments within the postmodern social. The heightened awareness surrounding instances of paedophilia over the past fifteen years, particularly relating to cases of cyber-paedophilia and paedophilia within the church, is a product of the specific cultural climate of fear, risk and distrust which characterises the (post)modern environment. It is through narratives of trust fear and risk, that we have most easily made sense of the current paedophilia epidemic. Within emergent discourses of trust and risk, the figure of the paedophile has materialised as a powerful signifier, a symbol of our collective fears, anxieties and concerns in a rapidly changing world.

On the surface, it is the Otherness of paedophilia that marks it out within newspaper discourse; to be named a paedophile is to be marked as Other. Paedophilia is confined to the realm of the unthinkable and the unimaginable, yet it is the normatively normal dimensions of paedophilia, I suggest, the very familiarity of sexual abuse, that has provoked such fear and anxiety. Within media accounts of ‘sex crime’, sensationalised accounts of monsters (paedophiles) preying on the innocent (the general population) have come to characterise newspaper reports. Concerns about sexual predators ‘outside’ the family have remained paramount in media reports. Within an emerging narrative of ‘stranger danger’, children are depicted as the most vulnerable members of our community and require protection from Other men. I specifically examined how representations of motherhood and fatherhood have
operated to reposition strategically and re-idealise the heterosexual monogamous family as a paradigmatic site of sexual safety and morality. A convincing narrative of stranger danger has had the effect of redirecting concern over the sexual abuse of children by familial abusers to 'outside' threats. Media discourse is a discourse which systematically deflects attention away from the inside threat of paedophilia, or more specifically, the threat and risk posed to children by men. The paedophile, who is far more easily understood as 'monster', 'evil', and 'Other', has become unknowable as man. It is precisely within 'normal' social interactions that the problem of men and their relationship to children that needs to be brought into question.

What is less clear is why cases of paedophilia have provoked such an intense response when there are relatively few cases compared with the pervasiveness of child sexual assault by men known to the victim within the familial unit. If the issue here is one simply of numbers, of how many children have been sexually abused, then the sexual abuse of children by paedophiles is not in itself significant. Child sexual abuse by a male family member is pervasive, but not pervasive enough, it seems, to warrant widespread media attention. Or has the problem of child sexual abuse within the family become so pervasive as to be unremarkable, and therefore, un-newsworthy? It is this failure to account adequately for the existence of the paedophile, to explain easily the causes and effects of paedophilia, which provoke such deep-seated fear and anxiety. Paedophilia is not reducible to any one cause or precipitating event or factor.

Although I am probably not the first researcher to feel weighed down by the constraints of writing a conclusion, reaching a concrete conclusion would be contradictory to the approach and method I have employed throughout the thesis. Such a conclusion would also suggest that the problem of paedophilia is something for which there is an answer or panacea, and this thesis has undoubtedly raised more questions that it answers. It has not been my intention to provide the solution to the problem of paedophilia. Instead I have provided a critical overview of some of the central themes that have underpinned my analysis of paedophilia discourses.
These representations have exposed the discursive visibility of paedophilia and the discursive invisibility of child sexual abuse. The media preoccupation with cases of homosexual paedophilia has engendered a pervasive silence surrounding the sexual abuse of children. The systematic misrepresentation of child sexual assault has also meant that the problem of sexual abuse against girls has not only been downplayed but entirely overlooked. The discursive explosion surrounding paedophilia has had the opposite effect on the representation of child sexual assault. The media spectacle of paedophilia has patently undermined attempts to draw attention to the problem of child sexual assault.

The writing of this thesis has been difficult and, at times, deeply troubling. At the beginning of my doctoral research, the topic of paedophilia at first appeared insurmountable. I struggled with the question of how even to begin to tackle the subject of paedophilia, without detracting from the injury, pain and suffering inflicted upon the survivors of child sexual abuse. The goal of my analysis throughout the thesis has been to challenge and expose the dominant ways in which paedophilia is represented within the Australian print news media. The strategy I have adopted throughout the thesis has allowed me to chart new ways of representing child sexual assault by critically calling into question media constructions of paedophilia. The process of critique, however, is never finished; it is an ongoing struggle. There will be another shift in the representation of paedophilia and a different frame of reference will be found that disrupts dominant representations of paedophilia and contests the pervasive silence surrounding the sexual assault of children.
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